The Rhetorical Strategies of the First Chapter of 1 Timothy: The Relationship of the First Chapter to the Purpose of the Letter

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Abstract

There are a number of problems that face the scholar wishing to interpret 1 Timothy. These problems are epitomized by the following comment from Marin Dibelius and Hans Conzelmann in their 1972 commentary on the Pastoral Epistles,

> We cannot with equal certainty identify a basic body of material in 1 Tim [as it can be for Titus]. For there the interest is directed to two main points: church order and the refutation of heretics…But even apart from this twofold interest, the character of the church order materials themselves does not seem uniform.

1 Timothy looks like an assortment of materials, and it is difficult to perceive how they function together as a cohesive whole. Lewis Donelson in his, *Pseudepigraphy and Ethical Argument in the Pastoral Epistles* (1986), argued that each of the Pastoral Epistles could be understood as offering cohesive arguments when compared to other Graeco-Roman ethical documents. However, Donelson's insistence that the Pastoral Epistles fit within a pseudepigraphical letter category has not gone without criticism.

This thesis will argue that the opening command, verses 3—4 of 1 Timothy 1 is the key to understanding how the letter functions as a persuasive literary unit. As Donelson has pointed out, rhetorical devices are at work in this letter. However, there are important ideological and thematic threads that need to be considered including the ideologically important father-son motif, civic ideals, educational motifs, stereotypes of young men and older men, cultural anxieties and aspirations. What will be demonstrated in this thesis is that these threads, among others, are drawn in by the writer in order to develop a strategy in the rhetorically significant digression, 1 Timothy 1:5—20, to persuade the "certain men" to desist in "teaching strange doctrines" and pursuing other unhelpful activities. It will be concluded that the "certain men" are being persuaded to turn to the "administration of God which is by faith," and it is this persuasive strategy that ties the commands that follow later in the letter to the command given at 1 Timothy 1:3—4.

Statement of the Candidate

I certify that the work in this thesis entitled "The Rhetorical Strategies of the First Chapter of 1 Timothy: the Relationship of the First Chapter to the Purpose of the Letter" has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of the requirements for a degree to any other university or institution other than Macquarie University. I also certify that the thesis is an original piece of research and it has been written by me. Any help and assistance that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been appropriately acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

…….. Lyn M. Kidson

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Dedicated to Andrew and John.

Thank you for joining with me in pursuing an inquiring life of the mind.

Abbreviations

Unless otherwise stated, all English scripture texts will be taken from the *NASB, The Holy Bible*. The Lockman Foundation. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Pub., 1999. All New Testament Greek texts are taken from *The Greek New Testament* 4th ed. Edited by B. Aland and K. Aland et al. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1998.

Abbreviations for Greek and Latin literary works, and sources common to the field of Biblical studies:

See *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Biblical Studies and Related Disciplines*, 2nd ed. Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2014, 141—168.

Goldberg, Sander ed., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016-.Online: http://classics.oxfordre.com/page/abbreviation-list/

References made to the Greek Old Testament, the Septuagint, are made following the system in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint: and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under that Title* (NETS).

OTP= *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols., ed. James H. Charlesworth.

Epigraphical Sources

See G. H. R. Horsley and J. A. Lee. "A Preliminary Checklist of Abbreviations of Greek Epigraphic Volumes." *Epigraphica* 56 (1994): 129—169.

For those not referenced in Horsley and Lee's checklist see,

F. Bérard, *Guide de l'épigraphiste: bibliographie choisie des épigraphies antiques et médiévales*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Ed. ENS Rue d'Ulm, 2000).

The Packard Humanities Institute. "Searchable Greek Inscriptions, A Scholarly Tool in Progress," http://epigraphy.packhum.org/biblio.html

Additional Abbreviations

AthMitt

Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1876—)

GRBS

Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies (Durham, NC, 1959—).

Petzel

G. Petzl, *Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens* (Epigraphica Anatolica 22; Bonn: Habelt, 1994).

Papyri, Tablets, and Ostraca

See J.F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*.

Online: http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html

Introduction

The literary work that we know as 1 Timothy presents itself as a letter. Like many other ancient letters it opens with a greeting, "Paul…to Timothy" (1 Timothy 1:1—2) and finishes with a recognisable letter closing, "Grace be with you" (1 Timothy 6: 20b). After the greetings and a prayer, the body of 1 Timothy opens with an initial command,

> As I urged you upon my departure for Macedonia, remain on at Ephesus so that you may instruct certain men not to teach strange doctrines, nor to pay attention to myths and endless genealogies, which give rise to mere speculation rather than furthering the administration of God which is by faith (1 Timothy 1:3—4).

At this point, there emerges among scholars a deeply divided interpretation in regard to the functioning of 1 Timothy as a letter. A significant question is whether it is the historical Paul giving these instructions or if the whole of the letter is a pseudonymous creation. Scholars are divided essentially into two camps.[1] However, this is only part of the problem in interpreting 1 Timothy. A deeper underlying problem exists, no matter if the scholar argues for Pauline authorship, or for a pseudonymous author.[2] The problem exists *because* 1 Timothy presents itself as a letter. These problems are epitomized by the following comment from Dibelius and Conzelmann,

> We cannot with equal certainty identify a basic body of material in 1 Tim [as it can be for Titus]. For there the interest is directed to two main points: church order and the refutation of heretics…But even apart from this twofold interest, the character of the church order materials themselves does not seem uniform.[3]

1 Timothy looks like an assortment of materials, and it is difficult to perceive how they function together as a cohesive whole.[4] The lack of perceived cohesion is an issue not only for 1 Timothy, but also for 2 Timothy and Titus as Lewis Donelson describes, "the Pastorals are dissected into pieces and then each piece is examined in turn."[5] Donelson argued that

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[1] Mark Harding, *What Are They Saying About the Pastoral Epistles?* (New York: Paulist Press, 2001), 10—24.
[2] Lewis R. Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy and Ethical Argument in the Pastoral Epistles* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1986), 67—69.
[3] Martin Dibelius and Hans Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, trans. Philip Buttolph and Adela Yarbro, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972), 5.
[4] A.T. Hanson, *Studies in the Pastoral Epistles* (London: SPCK, 1968), 110; James D. Miller, *The Pastoral Letters as Composite Documents* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 138—139.
[5] Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy*, 68; also Ray van Neste for a summary on the views about cohesion, "Cohesion and Structure in the Pastoral Epistles," in *Entrusted with the Gospel: Paul's Theology in the Pastoral Epistles*, ed. Andreas J. Köstenberger and Terry L. Wilder (Nashville: B&H Academic, 2010), 84—104.

each of the Pastoral Epistles could be understood as offering cohesive arguments when compared to other Graeco-Roman ethical documents.[6] However, Donelson's insistence that the Pastoral Epistles fit within a pseudepigraphical letter category has not gone without criticism.[7] It has been argued that 1 Timothy fits within a well-recognized sub-type of letter writing: the administrative letter.[8]

This thesis will argue that the opening command of 1 Timothy is the key to understanding how the letter functions as a persuasive literary unit. As Donelson has pointed out, rhetorical devices are at work in this letter.[9] However, there are important ideological and thematic threads that need to be considered including the ideologically important father-son motif, civic ideals, educational motifs, stereotypes of young men and older men, cultural anxieties and aspirations. The challenge is to see how these threads, among others, are drawn in by the writer in order to develop a strategy to persuade the "certain men" to desist in "teaching strange doctrines" and pursuing other unhelpful activities. It is clear that the "certain men" are being instructed to turn to the "administration of God which is by faith," and this is tied to the commands that follow later in the letter (that is, "the church order materials"). The principal objective of this study is to identify the primary strategy taken up by the writer to counter the opponents, the "certain men." As will become evident in this study, the writer lays the groundwork for his offence against the opponents in the first chapter, and this therefore, will be the central focus of this investigation.

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[6] *Pseudepigraphy*, 69.
[7] Lyn Kidson, "1 Timothy: An Administrative Letter," *Early Christianity* 5 (2014): 97—116.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Also Mark Harding, *Tradition and Rhetoric in the Pastoral Epistles* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1998), 180—229.

Chapter 1

The Present Life (1 Timothy 4:8): 1 Timothy as a Historical Document

The principal objective of this study is to identify the rhetorical strategy taken up by the writer of 1 Timothy to counter the opponents identified as the "certain men" (1 Tim 1:3). This means that the writer of 1 Timothy must have received, at some point, some training in rhetoric. Training in rhetoric was the last stage in a boy's schooling. The well-to-do young man would use rhetoric to bring benefits and honour to his family, his city, and himself. The identification of rhetoric in the Pastoral Epistles draws us into the complexities of the social, political, and intellectual world of Asia Minor. As this study progresses, Asia Minor emerges as the most likely location of the writer and audience of 1 Timothy. It is here that we will start our investigation into the persuasion of the "certain men" in 1 Timothy by broadly sketching education in Asia Minor and its connection to 1 Timothy. A number of earlier studies have examined educational motifs and rhetorical devices in the Pastoral Epistles and together they point to the writer's adaptive use of epistolary, philosophical, and rhetorical conventions. These observations suggest that there is a link between the Christian community and the intellectual life of Asia Minor, which in turn raises important questions about the social and economic status of those involved in the Christian church. After a link between the church and the intellectual life of Asia Minor has been established, the Pastoral Epistles will be considered as products of this social and educational milieu. The case will be made for reading the Pastoral Epistles as historical documents aside from arguments about the authorship. Technical issues concerning the unique vocabulary of the Pastoral Epistles will also be canvassed. This chapter will provide a firm basis for considering 1 Timothy as a literary entity as well as providing an introduction into the historical context of its writer and his intended audience.

1.1. Benefaction and Education in Asia Minor and their Connection to the Pastoral Epistles

Sometime between 2 BCE and 2 CE Kleanax was publicly honoured by his city Kyme in Western Asia Minor with a *stele* praising his virtue and beneficence at the completion of his term as *prytanis*.[10] The text of this *stele* is a very valuable document for, although it is a typical decree for cities in Asia Minor in the early imperial period, it goes into a great deal of

[10] SEG 32.1243=R.A. Kearsley, "A Civic Benefactor of the First Century in Asia Minor," in *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, ed. S. R. Llewelyn (North Ryde, NSW: Macquarie University, 1994), 7:233—241.

detail about Kleanax's beneficent activities, which are referred to without great specificity in many decrees.[11] The decree reads in part,

> (1)The *strategoi* made the motion and it was recorded… Whereas Kleanax (son) of Sarapion and natural (son) of Philodemos, the *prytanis*, (5) on both sides of his family having nobility of birth from his ancestors and an agreeableness unsurpassable in love of honour for his country, has provided many great benefits for his city continuously throughout his lifetime, giving way to no opportunity in which he left aside care for the people, administering the best things for the city in both word and deed, [in view of which, witness is borne (in the form of this award of honours) by the people at the present time (10) to the effort he made to gain (increased) reputation as a recent holder of the presidency], and his many actions also through his (service) of former votes meet with the thanks of the people…when the opportunity of the expense showed his impressive love of honour and his piety, (15) having alone and as the first to do so undertaken the duty and summoning by written proclamation the citizens and Romans and nearby residents and foreigners he gave a banquet…(20) For these reasons, the people, having in mind these good deeds also, forgot none of his other activities to which they had grown accustomed. And for this reason also the *prytanis* Kleanax is worthy of praise and honour, (namely) that when a handsome son became his, he took thought for the boy's education in letters, and provided for the people a man worthy of his family, Sarapion (by name), and a protector and helper, one who in many ways has already displayed toward the city through his own manly deeds; a father-loving man and meriting also that by public consent this name should be added, a man whose affection for his father is attested also by public decree for all time (ll 1—18, 20—28).[12]

Rosalinde Kearsley in her comments on this inscription notes a number of important connections that it has with the vocabulary and thought patterns of benefaction and the New Testament.[13] As we will see in this study, there are a number of other important themes in this inscription which are evident in 1 Timothy. The desire to seek honour and recognition from one's peers will emerge as an important issue between Paul and the

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[11] Ibid.

[12] Translated by R. A. Kearsley, "A Civic Benefactor," 233—236; R. Hodot, "Décret de Kymè en l'honneur du Prytane Kléanax," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 10 (1982), 165—180; J. and L. Robert, *BE* 96 (1983): no 323, 132—138; amended by Paul McKechnie, Macquarie University, 2017.

[13] Kearsley, "A Civic Benefactor of the First Century in Asia Minor," 239.

"certain men." Also the relationship between fathers and their sons has important dimensions in 1 Timothy as Paul addresses Timothy as "my true child in the faith" (1 Tim 1:2). Further, as we see in this inscription, Sarapion is described as "a father-loving man" and this expectation is engendered in Timothy's appellation as a "true child." We also see from the inscription that there is a connection between a father's education of his son and his ongoing benefaction towards a community.

Reggie Kidd investigated the connection between wealth, beneficence, and the church in his study, *Wealth and Beneficence in the Pastoral Epistles*. He found that, while the writer of the Pastoral Epistles interacts with the language and ideals of benefaction at large in Graeco-Roman social setting, he was at pains to adapt this cultural model for his own needs.[14] In countering the idea of cultural accommodation proposed by Dibelius that the Pastoral Epistles are *bürgerlich* or are "bourgeois" he says,

> No one should suggest that the Pastorals' answers are scandalously radical. Divestment is not demanded of wealthy Christians. Full play is given to a generous, voluntaristic spirit on the part of the wealthy on the one hand, and to a willingness on the part of their dependents to defer to them on the other…All the same, the conclusion that the Pastorals' approach is but an uncritical accepting of contemporary *bürgerlich* or even 'aristocratic' values is vacuous.[15]

While heeding Kidd's warning that the writer of the Pastoral Epistles is adapting the cultural models of his social world, it is proposed here that there are important points of connection between 1 Timothy, as part of the Pastoral Epistles collection, and the underlying "language of culture" in Asia Minor. There are a number of themes related to benefaction in both Kleanax's inscription and 1 Timothy. Kleanax is honoured because he, "has given away no opportunity in which to care for the people, administering the best things for the city in both word and deed" (ll. 6—7).

The first instruction in 1 Timothy is for "certain men not to teach strange doctrines, nor to pay attention to myths and endless genealogies"; instead, they are to give their time to "*furthering* the administration of God which is by faith" (1 Tim 1: 3— 4). While the

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[14] Reggie M. Kidd, *Wealth and Beneficence in the Pastoral Epistles: A "Bourgeois" Form of Early Christianity?* (Atlanta, GA: Duke University, 1990), 157.
[15] Ibid., 157.

vocabulary is not the same, Kleanax was "administering (πολειτευόμενος) the best things for the city" (l.8), while the "certain men" are "*furthering* the administration (οἰκονομίαν) of God" (1 Tim 1:4), and so the ideas have some correspondence. Kleanax is praised because he has always sought to "care for the people" and his administration has provided good things for the city "in word and deed" (l.9). In a similar way, the elders in 1 Timothy are urged to "manage [their] own household well" for "if a man does not know how to manage his own household, how will he take care of the church of God?" (3: 4—5). The elder's role is to manage the church along similar lines to his household, caring for those under his responsibility.[16] Later in the letter the rich are instructed to "do good, to be rich in good works, to be generous and ready to share" (1 Tim 6:18). Here, in particular, we see those of means urged to "do good works" much as Kleanax is praised for his benefaction in "word and deed." Such similarities between the Pastorals and honours for civic office have not gone unnoticed. David Verner notes,

> the author appears to speak for his church in regarding office in the church as socially prestigious in the same way that citizens of Greek cities and members of associations regarded office holding (1 Tim 3:1, 13)…Thus, although the leaders of the church may not have been on the same social level as the members of their municipal aristocracy, they shared the same aristocratic social aspirations within a smaller sphere.[17]

The observations of both Kidd and Verner make it clear that any investigation of 1 Timothy should be aware of the cultural assumptions made by the writer. On the other hand, we should be alert to the fact that he does not uncritically accept contemporary values, but at times adapts them. These adaptions can be subtle as Kidd makes apparent. Kleanax is praised because he has "a love of honour" (l.5, 10) and so he desired to show "his impressive love of honour and his piety" (l.15). It was a noble thing to seek after honour for oneself. The writer of 1 Timothy, on the other hand, instructs the rich not to "be conceited or to fix their hope on the uncertainty of riches, but on God" (1 Tim 6:7). Further, they are to do good not for public honour but for the eschatological future reward "storing up for themselves the treasure of a good foundation for the future, so that they may take hold of that which is life

[16] Ibid., 83—85, 137—140.

[17] Ibid., 84—85; David C. Verner, *The Household of God: The Social World of the Pastoral Epistles* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 159—160.

indeed" (1 Tim 6:19). As Kidd argues seeking after honour is not, for the Christian, to gain worldly honour in the present, but looks forward to a future reward from God.[18]

It is significant in many of these inscriptions that the honoured are described as descended from honoured ancestors, and that they love their fathers. Kleanax was worthy of "praise and honour," not only for his own beneficence and virtue, but because he had provided a son who was emulating his father's virtues (ll.22—26). Benjamin Fiore in his study on the example in the Pastoral Epistles demonstrated that example and imitation was a key feature in these letters.[19] However, Paul's example in 1 Timothy does not operate because he is an apostle, but by way of and through his relationship as Timothy's father (1 Tim 1:2). As we see in the above inscription, Kleanax as a father operates as a model of benefaction to his son. The city, in turn, is able to identify Sarapion as a benefactor worthy of honour because of the example of his father. The key to Sarapion's emulation is his education provided by his father. As will be shown in chapter 5, fathers were to ensure that their sons received the proper education in order to produce the right kind of citizen. The gentleman citizen, so often lauded in inscriptions, was one who was educated in literature and rhetoric.[20] The phrase "he took thought for the boy's education in letters" (l.23) refers to education or training; Kleanax took thought to the manner of the boy's training in what could be described as word craft and reasoning (τᾶς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀγώγας).[21] A similar thought is in Pseudo-Plutarch's *The Education of Children*,

> This also I assert, that children ought to be led (ἄγειν) to honourable practices by means of encouragement and reasoning (παραινέσεσι καὶ λόγοις), and most certainly not by blows or ill-treatment, for it surely is agreed that these are fitting rather for slaves than for the free-born (12 [Babbitt, LCL]).

Pseudo-Plutarch is describing the means by which sons should be brought up into "honourable practices" and these means are "encouragement and reasoning" (λόγος). The phrase, τοῖς λόγοις, referred to making an argument (Diogenes Laertius 4.6.30) or giving a

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[18] Kidd, *Wealth and Beneficence*, 134—136.

[19] Benjamin Fiore, *The Function of Personal Example in the Socratic and Pastoral Epistles* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1986), 198–231

[20] Frederick W. Danker, *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field* (St. Louis: Clayton Pub. House, 1982), 318—320.

[21] W. Jaeger, "Early Chrsitianity and the Greek Paideia: 1 Clement," in *Encounters with Hellenism: Studies on the First Letter of Clement*, ed. Cilliers Breytenbach and L.L. Welborn (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), 104—14 (113, n.15), ἀγωγή is "an old Greek technical term that stresses [the] special side of a good education."

discourse (Diogenes Laertius 6.2.76). It refers to the art of speech. In the first century C.E. appropriate education for the young gentleman consisted not only in learning to read and write, but also in how to address an audience and argue a case before a court, a city council, a governor or perhaps even the emperor.[22] This training was closely tied to the benefaction that a gentleman could offer to his community as Diogenes Laertius in his *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* describes,

> Of conferring benefits (εὐεργεσία) there are four divisions. For it takes place either by pecuniary aid or by personal service, by means of knowledge or of speech (τοῖς λόγοις). Pecuniary aid is given when one assists a man in need…Personal service is given when men come up to those who are being beaten and rescue them. Those who train or heal, or who teach something valuable, confer benefit by means of knowledge. But when men enter a law-court and one appears as advocate for another and delivers an effective speech on his behalf, he is benefiting him by speech. Thus benefits are conferred by means either of money or of personal service, or of knowledge, or of speech ("Plato," 95—96 [Hicks, LCL]).

It can be seen that Kleanax is praised because he has provided a son, who has been trained, so that he can confer benefits on the city as a "protector and helper" (ll.24-25). Sarapion is not only equipped to give benefaction through his wealth, but also through his rhetorical skills to represent and assist Kyme and its individual citizens.[23]

It can be seen here that a broader picture is obtained by considering the terms in which Kleanax is honoured and the use of individual terms and phrases in similar discourse. This allows the scholar not only to see how Kleanax was honoured and for what kind of benefaction, but how his benefaction and honours represent the kind of ideas about benefaction and honouring present in the cultural context of his society.[24] It allows the scholar to access, in some way, the thought world of the historical figures that he or she is

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[22] Fergus Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 B.C. —A.D. 337)* (London: Duckworth, 1977), 22—23, 375—385. Embassies from cities were often sent to the Emperor to make requests. The Jewish community in various cities also sent embassies to the Emperor.

[23] Christina Kokkinia, "Letters of Roman Authorities on Local Dignitaries: The Case of Vedius Antoninus," *ZPE* 142 (2003): 197—213. Such skills would have included the art of letter writing in the course of representing a city to the Roman authorities.

[24] For a similar approach see Giovanni Salmeri, "Reconstructing the Political Life and Culture of the Greek Cities of the Roman Empire," in *Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age*, ed. Onno van Nijf and Richard Alston (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 197—214; For a discussion of semantic fields and their relationship to inscriptions, see Danker, *Benefactor*, 26—29, 317.

investigating. There is some resemblance here to the kind of investigation conducted by anthropologists and cultural linguists. We shall return to this thought shortly but first we will consider briefly the connections between Sarapion's beneficent activities, his education, and 1 Timothy.

1.2. Rhetoric, Youth, and Education in the Pastoral Epistles

A number of scholars have noted the importance of speech activities in the Pastoral Epistles. Robert Karris, in his 1973 article, highlighted the writer's use of a schema, "which is traditional to the polemic of philosophers against sophists."[25] Karris identified six key elements in the schema: opponents are greedy, deceivers, they do not practice what they preach, they engage in verbal disputes, they can be described by using vice lists, and they manipulate women.[26] All of these elements can be identified in the Pastoral Epistles, which highlights the central place that educational practices and argument have in these letters. Karris observes that the schema was adopted and adapted by writers against their opponents, which suggests "that the author views his teaching as genuine wisdom, philosophy, truth, and that he views the teachings of his opponents as false wisdom, as sophistry."[27] Dio Chrysostom, *On Kingship* 4, uses the schema to clearly mark off his education (παιδεία), which is "from heaven" (29), from that of ignorant and charlatan sophists,

> This human sort, however, is what most people call 'education' (παιδείαν)—meaning thereby something for children, I suppose—and they have the notion that he who knows the most literature…and has read the most books is the wisest and best educated person; but again, when people find any knaves or cowards or avaricious men among these, then they say the fact is as insignificant as the individual. The other kind men sometimes call simply education, at other times, 'true manhood' and 'high-mindedness.'…And furthermore, if he [the educated man] comes upon a man who knows the road, so to speak, this man easily directs him, and on getting the information he at once goes his way. If, however, he falls in with some ignorant and charlatan sophist, the fellow will wear him out by leading him hither and thither (4.31—33 [Cohoon, LCL]).[28]

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[25] Robert J. Karris, "The Background and Significance of the Polemic of the Pastoral Epistles," *JBL* 92 (1973): 549—564.
[26] Ibid., 552—555.
[27] Ibid., 555—556, 563.
[28] Ibid, 552, 555.

As we see here in Dio Chrysostom, there is a clear distinction being made in 1 Timothy between one type of education, the sound teaching (τῇ ὑγιαινούσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ) (1 Tim 1:10), and another teaching activity (ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν) (1 Tim 1:3—4). As Karris' catalogue shows the elements of the polemical schema are present in 1 Timothy; indeed, it is present from the first instruction (1 Tim 1:3—4). In highlighting the writer's use of this polemic against the opponents, Karris has exposed a significant interpretative element in the letter that has received little attention. Dibelius and Conzelmann had found it difficult to identify a connection between the two main points in the letter "church order and the refutation of heretics."[29] They found the order of the church material was not uniform.[30] However, as the preceding discussion shows, there is in the culture of Asia Minor a close connection between benefaction, training in speech, administration, education, and the refutation of opponents as sophists. There have been some who have explored this ground in their studies. Fiore demonstrated the use of the example as a hortatory device in the Pastoral Epistles.[31] This identification connects the letters to an educational context that uses letter writing as an essential device in promoting a particular philosophy or teaching.[32]

Mark Harding in his study *Tradition and Rhetoric in the Pastoral Epistles* investigated the use of rhetoric in the letters. He stressed that since they are letters of moral instruction they could not be classified using the Aristotelian scheme of forensic, deliberative or epideictic speeches.[33] Still he found that the writer had employed some persuasive strategies drawn from Aristotle's three proofs: logical deduction, induction through the use of paradigms and examples, and appeals based on pathos.[34] In summing up, Harding concludes that "the PE are best characterized as letters standing self-consciously in the Pauline tradition and in the Greco-Roman tradition of moral exhortation…the PE can be situated within the epistolary tradition of Greco-Roman moral exhortation, though without minimizing the Pastor's own adaptation of this tradition as an author subscribing to the saving achievement of Christ."[35] In other words the writer has utilised epistolary, philosophical, and rhetorical conventions,

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[29] Dibelius and Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 5.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Fiore, *The Function of Personal Example*, 10—21, 195—231.
[32] Ibid., 232—236.
[33] Harding, *Tradition and Rhetoric*, 180—181, 214.
[34] Ibid., 194—214.
[35] Ibid., 232.

adapting them to his own purposes in preserving the Pauline tradition.[36] That is, the writer is well acquainted with the educational resources available in the early Imperial period.

In a more recent study, *My true child: The rhetoric of youth in the Pastoral Epistles* (1997),

Christopher Hutson set out to explore ancient Graeco-Roman attitudes toward youth and surveyed Greek and Roman literature for and about youth and their relationship with the Pastoral Epistles. He focused on philosophical literature aimed at cultivating youthful philosophers into mature perpetuators of their traditions.[37] He found that "the Pastoral Epistles reflect the language and thought of the philosophical training regimen. The language of the training regimen appears throughout these letters and explains how they cohere as a collection."[38] These studies clearly place the content of Pastoral Epistles, and thus 1 Timothy, in a philosophical or educational milieu.

In a pivotal study on the first Christian communities, E.A. Judge found that early Christians were engaged in intellectual activities and their leaders were those "whose work was in important respects of a scholarly kind, and that they accepted the status in the community that this required, and employed the conventional methods of instructing and organizing their followers."[39] Therefore, we would expect that the writer of 1 Timothy, as a part of an intellectual community, would adopt and adapt the language of his intellectual and educational context and apply it to the problem as he identifies it. The challenge is to draw in the threads that have been identified, the civic, the educational, the intellectual, in order to grasp the strategy that the writer has launched to persuade the "certain men" to desist in teaching "strange doctrines" and the other associated activities. They are instead to turn to the "administration of God which is by faith," which is tied to the commands that follow later in the letter (that is, the church order materials). The principal objective of this study is to identify the primary strategy taken up by the writer to counter the opponents. As Karris

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[36] Ibid., 231—232.

[37] Christopher Hutson, "My True Child: The Rhetoric of Youth in the Pastoral Epistles" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1997), 10.

[38] Ibid., 366.

[39] E. A. Judge, "The Early Christians as a Scholastic Community" in *The First Christians in the Roman World: Augustan and New Testament Essays*, ed. James R. Harrison (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 526—552 (552); Essay originally published as "The Early Christians as a Scholastic Community," *Journal of Religious History* 1 (1960): 5—15, and (1961): 125—137.

identified, the writer only briefly engages with the opponent's teaching and this quite late in the letter.[40] Another strategy is at work, which Karris could only briefly touch on in relation to 1 Timothy. As will become evident in this study, the writer lays the groundwork for his offence against the opponents in the first chapter, therefore, the central interest will be focused on this part of the letter.

1.3. The Pastoral Letters as Pseudepigrapha

As anyone familiar with the Pastoral Epistles is aware, there is an ongoing debate over the authorship of the letters and their historical circumstances.[41] Those who argue for authenticity see 1 Timothy as written by Paul about his opponents within the church in Ephesus.[42] Those who argue for a pseudonymous author see these details as historical fictions and argue that the real writer is discussing actual problems once removed.[43] Dibelius and Conzelmann argued that the writer engaged in pseudepigraphical writing for two reasons: "first, the regulations are transmitted to a large number of churches rather than to a single congregation…Second, the responsibility for the wellbeing of the congregations thus becomes a matter of the education of the individual disposition of the church leader."[44] They saw the Pastorals as a means by which historical Paul is being established as the authority for the church. This then entails another view of the historical circumstances behind the letter. Both sets of historical circumstances cannot be right. Yet, to begin with either set of circumstances is to begin with a set of assumptions that may lead to incorrect judgements in questions about the exegesis of the text. There is therefore an impasse if we begin with a reconstruction of the historical circumstances as Dibelius and Conzelmann maintained in their commentary.[45]

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[40] Karris, "The Background and Significance of the Polemic of the Pastoral Epistles," 549.

[41] See Harding for a summary, *Tradition and Rhetoric*, 8—83; Raymond F. Collins, *Letters That Paul Did Not Write: The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Pauline Pseudepigrapha* (Wilmington DE: Michael Glazier, 1988), 88—94.

[42] Ceslaus Spicq is the foremost advocate of this positon, *Saint Paul: Les Épitres Pastorales*, 4 ed., 2 vols., vol. 1, Études Bibliques (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1969) 1; Harding, *Tradition and Rhetoric*, 17—24.

[43] N. Brox, "Zen den persönlichen Notizen der Pastoralbriefe," *BZ* 13 (1969):76—94; M. Wolter, *Die Pastoralbriefe als Paulustradition*, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 146 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988), 11—13; Harding, *Tradition and Rhetoric in the Pastoral Epistles*, 53—54.

[44] Dibelius and Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 7.

[45] Ibid., 1.

Hutson, however, sees that there is a way forward in focusing on the literary aspects of the letter.[46] As can be seen from Hutson's fruitful focus on the characterization of Timothy and Titus as youthful leaders, such a strategy has merit. However, in the case of this present study we are faced with a dilemma. Since we are aiming to describe the strategy taken up by the writer to counter the opponents, we must at times describe the writer's aims, purposes, and activities. In so doing we will be making some basic assumptions about him. In this Dibelius and Conzelmann were right that some decision must be made: "Any judgement as to what the Pastorals are and intend to be depends in great measure upon the question of authorship."[47] The weight of the evidence, as first outlined by Schleiermacher, that both the vocabulary and the syntactical structures of 1 Timothy do not correspond to the other Pauline epistles tips the balance toward the writer as not Paul himself.[48] I will not, however, rehearse the arguments for this as they are adequately covered elsewhere.[49] Instead, some very basic assumptions will be made about the author and his intended audience.
Before moving on, it is perhaps best to introduce the distinction between the author of the Pastoral Epistles and Paul the nominated letter writer (1 Tim 1:1; 2 Tim 1:1; Titus 1:1). Paul, the writer of 1 Timothy, will be identified as "pastoral Paul" and the letter recipient Timothy will be identified as "pastoral Timothy." And the "certain men," who have already been introduced, are those under discussion in chapter 1 of 1 Timothy (1 Tim 1: 3—4, 6, 19—20). Of course "pastoral Paul" and "pastoral Timothy" refer to historical figures, who we will identify as "historical Paul" and "historical Timothy."

There is no doubt that historical Paul authored a number of letters. There is a general consensus that these letters are Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians, and Philemon.[50] It is argued by many that these letters formed a model for

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[46] Hutson, "My True Child," 13.
[47] *The Pastoral Epistles*, 1; Also Hanson, *Pastoral Epistles*, 1.
[48] F. Schleiermacher, *Ueber Den Sogenannten Ersten Brief Des Paulos an Den Timotheos*, ed. J.C. Gass (Berlin: In der Realschulbuchhandlung, 1807); see discussion in William Richards, "Difference and Distance in Post-Pauline Christianity: An Epistolary Analysis of the Pastorals" (PhD diss., Toronto School of Theology, 1998), 4—6.
[49] Werner Georg Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, ed. Paul Feine, trans. Howard Clark Kee, Revised ed., New Testament Library (London: S.C.M. Press, 1975), 370—384; Michael Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and the Second Letter to Timothy*, JSNT Supplement 23 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 13—24; Harding, *What Are They Saying About the Pastoral Epistles?*, 9—27; I. Howard Marshall offers an alternative middle ground "allonymity," *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999), 57—84. For an assessment of Marshall's "allonymity" hypothesis see Philip H. Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, NICNT (Grand Rapids; Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2006), 25—26.
[50] B. S. Childs, *The Church's Guide for Reading Paul: the Canonical Shaping of the Pauline Corpus* (Grand Rapids; Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2008), 8.

further letters written by others promulgating historical Paul's teaching and memory and these are called the deutero-Pauline letters: 2 Thessalonians, Colossians, Ephesians, and the Pastoral Epistles.[51] Although there are ongoing debates surrounding each of these letters, the assumption will be made that the authorship of these letters is in doubt.[52]

1.3.1. Assumptions

The most important assumption is that the writer and his audience originate from Asia Minor. This assumption is borne out in the proceeding study as we shall see: much of the vocabulary and many of the concepts present in the letter are drawn from the Asia Minor context. This places the writer and his audience in a locality, whose social and cultural life can be described. A timeframe can also be proposed. There is a rough consensus that we are dealing with a period between approximately 50 CE and 130 CE.[53] Further, we can be very confident that the letter writer and his audience belong to a Christian community. It is also highly likely that these letters belong to a group of Christians for whom the historical Paul is the founding father. With these coordinates, it is possible to sketch a likely background for the writer and his intended readers. As we have identified, a major theme in the letter is education or training. In order to make the background sketch as brief as possible we will constrict the sketch to outlining the intellectual and cultural context of Asia Minor.[54] After sketching the historical, social and cultural background, we will then be in a position to consider 1 Timothy as part of a letter collection in its literary context. Within this section we

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[51] Helmut Koester, *History and Literature of Early Christianity.* Introduction to the New Testament, vol. 2 (New York; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1987), 3; David G. Meade, *Pseudonymity and Canon: An Investigation into the Relationship of Authorship and Authority in Jewish and earliest Christian Tradition* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 148—153, 160—161.

[52] Ian K. Smith, "The Later Pauline Letters: Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon," in *All Things to All Cultures: Paul among Jews, Greeks, and Romans*, eds. Mark Harding and Alanna Nobbs (Grand Rapids; Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2013), 302—327; Koester, *History and Literature of Early Christianity*, 242—243.

[53] Those who argue for Pauline authorship must place the Pastoral Epistles in Paul's lifetime. They usually argue, based on references in the letters, for an earlier date, c. 50. For this argument see Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 37—40, 85—86; J.N.D. Kelly, *A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles*, Black's NT Commentaries (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1972), 6—10. The upper date is somewhat disputed. It appears that Polycarp is alluding to 1 Timothy 6:7, 10 and 2 Timothy 4:10 in his *Letter to the Philippians.* However, Dibelius and Conzelmann argue that Polycarp is not alluding to the Pastorals but quoting widely attested maxims, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 85—86. See Mark Harding for discussion, "The Pastoral Epistles," in *All Things to All Cultures: Paul among the Jews, Greeks and Romans*, ed. Mark Harding and Alanna Nobbs (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 2013), 328—352. Benjamin Fiore argues for an 80—90 CE date based on similarities of ecclesiastical structures between 1 Clement, Ignatius' letters and 1 Timothy, *The Pastoral Epistles: First Timothy, Second Timothy, Titus*, Sacra Pagina Series (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2007), 19—20; A. T. Hanson offers 105 CE based on the Polycarp's letter, *Pastoral Epistles*, 3.

[54] A similar approach was used by Laura Miguélez-Cavero in constructing a cultural and educational background for the Greek poems from the late antique period found at Panopolis, Egypt, *Poems in Context: Greek Poetry in the Egyptian Thebaid 200—600 AD* (Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 210—263.

will consider some methodological points that need to be addressed before moving to the study proper.

1.4. The Intellectual Life of Asia Minor

Asia Minor was a culturally and intellectually energetic region in the early Roman imperial period.[55] Many of its cities where not only administrative centres for the exercise of Roman administration, but they were centres of educational and intellectual pursuits. In these activities many of these cities had long and proud histories.[56] Throughout the first and second centuries cities, such as Ephesus, Sardis, Philadelphia, Pergamum, Smyrna, and Aphrodisias (to name a few), grew in prosperity and numerically.[57] Not only did the local elites grow wealthier, but there was also a migration of the very wealthy into these cities.[58] These wealthy elites cultivated a high standard of culture, both publicly and privately. They were patrons of teachers, philosophers, rhetors, writers and poets, musicians, associations, and cults.[59] Wealthy citizens were obliged to contribute to their cities' liturgies to ensure the adequate supply of water, smooth running of marketplaces, policing, maintenance of public ways and buildings, and other essential infrastructure.[60] However, in this period not only

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[55] Simon Swain, *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World, AD 50—250* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1996), 1—3.

[56] James Rietveld, "Illustrious Ephesus: Portrait of the City of Artemis in the Imperial Age" (PhD diss., California State University, 1998), 28—30; 94—96; Ibukun Bloom, "Sacred Travels: Religious Identity and Its Effect on the Reception of Travelers in the Eastern Roman Mediterranean" (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2011), 76—77.

[57] L. Michael White, "Urban Development and Social Change in Imperial Ephesos," in *Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Its Archaeology, Religion, and Culture*, ed. Helmut Koester (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995), 27-79; Guy Maclean Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos: Foundation Myths of a Roman City* (London; New York: Routledge, 1991), 15.

[58] Ephesus is an example of a city that received well-to-do immigrants, White, "Urban Development and Social Change", 57—65; for a discussion on Roman migration to Asia Minor (note the example of C. Sextilius Pollio who settled in Ephesus [11 CE]) see Andrea Gatzke, "Language and Identity in Roman Anatolia: A Study in the Use and Role of Latin in Asia Minor" (PhD diss., The Pennsylvania State University, 2013), 40—42.

[59] Patronage of teachers, philosophers and rhetors, Lucian, *Merc. cond.* 4; Adam G. White, *Where Is the Wise Man? Graeco-Roman Education as a Background to the Divisons in 1 Corinthians 1—4* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015), 153—157, Richard P. Saller, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 28—29, 137—138; literary activities and poets, T.P. Wiseman, "Pete Nobiles Amicos: Poets and Patrons in Late Republican Rome," in *Literary and Artistic Patronage in Ancient Rome*, ed. Barbara K. Gold (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982), 28—49, 155—157; sophists as patrons of cults and promoters of ancient myths, legends and local cults, Sviatoslav Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 285—286, 322—333; patronage of associations Onno van Nijf, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East* (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1997), 82—111; Philip A. Harland, "Associations and the Economics of Group Life: A Preliminary Case Study of Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands," *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 80 (2015): 1—37.

[60] Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, 17—18, 38—45; Arjan Zuiderhoek, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire: Citizens, Elites, and Benefactors in Asia Minor* (Cambridge; New

were basic public services maintained, but also undertaken were large scale public buildings and beautification of building facades, colonnades, agoras, and other public spaces.[61] Within these spaces cultural activities were undertaken, all financed by wealthy citizens. Among the numerous activities there were festivals in honour of the city patron god or goddess, lotteries, processions, games, literary and music competitions, rhetorical displays by visiting sophists, public readings, and support for ephebic associations and gymnasiums.[62] The benefactors of city liturgies and cultural activities were honoured by city councils, or *boules*, with statues and inscriptions extolling their benevolence and personal qualities.[63] The wealthy not only cultivated high culture within their cities, but they also cultivated educated, cultured, virtuous personas.[64] *Boules* in turn eulogised the benefactors' virtuous attainments in every public square, colonnade, and niche.[65]

In the first and second centuries, political and social dynamics were changing within Asia Minor. There has been a tendency to see the Hellenistic and Roman imperial rule as leading to the demise of democracy and with it the end of true political activity in Greek city states.[66] More recent scholarship has been reshaping this picture; there has been a shift in the vision of the Greek city as administered by stable oligarchies under the supervision of Rome to an appreciation of the fluid and volatile social dynamics within cities.[67] This is not to say that there was not a movement towards a consolidation of power into the hands of the

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York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 130—133; Laurens E. Tacoma, "The Councilor's Dilemma Political Culture in Third-Century Roman Egypt," in *Political Culture in the Greek City*, eds. van Nijf and Alston, 243—261.

[61] Zuiderhoek, *The Politics of Munificence*, 12; Onno M. van Nijf, Richard Alston & Christina G. Williamson, "Introduction: The Greek City and Its Religions after the Classical Age," in *Cults, Creeds and Identities in the Greek City after the Classical Age*, ed. Onno M. van Nijf, Richard Alston & Christina G. Williamson (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 1—20.

[62] Danker, *Benefactor*, 330; Swain, *Hellenism and Empire*, 4; C. P. Jones, "Atticus in Ephesus," *ZPE* 124 (1999): 89—94.

[63] Benjamin D. Gray, "Philosophy of Education and the Later Hellenistic Polis," in *Epigraphical Approaches to the Postclassical Polis: 4th Century BC to 2nd Century AD*, ed. Paraskevi Martzavou and Nikolaos Papazarkadas (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 232—253.

[64] Onno van Nijf, "Local Heroes: Athletics, Festivals and Elite Self-Fashioning in the Roman East," in *Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire*, ed. Simon Goldhill (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 306—334.

[65] Onno M. van Nijf, "Public Space and Political Culture of Roman Termessos," in van Nijf and Alston, *Political Culture,* 215-242; Niches specifically designed to house statues of the city founders and benefactors see Mary T. Boatwright, "Plancia Magna of Perge: Women's Roles and Status in Roman Asia Minor," in *Women's History and Ancient History*, ed. Sarah B. Pomeroy (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 249—272.

[66] Salmeri, "Reconstructing the Political Life," 197—199; Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos*, 24—30, 39—43, 80—82.

[67] Salmeri, "Reconstructing the Political Life," 197—214; Arjan Zuiderhoek, "Oligarchs and Benefactors. Elite Demography and Euergetism in the Greek East of the Roman Empire," in van Nijf and Alston, *Political Culture*, 185—195; van Nijf, "Public Space and Political Culture," 215—242.

wealthy elite within cities.[68] But it would be a mistake to see the *boule* without any administrative power within their cities. Indeed Rome relied on the cities' elites to administer their cities to provide services, administer justice, and to keep the peace.[69] Within these operations there were a host of decisions that had to be made including the recruitment of benefactors, the funding of public works, record keeping, property management, dispensing honours (as we have seen), negotiations with the provincial governor and other Roman bureaucrats, and negotiating with other cities.[70] All of these activities needed discussion and ultimately decisions needed to be made. The personal politics within city elites and the overarching political realities of Roman rule made for astute acumen. Preparation of a young man into this world required an education that would equip him to have appropriate political skills. He also needed to foster a persona that would secure his family's place in the civic world, appropriately represent his city, and add gravitas to his political aspirations.[71]

The development of wealthy and politically active elites went hand in hand with the development of an intellectual movement that had its roots in the first century. This movement is generally known as the second sophistic and is dated from around 50 CE to about 250 CE.[72] The participants of this movement sought to relive the glories of classical Greece; it was a type of renaissance.[73] It was primarily a literary movement and focused on imitating the style and vocabulary of classical writers; in this way, it was intimately connected with education. The second sophistic was more than a cultural phenomenon. It was a movement that cultivated a certain stance toward Rome and Roman culture: it was a type of political action that involved a posture of cultural superiority.[74] Swain argues that the second sophistic is to be read in "political-ideological terms," while being careful to shy away

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[68] Van Nijf, "Public Space and Political Culture," 219.

[69] Cédric Brélaz, "Maintinaing Order and Exercising Justice in the Roman Provinces of Asia Minor," in *The Province Strikes Back: Imperial Dynamics in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. Björn Forsén and Giovanni Salmeri (Helsinki: Suomen Ateenan-instituutin säätiö, 2008), 45—64.

[70] Menas served on the special monetary committee, as well as being an ambassador and gymnasiarch for Sestos (inscription date between 133-120 BCE), OGI 339, Danker No 17, lines 40—50 (94), Danker, *Benefactor*, 92—97, 330; for an example of the intense competition between Smyrna and Ephesus and their representations to the emperor, see Maud W. Gleason, *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 21—23.

[71] Edward J. Watts, *Academic Life in the Roman Empire* (University of California Press, 2006), 1— 4.

[72] Swain, *Hellenism and Empire*, 2—6.

[73] Ibid., 20.

[74] Tim Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire: The Politics of Imitation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 29—38.

from connotations of "political" that are too active because "it was the feeling, the spirit of their history and heritage that they were investing in."[75] The Romans had actually fostered the idea of Greek cultural superiority, including a great deal of benefaction by successive emperors. This was the beauty of their political statement. While being pedantic over vocabulary and correct style, those who saw themselves as Greek were investing in a continual reassertion of Greek superiority in relation to Rome. [76] The loci for this movement were the political and economic hubs of the Greek East.

1.5. The Christian Community and the Intellectual Life of Asia Minor

It is argued here that the early Christian community were also participants in this vibrant intellectual culture. Bruce Winter, in *Philo and Paul among the Sophists*, made the case that Paul was a participant in the very beginnings of the Second Sophistic movement.[77] Winter argued that "the Corinthian Christians' perception of a μαθητής and a ζηλωλτής has been contaminated by a culturally determined understanding of the terms drawn from the sophistic movement in Corinth…Certain Corinthians enjoyed the ministry of Apollos and persuaded the church, in spite of a commitment on the part of some to Cephas, to invite Apollos to return even though some had supported Paul."[78] He tied the divisions in the church to the expectations of teachers that were current in society; to be associated with a skilled orator was very desirable.[79]

Adam White, in his study *Where is the Wise Man?*, surveyed the arguments suggesting that either sophistry or philosophy was the background to the tensions in the Corinthian church.[80] He observed that neither a rhetorical nor a philosophical setting was adequate to thoroughly explain the overall problem, "clearly there is influence from the schools of oratory and the values found within the rhetorical milieu of the first century, but there are also issues that can only be understood in the worldview of the philosophical schools." [81] He

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[75] Swain, *Hellenism and Empire*, 88—89.
[76] Ibid., 88—89.
[77] *Philo and Paul among the Sophists: Alexandrian and Corinthian Responses to a Julio-Claudian Movement*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), see Part II.
[78] Ibid., 179.
[79] Ibid., 172—178; Teresa Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 83.
[80] White, *Where Is the Wise Man?,* 10.
[81] Ibid., 10.

argued that "the way forward is to look beyond the particular schools to *paideia* itself."[82] He takes as his cue the work of Robert Dutch, *The Educated Elite in 1 Corinthians: Education and Community Conflict in Graeco-Roman Context*, who examined the "educated elite" in 1 Corinthians against an ancient education model.[83] In this study he describes how the routes by which residents in Corinth, without access to the gymnasium, may have received an equivalent education. He rightly argues, says White, that such a model "yields a more nuanced interpretation of the educated elite among the Corinthian Christians than previous models have accomplished."[84] While White is appreciative of Dutch's approach in exploring the educational milieu of Corinth, he is critical of the brevity and nature of sources with which he constructs his model.[85] He is particularly critical of his decision to set aside Plato. White demonstrates, as we would expect from our discussion of the Second Sophistic, that "there was a deliberate revival of these classical values in both Roman and Greek education. Additionally, many of the core values of Greek education remained largely unchanged, even under the Romans."[86] He argues "that at the heart of the problem in Corinth is a partisan evaluation of Paul by the educated, elite leader(s) of the Apollos group, who have evaluated Paul against the shared values found in the schools of both oratory and philosophy, or, more generally, Graeco-Roman paideia."[87]

While we have spent some time discussing the situation in Corinth, it should be recognised that the Ephesian church was closely linked to the Corinthian church. Judging by his remarks in 1 Corinthians 15—16, Paul wrote this letter in Ephesus.[88] Paul tells the Corinthians that he will be delayed in Ephesus "for a wide door for effective service has opened to me, and there are many adversaries" (1 Cor 16:9). We cannot tell the nature of the opposition that Paul is experiencing. However, we do know that Apollos was in Ephesus and it seems he is linked to Paul's troubles (1 Cor 16:12).[89] Supporters of Paul were also with him in Ephesus: Aquila,

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[82] Ibid.
[83] R. Dutch, *The Educated Elite in 1 Corinthians: Education and Community Conflict in Graeco-Roman Context* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2005).
[84] White, *Where Is the Wise Man?,* 10—11, commenting on Dutch, *The Educated Elite in 1 Corinthians*, 6.
[85] White, *Where Is the Wise Man?,* 11—12.
[86] Ibid., 12.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Helmut Koester, "Ephesos in Early Christian Literature," in Koester, *Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia*, 119—140.
[89] Both Bruce W. Winter, *Philo and Paul among the Sophists: Alexandrian and Corinthian Responses to a Julio-Claudian Movement*. 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 172—178 and White, *Where Is the Wise Man?,* 12, 195—196, argue for the scenario that Paul and Apollos inadvertently had conflicting groups form around them; Corin Mihaila argues that this is not the case and that "Paul's and Apollos' *modus* operandi did not differ

Prisca, and Stephanas, as well as Fortunatos and Achaïkos. In an intellectually cultivated city like Ephesus it is possible that Paul was having similar problems in the Ephesian church as he was in the Corinthian church. Certainly in 2 Corinthians he says that he had been in serious trouble in Asia and had despaired of life (2 Cor 1:8). It is possible that he was imprisoned in Ephesus and wrote at least Philippians from there.[90] Underlying tensions within the Ephesian and Corinthian churches were not necessarily resolved by Paul before his death. 1 Clement is testament to ongoing problems in the Corinthian church in either the latter part of the first or the early second century CE.[91]

1.5.1. The Christian Community and Status

It is apparent from this survey that any participation in the intellectual life of the Greek East by Christians would require them, or at least some of them, to be wealthy enough and of the right kind of status to receive an education. The social status of the early Christians has received a good deal of scholarly attention and there is a certain consensus. As Dale Martin describes, "almost all New Testament scholars admit that although we have evidence that some early Christians enjoyed a high status relative to manual laborers, artisans, the destitute – the majority of the inhabitants of the Roman Empire – probably none of them could be called members of the highest class of the Empire." [92] Martin's argument is that the more affluent members of the Corinthian church fell into the middle area between true elite and poor.[93]

The question arises: how much of this sketch can be applied to the churches in Asia Minor? Kidd found, in regard to the status and wealth of the Christians alluded to in the Pastoral

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enough to cause dissensions in the Corinthian church, *The Paul-Apollos Relationship and Paul's Stance toward Greco-Roman Rhetoric: An Exegetical and Socio-Historical Study of 1 Corinthians 1—4* (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 82—87; 115—118, 193—197; cf. George H. van Kooten provides evidence for disciples of sophists building rivalries, "Rhetorical Competition within the Christian Community at Corinth: Paul and the Sophists," in *Cults, Creeds and Identities in the Greek City after the Classical Age*, ed. Richard Alston, Onno M. van Nijf and Christina G. Williamson (Leuven : Peeters, 2013), 261—288.

[90] Koester, "Ephesos in Early Christian Literature," 122.

[91] See Bart D. Ehrman's discussion on the purpose and dating of 1 Clement, "Introduction," in *The Apostolic Fathers: I Clement. II Clement. Ignatius. Polycarp. Didache*, vol. 1, LCL (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 18—28; more recently L.L. Welborn has argued for a date between 80—140 CE, "The Preface to 1 Clement: The Rhetorical Situation and the Traditional Date," in *Encounters with Hellenism: Studies on the First Letter of Clement*, ed. Cilliers Breytenbach, and L.L. Welborn (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004), 197—216.

[92] Dale B. Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), xvi—xvii.

[93] See L.L. Welborn's discussion on poverty in Roman cities, "The Polis and the Poor: Reconstructing Social Relations from Different Genres of Evidence," in *The First Urban Christians 1: Methodological Foundations*, ed. James R. Harrison, & L.L. Welborn (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 189—243.

Epistles, that "wealthy Christians have established a commanding, if minoritrian, presence within these communities. The virtues found in the Pastoral Epistles and the language used to describe these virtues belong to the upper strata of the imperial municipalities."[94] Recent work done on the status and wealth of the elites in the Greek east by Arjan Zuiderhoek goes a long way to filling in the picture in regard to where the wealthy Christians might be placed in the social strata of their cities. Zuiderhoek in his "Oligarchs and Benefactors: Elite demography and euergetism in the Greek East of the Roman Empire" makes the case that social hierarchies in these cities were very volatile.[95] In this study he argues that urban elites were "inherently unstable groups in genetic terms." As the work of Richard Saller has shown,

> elite parents might either survive all their offspring, which would cause their line to become extinct, or they might perchance end up with a relatively large number of children. This in turn might lead to impoverishment and consequent loss of elite status in the next generation, since, due to the absence of primogeniture in Roman society, the parents' fortune had to be divided equally among all surviving heirs.[96]

He therefore concludes that the turnover among urban elites may have been considerable.[97] It is no surprise that cities "frequently found it difficult to maintain the size of their councils while sticking to the Roman government's requirements that potential new members had to be aged 30, had to come from rich and well established elite families and had to have held—preferably high—office."[98] He argues that it is unlikely that all council members could be recruited via an increase in the number of officers or from wealthy and established families, rather they needed to recruit councillors from inferior social backgrounds, who were not a part of the *ordo*.[99] There is certainly evidence that such people were admitted into the ranks of councillors, but were restricted from important and political roles. What emerges is a picture of the elites of Asia Minor as highly stratified and far from homogenous.[100] He concludes that this had implications for those not a part of the elite, but were potential

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[94] Kidd, *Wealth and Beneficence*, 196.
[95] Zuiderhoek, "Oligarchs and Benefactors," 185—195.
[96] Ibid., 186.
[97] Ibid., 187.
[98] Ibid., 188; Nijf, *The Civic World of Professional Associations*, 22, "they constituted the group which Aristotle describes as *mesoi*, and of which the Romans used the specific term *plebs media*."
[99] Zuiderhoek, "Oligarchs and Benefactors," 187—189.
[100] For a more detailed examination of this see Zuiderhoek, *The Politics of Munificence*, 60—66.

recruits for the *ordo*.[101] It is at this point that we begin to meet those who are potential candidates for the group that Kidd identified as rich benefactors in Christian communities. It is therefore worth quoting Zuiderhoek in full here,

> logic dictates that there should have existed a group of well-to-do-non-elite citizens from whom these new councillors could be recruited. Candidates abound in the sources: rich craftsmen, traders, manufactures, owners of medium sized estates, perhaps even professional men such as doctors, teachers, and rhetoricians. Thus the council of Korykos counted a baker among its members, while at Ephesos a baker was a member of the *gerousia*. At Sardis, the *boule* included a goldsmith, at Hierapolis a purple-dyer, at Smyrna a *paidotribes* (gymnastic trainer), while at Nicomedia and Ephesos we find *naukleroi* (shipowners) among councillors, one of whom, Erastos, was only accepted by the Ephesian *bouleutai* after pressure from Hadrian."[102]

Zuiderhoek goes on to argue that this volatility worked primarily at the level of the individual while the social institutions and ideologies were more or less stable. He makes the case that euergetism offered new families within the *ordo* a chance to establish themselves while it provided the older families the opportunity to "produce durable symbols of their social power that might stand the test of time."[103] The honorific monuments and inscriptions provided a façade of continuity because such continuity was often lacking. Importantly for our concerns, benefaction and associated honours were markers of political legitimacy, "lower-ranking councillors may have been acutely aware of the very limited social distance between themselves and the middling, well-to-do, non-council members from whose ranks they had sprung.[104]

This then affords us a picture of the social strata that we are interested in in relation to the Pastoral Epistles. If we use Zuiderhoek's work as a guide, we see that some may be wealthy and well-to-do, but they not among the elite; yet this status could have been a possibility.[105]

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[101] Zuiderhoek, "Oligarchs and Benefactors," 191.

[102] Ibid., 192; van Nijf, *The Civic World of Professional Associations*, 20—22.

[103] Zuiderhoek, "Oligarchs and Benefactors," 192; van Nijf argues that a similar process was taking place for funeral monuments, *The Civic World of Professional Associations*, 36—38.

[104] Zuiderhoek, "Oligarchs and Benefactors," 193.

[105] As van Nijf points out "wealthy" and "high status" are a matter of perspective, "although many of them [craftsmen and traders] were poor *in the eyes of the senatorial élite* (Cicero describes them…as *egentes*), they were often, in local terms relatively well off. At the highest level, some merged with the propertied class (that is, with those who could afford to live on the labour of others), *The Civic World of Professional Associations*, 21—23; Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 17—19, 52—61.

It is a world marked by competition and exclusivity, much as we have seen in the discussions on the Corinthians' struggles above.[106] Following the logic of Zuiderhoek, it stands to reason that these well-to-do residents of cities, who may have been eligible for admission into the *ordo*, would need an appropriate education.[107] Although not many families would be considered for this elevation, some would lay out the expense needed to provide an appropriate education. And Greek education was fairly uniform, despite local variations in content, length, and methods of study.[108] Children progressed through orderly stages of schooling: teachers taught children to read, write and some basic numeracy, the grammarians taught the student the classics and how to compose written compositions and, finally, the rhetorician taught adolescents the art of rhetoric.[109] In this period, grammarians would prepare students for the rhetorician with introductory exercises called progymnasmata.[110] An education with the grammarian would give a youngster some knowledge of rhetoric.[111] A child would be educated up to the point that his parents' finances would allow.[112] It should not be assumed that children of Christian families would be outside of this schooling. As Judge observes there was no dedicated Christian schooling for children until the fourth century.[113] To receive an education was to make one's way through the Greek education system.

The education that church communities offered was adult education. As Judge argues, the education of children was a matter for families, "it is therefore completely unlikely that any

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[106] As van Nijf points out that even in death there was competition and social distancing "individuals attempted to establish superiority within their own circles by erecting ever more elaborate funerary monuments," *The Civic World of Professional Associations*, 36.

[107] Funerary plots of associations indicate that there was social stratification within associations, ibid., 43—45.

[108] Robert J. Penella, "The Progymnasmata in Imperial Greek Education," *Classical World* 105 (2011): 77—90.

[109] Ibid., 76; Raffaella Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 36—44; Watts, *Academic Life in the Roman Empire*, 1—4.

[110] Penella, "The Progymnasmata in Imperial Greek Education"; George A. Kennedy ed., *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), ix—x.

[111] Kennedy notes, "Indeed, a major feature of the exercises was stress on learning refutation or rebuttal: how to take a traditional tale, narrative, or thesis and argue against it. If anything, the exercises may have tended to encourage the idea that there was an equal amount to be said on two sides of any issue, a skill practiced at a later stage of education in dialectical debate," *Progymnasmata*, x.

[112] "For the average man, education consisted of study at a school of letters. These schools taught basic, functional literacy, and their students left with an education unencumbered by classical reminiscences or arcane rules of grammar and composition. The average student who had attended these schools could presumably read and write enough to get by on a daily basis, but he would certainly never recite poetry with correct inflection or compose orations. These skills were not taught in the schools of letters," Watts, *Academic Life in the Roman Empire*, 2—3.

[113] E. A. Judge, "Conflict of Educational Aims in the New Testament," in *The First Christians in the Roman World: Augustan and New Testament Essays*, ed. James R. Harrison (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 693—708.

provision was made for children in the church. The case of the maintenance of widows makes clear the principle at stake in such matters: a positive duty lay upon the family to provide for its own needs, and the church might only be called in as a substitute where this was impossible."[114] The educational aims of church communities lay beyond this basic schooling; as Judge has argued it was focused on adult education.[115] Judge at first had called this type of community "scholastic," but now suggests that the better term is an "intellectual community."[116] Judge's point is that, while Christians had a unique message (as indeed all schools had), their method of operating as an intellectual community was drawn from models in their larger social context. These same models were also drawn on by Jewish communities as Judge describes "but the very existence of the New Testament, as of Philo and Josephus, shows how closely interlocked the two cultures [Jewish and Greek] were."[117] It is therefore imperative to consider the intellectual context of Asia Minor in studying the Pastoral Epistles as both Christian and Jewish communities were influenced by this larger context.

1.5.2. Associations, Christian Groups, and Intellectual Activities in Asia Minor

There is an enormous challenge in understanding the social context of Asia Minor because of the nature of the evidence. Our prime source of evidence is the inscriptions. At the social level that we are interested in there are numerous inscriptions describing associations of allied tradesmen, such as fisherman, dyers, bakers, and the like.[118] These associations through their collective strength had the ability to negotiate with city officials to gain market advantages, represent their association's interests (even at the imperial level), and practice what today would be called monopolies.[119] They also appear to have met members' spiritual and social needs, as well as providing them with appropriate burials and funerary rites.[120]

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[114] Ibid., 695.

[115] "The Early Christians," 526—552.

[116] In private conversation April 2016.

[117] Judge, "The Reaction Against Classical Education in the New Testament," in *The First Christians in the Roman World: Augustan and New Testament Essays*, ed. James R. Harrison (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 709—716 (711).

[118] Van Nijf, *The Civic World of Professional Associations*, 7—11.

[119] Ibid., 12—18; The salt dealers in P. Mich 5, 245 provide an example for the potential cartel like activities of a trade association in Tebtunis; the city council of Smyrna issued a decree(IK 24.1,712) against a group of ferrymen, who were indulging in price gouging and anticompetitive activities; the money changes at Pergamon were granted a monopoly a surcharge on worn coins (IGR 4, 352); and the silversmiths of Ephesus staged a riot in order to protect their interests (Acts 19:23—28).

[120] Ibid., 8—11, 31—69.

These associations set up inscriptions honouring emperors and civic benefactors.[121] Some associations were set up for the observance of a cult, such as the worship of Dionysus.[122] Synagogues might also be included as a type of association based on affiliation.[123] Closely allied to associations based on affiliations were associations of neighbours along streets or in neighbourhoods.[124]

Wayne Meeks in *The First Urban Christians* made the case that there were important similarities between Christian groups and associations. He concludes that each may have had structures modelled along household arrangements, that some groups had wealthy patrons and that even Christian groups may have catered for funeral arrangements of members (1 Thess 4:13—5:11 and 1 Cor 15:29).[125] He was careful to note that Christian groups did not consciously model themselves on associations; it was the rise of associations that provided an accepted social space for the formation of a socially diverse group joined together by the teaching and traditions of a wise man.[126] Meeks' argument was that members of Paul's circle were people of "high status inconsistency"; in other words, they were upwardly mobile and had achieved a status higher than their attributed status.[127] Zuiderhoek's work supports Meeks' argument; some Christians "were predominantly 'the urban middle-status holders.'"[128] Meeks goes on to make the case that Paul's communities offered resources to offset the deficits that accompanied status inconsistency.[129] And one of those resources was on-going adult education.[130]

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[121] Ibid., 73—128; James R. Harrison, *Paul's Language of Grace in Its Graeco-Roman Context* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 29—33.

[122] Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2003), 31; household based association see A. Vogliano, 'La grande iscrizione Bacchia del Metropolitan Museum: I.' *AJA* 2.37 (1933): 215—231.

[123] For a description of associations based on affiliation see Pierre Debord, "La Lydie Du Nord-Est," *Revue des Études Anciennes* 87.3 (1985), 345—358.

[124] Ibid., 354—355.

[125] Meeks, *The First Urban Christians*, 77—80; Associations providing for funerals and cemeteries, Harland, "Associations and the Economics," 9—10, 13; Tertullian relates that there was a monthly contribution "to feed the poor and to bury [the poor]," *Apology*, 39. 5—6 [Glover & Rendall, LCL].

[126] For the dissimilarities of Christian groups to associations see Meeks, *The First Urban Christians,* 78—80; teaching and traditions of Jesus, 92—93. For evidence of the comparable social mix between associations and Pauline churches see G. Horsley, "The Inscriptions of Ephesos and the New Testament," *NovT* 34 (1992): 105—168;

[127] Meeks, *The First Urban Christians*, 73.

[128] Bruce W. Longenecker, "Socio-Economic Profiling of the First Urban Christians," in *After the First Urban Christians: The Social-Scientific Study of Pauline Christianity Twenty-Five Years Later*, ed. Todd D. Still and David G. Horrell (London; New York: T&T Clark, 2009), 36—59.

[129] Meeks, *The First Urban Christians*, chapters 3—6; Longenecker, "Socio-Economic Profiling of the First Urban Christians," 37—38; the argument for an economic "middle class" in the Roman Empire, see Walter Scheidel,

1.6. Intellectual Activities of Christians

Individual Christians and Christian communities engaged in intellectual activities.[131] Gregory Snyder, in his study on *Teachers and Texts in the Ancient World*, argues that in groups that could be defined as a "school," where written texts were central, there were "individuals able to serve as text-brokers" and these "text brokers" "accordingly occupied a position of power and prestige."[132] Texts were rarely accessed unbrokered; it was expected that "School" texts had to have guides.[133] The School's founder's thought would only become accessible through the performance of the text on any given occasion. Groups interacted with their "School" texts (those that could be described as "text centred") since they "were fundamentally concerned to study, maintain, transmit a discrete set of authoritative texts."[134] While some have thought this means that in Christian circles certain texts were preserved in a "canon" and other literary activities were the purview of the heterodox, it is apparent that Christian groups, like other intellectual groups, "sought to catalogue and organize their texts, maintain them by textual criticism, epitomize, paraphrase, or expand them, write commentaries upon them, and finally, to study them in private and corporately."[135]

What is unclear, however, is when and how historical Paul's letters were reproduced and distributed to other Christian communities.[136] We do know that some letters were being circulated before the end of the first century or early second century since they are quoted and alluded to in the letters of 1 Clement and Ignatius.[137] The collecting, editing, and copying of historical Paul's letters was an important intellectual activity among Christians. Something of a model for circulation of letters might be seen in the Philippians' request for Ignatius'

"Stratification, Deprivation and Quality of Life," in *Poverty in the Roman World*, ed. Margaret E. Atkins and Robin Osborne (Cambridge;New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 40—59.

[130] Meeks, *The First Urban Christians*, 81—84; citing the argument of Judge, "The Conflict of Educational Aims."

[131] H. Gregory Snyder, *Teachers and Texts in the Ancient World: Philosophers, Jews, and Christians* (London: Routledge, 2000), 5—6.

[132] Ibid., 3.

[133] Ibid., 2.

[134] Ibid., 5.

[135] Ibid., 5.

[136] E. Randolph Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing: Secretaries, Composition, and Collection* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 210—223.

[137] Ibid., 22—223; Carl B. Smith, "Ministry, Martyrdom, and Other Mysteries: Pauline Influence on Ignatius of Antioch," in *Paul and the Second Century*, ed. Michael F. Bird and Joseph R. Dodson (London; New York: T&T Clark, 2011), 37—56.

letter collection. Polycarp's covering letter is quite conventional since such letters feature in letter collections.[138] The letters of the New Testament, 1 Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp make it apparent that letter writing was an important intellectual activity in the early church.[139]

1.6.1. The Pastoral Epistles as a Letter Collection

The three letters we call the Pastoral Epistles appear to be a cohesive collection written by one author.[140] These three letters appear together in the earliest manuscripts. Peter Trummer and Jürgen Roloff argued that the letters were conceived as a unit.[141] Some scholars, observing that Titus occurs first in some lists, have argued that either Titus introduces the new program or that 2 Timothy is the concluding letter.[142] These proposals do not impact greatly on the interpretation of the letters. What does impact on the interpretation of the letters is their treatment as a unit, which tends to obliterate the unique character of the individual letters.[143] Many scholars have studied the theology of the Pastorals with little thought for the internal argument that each letter possesses.[144] For example, Roloff asserts that the problems on the ecclesiastical horizon do not change from letter to letter.[145] He argues that there was a double purpose for the corpus; first, to make Paul's authority usable for the present crisis facing the church and secondly, to reinforce the apostle's authority in general.[146] The problem that Roloff faces is to explain the necessity for writing a three letter corpus since the purpose of the corpus, as he describes, could be achieved with 1 Timothy alone. Roloff contextualises the corpus by suggesting that a Pauline school was at work preparing a new edition of Paul's letters and that the addition of a smaller corpus of letters would complete this corpus and make applicable the apostle's

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[138] Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 324—326.
[139] Michael W. Holmes, "Paul and Polycarp," in *Paul and the Second Century*, ed. Michael F. Bird and Joseph R. Dodson (London; New York, 2011), 57—69.
[140] Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 1; Jürgen Roloff, *Der Erste Brief an Timotheus*, EKK (1988), 43.
[141] Peter Trummer, *Die Pastustradition Der Pastoralbriefe*, Beiträge Zur Biblischen Exegese Und Theologie 8 (Frankfurt: P. Lang, 1978), 123; Roloff, *Der Erste Brief an Timotheus*, 43.
[142] Jerome D. Quinn, *The Letter to Titus*. The Anchor Bible 35 (New York: Doubleday, 1990), 7; Wolter, *Die Pastoral briefe als Paulustradition*, 241.
[143] Michael Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and the Second Letter to Timothy*, 61; Other scholars who treat the Pastoral Epistles as a unit: Harding, *Tradition and Rhetoric*, 84; Philip H. Towner, *The Goal of Our Instruction*, JSNT (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 17—18.
[144] For a similar criticism see Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 27—31, 88—89. This is something of a reversal to his *The Goal of Our Instruction*, 34, 17—18.
[145] Roloff, *Der Erste Brief an Timotheus*, 43.
[146] Ibid., 44.

authority for the present circumstances of the church.[147] He suggests a possible motive for the three fold corpus was to give additional witness to the commands of 1 Timothy.[148] For this idea he appeals to Deuteronomy 19:15 extrapolating that the author felt the need for multiple witnesses to prove the testimony of the first witness or letter. He goes on to propose that 2 Timothy was the last in the original order of the corpus because it acts as Paul's last testimony before his death. He then proposes that 1 Timothy was first in the corpus since pastoral Paul speaks directly to the church about their arrangements.[149] Titus merely replicates these instructions. This appears to be mere conjecture as Roloff provides no external evidence for this suggestion. Further, one may wonder why the author felt the need to compose two additional letters as witnesses to historical Paul's authority as an apostle when supposedly others, in his circle, were working on an edition of all his letters. This newly collated and published corpus would surely be enough to establish historical Paul's authority.

There are two problems with Roloff's proposal. The first is that 1 Timothy and 2 Timothy belong to distinctly different types of letter writing. As Roloff acknowledges 2 Timothy is a farewell letter while he calls 1 Timothy a church order letter. [150] This should alert us to the possibility that the author, even if he is addressing the same ecclesiastical situation, may indeed have different purposes in mind for each letter. It should only be after a close examination of both letters beginning with a recognition of their individual letter styles that a scholar could make proposals as to each letter's purpose. Secondly, one can imagine a scenario where the letters were written at various times in the career of one author. It does not follow that since the letters were composed by the same author that he would necessarily composed them as a unit. It is possible that the author wrote the letters at varying times to address varying situations among the same group of Christians. By the same token it is also possible that letters were written by different authors, one imitating the style of the other. [151] The evidence from other collections of pseudepigraphic letters suggests that

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[147] Ibid., 44.
[148] Ibid., 45.
[149] Ibid., 44—45; Lorenz Oberlinner, *Die Pastoralbriefe: Kommentar Zum Zweiten Timotheusbrief*, HTHK (Freiburg; Basel; Wien: Herder, 1995), 1—2.
[150] Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and the Second Letter to Timothy*, 90—112; Fiore, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 8—9.
[151] Oberlinner has argued that 2 Timothy was written by a different author than 1 Timothy or Titus, *Die Pastoralbriefe*, 2—4.

they were written and collected over a period of time.[152] There are such collections in Abraham Malherbe's *The Cynic Epistles*.[153] For instance, the collection of 'Socrates and the Socratics' contain letters by at least three hands; Malherbe thinks Epistle 28 is genuine.[154] In the case of the Pastoral Epistles it cannot be assumed that the letters were written at the same time nor assembled with the intention of creating a metanarrative. Each letter presents itself as a literary whole with a letter opening and closing.[155] Therefore, this thesis will proceed by valuing each letter's integrity as a literary entity.

1.7. An Approach to Reading the Pastoral Epistles

This thesis proposes that the Pastoral Epistles are pseudepigrapha. The historical situation that they address cannot be read directly from the letters themselves as it can be from historical Paul's letters.[156] A model is warranted that takes account of the literary dimension of the pseudepigraphical work. This will be discussed in chapter two. For now we will consider an approach to reading the Pastoral Epistles as historical documents.

1.7.1. Modern Theoretical Approaches to Reading and Analysis

In modern literary studies there has been a move to study literature for its own sake, setting the author aside.[157] In 1946 W. K. Wimsatt Jr. and M. C. Beardsley wrote a very influential article called "The Intentional Fallacy," in which they argued that a work of literature should be considered on its own terms and not by speculating on the author's intention.[158] Their main concern was the study of poetry and the focus of their criticism was on the amount of

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[152] For an overview of these letters see Hans-Josef Klauck, *Ancient Letters and the New Testament: A Guide to Context and Exegesis* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), 108—125; Michael B. Trapp, ed., *Greek and Latin Letters: An Anthology with Translation* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 27—31; see David Trobisch's discussion on the analogous development of the New Testament with other ancient letter collections, *Paul's Letter Collection: Tracing the Origins* (Bolivar, MO: Quiet Waters Publications, 2001), 48—54.

[153] Abraham J. Malherbe, ed., *The Cynic Epistles: A Study Edition*, SBS (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977), 27—29.

[154] *Ancient Epistolary Theorists* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 27; indeed, the evidence suggests that Philemon should be grouped with the Pastoral Epistles, Trobisch, *Paul's Letter Collection: Tracing the Origins*, 25; J. Murphy-O'Connor argues that 2 Timothy was written by Paul, "2 Timothy Contrasted with 1 Timothy and Titus," *RB* (1991): 403—410.

[155] A similar argument is made by Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 27—31.

[156] In this thesis it is assumed that these letters are authentic: Romans, 1 & 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians, and Philemon.

[157] K.J. Vanhoozer, *Is There a Meaning in This Text?: The Bible, the Reader, and the Morality of Literary Knowledge* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1998), 82—85.

[158] W. K. Wimsatt and M.C. Beardsley, "The Intentional Fallacy," *Sewanee Review* 54 (1946): 468—488; for influence see Vanhoozer, *Is There a Meaning in This Text?*, 82—83; a similar view of the author's intention was given by Roland Barthes in 1968, who argued that the author should be considered as dead to the reader, "The Death of the Author," in *Participation*, ed. Claire Bishop (London; Cambridge, MA: Whitechapel & MIT Press, 2006), 41—45.

space that literary critics were devoting to the autobiographical information about the poet in order to understand the poet's intention at varying points in the poem. Their criticism was very particular: they were critical of literary critics who passed off their analysis of an author's psychological state at composition as literary criticism.[159] Their argument "is that judgment of poems is different from the art of producing them."[160] This thesis, however, is not interested in judging the Pastoral Epistles as works of art (which is a legitimate activity); rather, it is interested their production as a matter of historical investigation. [161]

This is a historical study and as such I am interested in the author's communicative action in history. The purpose of the historian is to postulate what kind of circumstances led to a certain decision to act.[162] In regard to 1 Timothy our question is this: what is the author trying to achieve by writing this literary work? In order to answer this question we must understand the author's purpose through his or her literary design— what is being communicated through these words, phrases, and sentences? The object is to build a hypothesis in regard to the author's communicative intention directed at his audience.[163]

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[159] Wimsatt, "The Intentional Fallacy", 476.

[160] Ibid.

[161] The historian and philosopher R.G. Collingwood described the historian's task as "'investigating any event in the past,' [which], 'makes a distinction between what may be called the outside and the inside of an event.' [The outside of an event] is 'everything belonging to it which can be described in terms of bodies and their movements;' for example, 'the passage of Caesar, accompanied by certain men, across a river called the Rubicon' at a certain date. The 'inside' is 'that in it which can only be described in terms of thought;' for example, 'Caesar's defiance of Republican law'. The historian 'is never concerned with either of these to the exclusion of the other'. 'His work may begin by discovering the outside of an event, but it can never end there; he must always remember that the event was an action, and that his main task is to think himself into this action, to discern the thought of the agent' (IH 213)"; cited and discussed in William H. Dray, *History as Re-Enactment: R.G. Collingwood's Idea of History* (New York; Oxford: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1995), 36—37.

[162] Joseph M. Levine, "Intellectual History as History," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 66 (2005): 189—200. Levine, arguing along similar lines as Collingwood, says that the historian of intellectual history is not only concerned about "recovering the discourse" but also, " thinks immediately of more complicated situations that arise out of the practical necessities of life and that stimulate reactions to it. To understand an individual speech act, it would seem necessary somehow to put together both the previous discourse or discourses and the real-life situation as they appear to the speaker. To concentrate attention too exclusively on the former is, I believe, to risk anachronism and abstraction" (190—191).

[163] Whether the author's intention contributes to the reading of a text is a hotly debated issue among language philosophers and literary critics, Sandy Petrey, *Speech Acts and Literary Theory* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 67—69; 74—77. Much of the debate has been conducted within a broader discussion about the relationship between literature and speech-act theory. J.L. Austin was a philosopher of language who was interested in how language could achieve actions not just describe things. He proposed the speech-act theory. In his lectures, he differentiated between the intention of the speaker in his locutionary act (the utterance), as "in the case of promising I must certainly intend", and the performance of the illocutionary act (what is done in saying something), which he argued "is constituted not by intention." His interest was in speech; he saw fiction as parasitic on ordinary speech, J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, ed. J. O. Urmson (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1963), 14, 22, 40—41, 98, 104, 127. Despite Austin's view of literature there have been efforts to apply speech act theory to literature and within this endeavour there has been a debate about the author's intention. Some philosophers and literary critics have argued for illocutionary intentions, including John R.

This can only be achieved if the author and the intended readers are considered as historical persons operating in their socio-cultural-linguistic milieu.

Wimsatt and Beardsley's appeal to study a poem as a work of art is only possible if one understands what a poem is and what the words, phrases, and lines are alluding to.[164] This is only achievable if the critic and the poet belong to the same literary culture.[165] But this is not the case for the modern New Testament reader; we stand outside of the culture of the original writer and readers. Helpful here is the work done by cultural linguists. Gary Palmer and Farzad Sharifian in their introduction to *Applied Cultural Linguistics*, after surveying the research on a number of "languacultures," state that "it seems clear that language is grounded in cultural conceptualisations at every level."[166] As we have seen in our discussion of Kleanax's benefaction, the idea of benefaction is governed by culture, while the language used to discuss this idea is itself a cultural activity. Palmer and Sharifian observe that "speakers take account of [these kinds of] discourse situations, which are structured by culture. Paul Friedrich (1989) referred to this nexus of language and culture as *linguaculture* and Michael Agar (1994) called it *languaculture*."[167] They go on to make an important observation about grammar and discourse,

> Grammar consists of the entrenched commonalities in the structure of conventional utterances. These utterances are composed of symbolic verbal responses to recurrent discourse situations. Discourse, in turn, is embedded in sociocultural institutions. Put in the form of a syllogism, grammar is conventional (but not static); convention is culture; therefore, grammar itself belongs to culture.[168]

The cultural linguist's interest is in learning to speak in another language, rather than being about the theory of language. Cultural linguists have found that learning another language is

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Searle, *Expression and Meaning: Studies in the Theory of Speech Acts* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1979), and Mary Louise Pratt, *Toward a Speech Act Theory of Literary Discourse* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977). Vanhoozer also argues that the author's intended meaning must be taken into account in the interpretation of a text, *Is There a Meaning in This Text?*, 240—254.

[164] Claire J. Kramsch, *Language and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 57—60.

[165] Barthes' description of the author who dies is itself culturally constructed and can only be understood within the context of literary studies, "The Death of the Author," 41.

[166] Gary B. Palmer and Farzad Sharifian, "Applied Cultural Linguistics," in *Applied Cultural Linguistic: Implications for Second Language Learning and Intercultural Communication*, ed. Farzad Sharifian and Gary B. Palmer (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2007), 1—14; a similar discussion is found in Nancy Bonvillain, *Language, Culture, and Communication: The Meaning of Messages*, 4th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003), 1—2, 46—51. Also see the series of papers in Cliff Goddard, ed. *Ethnopragmatics: Understanding Discourse in Cultural Context* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2006).

[167] Palmer and Sharifian, "Applied Cultural Linguistics," 1.

[168] Ibid., 2.

not just a matter of learning the grammatical rules and the vocabulary, since cultural groups develop conceptualisations for almost every aspect of their thought and behaviour.[169] As Sharifian describes, "These are usually referred to as beliefs, norms, customs, traditions, and values, and may not have any 'objective' correlate in the 'external' world. Technically speaking, cultural conceptualisations are *cultural schemas*."[170] We have already met these cultural schemas in the work of Kidd, Hutson, and Harding. At the centre of Palmer and Sharifian's discussion on *cultural schemas* is the idea that "speakers take account of discourse situations." Discourse relates to the "rules, systems and procedures comprise a discrete realm of discursive practices — the order of discourse — a conceptual terrain in which knowledge is formed and produced." [171] An example of discourse is the rules for polite interaction, which we will meet in 1 Timothy.[172] Thus what 1 Timothy is and what it contains is an expression of the *languaculture* of a particular author at a particular moment in time.

1.7.2. Vocabulary and the Meaning of Words

A significant problem in studying 1 Timothy is the vocabulary which does not appear in the rest of the New Testament. Indeed, there is one infinitive which appears to be the author's own invention: ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν (1 Tim 1:3). The unique vocabulary of the Pastorals means that these words have not received the same attention as more frequently appearing words in the New Testament. Further, John Lee in his study *A History of New Testament Lexicography* gave a damning assessment of the state of lexicographical study,

> Yet New Testament lexicography has failed to deliver the results one might expect from such long-sustained attention. Instead of a commodity that provides accurately described meanings and a reliable summation of the relevant data, we have haphazard coverage of the latter and a considerably flawed treatment of the former. The reasons for this outcome have been identified in the foregoing chapters: undue reliance on predecessors, an unsatisfactory method of indicating meaning, interference from translations, and inadequate means of gathering evidence and opinion.[173]

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[169] Farzad Sharifian, "L1 Cultural Conceptions in L2 Learning: The Case of Persian-Speaking Learners of English," in Sharifian and Palmer, *Applied Cultural Linguistics*, 33—51 (34, 45).
[170] Ibid., 34.
[171] Derek Hook makes a distinction between the analysis of discourse as "the material means of possibility" and literary analysis, "Discourse, Knowledge, Materiality, History: Foucault and Discourse Analysis," *Theory and Psychology* 11.4 (2001): 521—548 (525—526); Cf. Palmer and Sharifian, "Applied Cultural Linguistics," 2.
[172] For the cultural embeddedness of politeness see the discussion in Bonvillain, *Language, Culture, and Communication*, 126—137.
[173] John A. L. Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography* (New York: P. Lang, 2003), 177.

Particularly concerning is Lee's detailed description of the history of the most relied upon lexicons in New Testament studies. He demonstrates how flawed and limited is the work upon which all current English New Testament lexicons are built.[174] Lee is particularly critical of the gloss method to convey meaning in the lexical format. The gloss, he says, has value in translation work where one is searching for the closest equivalent meaning in another language. He suggests that a better method is to provide a definition, like the *OED* and the *OLD*. These dictionaries use a "substitution equivalent" strategy in defining a word.[175]

We therefore need a method by which to approach the vocabulary of 1 Timothy. Work done by the New Testament lexicographers will be taken into account, but not relied upon. It is a practical observation that words do not have a single meaning, rather they have a semantic range.[176] This is distinct from the separate dictionary entries that a word may have, indicating discrete senses. For instance, the noun "face" has a different sense in different contexts,

> "Her face was flushed from exercise,"
>
> "The clock face was damaged,"
>
> "The man wanted to save face."

While a connection can be seen between the first two uses of "face," although human faces and clock faces belong to different entities, "saving face" is a metaphor suggesting that the man wanted to preserve his dignity and not feel ashamed in front of other people.[177] We can see that while a dictionary or lexicon can give suggestions for a meaning of a word, it cannot adequately deal with the meaning that a word takes on in a sentence.[178] It is the nature of

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[174] Ibid., 139—151.

[175] Ibid., 160, 184; Greg Horsley has also made similar criticisms, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, (North Ryde, NSW: Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University, 1989), 5:39.

[176] Grant R. Osborne, *The Hermeneutical Spiral: A Comprehensive Introduction to Biblical Interpretation* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1991), 65—66, 75—76, 81—84.

[177] The *Concise Oxford English Dictionary* offers four different senses of the noun "face." Our first example is sense 1. "the front part of a person's head…" This is the 'core sense'; the second example is sense 3. "The surface of a thing…" Our third example is considered a "subsense" of 1 "an aspect: *the unacceptable face of social drinking*," Catherine Soanes and Angus Stevenson, ed., *Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, 11 ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), xvii, 508. The idea of "saving face," or guarding against shame, is fundamentally culturally embedded with meaning and operates in varying ways in different societies, Kramsch, *Language and Culture*, 46—47; Michelle Z. Rosaldo, "Toward and Anthropoly of Self and Feeling," in *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self, and Emotion*, ed. Richard A. Shweder and Robert A. LeVine (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 137—157.

[178] No dictionary can ever hope to cover all nuances that speakers/writers use: the context is the ultimate guide, Osborne, *The Hermeneutical Spiral*, 65—66; actually, there is no inherent meaning in a word as Osborne describes "they function on the basis of convention and practical use in any language system…In other words, the individual term is not the basic unit of meaning. 'As Saussure has shown decisively in one way, and Wittgenstein decisively in another, the meaning of a word depends not on what it is in itself but on its relation

human beings that they are able to follow the meaning of a sentence in speech or text without recourse to the individual meaning of each word, but only if they share the same socio-linguistic culture with the speaker/writer.[179] When a reader comes to a text without this shared culture then a number of steps are needed. The first is to identify which discrete sense a word may have in the context of the text by studying the way the word was used.[180] This is where the work of the lexicographer is helpful. Yet we know that each word will have its own semantic range. However, within a semantic range there is usually some central sense of the word (we will call this the core sense).[181] Considering a word's historical use (diachronic) and its current use (synchronic) will assist the interpreter to appreciate the *languaculture* of the writer and his or her use of a word in any given context.[182] The art of interpretation is to sense the type of nuance that a word is taking on in the context of a sentence. An account of this would make a contribution to Lee's "definition."

Words play a part in a sentence contributing to its meaning through syntax.[183] These sentences in turn relate to conversations that are structured by other sentences.[184] Speakers and readers usually know what the conversation is about and so know what to expect: they just know what the words mean. That is, native speakers have access to the cultural schemas discussed earlier.[185] In our case, faced with the unusual vocabulary of 1 Timothy, we must be careful to determine the conversation that the writer is having with his intended readers. Only then will we have any hope of sharing in their cultural context. In the next chapter we will spend time considering the genre of 1 Timothy in order to begin to understand this context. In relation to 1 Timothy's unique vocabulary, we cannot go to the New Testament to see how the words are working in a similar cultural and literary context. We must seek

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to other words and to other sentences which form its context' (Thiselton 1977:78-79)," *The Hermeneutical Spiral*, 76.

[179] William G. Lycan, *Philosophy of Language: A Contemporary Introduction*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2008), 1—3, 175—177.

[180] Osborne, *The Hermeneutical Spiral*, 81.

[181] The term used in Soanes, *Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, ix; similarly Osborne, *The Hermeneutical Spiral*, 83.

[182] Osborne, *The Hermeneutical Spiral*, 69—71.

[183] Ibid., 81.

[184] I am using the word "conversation" here to distinguish it from discourse as used above. There seems to be a distinction between Hook's "the material means of possibility," "Discourse, Knowledge, Materiality," 525—526, and Vanhoozer's "something said to someone about something," Vanhoozer, *Is There a Meaning in This Text?*, 214.

[185] Cliff Goddard, "Ethnoprgomatics: A New Paradigm," in *Ethnopragmatics: Understanding Discourse in Cultural Context*, ed. Cliff Goddard (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2006), 1—30.

outside the New Testament. In doing so, we will become aware that the author and his intended audience are not just participants in a Christian community, which is a sub-culture, but participants in their broader socio-linguistic community of Asia Minor.[186] We, therefore, need to be finely attuned to the types of conversations that these participants might be having. We can expect themes, motifs, and semantically related words to emerge. In conversations words related semantically are often deployed in constellations, and these are called domains.

Sociolinguist Nancy Bonvillain describes that a semantic domain "is an aggregate of words, all sharing a core meaning, related to a specific topic—for example, kinship terms, body-part words, colors. Words within a domain are united by similarities and contrasts."[187] Fredrick Danker's study, *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field*, is an example of how domains can be used in a historical investigation. He found that across the centuries "the cultural phenomenon of interplay between people of excellence and those on whom they make their impact finds continuous celebration, with a fairly consistent pattern of themes and diction developing in the last five centuries [before Augustus]."[188] He admits that while there is no single referent in Greek or Latin for the English word "benefactor," the concept "breaks into various thematic patterns and comes to linguistic expression in numerous modes and forms."[189] He was able to find connections related to benefaction between the broader cultural schema and the New Testament.[190] In this study, we will be attuned to not only meanings of words, but to discourses, conversations, genres, and domains in order to bring together and observe the interplay between the word, the sentence, and the socio-linguistic community.

1.8. Investigative Plan

As was outlined earlier, the principal objective of this study is to identify the primary strategy within 1 Timothy to counter pastoral Paul's opponents. In order to do this, it is

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[186] Bonvillain describes subcultures as "social networks" in which "members may maintain distinctive forms of speech," *Language, Culture, and Communication*, 143—144; see Meeks' discussion on the use of jargon within Christian communities, *The First Urban Christians*, 93—94; cf. Stanley K. Stowers, "The Concept of 'Community' and the History of Early Christianity," *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 23 (2011): 238—256.
[187] Bonvillain, *Language, Culture, and Communication*, 51.
[188] Danker, *Benefactor*, 27.
[189] Ibid.; Harrison used a similar approach to explore the concept of χάρις and its related vocabulary, *Paul's Language of Grace*, 1—3, 24—25.
[190] Danker, *Benefactor*, 493.

necessary to understand the various cultural elements which the author has employed to achieve this objective to persuade the "certain men" not "to teach the other instruction" (ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν 1 Tim 1:3—4). The first challenge is to understand how writing pseudonymous works could be used as a persuasive device. It is imperative that there is a careful delineation between the historical author and the letter writer, and between the intended readers and the nominated letter recipient. How the author intended to persuade his audience through the device of pseudonymous writing is of interest to us. However, the first step is to understand how pastoral Paul is persuading the implied readers of 1 Timothy. Therefore, the second chapter will survey pseudonymous letter writing and develop a model to assist in investigating the functioning of 1 Timothy at a literary level and at the historical reception level.

In the third chapter, we will advance the case that 1 Timothy is a type of letter from an administrative milieu and how this relates to pastoral Paul and Timothy's father-son relationship. In the fourth chapter we will describe the elements involved in pastoral Paul's command to the "certain men" not to teach the "other instruction." An important conclusion will be made here that the business under discussion is the business of God's household; pastoral Paul and Timothy are a father and son team involved in this business and the command to the "certain men" is to desist in their current occupations and return to the business of God's household. This command is directed at the "certain men," who are teaching another instruction and so in chapter five we will investigate the theme of education in 1 Timothy. It will be seen that the conventional Greek *paideia* (education) has been adapted to suit the Christian ethos. In 1 Timothy pastoral Paul is urging the "certain men" to return to his version of Christian instruction and eschew another *didaskalia* (instruction).

In the last two chapters, six and seven, we will investigate the persuasive strategies that are being used to persuade the "certain men" to comply with pastoral Paul'*s* command. Chapter six will primarily focus on pastoral Paul's example as a positive persuasive strategy while chapter seven will focus on Hymenaeus and Alexander as dissuasive examples. Finally some conclusions about the rhetorical strategy within the letter will be made before turning to consider how 1 Timothy may have worked to persuade the historical intended audience not to take up the "other instruction" (1 Tim 1: 3—4).

Chapter 2
The Author and the Letter

The assumption that the Pastoral Epistles are examples of pseudepigrapha does solve a number of problems: the placement of the letters in the life of historical Paul as known from Acts, their vocabulary and associated syntax, the absence of distinctive Pauline themes, their engagement with the opponents and their teaching, and their picture of church order.[191] However, this identification is in fact a double edge sword. For, while it may solve some problems, it leaves the interpreter with a far more complex interpretative situation than if the letters were written by the historical Paul. If the author of the Pastorals is not historical Paul then he (presumably) is shadowing himself behind the mask of a literary Paul. In doing so he is creating his own expression of who Paul is to him or perhaps, more importantly, who he thinks Paul should be to his readers. No doubt scholars who maintain historical Paul's authorship would feel that they avoid this kind of complexity, opting for Ockham's simpler explanation. However, this thesis proposes that the writing processes of the pseudonymous letter writer or the letter writer writing as himself/herself are equivalent. What is needed in the case of the Pastorals, and more specifically 1 Timothy, is a careful analysis of the literary relationship between the author and his audience. What will be put forward at the end of this analysis is a model of letter writing that can take into account the pseudonymity of the letter writer.

2.1. Letter Writing, Self-fashioning, and the Fiction of Personal Presence

Patricia Rosenmeyer, in her book *Ancient Epistolary Fictions,* contends that "the letter writer thus is free to present himself in whatever light he wishes (within the limits of probability or believability), and he is most likely to offer a picture which will have a specific targeted effect, whether negative or positive on his reader…Letter writing is inherently 'fictional' in that the writer can create himself anew every time he writes."[192] This fictionality is not confined to letter writing alone and has been discussed in other non-fiction genres, both modern and ancient. Paul John Eakin, in discussing autobiographical writing, says that "autobiographical truth is not a fixed but an evolving content in an intricate process of self-

[191] Harding, "The Pastoral Epistles," 335—346.
[192] Patricia A. Rosenmeyer, *Ancient Epistolary Fictions: The Letter in Greek Literature* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 10—11.

discovery and self-creation, and, further, that the self that is the center of all autobiographical narrative is necessarily a fictive structure." [193] This creation of self was noted by Georg Misch (1907) in his discussion of autobiography in antiquity saying, "It is an admitted psychological fact that remembrance does not proceed as mechanical reproduction but tends to creation. Hence autobiographies are not to be regarded as objective narratives. To regard them as merely sources of special historical information is usually to misconceive the character of this *genre*."[194]

The projection of a self was well recognised by the Romans, who, as Peter Hermann observed, "knew nothing of the pleasure of giving an honest and unvarnished account of one's own experiences and so providing enjoyment for the reader; their autobiographies … always pursed a political aim: they set out to create opinion in their favour, and in favour of their memory."[195] However, this is not to say that Roman statesmen were unaware that a sense of decorum was needed and not to "sing [their] own praises."[196] Their way around this was to write a non-literary work and to pass this on for a historian or poet to shape as a literary work. This is the case for Julius Caesar's commentaries in which he avoided rhetorical adornment.[197] However, the effect of their simplicity was to make them all the more readable and therefore worthy of preservation as they were, as Cicero noted,

> they are like nude figures, straight and beautiful; stripped of all ornament of style as if they had laid aside a garment. His aim was to furnish others with material for writing history, and perhaps he has succeeded in gratifying the inept, who may wish to apply their curling irons to his material; but men of sound judgement he has deterred from writing, since in history there is nothing more pleasing than brevity clear and correct (*Brutus*, 262 [Hendrickson and Hubbell, LCL]).

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[193] Paul John Eakin, *Fictions in Autobiography: Studies in the Art of Self Invention* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 3; cf. Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 12—13. Note W.E.B. Du Bois' confession in his autobiography that "memory fails especially in small details, so that it becomes finally but a theory of life (12—13)."

[194] Georg Misch, *A History of Autobiography in Antiquity*, trans. E.W. Dickes, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1950), 11.

[195] *Die geschichtl. Literatur über die römische Kaiserzeit*, Book II, 201, as translated in Misch, *A History of Autobiography in Antiquity*, vol. 1, 233.

[196] Ibid., 237.

[197] Ibid., 237—238.

When it came to his own autobiographical endeavours, Cicero provided prosperity with a series of works.[198] In his *Hypomnema* he undertook only the compilation of material, which he then passed onto Posidonius for finishing.[199] However, the lauded vision of simplicity was not extended to his own work as Plutarch was compelled to point out in his biography of Cicero (*Cicero*, 24.1—3). His subject's weakness for self-praise was unabashed.

Cicero's self-fashioning was not confined to his autobiographical works, but is also evident in his letters.[200] Soledad Correa suggests that Cicero configures himself as the exemplary gentleman as he travels to his post in Cilicia,

> In other respects I often blame my mistake in not having found some method of escape from this flood of affairs. The business is little suited to my tastes. It is a true saying. 'Cobbler, stick to your last.' You will say: 'What already? You have not yet begun your work.' Too true, and I fear worse is to come. I put up with things with cheerful brow and smiling face; but I suffer in my heart of hearts. There is so much ill temper and insolence, such stupid folly of every kind, such arrogant talk and such sullen silence to be put up with every day. I pass over this, not because I wish to conceal it, but because to explain is difficult. You shall marvel at my self-restraint when I return home safe. I have so much practice in the virtue (*Atticus* 5.10 [Winstedt, LCL]).

Correa comments,

> Una vez más podemos ver en funcionamiento el control que el remitente ejerce sobre su propia imagen, por cuanto lo que acaece intimis sensibus no se refleja fronte. Esto se ve reforzado, asimismo, a partir de la reticentia (sic) con que se alude a la supuesta sordidez o vulgaridad del ambiente que lo rodea, lo que pone de manifiesto otro rasgo propio de la configuración del discurso ejemplar, es decir, el hecho de que el exemplum está lejos de prestarse a una adhesión sin fisuras (Roller 2004, 34). Más adelante en la misma carta menciona brevemente su paso por Atenas. Esta rápida mención le permite, por una parte, desplegar su capital cultural presentándose como

[198] Ibid., 248—249.
[199] Ibid., 249; cf. Cicero, *Att.*, 1.20.6; 2.1. 1—2.
[200] Cicero, *Att*. 5.1—15; S. Correa, "Cicero Imperator: Estrategias De Autofiguración Epistolar En El Viaje a Cilicia (Cic., *Att*. 5. 1—15)," *Revista de Estudios Sociales* 44 (2012): 48—61; William G. Doty, *Letters in Primitive Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1973), 2.

un hombre de letras, subrayando a qué tipo de asuntos está en mejores condiciones de dedicarse (o rem minime aptam meis moribus!).[201]

Cicero is shaping his persona aboard as he engages with locals, as well as fashioning an epistolary self for consumption back home.

Luther Stirewalt, in his survey of ancient Greek letters, observes that even in normative settings (as he describes letters written to be sent) that "the writer models the letter's reception…he is engaged in creative activity through the medium of a letter."[202] In this work he attempts to distinguish between actual correspondence between people, his "normative letters" and "extended letters," those letters that are written for a community and are in a sense public, and fictitious letters.[203] Rosenmyer agrees with Stirewalt's observation that letter writers are engaged in a creative activity, but finds that this very observation undermines his distinctions between "normative," "extended," and "fictitious."[204] The difficulty is that even normative letter writers choose to reveal and conceal creating a persona as the fictitious writer does, and so "all letter writers consciously participate in the invention of their personas; there is no such thing as an unself-censored, 'natural' letter, because letters depend for their very existence on specific, culturally constructed conventions of form, style, and content."[205] Similarly, Stanley Stowers observed that ancient epistolary theorists said that authors of letters were writing as if they were speaking to the other face to face and in so doing were fictionalising the personal presence of both.[206] This observation, he argues, helps us to understand the categories of letters described by ancient

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[201] Correa, "Cicero Imperator", 58; "Once more we can see in operation the control that the sender applies to his/her own image, therefore what occurs in an intimate sense is not reflected openly. This is reinforced, at the same time/also, from the reticence with which the supposed immorality or vulgarity of the environment that surrounds him is referred to, which shows another trait characteristic of the configuration of the model speech, that is, the fact that the exemplar is far from lending itself to being adhered to without any rift/questioning (Roller 2004, 34) Further on in the same letter he mentions briefly his visit to Athens. This quick mention allows him, on the one hand, to display his cultural capital, introducing himself as a learned man, man who has literary knowledge, emphasising what type of matters he is better suited to devote himself," translation by Cintia Agosti, Macquarie University, 2016.

[202] M. Luther Stirewalt, *Studies in Ancient Greek Epistolography* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 3; also cited in Rosenmeyer, *Ancient Epistolary Fictions*, 9.

[203] Stirewalt, *Studies in Ancient Greek Epistolography*, 1—3.

[204] *Ancient Epistolary Fictions*, 9—10.

[205] Ibid., 10.

[206] Stanley K. Stowers, "Social Typification and the Classification of Ancient Letters," in *The Social World of Formative Christianity and Judaism: Essays in Tribute to Howard Clark Kee*, ed. Jacob Neusner (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 78—90 (79).

epistolary theorists which in turn helps to explain the kinds of things we meet in ancient letters, whether fictional or not. It is worth quoting him in full,

> Ancient theorists of letter writing denied that the letter was a type of literature and asserted that it was instead a substitute for personal presence. The handbooks follow this fiction of personal presence in their specification of letter types. They describe each type of letter by sketching a social situation with its characteristic action and social relationships. In the letter, social situations that normally occur in face-to-face encounters are rendered as literature. The handbooks typify those social situations in their descriptions and sample letters. These sketches served letter writers like plot outlines to be used on appropriate occasions….
>
> The theory of epistolary types requires that the writer compose according to generic patterns that must fit the circumstances of the author's particular situation in writing. Demetrius' discussions of types make it clear that the 'author's particular situation' would include his social relationship to the recipient of the letter, the current status of the relationship, and the particular occasion for writing.[207]

The letter writer is therefore provided with a conventional plot upon which to elaborate. Even the most basic education would allow a writer to do this.[208] Although rhetoricians did not think of letter writing as a part of rhetoric, many of the types in the handbooks of letter writing correspond to genres in rhetoric.[209] For instance, letter types such as blaming, commending, admonishing, thanking and so on belong to epideictic rhetoric, while the advising letter is most clearly deliberative. All of these relate to instances of social occasions where certain types of socially prescribed interactions occur. Importantly, Stowers points out that the letter is an extension of this interaction saying, "the body [of the letter] is not mere information to be communicated but rather a medium through which a person performs an action or a social transaction with someone from whom he or she is physically separated."[210]

For the person wishing to engage in a particular social interaction through the medium of a letter, the socially recognised script proved a basis through which to communicate particulars. Each individual communication act is unique and the types described in the

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[207] Ibid., 81—82.
[208] Ibid., 83.
[209] Abraham J. Malherbe, ed., *Ancient Epistolary Theorists* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 3—4, 6—7.
[210] Stowers, "Social Typification," 85.

handbooks are ideals simplifying actual practice.[211] In the creative act of producing a letter, to meet the individual social and communication needs, writers invariably combined types.[212] If the generic types were available for the genuine letter writer they were equally available to the pseudonymous author as well.[213] The social situation envisaged by a pseudonymous letter writer clothed in character would facilitate the selection of the appropriate letter type or types. Into this frame of reference he or she would be able to relate his or her unique message to their imagined recipient. The actual mechanics of the pseudonymous author and the genuine letter writer are virtually identical. Evidence suggests that letter writing in schools was taught, in part, by a method of impersonation similar to rhetorical declamations where youngsters gave speeches on fictional themes often in character.[214] Therefore the identification of the writer of a letter as pseudonymous is of little consequence in the judgement of that letter's genre, communication devices such as the use of rhetoric, and even references to social situations. All are shaped and constrained by the social interaction envisaged by the writer.

In the case of 1 Timothy and other Pastoral Epistles, the identification of the writer as pseudonymous does not move the interpretative enterprise very far. Indeed, as argued in the previous chapter it has perhaps impeded this activity. The relationship of the author of 1 Timothy to his literary production needs to be carefully outlined. Here we will turn to discuss the author and his relationship to the text.

2.2. The Author

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[211] Ibid., 86.

[212] Libanius' "mixed letter" (4, 45) provides a window into the application of his advice, in Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists*, 67, 73.

[213] Rosenmeyer found that many of the letters from pseudonymous letter collections "are familiar from taxonomies of letter writing," *Ancient Epistolary Fictions*, 203.

[214] Carol Poster, "A Conversation Halved: Epistolary Theory in Greco-Roman Antiquity," in *Letter-Writing Manuals and Instruction from Antiquity to the Present: Historical and Bibliographic Studies*, ed. Carol Poster, and Linda C. Mitchell (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), 21—51; cf. W. Bloomer, "Schooling in Persona: Imagination and Subordination in Roman Education," *Classical Antiquity* 16 (1997): 57—78; Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists*, 6—7. See Quintilian, *The Orator's Education* 2.10.1—7 for a description of declamation; Elder Seneca describes exercises where he considers the actions of Agamemnon and Cicero, *Suasoriae,* 3, 6, and 7; Craig A. Gibson, "Learning Greek History in the Ancient Classroom: The Evidence of the Treatises on Progymnasmata," *Classical Philology* 99 (2004): 103—29. Gibson describes the influence of declamation exercises on history writing.

By the Roman imperial period, imaginative compositions of letters from great historical figures had become a part of the training in rhetoric.[215] There was an interest in classicising and a fascination for documents of the past. Numerous letters and letter collections appeared that purported to be the personal correspondence of great men such as Aristotle, Crates, Isocrates, Plato, Socrates and the Socratics, Xenophon, and Zeno just to name a few.[216] Rosenmeyer suggests that the "principal impulse" that lay behind the "role playing of a pseudonymous letter writer" was to gain a "glimpse into the glorious Greek past from a more personal angle, and the illumination of a particular historical figure."[217] She goes on to say that the goal of the pseudonymous letter writer was "to work the bones of a biography into a compelling life story. He was both scholar and creative artist, researching historical material in order to define the bounds of the tradition, and using his imagination to elaborate creatively and dramatically on that tradition."[218]

Against such a background the creation of the Pastorals as a letter collection does not seem extraordinary. Here we must be cautious because the motivation of the authors of such letter collections cannot be construed. As Rosenmeyer warns, "while I do not believe that we can uncover the primary 'intent' of these pseudonymous writers any more than we can uncover their identities, we have insufficient information about their impact upon their contemporaries…to conclude that the authors wished to pass themselves off as the genuine article."[219] She echoes Ronald Syme's caution not to describe these letters as "forgeries" since the reason for the invention is unclear to us and the deceit, if any was intended, "may actually be intended to be seen through sooner or later."[220] Here I follow Rosenmeyer in the use of the term "pseudonymous" to refer to "an anonymous author who writes under an assumed name which…usually belongs to a well-known historical figure. This term remains neutral about the intention of the author to deceive or not to deceive his audience."[221]

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[215] Rosenmeyer, *Ancient Epistolary Fictions*, 197.
[216] See Rudolf Hercher for a more comprehensive list of letter collections, *Epistolographi Graeci* (Paris: A.F. Didot, 1873), passim.
[217] *Ancient Epistolary Fictions*, 197.
[218] Ibid., 198—199.
[219] Ibid., 195.
[220] Ronald Syme, "Fraud and Imposture," in *Pseudepigrapha I*, ed. Kurt von Fritz (Vandœuvres-Genéve: Foundation Hardt, 1972), 3—17,
[221] Rosenmeyer, *Ancient Epistolary Fictions*, 196; Wolfgang Speyer, in relation to Jewish and Christian pseudepigrapha, located the author's intent in the concept of religious inspiration, "Fälschung, Pseudepigraphische Freie Erfindung Und 'Echte Religiöse Pseudepigraphie'," in *Pseudepigrapha I*, ed. Kurt von Fritz (Vandœuvres-Genéve: Foundation Hardt, 1972), 331–366 (333—336); *Die Literarische FäLschung Im*

1 Timothy and the other Pastorals, however, are atypical in comparison with other pseudonymous letter collections mentioned. While other letter collections are difficult to date and their intended audiences can only be assumed to be a general audience of reasonably educated of people living in the late Hellenistic or Roman imperial period, the Pastoral Epistles have an abundance of clues about their date, the location of the writing, the community that gave rise to them, their intended audiences, and even about their pseudonymous author. Ironically, it is this wealth of information that led some scholars to over analyse the letters. There is often a neglect of the letters themselves as various parts are deemed to be fictitious and discarded as irrelevant.[222] Such an approach betrays an attitude that sees the Pastorals as data from which to reconstruct a history of the post-Pauline church.[223] Their actual status as literary entities falls by the way.[224] Further, those who consider these letters as authored by the historical Paul also fail to appreciate their unique status.[225] While often arguing that their style is derived from their singular addressees, Timothy and Titus, commentators in this camp often do little to show how letters addressed to individuals differ in practice from those addressed to communities.[226] Without any clear idea of how or in what way individually addressed letters differ, their only recourse is to treat the Pastorals as extensions of historical Paul's communally addressed letters.[227] This inadvertently leads to treating the letters as a series of units, as Lewis

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Heidnischen Und Christlichen Altertum: Ein Versuch Ihrer Deutung (München: Beck, 1971), 150—168, 176—179. Meade, *Pseudonymity and Canon*, 118—138, 160—161; cf. Terry Wilder, "Pseudonymity, the New Testament, and Pastoral Epistles," in *Entrusted with the Gospel: Paul's Theology in the Pastoral Epistles*, ed. Andreas J. Köstenbeger and Terry L. Wilder (Nashville: B&H Academic, 2010), 28—51.

[222] Dibelius and Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 5—8.

[223] That is, seeing the Pastoral Epistles as a resource of liturgy, theology, hymns, leadership models etc. see Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy*, 129; Dibelius and Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 8; A.T. Hanson, *Pastoral Epistles*, esp. 110—120.

[224] Similarly Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy*, 67—69.

[225] Ibid., 68.

[226] Towner makes this case relying on the argument of the royal mandata as proposed by L. T. Johnson (criticised by M.M. Mitchell— see chapter 3), but in the end has to concede that "it is not yet clear that there existed something as firm as a mandate-letter genre that might have served as a template," *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 33—35 (35); cf. Luke Timothy Johnson, *Letters to Paul's Delegates: 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus*, The New Testament in Context (Valley Forge, PA: Trinty Press International, 1996), 139—142; A similar argument holds if the proposal is for a different secretary, Kelly, *Pastoral Epistles*, 24—27, 34.

[227] This is especially the case in the discussion on 1 Timothy 2:8—15, Paul W. Barnett, "Wives and Women's Ministry (1 Timothy 2:11—15)," *EQ* 61 (1989): 225—238; Douglas Moo, "What Does It Mean Not to Teach or Have Authority over Men? 1 Timothy 2:11—15," in *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood*, ed. J. Piper and W. Grudem (Wheaton: Crossway Books, 1991), 179—193; Thomas R. Schreiner, "Women in Ministry: Another Complementarian Perspective," in *Two Views on Women in Ministry*, ed. Stanley N. Gundry (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2005), 263—322; cf. Towner provides a more nuanced approach, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 193—194.

Donelson observes, “the Pastorals are dissected into pieces and then each piece is examined in turn.”[228] This actually undoes their original appeal to the uniqueness of the letters and still leaves the question of their style unanswered.

It can be seen that a proposal for dealing with the authorship is of the utmost importance in coming to grips with 1 Timothy as a uniquely crafted literary entity. This thesis proposes that a model derived from modern literary theory would best address the issues at hand. The assumption is that the author of the Pastorals is a pseudonymous author. As we saw in the above discussion on letter writing in the ancient world, the letter writer would inject a persona, a fiction in itself, into the letter that was intimately connected with his or her message.

In the pseudonymous letter there are at least two authors: one of reality and one of fiction. There is the pseudonymous author who held the pen or who dictated the words. Then there is the writer as he appears to be in the letter: the great man. He is the one the pseudonymous author hopes his readers will see and that they will not, at least straight away, see him as the one who holds the pen. Here it is worthwhile to lay out the parties involved in the process of creation and reception of the pseudonymous letter. The parties concerned are both flesh and blood and fictional:

- There is the pseudonymous author—the historical person.
- The portrayed letter writer, a fictional character,
- The addressee of the letter, usually fictional as well,
- It is possible that there is a secondary audience to the person addressed. These are those implied by the letter to be looking over the shoulder of the addressee,
- The intended audience; that is, those who the pseudonymous author has in mind. These are actual people, but at the time of writing are in the pseudonymous author’s imagination (more about this later),
- The readers of the letter for whom the work was written, in that moment when they read or hear the letter,
- The readers who are secondary to the intended readers. This group includes the present twenty first century readers.

[228] Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy*, 68; Cf. Kidson, "1 Timothy: An Administrative Letter," 97—116.

As can be seen the device of the pseudonymity is complex. The complexity, though, is hidden beneath the orchestration of the letter like a theatre performance.[229] Behind the stage lies sets, props and costumes, but on stage the simplicity of human enactment catches the audience up in a world that is at once recognisable, but beyond what can be gained in the everyday. The same theatricality of the stage appears to be at play in the pseudonymous letter.[230] The attraction for the letter reader is entering into a world that in everyday life is unobtainable.[231] The effect is worth the author's effort at orchestration.

2.3. The Implied Author

The portrayed writer in a pseudonymous letter, like the actor, speaks and acts in character. In literary theory it is tempting to ally this portrayed writer as the implied author. Wayne Booth introduced this concept in his study of narrative rhetoric saying, "it is evident that in *all* written works there is an implied narrator or 'author' who 'intrudes' in making the necessary choices to get his story or his argument or his exposition written in the way he desires. He decides to tell this story rather than any other story."[232] The idea of the implied author made a deep impression on literary critics and seemed to offer a suitable formulation in the description of literary works and their interpretation. However, Tom Kindt and Hans-Harald Müller in their 2006 exposition of the concept found that it was not clearly defined by Booth, who, even in the same work, did not make clear whether the "implied author" was the creation of the real author or if it was creation of the readers through supposition.[233] Kindt and Müller argue that this methodological gap resulted in varying responses and formulations of the concept such that the term "implied author" was not consistent and led to competing suggestions.[234] Yet Kindt and Müller's historical survey leaves no doubt that varying aspects of Booth's "implied author" have proved useful for those discussing the theory of interpretation and the practical description of narrative works.[235] They suggest

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[229] Snyder, *Teachers and Texts in the Ancient World*, 1—2.
[230] See Rosenmeyer's chapter 'The Letters of Alciphron' for a discussion on the interweaving of the theatrical and fictional letters, *Ancient Epistolary Fictions*, 255—307.
[231] Ibid., 197—199.
[232] Wayne C. Booth, "The Self-Conscious Narrator in Comic Fiction before Tristram Shandy," *PMLA* 67 (1952): 163—185 (164).
[233] T. Kindt and H. Müller, *The Implied Author: Concept and Controversy* (Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 60.
[234] Ibid., 60, 65—67, 151.
[235] Ibid., 181; Nilli Diengott, "The Implied Author in the Conceptual Context of Hypothetical Intentionalism: A Good Explication of the Concept? On Kindt and Müller's the Implied Author: Concept and Controversy," *Journal of Literary Semantics* 39 (2010): 183—188.

that the term be abandoned and replaced, but the moral of their study seems to be that any discussion that utilises a concept of an implied author needs to clearly define what the term means and how it works for that interpretation.

Kindt and Müller's principal criticism of Booth's concept is that the conflict between whether the term "stood for the self-image of the author or the author-image of the reader."[236] Kindt and Müller argue that this is contradictory. They advocate the use of the concept as articulated by those who support hypothetical intentionalism, quoting Levinson,

> given this notion [implied author], then instead of speaking of beliefs and attitudes that would be *reasonably attributed* to the actual author on the basis of the work contextually grasped, we can speak of the beliefs or attributes that just straightforwardly *belong* to the implied author— he or she is being a construction tailor-made to bear them.[237]

However, their focus was entirely on narrative fictional works and this seems to obscure the thought that in the one concept both the author and recipient could reach across and join together to conceive of the one entity.[238] The previous discussion on the created writer of the pseudonymous letter demonstrates the need for a concept in which the actual author creates a writing self for the audience to construct, which by necessity they need to construct for the work to succeed. In fictional narratives the author remains obscure outside of the world of the story, while in correspondence there is a direct connection between the author and text. The success of ancient fictional letters is that they rely on the notion that the letter writer inevitably reveals themselves to the reader.[239]

The phenomenon that we are discussing here is closely related to the construction of a self in autobiography that we began this chapter discussing. James Phelan in his article on the implied author in non-fiction narrative argues for the use of the implied author in interpreting narrative non-fiction because it is "a much more persuasive and elegant model of autobiographical narration, one that allows us to unpack the complex 'project of self-

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[236] Kindt and Müller, *The Implied Author*, 60.
[237] Jerrold Levinson, "Messages in Art," in *The Pleasures of Aesthetics. Philosophical Essays*, ed. J. Levinson (Ithaca, NY; London: Cornell UP, 1996), 175—213, cited in Kindt and Müller, *The Implied Author*, 174—175.
[238] James Phelan, "The Implied Author, Deficient Narration, and Nonfiction Narrative: Or, What's Off-Kilter in 'the Year of Magical Thinking' and 'the Diving Bell and the Butterfly'?" *Style: A Quarterly Journal of Aesthetics, Poetics, Stylistics, and Literary Criticism* 45 (2011): 119—137 (125).
[239] Demetrius, *Eloc.* 227; Rosenmeyer, *Ancient Epistolary Fictions*, 198.

narration' and the temporal connections between narrating –and narrated –I's. The historical –I of the real author remains ultimately inaccessible; the narrating –I retains the potential for maximal dynamism."[240] Phelan goes on to list the various "I's" of autobiography, but only two need concern us here— the historical author and the narrating "I". The narrating "I" is the "I" of the letter; for example, the young student Theon writes to his father, "If you won't take me with you to Alexandria, I won't write you a letter or speak to you or say goodbye to you; and if you go to Alexandra I won't take your hand nor ever greet you again."[241] As Rosenmeyer points out, this letter relies for its effect on the manipulation of epistolary conventions. This piece of "epistolary blackmail," as she calls it, demonstrates the contention that the letter writer is at liberty to offer a picture which will have a targeted effect.[242]

In the pseudonymous letter the fiction of the implied author is almost complete with the author assuming the character of the nominated letter writer. Here, however, the author of modern fiction and the ancient pseudonymous author can be distinguished. While the modern fiction writer writes principally to entertain or enliven the senses, many pseudonymous authors in the ancient world wrote to instruct. The author takes on the cloak of character for a purpose. The intention of the author then comes into play in a way that it does not in narrative fiction. Here Phelan's model is useful as he locates the intentionality in "the agency of the implied rather than the flesh-and-blood author."[243] Phelan argues that this location helps explain "the complicated authorial agency in collaborative and ghost-written texts as well as that in hoaxes and fraudulent memoirs" since "conceiving of the implied author as a version of the flesh-and-blood author responsible of the purposeful design governing the text also means that the implied author is an active agent rather than simply the product of the text or the readers' inferences. We ought not to confuse how we come to know an implied author with the implied author herself."[244] The strength of this is that instead of attempting to reconstruct the intention of a flesh-and-blood author, who has deliberately hidden himself, the intention rests in the character assumed by the

[240] Phelan, "The Implied Author," 121, in response to Smith, *Reading Autobiography*.
[241] Theon to his father Theon, P.Oxy. I 119, 2nd/3rd C. CE.
[242] Rosenmeyer, *Ancient Epistolary Fictions*, 34.
[243] Phelan, "The Implied Author," 127.
[244] Ibid., 128.

pseudonymous author and made public by his textualised intentions.[245] Phelan is able to sidestep the "intentional fallacy" by distinguishing between intentions and meaning arguing that "intentionality operates at a global level." This allows the interpreter to "recognize that not every sentence…will necessarily contribute to the positive realization of the [constructive] design."[246]

The strength of locating the responsibility for the design of the text with the implied author is that it allows the interpreter to perceive the decisions made by the author in character in the case of the pseudonymous letter. Phelan describes intentionally operating at a global level. He argues that the intention of the implied author can be judged by observing "the purposeful design of the narrative."[247] While Phelan sees the purposeful design in the structure of a text, it must also be applicable to the choice of text type or genre. The decision to write a letter is the first choice that an implied author makes that is discernible. The kind of letter he chooses to write then places himself and his audience on mutual ground. As discussed above, the conventions displayed in the letter form relate to readily recognisable social interactions. As Stowers describes, the letter is an extension of this interaction so that it becomes the "medium through which a person performs an action or a social transaction with someone from whom he or she is physically separated."[248] The writer of the letter is present through the medium of the text, presenting himself, as we have described, in a recognisable social interaction. The success of the pseudonymous author relies on his ability to construct not only his character but also the social interaction (fictional though it is) between himself and his addressee that would be anticipated from the type of letter chosen. The choices that are made for each structural element of the text are important for the success of the letter and the hoped for effect on the audience.[249] This is true whether the author is writing genuine correspondence or writing pseudonymously. Of course, the more skilled the author, the more his design will contribute to his overall purpose. But as we saw even the schoolboy Theon can coordinate elements of design that contribute to his over-all purpose.

[245] Ibid., 127.
[246] Ibid., 126.
[247] Ibid., 126.
[248] Stowers, "Social Typification," 85.
[249] Phelan, "The Implied Author," 126.

2.4. The Implied Audience

The choices that the letter writer makes are in the context of a social interaction. The letter writer addresses his addressee as if speaking to him or her. This is the fiction of presence. Walter Ong described the writer's audience as a fiction in at least two ways. First, "the writer must construct in his imagination, clearly or vaguely, an audience cast in some sort of role—entertainment seekers, reflective sharers of experience…inhabitants of a lost and remembered world of prepubertal latency…" and secondly, "the audience must correspondingly fictionalize itself. A reader has to play the role in which the author has cast him, which seldom coincides with his role in the rest of actual life."[250] There are two dimensions to Ong's fictional audience. One constructed by the author and the other by the readers.

Ong's insights into the fictionalising of an audience in 1975 went on to shape research and discussion on writing in various fields. Alecia Magnifico in her article "Writing for Whom? Cognition, Motivation and a Writer's Audience" (2010) surveyed this research on writing in the fields of psychology, rhetorical studies, and social studies and concluded that an "audience as an abstract concept ("writing for readers") helps the writer to internally frame her individual thoughts, intuitions, and plans about the writing…whereas audience as a social group of readers ("sharing writing with readers") provides external feedback about how that writing communicates ideas, arguments, or stories in the world."[251] She found that the selection of genre helped writers to understand their audience and that "writers signal readers to make specific types of interpretations by tapping into common situations, phrasings, tropes, and even vocabulary."[252] Cognitive studies have also found that genre or "*schemata for different types of writing*" was important and that expert writers search "through their memories and writing-related schemata to gain an understanding of the writing task that they plan to accomplish and what information will be useful as they begin to work."[253] Expert writers will polish their writing with their audience in mind so that the audience becomes an external element much like the purpose and the form that guides

[250] Walter J. Ong, "The Writer's Audience Is Always a Fiction," *PMLA* 90 (1975): 9—21 (12).
[251] Alecia M. Magnifico, "Writing for Whom? Cognition, Motivation, and a Writer's Audience," *Educational Psychologist* 45 (2010): 167—184 (176).
[252] Magnifico, "Writing for Whom?" 170, referring to Jerome S. Bruner, *The Culture of Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996).
[253] Magnifico, "Writing for Whom?" 171.

thinking and memory in the act of writing.[254] Sociocultural scholars have focused attention on the writer's position in the world, since writing is always "interpretive and always intertwined with the writer's language community, social position, values, and actions in the world."[255] J. P. Gee argued that people learn more than just language but also what he called "Discourses" or "'ways of being in the world' – as they learn and interact with others and work to become members of different communities of practice."[256] Expert writers are not just experts in genres and conventions, or what might be called "small-d discourse," but are also experts in "interacting socially with a specific writing community and taking on its Discourse of situated practices and specific ways of thinking, talking, writing, acting, believing, and being."[257] These studies in the writing process, in particular the formation of the writer's audience, gives us an empirical basis on which to begin any study of pseudonymous letter writing. This paths the way for investigating Stowers' social interaction model of letter writing by not just allowing us to see the selection of letter types, but it also provides us with a key to understand the broader Discourse of a community.

The second aspect of Ong's proposed fictionalised audience is the role the audience is cast in and called on to play. Peter Rabinowitz, in his discussion on modern narrative, calls this process the authorial reading. He makes the point that literary conventions are "not in the text waiting to be uncovered, but in fact *precede* the text and make discovery possible in the first place."[258] He too highlights the importance of the shared community between the author and the reader saying, "in the case of successful authorial reading, the author and readers are members of the same community, so while the reader does in fact engage in an act of production, he or she makes what the author intended to be found."[259] Rabinowitz is making a case for an author-guided reading of a text, and this relies on the shared literary conventions of a community. Similarly, Ong suggests that readers learn "the game of literacy" and learn "how to conform themselves to the projections of the writers they read, or at least how to operate in terms of these projections."[260] In the case of writing from the

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[254] Ibid., 172.
[255] Ibid., 173.
[256] Ibid., 173, citing J.P. Gee, *Social Linguistics and Literacies*, 2nd ed. (Bristol: Taylor & Francis, 1996), 190.
[257] Magnifico, "Writing for Whom?" 173.
[258] Peter J. Rabinowitz, *Before Reading: Narrative Conventions and the Politics of Interpretation* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1987), 27.
[259] Ibid., 28.
[260] Ong, "The Writer's Audience Is Always a Fiction," 12; cf. Rabinowitz, *Before Reading*, 27.

past the modern day interpreter is no longer a participant in the shared community of the writer. Yet it is possible for a modern day reader to participate, albeit in a limited way, in a reading community. This must happen to some extent for any kind of reading to occur. However, since the historical interpreter cannot fully enter into this community and has no way of being a participant, he or she must be cognisant of their reading process and the pitfalls of anachronism and misinterpretation. Rabinowitz warns that misreading often occurs when a reader misidentifies the genre of a work.[261] Genres not only provide models that writers follow but are "different packages of rules that readers apply in construing them, as ready-made strategies for reading."[262] Fortunately for the ancient historian the understanding of Graeco-Roman epistolary theory has advanced significantly in recent years.[263] As discussed above, Stowers has clarified the relationship between the epistolary types and the social interactions that underlie them. It follows that an interpretation of any ancient letter must combine these twin aspects with the goal of observing, at least, the roles that the writer casts his audience in. It is probably best expressed diagrammatically— see diagram 1.

[261] *Before Reading*, 176—177.
[262] Ibid., 177.
[263] See Robert G. Sullivan's survey in "Classical Epistolary Theory and the Letters of Isocrates," in *Letter-Writing Manuals and Instruction from Antiquity to the Present: Historical and Bibliographic Studies*, ed. Carol Poster, and Linda C. Mitchell (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), 7—20.

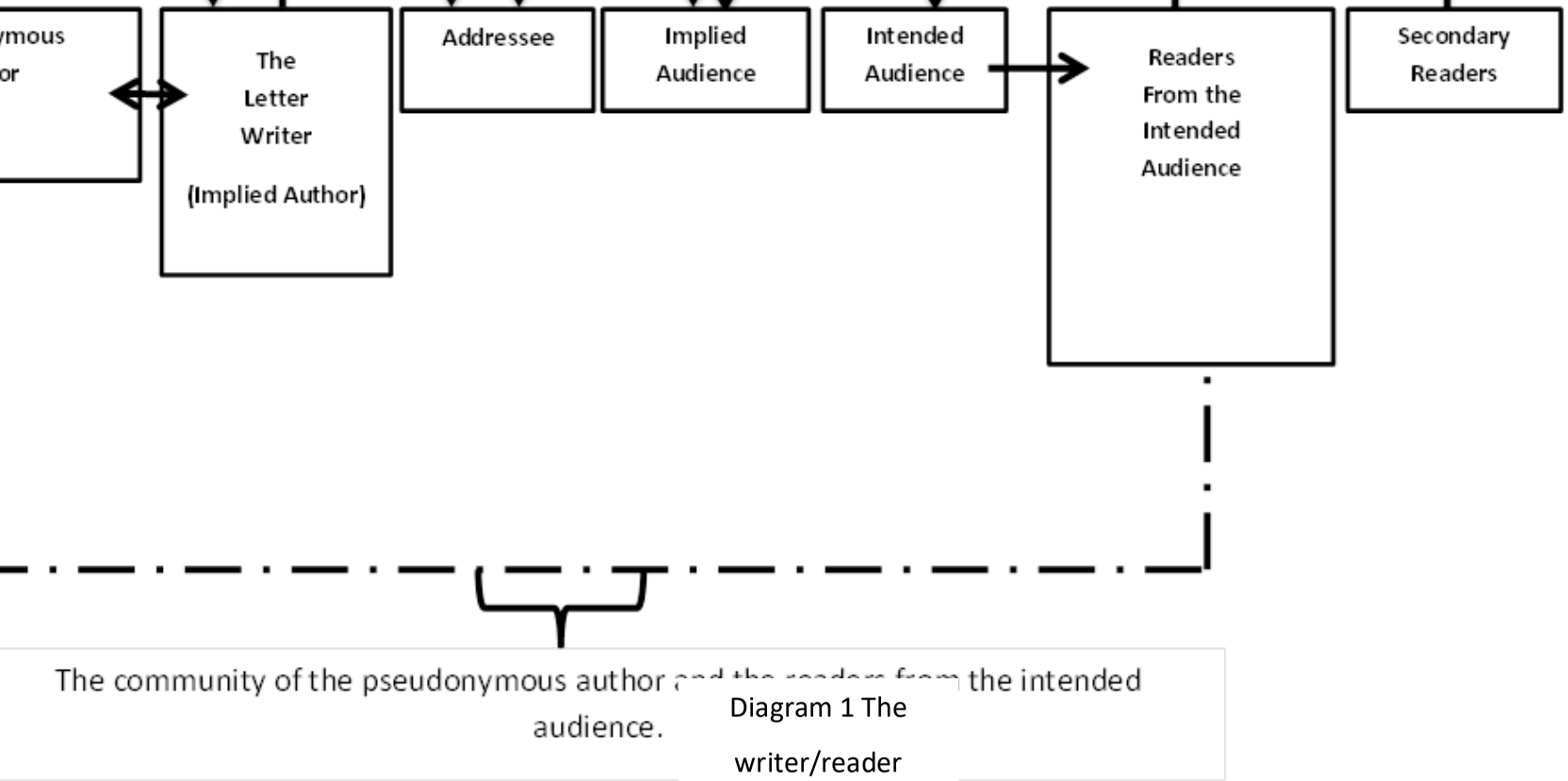

Diagram 1 The writer/reader model for pseudonymous letters.

What the diagram shows is that the pseudonymous author writes out of his character as the letter writer (the implied author). The pseudonymous author is the implied author, who is playing a role as the letter writer, hence the separation of identities but the arrow that connects them. The same is true for the actor on stage, who is at the same time himself and his character. This implied author writes to an addressee, but at the same time has in mind the audience that he either images is looking on (over the shoulder of the letter's addressee) or imagines is in the shoes of the addressee. In other words, the letter writer could cast his intended audience into the role of the addressee. As indicated by the inner set of arrows the implied author has in mind and is directing his letter writing to an addressee nominated in the letter, and an implied audience (that is an imagined audience looking over the shoulder of the addressee as he reads), and lastly the actual intended audience contemporary with the author. The author does not have direct access to his audience as he writes, just as actual readers have no access to the pseudonymous author directly but only see his written intentions. Hence the outer set of arrows indicate that the readers only see the implied author as he presents himself, his addressee, and his implied audience. The readers are invited to construct an image of the implied author or in our case pastoral Paul, the letter writer. The author writes for an implied audience and actual readers are invited to join in the role of the implied audience. Further, unless the readers know that the writer is pseudonymous they will assume that the addressee and implied audience are contemporary with the nominated letter writer (implied author). For the pseudonymous author to be successful the readers of his intended audience must identify with either the addressee or the implied audience. How well the pseudonymous author has applied his craft is measured by how his readers are able to slip into these roles and experience the voice of the letter writer (the implied author).[264] The dotted bracket is intended to show that the pseudonymous author and the intended audience/readers belong to the same community. It stands to reason that successful pseudonymous authors are so because they are experts in "interacting socially with a specific writing community and taking on its Discourse of situated practices and specific ways of thinking, talking, writing, acting, believing, and being."[265] By extension ancient pseudonymous letter writers were successful, not only because of their writing craft, but because they were able to portray the performance of social interactions

[264] See C.S. Lewis' conclusion as to what good reading is, *An Experiment in Criticism* (Cambridge, UK: University Press, 1961), 137—138.
[265] Magnifico, "Writing for Whom?" 173.

that readers anticipated. Successful pseudonymous letter writers were successful because they navigated both the art of pseudonymous writing by understanding its discourse and also the Discourse of their community.

As it stands this forms a complete model of literary communication. Secondary readers on the other hand, stand outside of this model because they stand outside of the community of the pseudonymous author and his intended audience. These secondary readers can see, along with the readers from the intended audience, the implied author, the addressee and the implied audience. But as discussed above these readers cannot fully join in with the intended readers. This is not an either/or situation. To read the work is to read it in the community's language. The more the secondary reader can join in with the readers of the intended audience the more they will understand the implied author and his textual communication to the addressee, the implied audience, and the intended audience. This is the interpretive task and the shared community of the author and the readers of his intended audience is the key. Therefore, the working method of this thesis is that it will first make a proposal for who the intended audience was and what community they shared with the pseudonymous author (this was done in the previous chapter); secondly, it will seek to understand how an informed reader of this community would understand the letter writer (the implied author) and what it was that he was communicating to his addressee and implied audience; thirdly, it will seek to understand the response the letter writer (the implied author) desired from his intended audience.

For completeness sake there is a postscript. The proposed model of letter writing would change very little if the pseudonymous author was a genuine correspondent. The correspondent is still creating an implied author, is still in his imagination addressing an addressee, would still have an implied audience (this is the case in the historical Paul's genuine correspondence), and still may have a wider audience in mind other than the intended addressee. The difference lies in the type of Discourse that the writer is entering into. The decision of an author to write under a pseudonym is a decision about Discourse. Whether the author is writing pseudonymously in the full knowledge his intended readers or whether he is writing to deceive his intended readers belongs to the underlying social interaction that is now lost in time. Therefore the focus of this thesis is on the text and what can be known about this text through the construction of a proposed readership.

Chapter 3
The Letter Writer and his Son

The key to understanding 1 Timothy as a communicative act is gaining an appreciation for how an informed reader from the first century would understand the letter writer and his address to his addressee/implied audience. We saw in the last chapter that the selection of a genre by a writer was important for both the writer and the reader. For the writer it gives him or her a model to follow by which they shape their unique message. For the reader the genre provides him or her with a ready-made strategy for reading. In this chapter we will make the case that 1 Timothy is a type of letter from an administrative milieu. We will also explore the relationship between the sender of the letter, pastoral Paul, and the recipient, Timothy described as "my…child." As will be seen, this typical social script (Stowers), father to son, unleashes a powerful set of expectations embedded in the ancient Greek ideology of the father-son relationship.

3.1. The Genre of 1 Timothy

The ancient letter writer, when first conceiving his or her communicative act, begins with an overall idea of what a letter entails. As Stowers describes, the writer composes according to generic patterns that must fit the circumstances of his or her particular situation in writing.[266] The key to understanding the intention of the writer is to identify the generic pattern that s/he has selected. Identifying the genre allows the reader to judge the intention of the implied author by observing "the purposeful design of the narrative."[267]

A preliminary survey of 1 Timothy quickly reveals it was composed as a letter. It has the opening formula that is a prerequisite of an ancient letter. This formula is A to B, the sender to the recipient.[268] The person who sent the message normally identified themselves and then named the addressee. This was always in the dative: "Irenaeus to Apollinarius" (BGU 1.27, 2nd –3rd C. CE).[269] Sometimes this is expanded to describe the relationship between the

[266] Stowers, "Social Typification," 79–82.
[267] Phelan, "The Implied Author," 126.
[268] At times the order is reversed: SB III 6262 (early 3rd C. CE); P.Oxy. I 123 (3rd/4th C. CE).
[269] Translation of this letter by Doty, *Letters in Primitive Christianity*, 5; publication details found at HGV BGU I 27.

sender and the addressee as in Irenaeus' letter "to Apollinarius his sweetest brother."[270] From Hellenistic times, a greeting (χαίρειν) followed the initial salutation. As already discussed, it is the identification of the relationship between the sender and the addressee that activates the social situation which would come into being if both parties were present.[271] This establishment of the social relations between the sender and the addressee then establishes a conventional plot into which the writer infuses his or her particular content.[272] Health wishes, prayers, and final greetings further express this social relationship, forming the literary frame of the letter. This basic frame can be seen in Irenaeus' letter:

Sender to Addressee	Irenaeus to Apollinarius
Social identifier and greeting	his sweetest brother, many greetings.
Health wish/ prayer	I pray continually for your health, and I myself am well…
Final greetings	…Many salutations to your wife and to Serenus and to all who love you, each by name. Goodbye.

This is the basic outline to any letter, with some adaptations and omissions possible depending on the nature of the letter, the choices made by the letter writer and his/her education (i.e. how much the sender knows about letter writing).[273] The introductory formula A to B, however, must always be present not only to allow for genre identification but to allow the social discourse to proceed after the greeting.

This basic literary form allows letters to be identified no matter what material they are written on —papyri, wooden tablets,[274] ostraca,[275] or stones,[276] or if they are embedded in another type of literary product, such as a history.[277] The barest minimum is always the A to B formula even if what is in the body of the letter is not conventionally thought of as a letter.

[270] Line 1—2 is now restored to [τῶι γλυ]-[κυτάτ]ωι(*)ἀδε[λ]φ[ῶι]: LSJ, γλυκύς, 2…"of persons, sweet, dear;" previous restoration as found in Dotty, [τῶι] [φιλτάτ]ωι; Berliner Papyrusdatenbank, URL http://smb.museum/berlpap/index.php/01700/

[271] Stowers, "Social Typification," 79.

[272] Ibid, 83–84.

[273] Trapp, *Greek and Latin Letters: An Anthology with Translation*, 34–38.

[274] Eg. Wooden tablets, T. Vindol. (Great Britain, 1st– early 2nd C CE); wax tablets, T.Hercul. (Herculaneum), CIL III p. 936–939 no. VI (139 CE); p.940–943, no. VII (142 CE).

[275] Roger S. Bagnall, *Everyday Writing in the Graeco-Roman East* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 117–137.

[276] Ibid., 128, a letter was found written on a stone in the agora of Smyrna.

[277] For example, Josephus, *Ant.* 20. 2.

A letter body can include invoices,[278] receipts,[279] lists,[280] shopping orders,[281] and speeches.[282] The introductory formula in these cases delineates the social situation in which these texts would be handed over if the parties were physically present. Many of these types of documents contain only the barest epistolary features, placing them on the edge of the generic boundary of what one could call a "letter." Without the introductory formula such pieces would be invoices,[283] lists,[284] speeches[285] etc.

The point being stressed here is that the key to identifying what kind of literary production we have in 1 Timothy are the literary conventions at play within the text itself. It is not based on decisions about the nature of the authorship or other factors:

> A letter is recognisable by both the modern reader and the ancients by its generic features whether the nominated parties are real or fictitious, whether the letter was sent or not, or if the parties are separated by any substantial distance. What matters is that a letter contains the conventional formulae of a letter with the intimation that the two parties are at a distance from one another.[286]

By focusing on the literary conventions at play within the letter, it is possible to categorise letters further based on the evidence of the letters themselves.

In the past, ancient letters have been categorised on the perceived intention of the author. Adolf Deissmann categorised letters into two forms: "letters" and "epistles." His focus was on a perceived disjunction between a letter which was "something non-literary…Confidential and personal in its nature, it is intended only for the person or persons to whom it is addressed, and not at all for the public or any kind of publicity" and the "epistle" which he

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[278] P. Oxy. VII 1055 (235 or 267 CE).
[279] Letter like receipts with salutations and greetings, P.Oxy. I 91 (187 CE); LXXV 5050 (69 CE).
[280] P. Oxy. I 114 (2nd or 3rd C. CE) (the greetings of this letter are missing but the farewell greetings and health wish confirm it is a letter).
[281] P.Oxy. XIV 1759 (2nd C. CE).
[282] 1 Clement; Ehrman, "Introduction," 19—20; W.C. van Unnik, "Studies on the So-Called First Epistle of Clement. The Literary Genre," in *Encounters with Hellenism: Studies on the First Letter of Clement*, ed. Cilliers Breytenbach and L.L. Welborn (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), 115—181.
[283] Invoices, e.g., P.Oxy. IV 710 (after 111 BCE); VI 919 (159 CE); XX 2286 (274 CE); I 88 (179 CE).
[284] List, P.Oxy. I 109 (3rd or 4th C. CE).
[285] The NT "Letter to the Hebrews" lacks the introductory formula, which makes it a homily. See Collins, *Letters That Paul Did Not Write*, 21–23.
[286] Kidson, "1 Timothy: An Administrative Letter," 104—105.

saw as "an artistic literary form, a species of literature."[287] However, Michael Trapp and others pointed out that Deissmann's categories were artificial "aimed specifically at supporting a particular interpretation of the letters of St Paul" "as the simple, sincere communications of a man of the people with the people."[288] Deissmann had elevated what he perceived as the author's intended audience as the salient category by which to categorise ancient letters. Yet many ancient letters do not fit the "non-literary=private" versus "literary=public" scheme.

Administrative letters of government officials fit Deissmann's non-literary or "real" letter category, but were intended for circulation or publication.[289] In this vein, Carlos Noreña argues that Pliny the younger and Trajan were manipulating the private nature of their letters for their own public ends.[290] By the time Pliny had taken up his role as governor of Bithynia and Pontus, he had already published a collection of his private letters or "literary" letters as Deissmann called them. Although the bulk of Pliny's Bithynian correspondence concerns the matters of provincial administration, a creation of an epistolary *persona* can be discerned, "these letters created the impression that Pliny and Trajan were personal friends, an illusion of intimacy that served the interests of both."[291] For Trajan it allowed him to craft a *persona* that depicted him "as the sort of emperor who worked closely with his senatorial colleagues and who treated them as friends. Whether Trajan authored his replies to Pliny or not, this correspondence helped to offset the military and autocratic elements in Trajan's public image."[292] We noted earlier a similar crafting in Cicero's correspondence. As well as Cicero, Pliny and Trajan recognised the rhetorical potential of their correspondence, created by the epistolary form itself.[293] It is the relationship implied between the sender and the addressee of a letter that gives it this rhetorical potential. Deissmann's observation that

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[287] Gustav Adolf Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East: The New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World*, trans. Lionel R. M. Strachan, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1980), 228–229.

[288] Trapp, *Greek and Latin Letters*, 9; Doty, *Letters in Primitive Christianity*, 24 – 25; cf. Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists*, 1.

[289] Kidson, "1 Timothy: An Administrative Letter," 103; Administrative letters that were circulated among officials (P.Tebt. I 27 (113 BCE); an administrative letter for circulation and public publication, P.Tebt. I 35 (111 BCE).

[290] C. F. Norena, "The Social Economy of Pliny's Correspondence with Trajan," *AJP* 128 (2007): 239–277.

[291] Ibid., 240; As Fergus Millar describes, Pliny used his close association with Trajan to secure benefits for people in close contact with him so that, "the letters provide an exceptionally clear example of how benefits spread down from any point of contact with the emperor," *The Emperor in the Roman World*, 114—115.

[292] Norena, "The Social Economy of Pliny's Correspondence with Trajan," 260.

[293] Ibid., 240.

rhetoric of literary letters differed from the everyday private letters of the papyri is more than valid. However, this observation belongs to the social discourse contained within the letter frame. Entry into the social rhetoric of the letter is gained through the conventions employed by the writer.

Identifying types of letters and their attendant social situation is crucial to understanding the social rhetoric at play in any letter. This social rhetoric can be easily seen in Theon's letter to his father that we discussed earlier (P.Oxy. I 119, 2nd/3rd C. CE). While we may gain access to the father/son relationship through the conventional salutation "Theon to his father Theon," the purpose for Theon is not to introduce a third party to the situation (i.e. future readers), but to activate the social rhetoric that would be engaged in if both he and his father were physically present. The literary conventions inadvertently allow us, the distant readers, to gain access to the social relationship between the writer and his/her addressee. Further they allow us to observe the use of this device by the writer to pursue his or her purpose/s in writing. To gain access to the social relationship between the writer and the addressee and the social rhetoric at play between them we need to begin with a system to categorise the letters that is more finely attuned to literary conventions than Deissmann's "real" and "literary" letters.

Abraham Malherbe's *Ancient Epistolary Theorists* has been very influential in the analysis of ancient letters.[294] The identification of types by the letter writing manuals of "Pseudo-Demetrius" and "Libanius" has provided scholars with a scheme with which to categorise letters. The manual of Pseudo-Demetrius (2nd C. BCE–3rd C. CE) was written to aid those who compose letters for men in public office.[295] He writes for the advanced student and describes twenty one epistolary types (τύπων), which include among others friendly, commendatory, blaming types.[296] Malherbe describes the manual as "a selection of styles appropriate to different circumstances and a guide to the tone in which letters are to be written. The descriptions of the letters, with the examples offered to illustrate the stylistic

[294] Troy W. Martin, "Investigating the Pauline Letter Body: Issues, Methods, and Approaches." In *Paul and the Ancient Letter Form*, eds. Stanley E. Porter and Sean A. Adams (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010), 185–212; Carol Poster, "A Conversation Halved," 21—51 (22—23); Anthony C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 63, fn. 12.
[295] Pseudo-Demetrius in Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists*, 31.
[296] ibid., 31.

principles involved, betray a rhetorical interest in defining various types of exhortation."[297] The goal is to allow students already familiar with letter writing to refine their style so it is aligned with the social situation being enacted in the letter. It is important to notice that Pseudo-Demetrius has used the existing letters of Heraclides (and perhaps others) to identify the types, saying letters "can be composed in a great number of styles, but are written in those which always fit the particular circumstance" (ll.1–3).[298] Such a procedure can be seen in the pseudonymous cover letter of Pseudo-Mithridates to the letter collection of the Roman general Brutus.[299] Brutus' letters were regarded by ancient writers as "distinguished" and stylistic exemplars.[300] In this letter, Pseudo-Mithridates is writing to his cousin the king Mithridates and says "I have often admired the letters of Brutus, not only on account of [their] forcefulness and conciseness, but also for possessing the style of a leader's mind" (l.1).[301] While Pseudo-Mithridates does not draw out types as Pseudo-Demetrius does, it is informative that he draws on the letter collection as a guide for style not only for the king but for those who write letters on behalf of the king (l.9). In this regard, Pseudo-Demetrius and Pseudo-Mithridates share a similar vision of men who write on behalf of others, and these letters are to be brief and to be suited to the situations they address. The types of Pseudo-Demetrius were built by observing the actual letter writing practices, particularly of well-known exemplars like Heraclitus. Any rhetorical devices used by letter writers will be tempered by characteristics prized as good style such as brevity and a rhetorically plain style.[302]

While we have advice on style for the advanced student, we do not possess any instruction on letter writing at an earlier stage. However, the handbooks may give us some clue as to how this was done. Robert Calhoun argues that Pseudo-Mithridates, in writing a covering letter for Brutus' letter collection, may be seeking,

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[297] Ibid., 4.
[298] Ibid., 31.
[299] Robert M. Calhoun, "The Letter of Mithridates: A Neglected Item of Ancient Epistolary Theory," in *Pseudepigraphie Und Verfasserfiktion in FrüHchristlichen Briefen*, ed. Jörg Frey et al (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 295–330.
[300] Philostratus of Lemnos in Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists*, 43; Plutarch, "Brutus," 2.5–8; Philostratus, *Ep.*, 42.1—9; Photius, *Epistula* 207.10–16 in Calhoun, "The Letter of Mithridates," 308—310.
[301] Calhoun,"The Letter of Mithridates," 299–301.
[302] Brevity, Mithridates, l. 1; Plutarch, "Brutus," 2.5–8; Plainness of style, Philostratus of Lemnos in Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists*, 43.

to enhance further the utility of the corpus as an educational text. Striving to model the other principles of epistolary composition in his cover letter—especially those which are absent in Brutus' own letters by virtue of their extreme brevity—makes sense from this point of view.[303]

The cover letter itself is not only a rhetorical exercise, but a model letter to be used as the letters that it introduces. Similarly, Malherbe suggests that letter writing was taught on the basis of model letters in the secondary stage of education.[304] He suggests that the bilingual handbook the Bologna Papyrus (3 or 4th C. CE), which has eleven sample letters, may have been used for this kind of exercise. If we examine the letters of common people found in the papyri, what can be discerned is that letter writing was taught at a very early stage in the educational process.[305] For example, many of the letters written on ostraca, although they contain many orthographical errors, display a knowledge of the basic letter writing conventions as described above.[306] It can be surmised that the art of letter writing was one of the primary reasons children, even of parents of modest means, were sent to school since they were such an important part of conducting business. Suffice to say that letter writing was taught at a primary school level and the best place to look to see what kinds of conventions they were taught are the extant letters themselves.[307]

3.2. Letter Categories

Broadly, letters written either on papyri or ostraca or inscribed, fall into three general categories: private, business, and administrative. The private letter was the original and most basic of forms and the business and administrative forms were derived from it.[308] The

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[303] Calhoun, "The Letter of Mithridates," 319.

[304] Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists*, 6.

[305] Many of the letters on papyrus and ostracon have problems with orthography and composition suggesting that their writers' education is not very advanced. See Roger Bagnall's discussion about the letter written on a stone found in the agora of Smyrna, *Everyday Writing in the Graeco-Roman East*, 128.

[306] Ibid., 128; Identification of letters on ostraca, p.132; Examples of letters on ostraca see O.Did. 327 (ca. 77–92 CE), 342 (77–92 CE), 344 (77–92 CE), 382 (ca. 110– 15), 437 (ca. 110–115 CE); P.Bagnall.12 Ostraca, (ca. 115–130 CE); O.Claud. 2.293 (142/3 CE), 4.893 (ca. 150–154 CE); Raffaella Cribiore describes experienced hands writing letters, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 156; Cribiore notes orthographical errors on ostraca identified as students' handwriting in her catalogue, 175—291. For an example of papyri letter written in uneducated style P.Oxy. III 528 (2nd C. CE), see Trapp for commentary *Greek and Latin Letters*, 220–221.

[307] Carol Poster makes the point that there is a distinction between epistolary theory and pedagogical practices related to letter-composition and epistolography (the study of letters themselves), see "The Case of the Purloined Letter-Manuals: Archival Issues in Ancient Epistolary Theory," *Rhetoric Review* 27 (2008): 1—19. However, at the basic primary level, little survives.

[308] Doty, *Letters in Primitive Christianity*, 1.

business and administrative forms are then a sub-genre of the private letter. There are distinctive features of each type of letter, each with conventions suited to their purpose. The examples below highlight the differences across these sub-genres that one finds in the papyri letters.

	Private (BGU I 27, 2nd or 3rd C. CE)[309]	Business (P.Oxy. XII 1482, 2nd C. CE)	Administrative (P.Tebt. II 289, 23 CE)
Salutation	Irenaeus to Apollinarius his sweetest brother,	Morus to my lord Epimachus,	Apollonius, strategus, to Akous, toparch of Tebtunis,
Greeting	Many greetings (χαίρειν).	Greeting (χαίρειν).	Greeting (χαίρειν).
Prayer	I pray continually for your health, and I myself am well.		
Body opening	I wish you to know that I reached land on the 6th of the month Epeiph and we unloaded our cargo on the 18th of the same month…	I write to inform you that we have winnowed the barley of the man from the Oasis on the 8th, and we never had so much trouble in winnowing it;…	Send me at once a supplementary classified statement of payments made up to date, for I shall thus know whether I shall leave you in employment where you are or summon you and send you to the praefect for neglect of the collecting.
Letter Close	Many salutations to your wife and to Serenus and to all who love you, each by name.	I supplicate on behalf of you and all your children and all your brothers and…	
Farewell	Good-bye.	I pray for your health,	Farewell.

[309] Translated by A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri*, LCL (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932), I 113 (307); only slight variation as in Doty, see above.

		my lord.	

The private letter BGU I 27 demonstrates the conventions used in letters to maintain social connection between parties who are normally intimate.[310] It is typical of family letters that they append appellations such as "dearest brother" and follow with a prayer for health of the addressee and sometimes for other family members.[311] It is also usual to indicate that one is well.[312] The body of the letter often opens with some form of introductory formula; for example, "I wish you to know…"[313] After the letter body proper the letter typically closes with salutation to other family members and friends who are with the addressee.[314] Greetings from others with the sender are sometimes included.[315] Sometimes the writer assures the addressee that they pray for them and the family, this may include what the content of the prayer is or it may be a health wish.[316] There is then a simple "goodbye" (ἔρρωσ[θ]ο).[317]

The business letter is not far removed from the private letter, but it is simpler. In the example given there is an appellation attached to the addressee, indicating the relationship between them.[318] There is no prayer or health wish.[319] The letter body of P.Oxy. XII 1482 opens with an introductory formula "I write to let you know" (l.3) as in private letters, but often this introduction is missing.[320] There may be a letter close in which the writer indicates

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[310] Similarly, UPZ I 62 (c. 160 BCE), Dionysius to Ptolemaeus writing to renew his intimacy with Ptomlemaeus' brother; P. Mich. VIII 491 (2nd C, CE), Apollinarius to his mother Taesis.

[311] P.Oxy. VII 1061 (22 BCE); SB 3 6263 (2nd C. CE); BGU I 27 (2nd or 3rd CE); P. Oxy. VII 1070 (3rd C. CE); IX 1218 (3rd C. CE).

[312] UPZ I 66 (153 BCE); P.Grenf. II 36 (95 BCE).

[313] BGU I 27; P. Mich. VIII 478 (100–125 CE); P. Mich. VIII 491; note the variation on this formula UPZ I 62.2–4, "You know what a liberal, not vulgar, spirit I have displayed towards all men," trans. *Select Papyri* I 98 (285).

[314] UPZ I 70 (c. 152 BCE); P.Mich. VIII 491; SB 3 6263; BGU I 27.

[315] P.Oxy. XLIX 3504 (1st/2nd C. CE); P. Mich VIII 491 ; BGU II 423 (2nd C. CE).

[316] Assurance about praying, P.Flor. III 332 (c. 114 – 119); P. Oxy IX 1217 (3rd C. CE); Content of prayer, P.Warr. 14 (2nd C. CE); PSI XII 1261 (212–217 CE); Health wish, P. Oxy VII 1061.

[317] The conventional "goodbye" or "farewell" (ἔρρωσθο/ ἔρρωσο) became substituted for a health wish over time, Kidson, "1 Timothy: An Administrative Letter," 109; for example, ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχομαι BGU II 530. 42 (1st C. CE); P. Oxy. XLII 3062.12 (1st C. CE); BGU III 822.26 (May 5? 105 CE); P.Oxy. XIV 1757.28 (after 138 CE); P. Mich. VIII 491.21; P. Oxy. IX 1217.9 (3rd C. CE); P.Oxy. IX 1218.14 (3rd C. CE).

[318] Cf. P.Tebt. I 56 (late 2nd C. BCE), "Petesouchus son of Marres, cultivator at Kerkesephis" trans. *Select Papyri* I 102 (291); SB 1 5216, (101 BCE ?), "Athenagoras the chief physician to the priests of the stolistae…" trans. *Select Papyri* I 104 (293); appellation of the addressee P. Oxy. XII 1480 (32 CE), "to Haruotes the prophet, my dear friend…"; P.Oxy. XIV 1673 (2nd C. CE), Hermes does not give an appellation to Sarapiacus, overseer (l.30), but instead addresses him as "the most esteemed Sarapiacus."

[319] Cf. SB 1 5216; P.Oxy. VII 1062 (2nd C. CE); P.Oxy. XIV 1673.

[320] Missing opening formula, P.Oxy VII 1062; P. Oxy XIV 1673; P.Oxy. I 121 (3rd C. CE).

that he or she prays for the addressee and their family, but often even this is missing.[321] The business type letter normally closes with "farewell" as a private letter, but here in P.Oxy. XII 1482 the writer has closed with a prayer, which was also common.[322]

The example administrative letter, P.Tebt. II 289, has been chosen because it is a letter from a superior to a subordinate. It is exceptionally brief, which such letters sometimes can be.[323] It is typical of administrative letters that both the sender and the addressee have their appellations attached.[324] The usual "greeting" follows. It is also usual that there is no prayer or health wish at the beginning of the letter.[325] The letter opening can also be abrupt, but the opening of this letter is particularly stark. The subject of the letter reveals that the absolute brevity of the letter is in harmony with the writer's social rhetoric.[326] The addressee is being reprimanded by his superior for a failure of duty. At times the administrative letter might have a letter closing with prayers for the addressee's health, but this is not the norm and would not be called a feature of the administrative letter. And, of course, there is the final "farewell." There is a distinct difference in administrative letters between superiors addressing subordinates and colleagues addressing each other. It is rare that a superior would address a subordinate as "son" as they tend to confine themselves to their official designations.[327] Whereas colleagues often address each other as "brother," and they sometimes use intimate modifiers such as "dearest." [328]

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[321] Omitted prayer or health wish P.Oxy. VII 1062; XIV 1672 (37 – 40); XIV 1673 (possibly health wish included as letters are missing in line 27).

[322] As noted earlier they use the ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχομαι, P.Oxy. I 117; I 121; Conventional ἔρρωσο P.Tebt. I 56.

[323] For example: the covering letter of Aurelius Harpocration P.Oxy. XII 1409 (278 CE); P.Oxy. 1022 (103 CE) (written in Latin); P.Tebt. 922 (2nd C. CE).

[324] P. Tebt. III.2 922 (2nd C. BCE); P.Oxy. I 44 (c. 66— 70 CE); IX 1189 (117 – 118 CE); XVII 2108 (259); appended letter XI 1191 (280 CE); XVII 2113 (316 CE) ; IX 1190 (347 CE); P.Tebt. II 289 (23 CE); P.Fam.Tebt. 42 (180 CE); 43 (182 CE).

[325] Health wishes appear at the beginning of letters between officials in the Zenon archive but not consistently, PSI V 502 (257 BCE); P.Cair.Zen. II 59251 (252 BCE); P.Tebt. I 34 (c. 100 BCE); II 409 (5 CE) – in this letter the sender is making a request that is more personal than administrative, which may have influenced the personal letter style. In contrast see P.Oxy. XXXI 2593 (2nd C. CE) for a private business letter with a health wish after the greeting.

[326] A similar examples are P.Oxy. XII 1483 (late 2nd early 3rd C. CE); P.Tebt. II 289 (23 CE).

[327] P. Oxy. XVII 2152 (3rd C. CE) & IX 1219 (3rd C. CE) are possible examples; Kidson, "1 Timothy: An Administrative Letter," 109.

[328] See John Lee White, *Light from Ancient Letters*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 200; "Brother:" ἄδελφε, P.Oxy. LX 4060, col i: 1 (161 CE); XXXI 2559 (2nd C. CE); XLI 2981 (2nd C. CE); XXXI 2561 (before 305 CE); IX 1190 ("brothers"); P.Tebt. I 34; "Dear" or "dearest" P.Oxy. II 291 (25—26 CE); IX 1189; LX 4060 in all five letters the addressee is addressed τῶι φιλτάτωι "dearest colleague"; XXXI 2560 (258 CE); XVII 2108 (259 CE); XVII 2113 (316 CE); XVII 2114 (316 CE); φιλτάτωι πλεῖστα, "dearest" P.Tebt. II 410 (16 CE); P.Fam.Tebt. 42.

At times it is difficult to distinguish between a personal letter and a business letter. Family members often engage in business together and so the features of the personal letters naturally appear in primarily business letters.[329] Business letters are after all a sub-type of personal letters shorn of the social etiquette that family members would expect. The greater difference comes in a comparison of personal letters and administrative letters. In an administrative letter, relational address is reserved for the close, whereas in personal letters relational etiquette is included in both the health wish/prayer and in the letter close. The administrative letter usually opens with a statement of purpose and a list of instructions normally follows. In letters between colleagues of similar status these instructions are often accompanied by clichés to soften instructions,[330] such as, καλῶς ἂν οὖν ποιήσαις "therefore, you would do well" (or similar phrase),[331] ἵν᾽ εἰδείης "may you see (to it),"[332] φρόντισον "be careful,"[333] or ἐρωτῶ σε "I ask you."[334] This often occurs in covering letters where instructions are forwarded from a king or high official and the writer is reiterating the instructions, but is maintaining a polite etiquette expected of peers.[335] When superiors write to subordinates they tend not to use fictive kinship terms and rarely use phrases to soften instructions.[336] Similarly when fathers instruct sons in business letters they rarely use such

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[329] P.Oxy. VII 1061; I 117; I 121.

[330] White, *Light from Ancient Letters*, 205, 208—213; see letters 6 and 18 as examples.

[331] Translation see White 6 (259—258 BCE), l.6 (29); for discussion on this cliché see White, *Light from Ancient Letters*, 204; P.Oxy. IX 1189. 11 (strategus to strategus); XX 2265.6 (ca. 120 — 123 CE) (Haterius Nepos possibly writing as acting prefect); XXXI 2560.14; LX 4060.1.

[332] P.Oxy. XIX 2228. 28, 38 (283 CE).

[333] P. Oxy. XVII 2114. 11 (316 C.E); P. Tebt. I 27.21; 1 33.2,7 (112 BCE). Similarly P.Oxy. XI 1190.7 σπουδάσατε, "take care" or it could also be translated as "make haste" BDAG (Chicago 2000).

[334] P.Tebt. II 409.10 (5 CE); II 410.11 (16 CE); cf. similar use in a private letter P.Oxy. I 113.6, 23 (2nd C. CE); Also γράφω σοι, "I write to you," P.Fam.Tebt. 42.29.

[335] Compare the covering letter of Aurelius Harpocration, strategus of Oxyrhynchite to the decemprimi of the nome (ll. 1—6), with the forwarded letter of Ulpius Aurelius, the Dioecetes, (ll.7—22) P.Oxy. XII 1409; Charles Bradford Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in Greek Epigraphy* (New Haven; Prague: Yale University Press; Kondakov Institute, 1934): Meleager, governor to Hellespontine, in a covering letter forwarding a letter from King Antiochus (letter 13, c. 275 BCE, p.69—70) uses a polite expression so common in papyrus letters, καλῶς δ᾽ ἂν ποήσαιτε, "You would do well" (l.13). Also note the use of the optative, which Welles describes as "a little more polite than the commoner future," 71; further, note the use of the subjunctive in the cover letter of Metrophanes to Nicomachus to achieve the same effect (letter 19.12, 254/3 BCE); cf. Letter 63. 10—11, Oropherenes to Priene (157 BCE).

[336] For example, P.Oxy. XII 1483; Kidson, "1 Timothy: An Administrative Letter," 107—108; In contrast, when Emperors and governors write to cities, civic bodies or officials and representatives of cities in response to honorary decrees and embassies they usually use conventions that belong to personal letters, which places these documents halfway between "administrative acts and private correspondence," Christina Kokkinia, "Letters of Roman Authorities on Local Dignitaries," 198.

phrases to soften their instructions.[337] Instructions in letters sent by fathers are often used to structure the body of the letter. [338]

3.3. The Letter Body of Business and Administrative Letters

Although the content of the letter body is unique to every letter, there are similarities in the way instructions are structured in letters of fathers, elder brothers, and superiors to junior members of families and bureaucracies. Consider the similarities between Chaereas writing to his brother about estate business and Harneltotes instructing his fellow official Hermias:

	P. Oxy. I 117 (2nd or 3rd C. CE)
Salutation	Chaereas to his brother Dionysius,
Greeting	Greeting.
Opening of the letter body.	I have already urged you in person to have the horoscope (?) in the archives prepared (καὶ κατ' ὄψιν σὲ παρακέκληκα ὅπως ἀπαρτισθῇ τὸ ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ μετεωρίδιν [ll.3–5]),
Instructions	And also the sale of the slaves' children, (καὶ τὴν \πρᾶσιν/ ⟦κατα-γραφὴν⟧ τῶν παιδαρίων τῶν παι-δίων ἀπαρτισθῆναι [ll.5–7],)
Instructions	And to sell the wine that comes from both the near and the far vineyard, (καὶ τὴν πρᾶσιντῶν οἰναρίων τοῦ ἄντα καὶ τῶν τοῦ πέρα διὰ σοῦ γενέσθαι [ll.7–9],
Instructions	Keeping the money in a safe place until I come. (καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γενέσθαι, ἄχρις ἂν παραγένωμαι…[ll. 10–11]).
Final thoughts & reminders to close the letter	I send you some good melon seeds through Diogenes the friend of Chaereas the citizen, and two strips of cloth sealed with my seal, one of which please give to your children.
Greetings exchanged	Salute your sister and Cyrilla Rhodope and Arsinous salute you.
Farewell or	I pray for your health.

[337] BGU II 530 (1st C. CE); P.Tebt. II 411 (2nd C. CE); P.Oxy. III 531 (2nd C. CE); I 123 (3rd—4th C. CE); Similarly, older brother to a younger? P.Oxy. I 117.

[338] P.Oxy. III 531; III 533 (2nd—3rd C. CE); XVII 2152 (3rd C. CE); P.Tebt. III.1 752 (early 2nd C. BCE); II 411 (2nd C. CE); A similar structure of instructions occurs in a letter of a sister to a sister, P.Tebt. II 414 (2nd C. CE).

prayer	

	P. Tebt. I 27 cols. i–iii (113 BCE)
Salutation	To Hermias, through (?) Harneltotes who is in the office of Horus (?) the basilicogrammateus.
Greeting	
Opening of the letter body: circumstances for the letter discussed	Having given me instructions for my letter to you (ὑποτάξας ἡμῖν ἃ ἐγεγράφην σοι...[l.28]), and having also specified what was written to Theodotus… …he [Horus] began to be much astonished that after the severest treatment at the inquiry instituted against you for not having provided at the proper time for the collection of the green stuffs… and for not even using men of repute for the offices of oeconomus and archiphylacites, but without exception evil and worthless persons, you continue in the same miserable course with no improvement whatever in your improper procedure.
Command	But be sure (πλὴ[ν] ἴσθι [l.42]) that you are liable to accusation; and, before it is too late, believing that you will receive no pardon for any neglect, see (τεύξεσθαι [l.43]) that suitable persons are appointed to the aforesaid offices, and display unremitting zeal in what tends to increase the revenue;
Instructions	And (καὶ) procure from the komogrammateis the list of those who can be made to undertake the custody of the produce…and are conspicuous for honesty and steadiness,
Instructions	And (καὶ) appoint those fit to the posts in the villages; take from them and the phylacitae in each village two declarations…
Final thoughts & reminders to close the letter	In general consider how great an impulse attention to the matters indicated gives to business, and deem it an essential that there should be no lapse in anything that is expedient and that by the continual invention of further improvements everything should proceed according to the method prescribe by us. For we will not accept as an excuse either force or anything else whatever, and any losses will be rigorously exacted from you. Whichever day you receive this letter give notice of the fact.

In comparing the two letters it is apparent that there are similarities in structure. This analysis demonstrates that the letter writer's purpose is to give instructions, or more specifically to remind those left in charge of the estate about the instructions and orders already issued. These instructions can be given with a modicum of words as the letter Chaereas to Dionysius illustrates or they can be quite complex as in the letter Harneltotes to Hermias. Chaereas' letter is a reminder of instructions given before his departure, whereas in Harneltotes' letter he is not only reminding Hermias of instructions given but reissuing them so that he may avoid punishment because of his neglect. Harneltotes' letter, therefore, is far more complex and detailed advising Hermias about the method by which he is to avoid any consequences of his neglect. We have in effect original directions for how Hermias is to undertake his job. This purpose shapes Harneltotes' letter. The imperative in line 42 "be sure" (πλὴ[ν] ἴσθι) turns the letter from the circumstances for the writing of the letter to the instructions that follow. Further, in Harneltotes' letter he has neglected to write a greeting nor does he close the letter with the expected "farewell." It is possible that the "farewell" has not been copied, since the previous appended letters are without a "farewell." However, it is the lack of greeting that indicates that this letter is a letter of rebuke as it does in P.Tebt. II 289 above. These types of changes to the usual scheme of letter writing disrupt the expected social etiquette. It would appear that these writers were consciously altering the letter features to manipulate the normal etiquette in an attempt to affect an interpersonal interaction as if they were physically present.

3.4. Survey of 1 Timothy as a Letter

A lot of time has been spent on debating whether the Pastoral Epistles are genuine epistles of the historical Paul. 1 Timothy does share a number of epistolary features that are unique to the recognised Pauline correspondence. Historical Paul's extant letters, Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians, and Philemon, have features which place them in the category of personal letters. These letters all possess the A to B address with Paul designating himself "an apostle" or some variant of this. In some letters Paul indicates that he is writing with a companion. This is not uncommon in family letters, so it is not unexpected that the historical Paul calls these men "brothers."[339] Except for Philemon,

[339] P.Oxy. XIV 1672 (37–40 CE), "Demetrius and Pausanias to their father Pausanias"; P.Oxy. LIX 3993 (2nd/ 3rd C. CE), "Coprys and Sinthonis to Sarapammon and Syra, their most honoured children"; P.Tebt. I 28 (after 117 BCE) is an administrative written by a pair of officials (?) or agents (?) reporting on irregularities to a strategus

Paul writes to groups of people: "To all God's beloved in Rome, who are called *as* saints" (Rom 1:7), or "to the church of God which is at Corinth" (1 Cor 1:2). We find, however, that Paul adapts this normal A to B greeting in the most extraordinary way. The salutation of letter to the Romans is exceptionally complex compared to any letters found in the papyri, inscribed, or literary tradition. Not only is Paul's appellation complex in itself, but it is modified by four dependent clauses (Romans 1:1—6). Paul's other letters have extended salutations, but they are not formulated in such a complex way. The greetings of his letters are also adapted and extended. Paul moves away from the usual χαίρειν modifying it to what one might call a blessing; for example, "Grace to you and peace from God our father and the Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Cor 1:3). In Galatians it extends into a statement of faith or a prayer (Gal 1:4—5). It is these modifications that mark Paul out as a very adaptive and creative writer. Not confined to the rigidity of convention, Paul was able to craft a literary product that suited his own purposes, while remaining within the confines of the genre. The letter opening of Paul's letters marks them off as a unique stylistic feature of this writer.

The letter closing of the historical Paul's letters tend to be more conventional than the openings, though in a recognisable Pauline style. The letter to the Romans closes with an exchange of greetings (16: 21–23) as many personal letters do, although the farewell has been replaced with a blessing (16:24–27). Greetings are exchanged at the end of 1 Corinthians (1 Cor 16:19–21), but extraordinarily they are instructed by Paul to greet one another with a holy kiss.[340] The "farewell" is replaced by a blessing (16:23–24) and the final note is written in Paul's own hand. The addition of a closing note by the letter sender in their own hand is quite common in the papyri letters and indicates that Paul was using a letter writer or secretary, which seems common even for people who appear to be able to write.[341] Some of Paul's letters do not have an exchange of greetings and this suggests that they may be thought of as business letters. The letter to the Galatians is most likely this form of letter as it is from Paul alone and is devoid of greetings from others at the end of the

(?); P.Oxy. I 118 (late 3rd C. CE), "Saras and Eudaemon to Diogenes the younger, greeting" is also an administrative letter.

[340] See Robert W. Funk for a discussion on Paul's presence in the congregation "The Apostolic Parousia: Form and Significance," in *Christian History and Interpretation: Studies Presented to John Knox*, ed. William Reuben Farmer, C. F. D. Moule, & Richard R. Niebuhr (Cambridge: University Press, 1967), 249–268.

[341] P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2860 (2nd C. CE?); VII 1055 (235 CE), the letter sender writes to invoice the delivery of some wine and demands payment in his own hand (ll. 7—8); P. Oxy. XXXVIII 2862 (3rd C. CE), the letter is written in "a good, though unpretentious hand," while the closing prayer is written in "a cruder, more pointed script" (ed.); the sender is perhaps using a scribe?

letter.[342] Although it has the hallmark blessing at the end of the letter, it is brief in comparison with the other closings. Further, the opening of the letter body "I marvel that you have so quickly turned…" is characteristic of a letter of rebuke in the administrative letters.[343] The opening of the letter body is important as it usually sets out the matter at hand or the purpose of the letter. To conclude, historical Paul's letters in their openings and closings tend to share the characteristics of personal letters. Hans Dieter Betz suggested that 2 Corinthians 8—9 may be a composite of two administrative letters.[344] But as the letter now stands the opening and the closing bear the hallmarks of historical Paul's personal letter style with the extended salutation, complex appellation, the adapted "greeting" at the opening and then closing the greetings (including greeting with a kiss as if Paul were actually present) and the blessing as a farewell.

3.5. Analysis of 1 Timothy

We now come to consider 1 Timothy as a letter. The letter opens with the A to B salutation. It has a complex appellation as do many of historical Paul's letters,

Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ κατ' ἐπιταγὴν θεοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν
"Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus [according to a command] of God our saviour, and Christ Jesus *who is* our hope" (1 Timothy 1:1).

It is structured in a similar way to 1 and 2 Corinthians,

Παῦλος κλητὸς ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ
"Paul, called *as* an apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God" (1 Cor 1:1).

Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ
"Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God" (2 Cor 1:1).

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[342] Hans Dieter Betz also observed the "official" nature of Galatians, "The Literary Composition and Function of Paul's Letter to the Galatians," *NTS* 21 (1975): 353–379 (356).
[343] See P.Tebt. I 27 above "he began to be much astonished that after the severest treatment" (ll.34—35); see Hans Dieter Betz's discussion on this form of address as a rhetoric device *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), 46–48.
[344] Hans Dieter Betz, *2 Corinthians 8 and 9: A Commentary on Two Administrative Letters of the Apostle Paul*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 139–140.

The appellation of Paul at 1 Timothy 1:1 appears to be a modification of 2 Corinthians.[345] The phrase "by the will of God" from 2 Corinthians has been altered to "[according to a command] of God."[346] In turn "God" has been modified by the phrase "our saviour and Christ Jesus our hope." Only in Galatians is "God" modified in any way and this in a far more simplified manner. The letter is to Timothy who is given the appellation of "*my* true child in *the* faith" (1 Tim 1:2). In the letter to Philemon, historical Paul calls Philemon "our beloved *brother* and fellow worker" (Phlm 1:1), Apphia is called "our sister" and Archippus "our fellow soldier." In the papyri fictive family terms are not unusual.[347] Often friends are addressed as "brother" or "sister." To address a colleague "dear brother" is common, but fictive terms such as "fellow soldier" are a creative leap by the historical Paul. As we noted before it is unusual for superiors to engage in fictive kinship language in the administrative letters although in personal letters writers may address patrons or older brothers as "father."[348] In a small number of administrative letters younger associates appear to be addressed as "son."[349] Thus it is not a great leap for pastoral Paul to call a subordinate "son" or "child."

The greeting in 1 Timothy is not Paul's standard,

χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

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[345] J.D. Quinn and W.C. Wacker comment on the close parallel of the greeting and blessing with Titus without reference to the close resemblance of the greeting to the Corinthian correspondence. They see the close similarity between the greeting of 1 Timothy and the vocabulary of Titus (suggesting that Titus was the first in letter collection) as an indication of a smooth transition that "has been forged," *The First and Second Letters to Timothy*, Erdmanns (Grand Rapids; Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans Critical Commentary, 2000), 52–53.

[346] While the appellations vary in Paul's undisputed letters, the appellations of Ephesians and Colossians repeat the formula of 2 Corinthians. In the Pastorals, 2 Timothy also repeats this formula with the addition of "according to the promise of life in Jesus Christ" (1:1). Titus has a far more complex appellation that is reminiscent of Romans,

Παῦλος δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, κλητὸς ἀπόστολος…(Romans 1:1)

Παῦλος δοῦλος θεοῦ, ἀπόστολος δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ… (Titus 1:1)

[347] P.Oxy. XLVII 3357 (late 1st C. CE) — a business letter where the sender addresses the recipient as τῶι φιλτάτωι, "dearest brother" (l.1).

[348] UPZ I 70 (c. 152 BCE) the sender writes to his elder brother who he calls "father," see note in *Select Papyri*, 1. 100 (288—289); P. Oxy. XIV 1665 (3rd C. CE) appears to be a letter from a gymnasiarch to his patron who he calls "father" (see comments by editor).

[349] P.Oxy. IX 1219 (3rd C. CE) & XVII 2152 are possible examples; Cf. P. Oxy. LIX 3993, see editorial note on line 2; in this personal letter wards? are addressed by their guardians?, male and female as "sons" (υἱοῖσ) (l.2).

“Grace to you and peace from God our father and the Lord Jesus Christ” (Cf. 1 Cor 1: 3; 2 Cor 1:2; Rom 1:7; Gal 1:3; Phil 1:2; Phlm 1).

In 1 Thessalonians the greeting is a simpler version omitting “from God our father and the Lord Jesus Christ.” This suggests that 1 Thessalonians is the original, while the longer greeting is a development. This shorter greeting of “grace to you and peace” may have a Semitic influence as Judith Lieu observes, but the use of grace as a benefit cannot be paralleled.[350] In regard to historical Paul’s greeting she concludes,

> Certainly we can say that Paul deliberately chose not to use the conventional Greek greeting with which to open his letters. Instead he used a form which would probably have something of a ‘Scriptural’ feel about it, but which would do more than this. Especially if the letters were read to the gathered congregation at worship, they would declare that Paul, as ‘apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God,’ willed for and proclaimed to that congregation the gifts of salvation made available by God through Jesus Christ.[351]

It is quite significant that the writer of 1 Timothy radically departs from historical Paul’s normal formula,

χάρις, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.
“Grace, mercy *and* peace from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Lord” (1 Tim 1:2).

Historical Paul’s “grace to you” has been dropped in favour of a three part blessing “grace, mercy *and* peace.”[352] This suggests that “mercy” is an important element in the writer’s mind. The blessing has been modified further by the relocation of “our” from the Father to Christ Jesus who is now “our Lord.” This also suggests a refocusing of the letter on the relationship between the recipient and Christ.

At the close of the letter, the writer reiterates the purpose for writing found in the opening of the letter body,

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[350] Judith M. Lieu, "'Grace to You and Peace': The Apostolic Greeting," *BJRL* (1985): 161–178.
[351] Ibid., 170.
[352] Quinn and Wacker, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy*, 53—54.

> As I urged you upon my departure for Macedonia, remain on at Ephesus so that you may instruct certain men not to teach strange doctrines, nor to pay attention to myths and endless genealogies, which give rise to mere speculation rather than *furthering* the administration of God which is by faith" (1 Tim 1: 3–4).
>
> O Timothy, guard what has been entrusted to you, avoiding worldly *and* empty chatter *and* the opposing arguments of what is falsely called "knowledge"—which some have professed and thus gone astray from the faith (1 Tim 6:20–21).

The repetition of the first instruction at the end of the letter is a common feature in the papyrus letters.[353] It is a device used to remind the addressee and to stress the importance of the initial instruction.[354] Notice that this device is used in P.Tebt. I 27. It is most likely an attempt to persuade the addressee for the need to act.[355] And most certainly this is the purpose in repeating the initial instruction here at the close of 1 Timothy.

1 Timothy lacks any exchange of greetings at the close of the letter. The exchange of greetings might be expected in view of their presence in the letter to Philemon, a letter written to individuals and a church. In lacking these greetings, 1 Timothy is similar to Galatians. We noted that this feature made the letter to the Galatians similar to a business letter. In 1 Timothy the lack of even a prayer at the letter close suggests that it is a business letter between a sender who considers the addressee as their "child." Yet the lack of personal features here at the close of the letter forces the reader to consider that the letter is concerned primarily with the business between the sender and the addressee, rather than maintaining the relational ties between them. This type of letter is seen in administrative letters and business letters between family members.[356] A survey of the letter body reveals that the letter is dominated by instructions and commands.[357]

	1 Timothy
Salutation	*Paul… to Timothy* (1:1–2a)
Health wish/prayer	*Grace, mercy and peace…* (2b)

[353] White, *Light from Ancient Letters*, 205; Eg. P.Oxy. LXXVI 5100 (c. 136 CE); P.Tebt. I 33; II 315 (2nd C. CE).
[354] Betz, "The Literary Composition and Function of Paul's Letter to the Galatians," 356–357.
[355] Kidson, "1 Timothy: An Administrative Letter," 108; White, *Light from Ancient Letters*, 205.
[356] P. Oxy. I 120 (3rd C. CE) 2nd letter of 2, father to son.
[357] Kidson, "1 Timothy: An Administrative Letter," 110.

Opening of the letter body. Circumstances outlined including a reminder of previous instruction.	*Even as I urged* (παρεκάλεσά) *you…* (1:3a)
Reiteration of command	*This command I entrust* (παρατίθεμαί) *to you* (1:18)
Instruction	*First of all, then, I urge* (παρακαλῶ οὖν) (2:1)
Instruction	*Therefore I want* (βούλομαι οὖν) (2:8)
Instruction	*A woman must quietly receive instruction* (μανθανέτω) (2:11)
Instruction	*But I do not allow* (οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω) (2:12)
Instruction	*It is a trustworthy statement* (Πιστὸς ὁ λόγος) (3:1). *An overseer, then, must be…*(δεῖ οὖν …εἶναι) (3:2)
A restatement of the purpose of the letter	*I am writing these things to you* (ταῦτά σοι γράφω), *hoping to come to you before long* (3:14)
Command in the Imperative. A series of instructions follows	*But* (δέ) *the Spirit explicitly says….Prescribe* (Παράγγελε) *and teach these things* (4:1–4:11)
	Do not sharply rebuke an older man (5:1)
	Honour widows (5:3)
	The elders who rule well (5:17)
Concern for the addressee's present circumstance and health	*No longer* (Μηκέτι) *drink water only* (5:23)… *The sins of some men are quite…*
Resumption of instructions	*All who are under the yoke as slaves* (6:1)

Command in the Imperative	*These things teach* (δίδασκε) *and preach* (παρακάλει) *these principles* (6:2b)
Vocative…Imperative	*But flee* (φεῦγε) *from these things, you man of God* (ὦ ἄνθρωπε θεοῦ), (6:11)
Command echoing 1:18	*I charge* (παραγγέλλω) *you* (6:13)
Instruction in the imperative	*Instruct* (παράγγελλε) *those who are rich* (6:17)
Vocative…imperative Body closing	*O Timothy, guard* (Ὦ Τιμόθεε...φύλαξον) (6:20)
Farewell	*Grace be with you* (Ἡ χάρις μεθ' ὑμῶν.) (6:21)

As can be seen the letter body begins with a reminder of instructions given, since pastoral Paul is travelling away. A series of instructions, much like P. Tebt. I 27, begins at 1 Timothy 2: 1. This adds weight to the evidence that 1 Timothy is an administrative letter. The letter appears to be between a superior and a subordinate involved in the affairs of group of people since the instructions are primarily directed at them through the addressee: "…instruct certain men not to teach strange doctrines…" (1 Tim 1:3). This further suggests that the addressee is a delegate or a representative of the letter sender, just as Hermias is meant to be the implementing the commands of Horus that have been issued through Harneltotes.

The "farewell" in 1 Timothy is a simplified version used by historical Paul in his correspondence,

Ἡ χάρις μεθ' ὑμῶν
"Grace be with you" (1 Tim 6:21b).

ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεθ' ὑμῶν

“The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you” (1 Thess 5:28; extended form in 2 Cor 11:14).

ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν, “The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit” (Phil 4:23; Phlm 1:25; Gal 6:18 (slight variation)).

In Colossians, however, it is ἡ χάρις μεθ’ ὑμῶν, “Grace be with you” (4:18). This is an exact match to 1 Timothy 6:21b. While it is conceivable that two writers might simplify the historical Paul’s unique “farewell” in the same way, there is a possibility that either letter is known to one of the writers. All that could perhaps be said about this is that it may lend support to a school or schools generating material in Asia Minor. To conclude, the simplified prayer that forms the farewell is very similar to prayers used to close letters found in the papyri. Its brevity again accentuates the impression that this letter is about business and not relational ties.

3.6. The Genre of 1 Timothy

The argument that is mounted here is that 1 Timothy can be categorised as an administrative letter. The evidence of 1 Timothy points in this direction. The sender is using an official appellation for himself. As noted in the discussion above when superiors write to subordinates they tend to designate their office. There are examples of letters where a family member or friend may write to an official in an administrative office, and then their designation is indicated. In administrative letters the writer gives the superior’s office. In 1 Timothy pastoral Paul gives his office thus indicating his relationship with his addressee. Of course, this applies to all of Paul’s letters. Although there is the Pauline health wish located after the salutation, the lack of greetings or prayer at the close of the letter indicates that this letter is a business or administrative letter. If we consider the business at hand in the letter body it is clear that it is about the administration of a group or club that have office bearers “elders” and “deacons.” The letter does contain some personal elements, but this is not altogether missing from the administrative letters where personal advice is sometimes given.

As has been argued the appellation of the addressee as “child” does not rule out the possibility that the letter is an administrative letter as such fictive kinship terms are used

between government officials. In fact, the first readers would know that the relationship between the historical Paul and Timothy was one of a superior and junior partner. Anyone familiar with the Pauline correspondence would be aware of this (Rom 16:21; 1 Cor 4:17). In historical Paul's undisputed letters he calls Timothy his "fellow worker," who preached with him and Silvanus to the Corinthians (1 Cor 16:10). Paul sees Timothy as sharing in the same designation as himself in Philippians as a fellow "bond servant" (Phil 1:1). Paul sends Timothy to Thessalonike to observe and report on the believers' welfare. In this historical Timothy is Paul's emissary sent from him (1 Thess 1:1; 3: 1–2; 3: 6).[358] In 1 Thessalonians, Paul calls Timothy "our brother and God's fellow worker." However, when Paul sends Timothy to Corinth he is Paul's "beloved and faithful child in the Lord" (1 Cor 4:17) although we can glean from Romans 16:12 that he is not a member of Paul's family. This reference in 1 Corinthians 4:17 reveals the relationship between Paul, the official "apostle," and Timothy. Eleanor Dickey in her discussion of τέκνον as a form of address notes that it is often used in some sense *in loco parentis* by tutors, old nurses, friends of parents, etc.[359] This reveals a close kinship bond between the speaker and the addressee no matter the age of the addressee, only that the speaker is older than the addressee.[360]

Historical Timothy, as Paul's "child," is acting as his representative reminding the Corinthians of his ways "which are in Christ, just as I teach everywhere in every church" (1 Cor 4:17). This lays the ground work for the social rhetoric that is behind the use of the designation of "of my child" in 1 Timothy.[361] Pastoral Timothy is left as Paul's representative in Ephesus while pastoral Paul travels on business. This is the reverse of the situation in 1 Corinthians, Philippians, and Thessalonians where historical Timothy is sent as Paul's representative.[362] Nevertheless, the relationship between historical Paul, Timothy, and the church is established. Historical Timothy is acting as Paul's representative who is his "child" and is representing his father in his business affairs. The administrative letter frame that is evoked in 1 Timothy shifts the relationship from one of family relationships to business

[358] Margaret M. Mitchell, "New Testament Envoys in the Context of Greco-Roman Diplomatic and Epistolary Conventions: The Example of Timothy and Titus," *JBL* 111 (1992):641–662; Johnson, *Letters to Paul's Delegates*, 29–30.
[359] Eleanor Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address: From Herodotus to Lucian* (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1996), 68.
[360] The addressee can be in his forties and can still be addressed as a τέκνον, ibid. 68–69.
[361] Quinn and Wacker, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy*, 55–56.
[362] Mitchell argues that commissioning or dispatching formulas are in 1 Cor 4:17 and Phil 2:19—23 for Timothy, "New Testament Envoys," 652, and Timothy as a special envoy to the Thessalonians, 653.

relationships. This then explains the lack of greetings at the end of the letter as well as the commands structuring the letter body. The letter of 1 Timothy conforms to a model of an administrative letter far more closely than a private/family letter.

3.7. Previous Discussions on 1 Timothy as Administrative Correspondence.

In 1969 Ceslas Spicq, in the fourth edition of his commentary on the Pastoral Epistles, argued that "les Pastorales, surtout les lettres à Timothée, sont des Mandements et des Instructions" based partly on M. Rostovtzeff's work on P. Tebt. III 703 (late 3rd C. BCE). P. Tebt. III 703 begins, "a copy of the memorandum by Zenodorus follows below," and Rostovtzeff concluded that,

> the memorandum seems to be more than a mere arbitrary abridgement; it is rather an adaptation of a standard document on which the instructions given to officials of a certain class were based. But in spite of its personal and colloquial character it was hardly written expressly for the use of an oeconomus of the Arsinoïte nome. No mention is made of any particular locality, or of measures designed for any special circumstances; on the contrary, the instructions are of general application, and even the most personal remark (l. 258)…("what I told you in sending you to the nome"), might refer to any oeconomus, since there is no difficulty in supposing that each one on appointment had an audience with the dioecetes before leaving Alexandria for his province. In our view, then, 703 is one of the many copies of the standard instruction of the dioecetes to the oeconomi.[363]

Rostovtzeff went on to describe the importance of P.Tebt. III 703,

> The existence of ὑπομνήματα embodying official instructions was accordingly known; nevertheless 703 is a real revelation. For the first time we have not quotations from or mentions of an instruction, but the instruction itself; and for the first time we meet an instruction of a general, not a special, character. In fact, the document is a kind of vade-mecum for the oeconomus, who in the closing sentence is advised…["to keep the instructions in your hand, and to report on everything as has been ordered"]. It is, so to say, his appointment-charter.[364]

Spicq's identification of P.Tebt. III 703 in his commentary became a locus for identifying the genre of 1 Timothy by biblical scholars. Benjamin Fiore in his thesis pointed to P.Tebt. III 703

[363] M. Rostovtzeff, "Instructions of a Dioecetes to a Subordinate," in *The Tebtunis Papyri*, vol. III, ed. A. S Hunt and J.G. Symly (London: Humphrey Milford, 1933), no. 703, 66–102 (71).
[364] Ibid., 69.

as a possible example of the superior setting an example.[365] In his commentary on the Pastoral Epistles he draws an even closer parallel between 1 Timothy and P.Tebt. III 703,

> From a technical viewpoint these letters resemble official memoranda given in classical antiquity to subordinate officials on their assumption of a new position, such as the Egyptian Tebtunis papyrus 703. The memoranda outline duties, delimit prerogatives, and summarize what was discussed between the official and the subordinate before the latter's departure to his post. P. Tebt 703 even outlines qualities of outstanding rule and its opposite, and calls on the official to be a model ruler in the pattern of his superior…Reference to this sort official memorandum letter or appointment charter helps readers of the Pastoral Epistles make sense of the anomaly that the letters contain commands and duties that presumably would have been covered by Paul in meetings with Timothy and Titus before he left them in charge at Ephesus and Crete respectively.[366]

Others have also been persuaded that Spicq's identification of P.Tebt. III 703 is a parallel.[367] Timothy Luke Johnson argues that 1 Timothy is a *mandata principis* (commandments of a ruler) to a newly appointed delegate in a district or province and that,

> An almost perfect example is the Tebtunis Papyrus 703, in which an Egyptian senior official instructs a subordinate in some of his responsibilities. Much of the letter is taken up by specific tasks that the delegate is to undertake. But these alternate with passages that are broader and more general in character and that focus on the character of the delegate and his manner of conducting himself in his new position. The delegate is to exhibit himself as a model of the behaviour desired among the populace and can find in his own superior an example that he might also imitate.[368]

Johnson cites Fiore's earlier thesis for the basis of the assertion that P.Tebt. III 703 and 1 Timothy belong to the genre of *mandata principis*. He proposes that since *mandata principis* were proclaimed publically the exhortations to model the leader's example would be

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[365] *The Function of Personal Example*, 81—83.

[366] Fiore, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 9–10.

[367] Marshall, notes that 1 Timothy is lacking personal touches although it is addressed to Timothy and concludes "Both Tit and 1 Tim thus fit into the genre of mandates." There is, strangely, no discussion on the work of Spicq, Wolters, or Johnson on mandates as a genre. One must draw the inference that is he relying on Johnson, *Pastoral Epistles*, 12.

[368] Johnson, *Letters to Paul's Delegates: 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus*, 106.

publicly known. This leads Johnson to say "Such *mandata principis* letters provide the perfect literary antecedent for 1 Timothy and Titus."[369]

However, Margaret M. Mitchell in her article "PTebt 703 and the Genre of 1 Timothy: The Curious Career of a Ptolemaic Papyrus in Pauline Scholarship" is critical of the manner in which some New Testament scholars, and in particular Johnson, have alighted on Spicq's use of P.Tebt. III 703,

> Spicq regarded the situation of the *dioikētēs* of Alexandria as analogous to Paul, because he addressed his subordinates and 'leur enjoint de s'acquitter de leurs tâches avec le même soin et le même dévouement que saint Paul exigera des Pasteurs des communautés chrétiennes.' Spicq chose to illustrate this dynamic of superior addressing a subordinate to his job in a suitable manner by three quotations from PTebt 703…This reference to PTebt 703 is in the context of Spicq's initial argument that the Pastorals fit the 'genre littéraire' of the wide net of hellenistic government literature…Spicq did not seek to argue that this papyrus is somehow the generic template for the Pastorals, however, since later in the Introduction he will in fact defend another more specific generic proposal, that the Pastorals are a type of λόγος προτρεπτικός.[370]

At the heart of Mitchell's criticism is the identification of P.Tebt. III 703 as a generic template for the Pastorals. There are a number of problems with using this document in this way that she highlights. She argues that Fiore falls foul of "genre confusion" because he uses P.Tebt. III 703 even though it only awkwardly fits his into his category "epistolary." He does not discuss the difference between letters and memoranda, and calls the memorandum "a reminder" and a letter.[371] Her point is that memoranda are not letters since they are generically distinct literary entities that are attached to letters.

Mitchell goes on to utilize the discussion of Michael Wolter in his commentary to place her finger on the real difficulty of drawing a generic parallel between P.Tebt. III 703 and 1 Timothy.[372] The issue clusters around the inadequate description of P.Tebt. III 703, both in its actual state of preservation and its social and literary context. Wolter warned that one

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[369] Ibid., 107

[370] *NovT* 44 (2002): 344 – 370 (355–356).

[371] Ibid., 358; Fiore, "this letter" and "letters of this sort," *The Function of Personal Example*, note 9, 81; 83.

[372] Wolter, *Die Pastoralbriefe als Paulustradition*, 163–170.

should not draw too close a parallel between 1 Timothy and P.Tebt. III 703 because "of the papyrus' considerable distance, both geographically and chronologically, from the Pastorals."[373] Secondly, he "challenged Spicq's and Fiore's virtually sole concentration on the last 23 lines of the text, and he was the first to acknowledge that there are in fact major lacunae in six lines in the very middle of that section (lines 264–69), which alone should give pause about attributing too much to an uncertain portion of the text."[374] The centre of the issue boils down to the translation given by Rostovtzeff of these lines, which, although they include a number lacunae, he smooths over,

> But enough now on this subject. I thought it well to write down for you in this memorandum what I told you in sending you to the nome. I considered that your prime duty is to act with peculiar care, honestly, and in the best possible way…; and your next duty is to behave well and be upright in your district, to keep clear of bad company, to avoid all base collusion, to believe that, if you are without reproach in this, you will be held deserving of higher functions, to keep the instructions in your hand, and to report on everything as has been ordered (ll.257–80).

As Mitchell notes this translation gives the impression that these instructions are "personal instructions to the *oikonomos* about his ethical deportment in the execution of his office. But this impression is created by ignoring major gaps in the papyrus, and syntactical shifts in the intervening, but lost material (i.e., lines 264—69), which Rostovtzeff omitted from the translation altogether, remarking in a note only that they 'remain obscure.'"[375] Mitchell offers her translation of these lines indicating the lacunae,

> So let this suffice for these matters. But the things which I told you when sending you into the nome—these are the things I supposed it would be good to write down for you via the memorandum, too. For I considered it necessary, on the one hand, that you go forth in a most authoritative manner, privately? and just as . . .and from the best [ ] [ ] will be granted [ ] the just things suit[ ] least account [they] will credit?, for these things are close to them, too [ ] although [ ] the behavior and struggle of many in relation to us has been well attested, but (and?) after these things [for you?] to be orderly and unyielding in the districts, not to join up with bad companions, to flee every collusion which is for the worse, to consider that if in these matters you

[373] Mitchell, "PTebt 703 and the Genre of 1 Timothy," 360 commenting on Wolter, *Die Pastoralbriefe als Paulustradition*, 164; 163—164 and fn. 13.
[374] Mitchell, "PTebt 703 and the Genre of 1 Timothy," 361.
[375] Ibid., 350.

shall be faultless you will be deemed worthy of greater ones, to have the memoranda at hand and to write letters concerning each of these matters just as it is commanded.[376]

Mitchell discusses a number of translation difficulties in her article, but suffice to say that Rostovtzeff has produced a "consistently ethically-leaning translation" which departs from the more business like sense offered by her.[377] As we see in P.Tebt. I 27 there is a focus on the behaviour of the *oikonomos* in carrying out his duty and a warning not to collude with bad company. Rostovtzeff's translation has led some scholars like Fiore to see the *dioikētēs* as setting an example, which the *oikonomos* is to imitate in lines 270–271. Johnson in turn relies on Fiore's discussion and infers "that this phrase refers to a mimetic interchange between the *oikonomos* and the *dioikētēs* who sends him: 'He is to behave in a manner without reproach, fleeing from any form of vice. And he can find an example of such 'behavior and striving' (*anastrophē kai agonia*) in the superior who sends the letter (*kath' hemas*, lines 270—71).'"[378] Mitchell, however, argues the phrase καθ' ἡμᾶς relates to the rebellious behaviour on the part of some residents rather than the behaviour of the sender. It is unfortunate that problems with the original translation have led to a domino effect of faulty assessments about the parallel that can be drawn from P.Tebt. III 703 and 1 Timothy.

In her analysis Mitchell is most critical of Johnson's mishandling of the genre categories regarding P.Tebt. III 703, *mandata principis* and 1 Timothy, since he conflates all three into one genre category, "some scholars have recognized the literary resemblance between such letters and 1 Timothy and Titus, categorising them as a whole as *mandata principis* (commandments of a ruler) letters, in recognition of the dominant place held by commandments…in them."[379] Johnson calls P.Tebt. III 703 and the *mandata principis* letters, which they are not. As we can see from Rostovtzeff's translation of P.Tebt. III 703, the writer calls this piece of correspondence a memorandum. Further, *mandata principis* are not letters either, but constitute a distinct genre.[380] The *mandata principis* were introduced by Augustus into his imperial administration and may have owed something to the Ptolemaic

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[376] Ibid., 351.
[377] Ibid., 353.
[378] Mitchell quoting and discussing Luke Timothy Johnson, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy*, The Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday), 140, in "PTebt 703 and the Genre of 1 Timothy," 353.
[379] Johnson, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy*, 140.
[380] See discussion in Mitchell, "PTebt 703 and the Genre of 1 Timothy," 360–363, on Wolter, *Die Pastoralbriefe als Paulustradition*.

memorandum as Rostovtzeff suggested, but this is a far cry from conflating the two as Mitchell notes "to name our 3rd c. BCE papyrus 'an almost perfect example' of a Roman administrative invention of the first *princeps* Augustus has a troublingly anachronistic ring to it."[381]

As has been demonstrated, 1 Timothy has features that lead to the conclusion that it belongs generically to an administrative letter style. Further we saw in our analysis of P.Tebt. I 27 that discussions about the conduct of the addressee can occur in administrative letters. P.Tebt. III 703 is a memorandum outlining the duties of the *oikonomos*, which includes oversight of agricultural tasks, transport, the collection of revenues, treatment of runaways, and rules about official correspondence.[382] As Mitchell points out the lines gaining the most attention by New Testament scholars come at the very end of the memorandum and appear to be a postscript. Spicq was right to see the parallel between P.Tebt. III 703 and 1 Timothy as an example of the dynamic between a superior and a subordinate. His focus was on the social schema that lay between the sender and the addressee.

Yet the genre of memorandum and letters does not lie so far apart that one would not expect interaction between the two; memoranda after all are administrative correspondence and are in fact appended to covering letters. What is far more crucial is to see P.Tebt. III 703 as part of a larger literary and social milieu as Spicq implies. It is not that P.Tebt. III 703 is a pattern for 1 Timothy, but it is part of the wider literary activity of administration. The need is to look for over-arching patterns that belong to administrative correspondence and to detect underlying social interactions in operation. This we have sought to do in the above analysis of administrative letters as a sub-genre of personal correspondence.

So what does P.Tebt. III 703 tell us about the dynamic between a superior and a subordinate? There are three major points that can be taken from P.Tebt. III 703 in relation to the other administrative correspondence we have discussed. First, the superior in P.Tebt. III 703 is issuing the subordinate with a detailed description of the tasks that he needs to

[381] Mitchell, "PTebt 703 and the Genre of 1 Timothy," 348, 364.
[382] M. Rostovtzeff, "703. Instructions of a Dioecetes to a Subordinate," in *The Tebtunis Papyri*, ed. A.S. Hunt and J.G. Smyly (London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1933), 66–102.

perform. This seems a regular part of the memorandum, but the additional note is a reminder of the discussion that they had before the subordinate left for his nome (l.258–261). His comment indicates that these are not what he thinks would be usual in a memorandum about duties. He adds them anyway as a reminder of their previous conversation. The focus is not on the subordinate being a model in his nome, but his willingness to do his job unflinchingly as commanded, to flee from corruption and if he is found to "be faultless you will be deemed worthy of greater ones." It is a reminder that there are career prospects for those who do their job thoroughly. These sentiments are the positive in comparison to the negative of P.Tebt. I 27. Hermias is failing in his duties, despite being corrected in the past. So the second major point is that there is a concern about the corruption that can occur if a newly appointed administrator falls in with the wrong company. Thirdly, the *oikonomos* is to "be orderly and unyielding in the districts" and not join up with bad company which implies the converse– to seek out good company. We see this in P.Tebt. I 27.42—43 were Hermias is commanded to "see" "that suitable persons are appointed to the aforesaid offices" and these persons are to be zealous for the work and "are conspicuous for honesty and steadiness."

P.Tebt. I 27 is in many ways a closer parallel to 1 Timothy both in its genre, its structure, and the use of imperatives to order appropriate conduct on behalf of the addressee. Just as Hermias is to select honest and steadfast men to carry out the duties involving the crops, so pastoral Timothy is to select men of character for the roles of elder and deacon. The lack of detail in their roles indicates that the focus is on the right type of man as it is in P.Tebt. I 27. Further, Timothy is commanded to remind "certain men" not to "teach strange doctrines" or more literally "to teach differently." In some ways Timothy is in the same situation as Harneltotes in P.Tebt. I 27 as both are passing on a rebuke and reminding the offender/s of their duty. There is a similar social interaction at play in both letters, but it must be recognised that the players in these social dramas are not exactly aligned. Harneltotes writes to Hermias as peer to peer with instructions from their mutual superior (or so it seems), while pastoral Paul writes to Timothy as the superior instructing him to reprimand what appear to be his charges or peers. Pastoral Timothy is in effect in Harneltotes' shoes.

3.7.1. Summary

Identifying 1 Timothy as administrative correspondence assists the reader, as Fiore observed in regard to P.Tebt. III 703, to "make sense of the anomaly" of written commands that are repeating oral instructions.[383] However, 1 Timothy is not a close parallel to P.Tebt. III 703 or any particular piece of administrative correspondence. Instead, it belongs to a class of correspondence: the administrative letter. This generic identification allows the reader to enter into the implied social interaction being established between the recipient and the sender. We again return to the discussion at the beginning of this chapter. The writer has composed 1 Timothy according to generic patterns that best fit the circumstances and the intention of pastoral Paul. The genre allows the reader to judge the intention of the implied author by observing "the purposeful design of the narrative." In this case the social dynamic that is activated by pastoral Paul is that of an older official writing to a junior colleague, who he considers a son. They are both working in what must be thought of as some formal group, since it can have a type of administrative correspondence. It is more than a group of friends, but an organised collective with officials called "elders" and "deacons" and possibly a formalised collective of widows. The correspondence is not reflecting exactly the conventions of governmental correspondence, but has its own conventions.

These conventions are unique to the Pauline correspondence. This leads to the conclusion that 1 Timothy belongs to a group of people who see themselves as a formalised institution built around the person of Paul the apostle. The letter writer is portraying Paul as an official in an institution governed by his commands and instructions. The use of the administrative letter invites the reader into a world of institutionalised bureaucracy, not of government, but of a formalised group of people pictured as living in Ephesus. That the letter draws on the administrative letter style while at the same time maintaining continuity with the Pauline correspondence invites the thought that the writer is drawing on well-known conventions and adapting them for his own purpose. One can start to see that Spicq's gravitation to various parallels was not so far off the mark. As Mitchell concludes the affinity in language and the "communicative structure" (Wolter) between the Pastoral Epistles and a wide range of ancient Hellenistic and Roman administrative and diplomatic correspondence (Spicq) helps discern, "the broad cultural conventions in place for administration by proxy in the ancient Mediterranean world, conventions which were so ubiquitous and effective that

[383] Fiore, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 10.

they were quickly adopted by the missionary movements of Christians, in both the first and subsequent generations."[384]

3.8. The "communicative structure" of 1 Timothy

We are now in a position to return to 1 Timothy to explore its "communicative structure" as an administrative letter of a social group or community portrayed as living in Ephesus. As we have discussed, the salutation is vital in activating the social conventions between the sender and the recipient of the letter. We have already covered the basic form of the salutation of 1 Timothy, but as we discovered there a number of peculiarities when compared with the usual Pauline salutation.

3.8.1. The Sender: Paul an Apostle

To understand the relationship between pastoral Paul and Timothy we will now consider the appellations used to activate the social conventions between them. Once again the A to B formula in the salutation:

Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ κατ' ἐπιταγὴν θεοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν Τιμοθέῳ γνησίῳ τέκνῳ ἐν πίστει·

"Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus [according to a command] of God our saviour, and Christ Jesus who is our hope, To Timothy, *my* true child in *the* faith..." (1 Timothy 1:1).

A social convention is activated by the sender Paul introducing himself as "an apostle of Christ Jesus [according to a command] of God our Savior and Christ Jesus our hope." This indicates that he is an office holder of Christ Jesus within the Christian community. This office holder is called "an apostle." The scholarly literature on the term "apostle" is extensive. [385] It appears to be a term co-opted by the Christian community and may relate to the rabbinic position "sent man," who acted as a representative.[386] This idea has not gone without criticism. Some scholars pointed out that attestation for the Rabbinic "sent man" was too late for the New Testament period.[387] W. Schmithals showed comprehensively that the rabbinic "sent man" and the Pauline idea of the Apostle were not comparable. Schmithals, however, argued that the office was an appropriation of a missionary office in

[384] Mitchell, "PTebt 703 and the Genre of 1 Timothy," 368–369.
[385] Francis H. Agnew, "The Origin of the NT Apostle-Concept: A Review of Research," *JBL* 105 (1986): 75–96.
[386] Ibid., 79–85.
[387] Ibid., 87.

Judaism or Christian Jewish Gnosticism.[388] This argument was rejected, but the response brought about a more refined investigation beginning from Paul's letters.[389] There was a recognition that behind both the rabbinic "sent man" and the term "apostle" lay a sending convention used to describe figures of profound significance in the Old Testament and New Testament, including Jesus himself.[390] This brings us to the definition of the term itself which the lexicon LSJ gives as, ἀπόστολ-ος, ὁ, "messenger, ambassador, envoy." LSJ notes its use in Herodotus,

> "Such is the Milesian story. Then, when the Delphic reply was brought to Alyattes, straightway he sent a herald to Miletus, offering to make a truce with Thrasybulus and the Milesians during his building of the temple. So the envoy (ὃ μὲν δὴ ἀπόστολος) went to Miletus" (*The Persian Wars* 1.21 [Godley, LCL]).

And in Josephus,

> Having in this way regulated affairs, Varus left as a garrison in Jerusalem the legion formerly there, and hastened to Antioch. Meanwhile Archelaus in Rome saw new troubles beginning for him for the following reasons. There arrived at Rome a delegation (πρεσβεία) of Jews, which Varus had permitted the nation to send (τὸν ἀπόστολον αὐτῶν τῷ ἔθνει ἐπικεχωρηκότος), for the purpose of asking autonomy (*Jewish Antiquities*, 17. 229—300 [Marcus & Wikgren, LCL]).

What is fascinating here in Josephus is the relationship between the words πρεσβεία (lit. "council of elders") and τὸν ἀπόστολον (lit. "their embassy of the nation"). The word πρεσβεία was used in Royal Hellenistic correspondence in Asia Minor to mean "embassy" (Welles 75.6) or "envoys" (Welles 1.30; 2.6; 3.93; 7.2,9; 15.2,21; 68.8). A πρεσβεία was a representative council sent to the king from a city. It was a diplomatic mission asking for favours, an arbitration of a dispute, or the settlement of a point of law.[391] While the noun ἀπόστολος is not found in Welles' *Royal Letters* the verb ἀποστέλλω is used in relation to the envoys. The LSJ observes that ἀποστέλλω can be used to mean "dispatch, on some mission or service"; for instance Sophocles, has Odysseus say,

> Do you stay here now and wait for him; I will be off, so as not to be seen by him, and shall send (ἀποστελῶ) the scout back to the ship. And if you seem to me to be taking

[388] Walter Schmithals, *The Office of Apostle in the Early Church*, trans. John E. Steely (London: SPCK, 1971), 229–230; cf. Betz, *Galatians*, 74–75.
[389] Agnew, "The Origin of the NT Apostle-Concept," 93–94.
[390] Ibid., 94–96.
[391] Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, xxxix.

too long, I will send back that same man, disguising him as a sea captain, so that he will not be known (*Philoctetes* 123–128 [Hugh Lloyd-Jones LCL]).

In Welles' collection of royal letters, the verb ἀποστέλλω is used in relation to a mission or an official messenger such as an envoy. An excellent example is Welles letter 1, "Letter of Antigonus to Scepsis announcing the peace concluded with Cassander, Lysimachus and Ptomey" (311 BCE, pp. 1–6),

"After the arrangements with Cassander and Lysimachus had been completed, to conclude which they had sent Prepelaus with full authority, Ptolemy sent (ἀπέστειλεν) envoys (πρέσβεις) to us asking that a truce be made with him also."(ll.25–30).[392]

"We sent (ἀπεστείλαμεν) Aristodemus and Aeschylus and Hegesias to draw up the agreement. "(ll. 47–48)[393]

"…therefore it seems to me best for you to take the oath which we have sent (ἀφεστάλκαμεν)" (ll.65–66).[394]

"It seemed best to me then to write you also about these matters and to send (ἀποστεῖλαι) to you Acius to speak further on the subject" (ll.69–70).[395]

In this letter we clearly see the workings of the negotiations for a peace treaty between Antigonus on one side and the coalition of Cassander, Lysimachus, and Ptolemy on the other. It was a treaty that marked a humiliating defeat for Antigonus, who had attempted to win all of Alexander's empire for himself.[396] The interest for us in this letter is that the verb ἀποστέλλω is used for sending envoys as representatives to negotiate a treaty. In lines 69—70 it is clear that Acius has been commissioned to speak on behalf of Antigonus in elaboration of what has been written. This verb ἀποστέλλω is used in a similar manner in other letters in Welles' collection (3.2, 62, 63; 4.12, 15 (C.303 BCE); 7.3,21,27 (283/2 BCE); 33.4 (c.205 BCE); 48.4 (?); 58.3 (163–156 BCE).

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[392] Ibid., 5—6.
[393] Ibid., 6.
[394] Ibid.
[395] Ibid.
[396] Ibid., 7.

As we see in its Hellenistic usage in the royal letters the verb ἀποστέλλω is often related to official envoys who speak on behalf of a general or a king. Indeed, the participial form can be translated as "envoys" or "representatives,"

"…and still further because your envoys (ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπεσταλμένους) expressed with great enthusiasm the good-will which you have for us." (Welles 25. 27, 240 BCE);[397]

"Pythagoras and Clitus, the envoys (οἱ ἀποσταλέντες) sent out by you, have both delivered the decree and themselves spoken to us to secure our consent that your city and its land be sacred to Dionysus and inviolable and tax-exempt." (Welles 35 .3, 205–201 BCE);[398]

"[The agreement?] drawn up by Aristomachus of Pergamum our agent (τοῦ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀποσταλέντος) and by representatives chosen by you (τῶμ προχειρισθέντων ὑφ' ὑμῶν) and by the Teans." (Welles 53 III C. 5—7, reign of Eumenes II).[399]

The last citation is particularly interesting. It comes from a letter in which King Eumenes II arbitrates between a Guild and the city of Teos. The Guild's purpose was to unite in one organisation all the specialists required for the holding of a "musical festival."[400] The guild was independent of the city and friction appears to have arisen, which needed the King's attention.[401] Unfortunately the inscription is badly broken up, but Welles was able to discern some order between the fragments.[402] What is of interest to us is that King Eumenes describes his agent or representative in this matter as "the one who is sent"; that is, his apostle. The king expects that in this negotiation that both the guild and the city will send its own representatives, who he calls τῶμ προχειρισθέντων ὑφ' ὑμῶν (l.6–7). This illustrates nicely the association of the term "apostle" with the king's own representative. On the other hand, the representatives of the guild and the city are called "the ones who have been

[397] Ibid., 120.
[398] Ibid., 153.
[399] Ibid., 226.
[400] Ibid., 231; There were similar guilds in Athens and Isthmus.
[401] Ibid., 232.
[402] Ibid., 232–233.

assigned." It is used of those who have been given an official task to represent another or a city (Polybius, *Histories* 6.58.3, 4; 11.29.6). It is used of Christ, who was assigned (τὸν προκεχειρισμένον) by God to act on behalf of "the brethren" in Peter's speech in Acts 3:17–20. Therefore, in the letter of King Eumenes II, we have an apostle representing the king and acting on his behalf negotiating with representatives assigned to negotiate on behalf of the guild or city. The word "apostle," therefore, in this context has an extended meaning beyond "a messenger" since it clearly means "a representative" or "an ambassador." Thus we can conclude that the term "apostle" in the New Testament was an appropriation from the Greek and its core meaning is "a representative."

In Romans historical Paul uses the term "apostle" for himself and the saints, "Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom we have received (ἐλάβομεν) grace and apostleship (ἀποστολὴν)" (1:1–6). Here Paul calls himself "an apostle," but also infers that the Romans have an apostleship of sorts since he includes them in the plural "we have received" (ἐλάβομεν). Clearly Paul has in mind the idea that all the Roman believers are representatives or ambassadors sent from God. But it is also clear that historical Paul saw his apostleship as a unique office "called as an apostle," which is reminiscent of King Eumenes' ambassador. This is also the implication behind 1 Corinthians 1:1, "Paul, called *as* an apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God" and 2 Corinthians 1:1 "Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God." In I Corinthians Paul identifies himself as among the apostles,

> You are already filled, you have already become rich, you have become kings without us; and indeed, *I* wish that you had become kings so that we also might reign with you. For, I think, God has exhibited us apostles (τοὺς ἀποστόλους) last of all, as men condemned to death; because we have become a spectacle to the world, both to angels and to men (4:8–9).

Further, in Galatians we see Paul defining what it means to be an apostle, "Paul, an apostle (ἀπόστολος) (not *sent* from men nor through the agency of man, but through Jesus Christ and God the Father, who raised Him from the dead)" (1:1). Historical Paul clearly has in mind the idea that an apostle is a commissioned agent sent on behalf of God the father, through Jesus Christ. This is a similar to the ambassadorial arrangement we see in the Royal Letters (Welles 25. 27; 35.3 & 53 III C 6). In conclusion, Paul is acting as an ambassador for God the Father sent by or commissioned by Jesus Christ.

The idea that Paul is an ambassador for God the Father seems reasonably straight forward. However, it is the circumstances surrounding his commissioning as an apostle that seems to cause historical Paul some anxiety. Paul outlines his calling in Galatians,

> For I would have you know, brethren, that the gospel which was preached by me is not according to man. For I neither received it from man, nor was I taught it, but I *received it* through a revelation of Jesus Christ (ἀλλὰ δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) (1:11–12).

Betz comments that Paul's revelation of Christ "points to a visionary experience of some sort, while the order to proclaim the gospel among the Gentiles implies a verbal revelation."[403] This revelation is the key to understanding Paul's apostleship and to this we now turn.

The word ἀποκάλυψις is used overwhelming by Jewish/Christian writers. In many places in the Septuagint the act of uncovering is associated with revealing nakedness and therefore shame (Leviticus 18:7).[404] There are, however, occurrences where it is used of the Lord revealing a particular thing (Psalms 28:9 LXX; Job 41:5 LXX). In Sirach the word becomes associated with uncovering secrets (Sirach 4:18; 6:9; 11:27; Cf. Philo, *Cher*. 14) and this can be by the Lord (Sirach 1:30). This association with the revelation of secrets by God comes to its fruition in Jubilees, "This first one (Enoch) learnt and taught writing, and he was thought worthy of revealing divine mysteries (θείων μυστηρίων ἀποκαλύψεως ἀξιοῦται)" (fragment n; Cf. fragment w).[405] But it is in the New Testament that ἀποκάλυψις is used overwhelmingly to mean the revelation of God. In Simeon's prophetic words in Luke, ἀποκάλυψις is inserted into Isaiah's "light to the nations," "A light of revelation (ἀποκάλυψιν) to the Gentiles, and the glory of your people Israel" (Luke 2:32; Isaiah 9:2; 42:6; 49:6; 51:4; 60:1–3 LXX). It is associated with the uncovering of secrets by the Lord (Rom 2:5) or the revelation of his mysteries or himself (Rom 16:25).[406] Ἀποκάλυψις becomes associated with the appearance of Christ at the end of the eschaton (1 Pet 1:7; 13; 4:13), and

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[403] Betz, *Galatians*, 64.

[404] Cf. Lev 20:19 LXX; Num 5:18 LXX; Isa 3:17 LXX.

[405] Greek text from A. M. Denis ed., *Fragmenta pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt Graeca* [Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece 3]. (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 70–101. Accessed from Thesaurus Linguae Graecae® Digital Library, http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/Iris/Cite?1464:001:25 (accessed 2 March 2017), Translation by the author; For a succinct history of the Greek text see O.S. Wintermute, "Jubilees," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2013), 41—43; Compare text and translation of "Jubilees," 4:17 (62).

[406] Also 1 Cor 14:2; 2 Cor 12:1,7; Gal 1:12; 2:2; Eph 1:17; 3:3; Phil 3:15; 2 Thess 1:7; Rev 1:1.

end times' language in Romans 8:19, 1 Corinthians 1:7, and Ephesians 3:3. What can be surmised from our survey is that ἀποκάλυψις was being used as jargon to mean an action by God in which he reveals hidden secrets about himself and Christ. Further to this it became tightly connected with the appearance of Jesus at the end of the age.

When we return to Galatians 1: 11–12 we can see that historical Paul is using the word to mean that he has received his gospel through a special revelation of Jesus Christ. This could mean that a divine secret was told to him or that he saw Jesus. If one takes Paul's Damacus Road experience in Acts as the background to these words, then it appears that historical Paul is meaning the second option. In recent times some scholars have questioned whether Paul is referring to this experience, or if it is a later development.[407] In particular there have been questions about Paul's reliability in describing the connection between his conversion and his call to be an apostle.[408] While it is a valid historical question, what concerns us here is how historical Paul has presented his call to apostleship to his readers. It is this presentation that forms the background to the appellation of apostle in the salutation of 1 Timothy.

When we turn to 1 Corinthians we find two references that historical Paul makes in defending his apostleship in relation to the revelation of Jesus Christ. In 1 Corinthians 9:1–2 he says,

> Am I not free? Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Jesus our Lord? Are you not my work in the Lord? If to others I am not an apostle, at least I am to you; for you are the seal of my apostleship in the Lord.

The reference to seeing the Lord does not stand on its own but forms a piece in the rhetorical questioning. The answer to all these questions is an unequivocal "yes." Historical Paul is claiming he had seen the Lord. This reference is then expanded upon in 1 Corinthians 15. In this chapter he reassures the Corinthians of the bona fides of the gospel which he

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[407] Paula Fredriksen, "Paul and Augustine: Conversion Narratives, Orthodox Traditions, and the Retrospective Self," *JTS* 37 (1986): 3–34; Larry W. Hurtado, "Convert, Apostate or Apostle to the Nations: The 'Conversion' of Paul in Recent Scholarship," *Studies in Religion* 22 (1993): 273–284; Terence L. Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles: Remapping the Apostle's Convictional World* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), 16–18; cf. Matthew Mitchell, *Abortion and the Apostolate: A Study in Pauline Conversion, Rhetoric, and Scholarship* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009), 76–81.

[408] Fredriksen, "Paul and Augustine," 33–34.

preached to them (1 Cor 15: 1–2). He rehearses the resurrection story of Christ and places himself within its frame,

> Then He appeared to James, then to all the apostles; and last of all, as to one untimely born, He appeared to me also. For I am the least of the apostles, and not fit to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God. But by the grace of God I am what I am, and His grace toward me did not prove vain; but I labored even more than all of them, yet not I, but the grace of God with me (1 Cor 15: 7–10).

Historical Paul's claim that he saw the Lord in 1 Corinthians 9: 1–2 is a resurrection appearance, but one out of sequence with the other apostles or "as to one untimely born." Mathew Mitchell in his study of Paul's use of the term "as to one untimely born" argues that it is not so much the timing of Paul's resurrection appearance but that,

> it is far more likely that Paul's reference to being an "abortion" (reading ἔκτρωμα in its normal sense) refers simply to his place among the apostles. That is, *he portrays himself as something that is cast aside (hidden away) or rejected in the manner of an aborted/miscarried fetus, most likely with respect to his claims to equal authority with the other apostles.*[409]

He goes on to point out that this implies that Paul feels the need to continually explain and defend his apostolic commissioning. Historical Paul's apostolic commissioning is tied to his revelation of Jesus, which forms the basis for his authority as an apostle. This revelation is defined in 1 Corinthians 9 as seeing Jesus "our Lord." This revelation then is the actual appearance of Jesus. And while this visionary experience that is not out of the ordinary in the Graeco-Roman world, it does appear to be the cause of some anxiety on the part of historical Paul. This anxiety must be linked in some way with his claim to have seen the risen Jesus and his authority as an apostle. We now turn to consider the terms of pastoral Paul's calling as an apostle in 1 Timothy.

3.8.2. The Will of God and the Command of God

It is quite remarkable that even in the salutation of his letters historical Paul reiterates his claim to be an apostle. The special conditions of Paul's call goes some way to explain the expanded appellation that he so frequently attaches to his designation "Paul an apostle." As we saw in the earlier discussion of the salutation of Paul's epistles, 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians are the reminiscent of 1 Timothy. In 1 and 2 Corinthians the appellation "an

[409] Mitchell, *Abortion and the Apostolate*, 156.

apostle of Jesus Christ" is completed by the propositional phrase "by the will God" (διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ). While the exact phrase is not used in the Septuagint, the idea of God's will being exercised within the life of a person is common enough: "To do your will (τὸ θέλημά σου), O my God, I desired" (Psalms 39 [40]: 9 [8]). [410]

In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* 12:11.2 the genitive is used "And in later times there shall rise up the beloved of the Lord…one who does his good pleasure (θελήματος αὐτοῦ) by his mouth…"[411] This is reminiscent of its use in John 1: 12—13: "to those who believe in His name, who were born, not of blood nor of the will of the flesh (ἐκ θελήματος) nor of the will of man (ἐκ θελήματος), but of God." In these references God's will can order a person's the life, even unknowingly. This is an idea confined to the Septuagint and Jewish writings. The phrase "by the will of God" is rare in both Greek literature and the epigraphical record. This stands in stark contrast to the phrase used in 1 Timothy 1:1 "according to a command of God" (κατ' ἐπιταγὴν θεοῦ). The modification of the appellation in 1 Timothy 1 is not one of literary variation, but actually reformulates pastoral Paul's apostleship in terms more readily recognisable to a Greek audience. "According to a command" (κατ᾽ ἐπιταγήν) is a phrase found in Polybius, *The Histories*, where it means that Hercules was "by order" (12.26:3 quoting Timaius, *Hist* [Paton, LCL]). The phrase is also in the Greek version of 1 Enoch (*Apocalypsis Enochi* 3–5:2). In both cases the phrase refers to the command of a deity. The word alone (ἐπιταγή) can refer to a command of a monarch (Polybius, *Hist*, 13:4:3, 13:7:6; 1 *Esdras* 1:16), commissioners (Polyb. 30:13:6), an advisor (Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 12.79:7), an army commander (Dionysius Halicarnassus, *Ant. rom.*, 8:79:2) or the command of a deity (*Wisdom of Salomon* 18:15; *Apocalypsis Enochi* 21:6).[412]

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[410] Translations of Septuagint passages taken from NETS. For individual translators see bibliography; Also Psalms 29 (30): 5(4)—6(5), "Make music to the Lord, O you his devout…because wrath is in his fury and life is in his will (ἐν τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ)"; Psalms 142 (143): 10: "Teach me that I do your will (τὸ θέλημά σου), because you are my God"; God/the Lord can also exert his will in a person unknowingly: "who tells Cyrus to be wise and says, 'He shall carry out all my wishes (τὰ θελήματά μου)'" (Esaias 44: 28); 1 Esdras 8: 16; 9:9; 1 Maccabees 3:60 ("will of heaven" here); Psalm 15 (16): 3; Psalm 102 (103): 7; Psalms of Salomon 7:3.

[411] H.C. Kee, "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," in *The Old Tesatment Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J.H. Charlesworth, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2013), 828.

[412] Used in context of official commands in documents from Asia Minor inscribed in the Roman period, Christina Kokkinia, "Aphrodisias's 'Rights of Liberty': Diplomatic Strategies and the Roman Governor," in *Aphrodisias Papers. 4: New Research on the City and Its Monuments*, ed. R. R. R. Smith & Christopher Ratté (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2008), 51–59, see appendix no 5, translation p.56; Robert K. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East: Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus*, ed. Paul Viereck (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1969), Inscription no 26, col. B, l. 38, (149).

It is in the epigraphical record that the phrase "according to a command" (κατ᾽ ἐπιταγήν) takes on a significant meaning. It was a formula that was widely and regularly used on votives to refer to a command of a deity or deities.[413] Its use in inscriptions appears throughout the Greek speaking Mediterranean, although it predominates in Anatolia. For instance this example from Lycia (Zwölfgötter-Reliefs 13 (1994), no. C8, p.23, 3rd C. CE),

[δ]ώδεκα θεοῖς κατ᾽ ἐπιταγὴν Ἀ̣πολλώνιος.
"To the twelve gods Apollonios (dedicated this) in accordance with a command (κατ᾽ ἐπιταγὴν̣)."[414]

The formula is used here in connection with a Lycian local cult, which produced many of these standardized votive reliefs.[415] Similar examples of the formula can be furnished for other deities:

Asclepios, (Lydia, Robert, *Hellenica* VI, no. 29, p.85),

[…ὑ]πὲρ Γερελλ̣ύτυχίας τῆς τοῦ γυναικὸς [Ἀ]σκληπιῷ Σωτῆρι
5 κατὰ ἐπιταγήν.
"…on behalf of (his?) wife Gerellutychia to Asclepios saviour according to a command."[416]

Hermes and the twelve gods and Artemis Kunegen (Lycia, Zwölfgötter-Reliefs (1994), no.6, S7),

Ἑρμῇ καὶ δώδεκα θεοῖς καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι <K>υνηγέτι {⁴ΙΔΙVΝΗ}⁴ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῶν
κατ᾽ ἐπιταγὴν ΕΝΔΑΔΙC-ΕΡΜ̣(?)

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[413] A. D. Nock, "Studies in the Graeco-Roman Beliefs of the Empire," *JHS* 45 (1925): 84–101 (For discussion of the formula pp. 95–98); Brigitte Freyer-Schauenburg, "Die Lykischen Zwölfgötter-Reliefs," *Asia Minor Studien* Band 13 (1994), 69.
[414] Translation G.H.R. Horsley, and S. Mitchell, ed. *The Inscriptions of Central Pisidia: Including Texts from Kremna, Ariassos, Keraia, Hyia, Panemoteichos, the Sanctuary of Apollo of the Perminoundeis, Sia, Kocaaliler, and the DöŞEme BoğAzı*, Central Pisidia (Bonn: Habelt, 2000), number 89 (99).
[415] These votive reliefs always have twelve men with spears in the upper registry and twelve dogs in a lower. Freyer-Schauenburg suggests that they are hunting gods, "Die Lykischen Zwölfgötter-Reliefs," 71.
[416] Translation by the author; for discussion on Asklepios as saviour see Michael T. Compton, "The Association of Hygieia with Asklepios in Graeco-Roman Asklepieion Medicine," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 57 (2002): 312–329.

“Hermes and the twelve gods and Artemis Kunegen {IΔIVNH} and our father according to a command ENDADIC-EPM.”[417]

From the work undertaken by F. T. van Straten it appears that the bulk of these inscriptions, when they are dated, are from the second or third centuries CE.[418] However, there is evidence that this phrase was used in inscriptions ranging from first century BCE to the early second century CE (*ICret* I, XVII, 17 (1st C. BCE); *IG* II^2 4724 (1st C. CE); *IG* II^2 4497(1st–2nd C. CE); *IDelos* 2413 (1st —2nd C. CE)).[419] While these inscriptions are from Athens or the Aegean, the inscriptions from the sanctuary of Apollon Lairbenos, located NE of Hierapolis in Phrygia, may date from the first century. Of particular interest is MAMA 4 no. 277 A, pp. 101–102,

Ἀπόλλων[α] Λαιρμηνὸν θε̣ὸ̣[ν] ἐπιφανῆ κατὰ ἐπ[ι]ταγὴν Χαρίξενο̣[ς]
5 Μενεκλέους [Δ]ι̣ο̣νυσοπολείτη̣[ς].
“Apollos Lairmenos god manifest in accordance with a command κατὰ (ἐπ[ι]ταγὴν) Charixenos Menekleos from Dionysopolis [set up this statue].”[420]

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[417] Translation by the author; The letters that are inserted and are at the end of the inscription most likely have a magical purpose, see discussion on additional letters in F.T. van Straten, "Daikrates' Dream: A Votive Relief from Kos and Some Other Kat' Onar Dedications," BABESCH 51 (1976):1–38 (8); Other examples, a) Zeus (Panderma [Mysia], Hasluck, JHS 26 (1906), no. 6, p.28),
Οὐάρι<ο>ς … Πωλλίων κατ’ ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνέθηκα εἰκετεύων.
“I, Varius … Pollion, as a suppliant, set up [this stele] according to the god’s command,” (translated by Paul McKechnie, Macquarie University, 2017).
This broken stele has two reliefs the upper one Hasluck identifies as Zeus with an eagle. The lower one has a man leading a bull to sacrifice. F. W. Hasluck, "Poemanenum," JHS 26 (1906): 23–31 (28); a similar relief from Cyzicus (Mysia) is a possible comparison (IMT Kyz Kapu Dağ 1559). In the relief a man standing dressed in a long tunic holds a tripod (?) sacrificing a ram before a square altar. Near the altar two young girls stand. On the plinth reads Ἀπολλώνιος Δειαπτιανὸς κατὰ ἐπιταγή[ν].
b) Men (Asia Minor, 122–123 CE [Eugene Lane, Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis (CMRDM), IV vols., vol. I (Leiden: Brill, 1971), p. 22, no. 33],
Ἔτους σζ’, μη(νὸς) Ξανδικοῦ βί, κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν Μηνὸς Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἀξιοττηνοῦ, Ἤπιος τ[ι]βερίου Φιλοκάλου δοῦλος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἀνέθηκεν,
“Year 207 (122 CE), twelve day of Xandikos, according to a command (κατ’ ἐπιταγὴν) Men of Artemidoros Axiottenos, Epios Tiberios slave of Philokalos set up [this votive] for himself and his children,” (translation by author with the assistance of Paul McKechnie). (Cf. No 61 (142–143 CE), 41–420).
c) To an unidentifiable god who is most manifest (Apollon Lairbenos, EA 43 (2010), 3, p.44, earlier than 217/8 CE),
[ ] Οὐίβιος Ὀνήσιμος [Ἀπόλλωνι] Λαιρμηνῷ κατ’ ἐπι-[ταγὴν το]ῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου [θεοῦ τὸν] ἀνδριάντα [ἐκ τῶν ἰ]δίων ἀνέστησεν [μετὰ]ας τῆς θυγατρός· [Ἔτους…] μη(νὸς) Ἀρτεμεισίου. [number?]
“According to the command (κατ’ ἐπι[ταγὴν]) of the most manifest god Vibius Onesimos set up this statue from his own resources to Apollon Lairmenos. The year [ ] in the month of Artemisios of the year…” (translation Esengül Akinci & Cumhur Tanriver, "New Inscriptions from the Sanctuary of Apollon Lairbenos," in Epigraphica Anatolica 43 (Bonn: R. Habelt, 2010): 43—49 [44–45]).
[418] Straten, "Daikrates' Dream,” 24—25
[419] Ibid.
[420] Translation by the author.

The editors of MAMA 4 note that a deed of manumission on this pedestal is dated CE 208/209 but the original inscription is much older than this.[421] The first century date is strengthen by newer finds at this site dating around 217/18 or earlier (*EA* 43, nos. 2, 3, 6). An even earlier date is suggested by R.A. Kearsley for a dedication to the Dioskoroi from southern Asia Minor,

(vac.) Διοσκόροις *(vacat)* σωτῆρσι Γαῖος Οὐέττιος(vac.) <κατ'> ἐπιταγὴ<ν> ἀνέθηκεν
"To the Dioskoroi, saviors, Gaius Vettius set this up (in accordance with) a command (<κατ'> ἐπιταγὴ<ν>)."[422]

Kearsley notes that the formulation of the Roman name gives no indication that the bearer is of provincial origin and "indeed, if the absence of a *cognomen* here is taken as a clear indication of early date, as is frequently the case elsewhere, this man might even have been an Augustan colonist."[423] This evidence suggests that the phrase "according to a command" was used to describe the instructions given by a god or gods in a vision or dream from the first century CE in Asia Minor.

The question is how are these gods commanding their devotees? As Lane notes the god Men can command a simple vow (Lane, CMRDM 1 33, p.93) or the erection of an altar (Lane, CMRDM 1 49, p.85), or compel an action by a cult organization (Lane, CMRDM 1 53, p.54), but the inscriptions to Men do not indicate how the god communicated his commands.[424] Van Straten in his survey of votives from the Attic period to the Roman period found that there was a change in relationship between gods and men.[425] In the earlier reliefs, deities, although larger in size than their devotees, were depicted in the same plane and usually

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[421] W. H. Buckler, W.M. Calder, and W.K. Chambers, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua: Monuments and Documents from Eastern Asia and Western Galatia*, vol. 4 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1933), 101–102.

[422] Translation by R.A. Kearsley, "Cultural Diversity in Roman Pisida: The Cult of the Dioskouroi," in *Actes Du Ler CongrèS International Sur Antioche De Pisidie*, ed. Thomas Drew-Bear, Christine M. Thomas, and Mehmet Taşlıalan (Lyon; Paris: Université Lumière-Lyon 2; Diffusion de Boccard, 2002), 401–416 (408); for further details and an image of the stele see G. H. R. Horsley, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Burdur Archaeological Museum*, vol. 34 (London: British Institute at Ankara, 2007), 33, pl. 36 (33–34).

[423] Kearsley, "Cultural Diversity in Roman Pisida," 408.

[424] Eugene Lane, CMRDM, vol. III (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 23–25.

[425] F.T. van Straten, "Images of Gods and Men in a Changing Society: Self Identity in Hellenistic Society," in *Images and Ideologies: Self-Definition in Hellenistic World*, ed. A. W. Bulloch, et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 248–264.

faced them; further, they were often depicted interacting with them in the scene. In later reliefs the gods are frequently pictured in a different register to their human devotees and they are often turned outward facing the viewer rather than the depicted worshippers. Van Straten, with some reservations because of his reliance on the archaeological evidence, points to something of a trend during the course of the Hellenistic period where the worshippers "experience an increasing verticality in their relationship with the gods, not unlike the position of subjects to an absolute ruler."[426] It is in this period of change that the votive inscriptions described above can be placed.[427] The deities command their worshippers to act. In his earlier article, van Straten outlines dreams and visions as possible means by which commands were given.[428] Of interest here is the relief from the Athenian Asklepieion (IG II² 4497, 1st or 2nd C. CE),

Φιλήμων Μεμμίο[υ] κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν Ἀσκληπιῶι καὶ Ὑγιείᾳ. [429]
"Philemon son of Memmios [made this] for Asklepios and Hygenia according to a command (κατ' ἐπιταγὴν)."[430]

What is of interest here is the accompanying relief of a snake coiled around a staff. Van Straten describes how patients in need of healing often slept in the Asklepieion in the hope of seeing the god or his statue in a dream or vision.[431] He would then provide instructions for the patient's healing. A clearer connection between the commands and visions/dreams is the second century CE relief stele from Magnesia (Sber Wien 265/I, 1969, 58-63 Nr.15).[432] It is a confession inscription typical in Phrygia. In this inscription Meidon confessed to Zeus Trosou and the *diakonoi* that he ate things before they were properly consecrated and he subsequently became speechless. The god revealed himself to Meidon in his sleep and commanded him (ἀπεμάκκωσεν αὐτὸν) to set up the stele.[433] The accompanying relief is of an eagle perched on an altar with a detached hand offering or taking something from it. Van

[426] Ibid. 263–264.
[427] Ibid., 259.
[428] "Daikrates' Dream," 6–10.
[429] Ibid., 7.
[430] Translation by the author.
[431] Straten, "Daikrates' Dream," 7–8; Artemidorus argued that if a dreamer saw a statue of a god or goddess it was the same as seeing him or her in person, *Oneirocritic* II.35 [P159, 24–160, 3]. For discussion, see Luther H. Martin, "Aelius Aristides and the Technology of Oracular Dreams," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 14 (1987): 65–72.
[432] Text found in Straten, "Daikrates' Dream," 9.
[433] Ibid.

Straten suggests that this may have been the image that was revealed in the dream.[434] Van Straten's argument that the images displayed relate to the dream of the dedicatee is supported by a stele of the second century CE reported by G.H.R. Horsley in the Burdur museum,

"Termilas, son of Trogodas, grandson of Mananis, to Meter Ore(i)a in accordance with the instruction (κατ' ἐπιταγὴν) of a dream (ὀνείρου)."[435]

The relief shows the goddess seated in a high backed chair holding a cup and a staff. Either side of her is a seated lioness. The inscription strongly suggests that Termilas believed he saw Meter Oreia in a dream and she commanded him to set up this stele. [436] There are numerous votive offerings in which the dedicatee describes the appearance of a deity, deities or supernatural phenomenon.

Visions and dreams are key elements in *The Book of Acts* in moving the story line forward. Paul, as his story is told in Acts, is struck blind after his vision of the Lord (Acts 9:8). Paul converses with the Lord, who then commands him to "get up and enter the city, and it will be told you what you must do" (Acts 9:6). The story then goes on to tell how Ananias also in a vision (ἐν ὁράματι) is commanded "get up (Ἀναστὰς πορεύθητι) and go to the street called Straight, and inquire at the house of Judas for a man from Tarsus named Saul, for he is praying, and he has seen in a vision a man named Ananias come in and lay his hands on him, so that he might regain his sight" (Acts 9: 11–12). In this part of the story the reader discovers that Paul has had a second vision (καὶ εἶδεν ἄνδρα ἐν ὁράματι), perhaps while praying. While these are visions rather than dreams the line between the two is blurred as van Straten suggests.[437] In Acts 16:9 a vision appeared to Paul in the night (ὅραμα διὰ νυκτὸς) and directed him to go to Macedonia (cf. Acts 18:9). Similarly, Pausanias (2nd C. CE) relates how Alexander was instructed to found Smyrna "in accordance with a vision in a

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[434] Ibid., 9–10.

[435] (Pisidia) Horsley, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Burdur Archaeological Museum*, 34, 115, pl. 119 (85–86).

[436] Similarly, one dedicatee says he was commanded by a dream (κατ᾽ ὄναρ; κατ᾽ ὄνειρον), Straten, "Daikrates' Dream," 6; Van Straten cites Mylinlene: S. Charitonides, *Ai Epigraphai tes Lesbou: Sympleroma* (1968), no 34; Akpinar Camii: F Dörner, *Inschriften und Denkmäler aus Bithynien, Istanb. Forsch* 14 (1941) 64, no. 37; Thessalonica: *IG* X 2, 1, 67.

[437] Straten, "Daikrates' Dream," 2.

dream" (κατ᾽ ὄψιν ὀνείρατος, Pausanias VII 5, 1–2 [Jones, LCL]) while he was sleeping under a plane tree.

The phrase "by a command of God" in 1 Timothy is very evocative in the Asia Minor context. It relates to the appearance of a deity, who commands the devotee in a vison or dream. For readers in Ephesus or anywhere in Anatolia, the appellation, "Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus according to the commandment of God" in 1 Timothy would imply that Paul had seen a vision and had received a command. This indicates that the writer of 1 Timothy has made a conscious decision to select the phrase "by the command of God" to describe pastoral Paul's appointment as an apostle. There are some implications to the writer's selection.
First, the writer of 1 Timothy is aware of the Pauline tradition that historical Paul had become an apostle by seeing the Lord (1 Cor 9:1) through a vision (Acts 9:8; Gal 1: 11, 12). Secondly, the phrase sets out the relationship between Paul and God and Jesus Christ. The καί coordinates these two agents as it does in the inscriptions (Lyk. Zwölfgötter-Reliefs 6, S7; IG II² 4497). It is both God and Jesus Christ who commission Paul as an apostle by a command.

In the examples offered above, the vision receiver is usually commanded to set up a stele, but in a very interesting inscription from Philadelphia a Dionysius is commanded by Zeus to establish an association or a household cult (*SIG* 3.985).[438] Leaving aside the vexed question about what kind of group is involved, it is clear that Dionysius has had a revelation of Zeus,

> For health and common salvation and the finest reputation the ordinances given to Dionysius in his sleep were written up, giving access into his *oikos* to men and women, free people and slaves…To this man Zeus has given ordinances for the performance of the purifications, the cleansings and the mysteries, in accordance with ancestral custom and as has now been written (ll.2–6 & 12–14).[439]

The implications of this inscription for our understanding of Christian communities has not been lost on New Testament scholars. S.C. Barton and G.H.R. Horsley, who take the inscription to be the ordinances for an association, point to the similarities between

[438] For the view that this inscription relates to an association see S. C. Barton and G.H.R. Horsley, "A Hellenistic Cult Group and the New Testament Churches," *JAC* 24 (1981):7—41; as an oikos cult see, Stanley K. Stowers, "A Cult from Philadelphia: Oikos Religion or Cultic Association?," in *The Early Church in Its Context: Essays in Honor of Everett Ferguson*, ed. Abraham J. Malherbe, Frederick W. Norris, and James W. Thompson (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1998), 287–301.
[439] Translation by Barton & Horsley, "A Hellenistic Cult Group and the New Testament Churches," 9.

Dionysius' dream and the appeals to divine inspiration in the early churches in "the form of prophecies, revelations, dreams, visions or pneumatic utterances."[440] Barton and Horsley discuss in general manifestations of the spirit in Christian communities in relation to this inscription, but it is apparent that there are similarities between Dionysius and historical/pastoral Paul. Both men claimed to have seen a god who commanded them to establish some sort of community regulated by divine instructions. This makes sense of historical Paul's claim that he was called as an apostle to the Gentiles. Whether this was in fact a later development is not of any consequence in terms of historical Paul's presentation of his apostleship.[441] His commissioning as an apostle to the Gentiles is being styled in Acts in similar terms to Dionysius' commissioning by Zeus. Certainly there are strong conceptual links between Paul's commissioning in Acts and Dionysius' experience. More to the point it sheds light on 1 Timothy. Pastoral Paul's apostleship is "by the command of God…and Christ Jesus" and this command in 1 Timothy relates not only to Paul's commissioning and authority as an apostle but to the commands that follow in the letter. By amending pastoral Paul's appellation to indicate that he was commanded by God and Christ Jesus, the writer has located Paul's commissioning in the context of a potent cultural schema in Asia Minor. He thus dispenses with any concerns about pastoral Paul's authority as an apostle. Therefore, it can be proposed that the instructions in 1 Timothy would be viewed by an Asia Minor audience as an understandable development of pastoral Paul's vision. In a similar way to pastoral Paul, Dionysius receives commands or ordinances from Zeus for a community of people in his care (however they have come together) and these ordinances are then written up for all to see on the stele, which presumably was installed in an easily accessible location. The commands in 1 Timothy are therefore not just the commands of pastoral Paul, but Paul receiving the instructions from "God our Savior and Christ Jesus" (1 Tim 1:1). This verse portrays the community as one shaped directly by God and Christ Jesus as it is for those in Dionysius' association/household. It is not that pastoral Paul has personal authority to instruct, but that he is the representative through whom the instructions are given from those in the positions of true authority over the community; that is God and Christ Jesus. This then ties in with the ambassadorial allusions in styling the letter as an administrative letter. Just as a king's envoys/agents are sent to represent him in negotiations, so Paul is a

[440] Ibid., 29.
[441] Mitchell, *Abortion and the Apostolate*, 52–66.

representative of God.[442] His actions and his words are as though they were of God and Jesus Christ.

3.8.3. The Recipient: My True Child

The language of representation does not end with Paul, but continues with pastoral Timothy's appellation as "my true child in the faith" (Τιμοθέῳ γνησίῳ τέκνῳ ἐν πίστει) (1 Tim 1:2). This appellation has received little attention. As we have already discussed, the reader of this letter, if conversant with the undisputed letters, would know that Timothy is not biologically Paul's son. It is a fictional address which is not out of the ordinary in ancient letter writing.[443] Also we have already noted that at 1 Corinthians 4:17 historical Paul calls Timothy "my child" (μου τέκνον). There is actually some disparity between the address of fathers to sons in the Egyptian papyri and pastoral Paul's appellation in regard to Timothy. In the Egyptian papyri fathers usually address their sons using υἱος; for instance, P.Oxy. III 531 (2nd C CE),

Κορνήλιος Ἱέρακι τῷ γλυκυτάτωι υἱῷ χαίρειν.
"Cornelius to his sweetest son, Hierax, greeting."[444]

Additional terms of endearment are not uncommon as this example demonstrates. However, the appellation τέκνον "child" as an appellation is infrequent. It occurs in P. Oxy. XXXVIII 2860 (2nd C. CE),

Ἡρακλάμμων Καλλίστῳ τῶι τιμιωτάτῳ τέκνῳ χαίρειν (l.1),
"Heraklammon to Kallistos his most honoured child, greetings."

The editor notes that he has not been able to find a parallel for this effusive greeting.[445] However, a search of the inscriptions in the epigraphy.packhum.org database reveals that τέκνων in the dative was commonly used in relation to sons in Greece and Anatolia. The

[442] Mitchell reaches the same conclusion "New Testament Envoys," 646.
[443] Eleanor Dickey, "Literal and Extended Use of Kinship Terms in Documentary Papyri," *Mnemosyne* 57, no. 2 (2004), 131–176; "Family terminology for social relationships?" G.H.R. Horsley, ed. *New Documents Illustrating Early Chrisitianty*, vol. 1 (North Ryde: The Ancient History Documentary Centre Macquarie University, 1981), 59–61.
[444] Similarly, "Ἀπολλωνίωι τῶι υἱῶι" P. Oxy. VIII 1153 (1st C. CE); numerous other examples could be furnished.
[445] Cf. P.Oxy. VII 1063 (2nd or 3rd C. CE), χαίροις, τέκνον Ἀμόι.

number of citations from Anatolia is overwhelming. For instance (Lycia, IK Kibyra 142, 1st – 2nd C. CE),

Βασιλίσκος Καλλικλέ< ο>υς Βασιλίσκῳ τῷ γλυκυτάτῷ τέκνῳ μνήμης χά *(vac.)*ριν *(leaf)*. "Basiliskos, son of Kallikles, for Basiliskos, his sweetest child, as a remembrance."[446]

A search of the database for τέκνον in the dative in Syria and Egypt revealed a sparse use of the word as an appellation. This suggests that historical Paul's appellation of "child" in 1 Corinthians is according to the local custom of Anatolia and Greece.[447] The preservation of "my child" in 1 Timothy 1:2 demonstrates that the term had currency with the audience. It would seem that historical Paul in 1 Corinthians is implying that he considered his relationship to Timothy as a father to a son. This suggests an adoption arrangement in the relationship between Paul and Timothy.[448] As is apparent in 1 Corinthians, historical Timothy is acting as Paul's representative (1 Cor 4:17). So too in 1 Timothy, pastoral Paul has left Timothy behind as his representative in the community.

The son as a representative of the father taps into a very evocative strain of thought in the Graeco-Roman culture. Barry Strauss argues that the father-son relationship was ideologically potent in ancient Athens. This ideology was a part of the everyday life of the Athenian *polis* and *oikos*,

> One of the things that made the father-son relationship an important and efficacious Athenian ideological symbol was its presence in a variety of settings and intensities, from the humble to the exalted, from the commonplace to the sacred. A part of everyday life within the domestic unit, fathers and sons played a significant role in Athenian communal and religious rituals too, and they were frequently the subject of Attic tragedy and comedy. Furthermore…*patêr* and *pais* and their derivatives were

[446] Translated by G.H.R. Horsley, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Burdur Archaeological Museum* 34, 207, pl.174 (125–126).

[447] Dickey notes that in Greek literature parents addressing a dead or dying son or daughter use τέκνον 94% of the time, *Greek Forms of Address*, 68. Its use in this situation perhaps gives an indication of the tenderness of the term.

[448] For a description of adoption under Roman law and its relevance to the Greek East see, F. Lyall, "Roman Law in the Writings of Paul: Adoption," *JBL* 88 (1969): 458–466; rules for adopting a son in the Greek East, Hugh Lindsay, "Adoption and Heirship in Greece and Rome," in *Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman World*, ed. Beryl Rawson (Malden; Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, 2011), 346–360.

> words with strong political connotations. Hence, the pervasiveness of the father-son relationship contributed to its power as an ideological symbol.[449]

Of importance to us is the idea that a son represented his father and his *oikos* to the world. This could be for better or for the worse. Strauss describes how an Athenian was expected to take pride in his father and his ancestry.[450] In response a father hoped to be proud of his son. While the rich took pride in genealogies that could be traced back to gods, goddesses and heroes, the poor, although not able to trace their lineage in such a way, could display pride in and hope for their sons. As Strauss discusses,

> It was an Athenian commonplace that a father's children (daughters and sons) were to him 'the dearest of the dear' (Ar. *Ach*. 326–329) or 'the dearest of people' (Aeschin, 2.152). The rich made sacrifices at the birth of a child (Plut. *Mor*. 497a), but one did not have to be rich to rejoice (*getheô*) at the news that one's wife was going into labor, and then to hear the midwife say 'it's a boy! a real lion of a boy and the image of his dad! (Ar. *Thesm*. 507—516).'[451]

We have already seen in the inscriptions and the papyri that affectionate terms were used by fathers in addressing their sons in the Imperial period. The ideals of the father-son relationship were well known in this era through the curriculum of Greek literature taught in schools, even at the most primary level of education.

There is none more canonical than Homer.[452] The Odyssey is replete with images of the proud father.[453] After Odysseus tells Achilles that his son was a hero, he is transported, "So [Odysseus] spoke, and the ghost of the grandson of Aeacus departed with long strides over the field of asphodel, joyful in that I said that his son was preeminent" (Homer, *Od*. 11.538–540).[454] Even more potent is the last scene of the *Odyssey* because it pictures a working relationship between three generations. As the three men prepare to defend their *oikos* against the vengeful families and friends of the now dead suitors, Odysseus admonishes Telemachus, his son, not to shame their fathers. Telemachus answered him: "You shall see

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[449] Barry S. Strauss, *Fathers and Sons in Athens: Ideology and Society in the Era of the Peloponnesian War* (London: Routledge, 1993), 32.
[450] Ibid., 72.
[451] Ibid.
[452] Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt,* 49–51.
[453] Although the *Iliad* was more extensively used in schools, the *Odyssey* was known and used by school students in Roman Egypt, Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, 50; eg. No. 335 (p. 256) of Cribiore's catalogue is the remains of a *Scholia Minora* to the *Odyssey* 1.441–444.
[454] All citations of Homer, *Odyssey*, trans. A. T. Murray. LCL (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919).

me, if you wish, dear father, as far as my present mood goes, bringing no disgrace whatsoever on your lineage, as you suggest" (24.510–512). But as Strauss remarks it is grandfather Laertes who takes the greatest pleasure in their lively interchange saying "what a day is this for me, kind gods! I utterly rejoice: my son and my son's son are quarrelling over which is the bravest" (24.514–515).[455] Indeed, Telemachus is the ideal son, who demonstrates his father's character in courage, tenacity, and a facility for taking care of himself. He does not shrink back from voyaging away from home in search of his father (2.410–434), he is able to befriend strangers (15.265–270; 15.325–336), he is honourable in the company of his father's friends (3.70–110), so much so he receives their help (3.464–497, 15.202–221), he is pleased to be reunited with his father but not overly emotional so that he makes a good conspirator (16.213–257), he easily falls in with his father's strategy holding his news close to his chest (17.6–15), and in the implementation of his father's plan he is strong and courageous (22.108–133), not flinching from killing those who had inhabited his house while growing up. This picture of Telemachus makes a good foil in understanding the relationship between pastoral Paul and Timothy. As a son inherited his father's property, he also inherited his reputation, his friendships and enmities.[456] In 1 Timothy we see pastoral Paul sailing away, leaving his son to deal with his problems and his opponents.

In 1 Timothy, pastoral Timothy is the one to bear his father's reputation as an apostle. This is the flip side of the relationship. The son is to represent and carry on the father's reputation and his *oikos*, but the father's duty is to leave a good example. Pseudo-Plutarch in *The Education of Children* (1st –2nd C. CE) discusses the appropriate selection of attendants and teachers for children, but punctuates and concludes his discussion by stressing the importance of a father's example,

> Fathers ought above all, by not misbehaving and by doing as they ought to do, to make themselves a manifest example to their children, so that the latter, by looking at their fathers' lives as at a mirror, may be deterred from disgraceful deeds and words. (20 [Babbitt, LCL]).

Pseudo-Plutarch stresses throughout the essay that a man should take care of his children's education, which includes modelling the character he hopes for. He must do this if he desires a son who will not bring shame upon himself and not squander his inheritance,

[455] Strauss, *Fathers and Sons in Athens*, 74.
[456] Ibid., 77.

> Does a man who bears the name of father think more of gratifying those who ask favours than he thinks of the education of his children? (τῆς τῶν τέκνων παιδεύσεως;) (7, *The Education of Children* [Babbitt, LCL]).

The man in Pseudo-Plutarch "bears the name of his father," or in other words, with him resides the family honour and so it is his duty to attend to his sons' education. If pastoral Timothy is to be a son to Paul, then Paul is to be a father to Timothy. He has not only trained pastoral Timothy but left him a model (1 Tim 1:12–16; 4: 6–16).

Fiore in his thesis made the connection between the use of example in the Pastoral Epistles and the Socratic letters.[457] The example of pastoral Paul as a father to Timothy established here in the salutation sets the ideological scene for the instructions given to Timothy as he represents his absent father to the community his father has authority over. Few have recognised that historical/pastoral Paul does not have a unique claim to authority over the church in Ephesus. To the Corinthian church, as historical Paul says, he is their founding father (1 Cor 4:15).[458] But here in Ephesus we know there are rival claims.[459] Yet the writer does not make an explicit claim to be the founding father as historical Paul does in 1 Corinthians, rather it is here in the salutation that he pegs out an authority structure that implies pastoral Paul's claim to be a father. As pastoral Paul sets out for Macedonia he hands his responsibility to Timothy his son. In a sense pastoral Paul is bequeathing his authority over the community as a father passes on his authority to his son over their *oikos*. It is hardly surprising that we find this statement at a pivotal juncture in the letter,

> I am writing these things to you, hoping to come to you before long; but in case I am delayed, I write so that you will know how one ought to conduct himself in the household of God (ἐν οἴκῳ θεοῦ), which is the church of the living God, the pillar and support of the truth (1 Tim 3:14–15).

Like Telemachus, whose father sailed away, pastoral Timothy is left as the sole heir to Paul's authority. Unlike Odysseus, pastoral Paul was able to leave instructions for Timothy to follow. But we should be careful to note that the instructions are not about the *oikos*, the church; rather they are about how pastoral Timothy is to conduct himself in the household. Pastoral Timothy has this letter so he may closely follow his father's plan, just as Telemachus

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[457] Fiore, *The Function of Personal Example*, 198–231 (1 Timothy 198–201).
[458] E. Best, "Paul's Apostolic Authority–?" *JSNST* 8 (1986): 3–25.
[459] Paul R. Trebilco, *The Early Christians in Ephesus from Paul to Ignatius* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 712–717.

closely follows Odysseus' plan in ridding their *oikos* of the murderous rabble. In 1 Timothy 3:14 "these things" (ταῦτα) are not just the instructions outlined in the letter, but also the example that pastoral Paul has modelled as Timothy's father. The ideology of the father-son relationship has come together in the unique relationship between pastoral Paul and Timothy.[460]

3.9. Conclusion

Where does this leave us in terms of genre? We began this chapter by arguing that 1 Timothy is an administrative letter; but does the identification of father-son ideology counter this? Would the letter be better thought of as a personal letter between a father and a son? As has been demonstrated, the generic markers place the letter in the category of a business or administrative letter. We have also seen that letters between fathers and sons when dealing with business affairs fit more easily into the category of business letters. Since we are dealing with an organised community, which the writer of 1 Timothy describes as "the church of God" (1 Tim 3:5, 15), then there is no reason to not see the letter as an administrative letter. The idea of the *oikos* is not as twenty-first century Westerners would conceive of as a family.[461] It could involve a large group of people as Stowers points out in discussing the stele of Dionysius.[462] It is this stele that opens up the possibility of joining the ideology of the father-son relationship and pastoral Paul's commissioning as an apostle, who establishes an *oikos* based on the command of a god, with the practicalities of administrating a large group of people that we find in 1 Timothy. This letter is not by a faded Paulinist borrowing on historical Paul's authority, but a thoughtful and creative writer who is seeking to weave together the Christian tradition with the Greek culture in order to administer a group of disparate people.[463] As we shall see this is no easy task and the challenges facing the writer of 1 Timothy are difficult yet stimulating to his creative passion. The father-son relationship within the *oikos* gives us the ideological framework, which forms

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[460] This ideology is also represented in Roman thought, Anthony Corbeill, "Rhetorical Education and Social Reproduction in the Republic and Early Empire," in *A Companion to Roman Rhetoric*, ed. William and Jon Hall Dominik (Blackwell Reference Online. 05 July 2016 <http://www.blackwellreference.com/subscriber/tocnode.html?id=g9781405120913_chunk_g97814051209139> Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 67–82.

[461] Strauss, *Fathers and Sons in Athens*, 33–36.

[462] Stowers, "A Cult from Philadelphia," 295–296.

[463] Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 2 vols. Trans. Kendrick Grobel (New York: SCM Press, 1955), 2.183, "a somewhat faded Paulinism"; A. T. Hanson, *The Pastoral Letters: Commentary on the First and Second Letters to Timothy and the Letter to Titus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 15, "[The author] himself was not a man of original genius as Paul was."

an integral strand of 1 Timothy. What we shall see is the pattern of thought woven into it shows us “how one ought to conduct [oneself] in the household of God” (1 Tim 3:15).

Chapter 4
The Command and the Instruction

In the last chapter we concluded by saying that the father-son relationship within the *oikos* gives us the ideological framework of 1 Timothy. In this chapter we will investigate how this father-son ideology has been deployed by the writer of 1 Timothy to achieve his purpose in writing the letter. Through the letter we are introduced to the relationship between Paul an apostle and his son Timothy. We have found that the salutation activates an ideologically powerful set of expectations and ideals lying within their social and intellectual world. Understanding this will aid us as readers to understand internalised expectations that the writer manipulates to achieve his purpose. The pseudepigraphical nature of the work does not reduce the potency of these tactics. The writer writes as if he were writing to his son pastoral Timothy. The intended audience, alive to the ideology evoked, are invited to identify with pastoral Timothy as he receives the full import of his father's direction.[464] Telemachus' relationship with his father Odysseus gives us a picture of the loyal, noble, and obedient son, and it is this kind of expectation that is generated by 1 Timothy. However, since we only have the father's direction, a vacuum is created that awaits fulfilment. Yet this direction has the potential to be fulfilled if the audience identifies with pastoral Timothy. The social rhetoric can then become activated within them. But first we need to clarify the writer's purpose. This will occupy us for most of the chapter, but then we will return to consider the implications of the writer's purpose in light of the father-son ideology.

4.1. Paul's Purpose

In the description of letter writing in the last chapter, it was noted that the purpose of a letter is normally given in the body opening. Further, it was deduced that this was the case in 1 Timothy as the writer reiterates the initial instruction at the close of the letter. It was noted that this device was used in the administrative letter P.Tebt. I 27, which was most likely used to prompt to the addressee to act. To understand the purpose of 1 Timothy as a letter it is essential to grasp the writer's intent as summarised in this opening sentence. This intent is to be viewed from the perspective of Paul the letter writer. What is the message that pastoral Paul is striving to convey from across the sea to his son Timothy? As we will see

[464] Strauss, *Fathers and Sons in Athens*, 214—216.

there is urgency in this opening sentence, which compels pastoral Paul to write. To understand this opening sentence is to understand the purpose of pastoral Paul's letter to Timothy. In administrative letters it is frequently the case that the statement of purpose can be quite stark, without any modifiers such as "I want you to know." So too 1 Timothy lacks any such modifiers,

Καθὼς παρεκάλεσά σε προσμεῖναι ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, πορευόμενος εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ἵνα παραγγείλῃς τισὶν μὴ ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν μηδὲ προσέχειν μύθοις καὶ γενεαλογίαις ἀπεράντοις, αἵτινες ἐκζητήσεις παρέχουσι μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ τὴν ἐν πίστει. (1 Timothy 1:3-4).

It opens with an appeal "As I urged you." It is common in everyday letters that instructions are referred to if the letter writer or the recipient is away from home. Here pastoral Paul is "going to Macedonia." This is a complex sentence made up of a dependent clause followed by two clauses joined by a conjunction.[465] The first of these two clauses contains some form of injunction against certain activities. The last of these two clauses is modified by a relative clause, which in itself contains an adverbial phrase that gives the content of the activity that is to be pursued. In order to grasp the writer's intended purpose we will analyse this rather complex sentence in parts.

4.2. The First Clause: "As I urged you…"

The sentence begins with the conjunction καθὼς "just as,"[466] or "as," which makes this a dependent clause of a complex sentence. This type of construction using καθὼς at the beginning of the letter body is often found in informal, private, and business letters. A number of letters illustrate this tendency.

P.Bad.4.48 (Papyrus), Hipponon, 28 Oct 127 BCE,

> Dionysia to Theon her lord, greetings and health.

[465] Quinn and Wacker observe that the sentence is anacoluthon, they comment that it has been "artfully crafted as an opening for the body of this epistle," *The First and Second Letters to Timothy*, 69–70.
[466] GNT.

> I myself am well. I continually keep the best remembrance of you for all good, and I pray to the gods that I may receive you healthy in many ways, because you both rescued us from enemies and again left us and went away against enemies (εἰς πολεμίους). Know (γείνωσκε) then, as (καθὼς) you gave instructions (ἐπέταξας) to carry out and sell the unnecessary goods, when I brought out the mattress, Neon laid hands on it in the agora, and with great violence (ὕβριν) seized it.[467]

Bagnall and Cribiore in their discussion about this letter comment that Dionysia had a good command of Greek.[468] This letter is of interest to us as the body proper begins with "know then, as (καθὼς) you gave instructions…" Dionysia is in the reverse circumstances to the situation portrayed in 1 Timothy. She has skilfully used the health wish/prayer, often so formulaic, to remind her husband of the circumstances he has left her in to face alone.[469] It is interesting to note that she does not name the enemies but relies on the term πολεμίους. The first clause beginning with καθὼς details her husband's instructions, while the independent clause reveals her consequences. Bagnall and Cribiore perceive a growing culture of letter writing among women in Egypt in the Roman era. They describe these letters as casual and written in colloquial style reflecting the writers' direct address (whether actually penning or dictating).[470] Dionysia's letter also reflects this same directness and colloquial style; however, she does use many of the conventions that appear in letters of this period. That she begins the body of the letter γείνωσκε οὖ[ν], which is a more conventional opening for the body of the letter, demonstrates an awareness of more a formal letter writing style.[471]

Some private and business letters of this era do not contain the usual conventions as Dionysia's letter, beginning the letter body with the bare καθώς.

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[467] Roger S. Bagnall, Raffaella Cribiore and Evie Ahtaridis, *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC–AD 800* (New York: University of Michigan Press (ACLS Humanities E-Book), 2008), Letter A2.3 No 9; (2006 ed. pp. 107–108).

[468] Ibid., see notes on Letter A2.3 No 9.

[469] For a discussion on the customary formulations of the health/prayer wish in personal letters see, Mallory Matsumoto, "Divine Intervention: Invocations of Deities in Personal Correspondence from Graeco-Roman Egypt," *Classical World* 106 (2013): 645–663.

[470] Bagnall, Cribiore and Ahtaridis, *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC–AD 800*, para. 74–78.

[471] White, *Light from Ancient Letters*, 207; for other similar examples of this conventional phrase see J.L. White, *The 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* (Missoula, MT: Society of Biblical Literature for the Seminar on Paul, 1972), 12–13.

P.Bagnall 12 (Ostraca), Xeron Pelagos, ca. 115 – 130 CE,

Ἀφρῳδιτοῦς (Ἀφροδιτοῦς) Βουβᾶτι τῶι ἀδελ(φῷ) χα(ίρειν). καθὼς ἠρώτηκά σε περὶ τῶν γραμματίῳν, σπουδάσῃς μοι πέμψε(πέμψαι), κύριε, ἀσφαλῶς (ll.1–5).
"Aphroditûs to Bubas, brother. Greetings. As I have asked you about the contracts, make haste to send them to me, Lord, safely."[472]

What is interesting in this example is that the writer has constructed the command using the subjunctive. [473] This is indicative of the types of uses that the subjunctive was put to in the everyday letter. It is conceivable that the letter writer has chosen the subjunctive in order to provide a sense of politeness "may you make haste" to a recipient he calls κύριε.[474]

The papyrus letter P.Bas. 17 (unknown location, 25 BCE–100 CE?) has the same opening formula as P.Bagnall 12 (καθὼς…subjunctive in the expected independent clause),

χαρίτων Λεοντᾷ χαίρειν. καθὼς παρακέκληκά σε περὶ διαρούρου μοι ποτίσε (ποτίσαι) κατασπεῖραι, μή μου ἀμελήσῃς (ll.1–5).
"Chariton to Leonta, greetings. As I have urged you about the two-aroura field, please water and sow [it], do not be neglectful of me."[475]

As can be seen in the survey above, I Timothy is following a similar pattern to the everyday letters. Opening the letter body with καθώς is rare in the more formal administrative letters, which 1 Timothy appears to be modelled on.[476] The informality of this opening is certainly suggested in that it is restricted to the personal or private business letters usually found on

[472] Translated by author; Translated into French, Hélène Cuvigny, "11–12. Conductor Praesidii" in *Papyrological Texts in Honor of Roger S. Bagnall*, ed. Rodney Ast, Hélène Cuvigny, Todd M. Hickey, and Julia Lougovaya. (Durham, NC: The American Society of Papyrologists, 2013), 67–74; cf. P. Oxy. XLI 2984 (2nd/3rd C. CE).
[473] A similar construction is found in O. Did 389 (ca. 115–120 CE), although the independent clause uses an imperative: Φιλοκλῆς Ἀρρίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χ(αίρειν) ἄδελφε. καθὼς ἐνετίλου (ἐνετείλου) περὶ τῶ (τοῦ) ἀνθρώπω (ἀνθρώπου), ἀπῆ<λ>θε εὐθύως (εὐθέως) (ll. 1-4).
[474] The imperative is used in O.Did 389, l.4 (ca. 115 – 120 CE); O. Did. 327, ll.5–6 (ca. 77 – 92 CE); O.Claud. 2.293, ll.2–3 (ca. 142 – 143 CE); for a discussion on relational softeners in letters see Kidson, "1 Timothy: An Administrative Letter," 107–108.
[475] Translation by author.
[476] P.Tebt. III 712, l.3 (ca. 125–100 BCE) is a rare example.

the ostraca.[477] Many of these letters contain orthographical errors suggesting that the letter writers possessed only a basic education. Only in the late second to early third century CE papyri does the tendency to begin the letter body with καθώς become a frequent occurrence.[478] The writer of 1 Timothy is using a formulation for opening the letter body that is used by a group of writers, who are writing within physically limited space. As Roger Bagnall discusses in *Everyday Writing in the Graeco-Roman East*, the writers for the sake of brevity, restrict their communication to barest necessity.[479] As Bagnall's discussion implies, these short letters are messages of the most ephemeral type and are designed to convey the greatest amount of information in briefest manner. They are, like Dionysia's letter, expressed in a direct and colloquial manner. In 1 Timothy, the dependent clause opening with καθώς in conjunction with the command imparts a sense of urgency to the communication.

The writer envisages pastoral Paul urging Timothy to remain in Ephesus while he travels to Macedonia.[480] It is very common for those in responsible positions, whether fathers or supervisors, to write letters reminding those left in charge about instructions previously given.[481] The verb παρακαλέω is sometimes employed to remind addressees about previous discussions and agreements.[482] Pastoral Paul is reminding Timothy about an instruction already given in person.

4.3. The Second Clause: "so that you may…"

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[477] Cf. O.Did. 327 l.3 (ca. 77–92 CE) ; 342 = P.Thomas 8 l. 4 (ca. 77–92 CE) ; 344 l.4 (c. 77–92 CE) ; 382 convex side l.3 (c. 110 – 115 CE); O.Claud.2.293 l.2 (c. 142/3 CE), 4.893 l.3 (c. 150–154 CE). Examples on papyri: P.Münch. 3 118 l.4 (1st – 2nd C.CE); P.Oxy. XLIV 3199, FrA l. 2 (2nd C. CE); SB 8 9832 l.4 (2nd C. CE). The body of the private letter P.Oxy LV 3808 (1st/2nd C. CE) similarly begins 'ὡς…' (l.4).

[478] P.Abinn. 29, l.3 = P.Lond. 235 (ca. 346 CE); P.Herm. 13, l.3 (4th C. CE); P.Köln 5 237, l.2 (3rd C. CE); P.Nag Hamm. 69, l.3 (4th C. CE); P.Oxy. I 121, l.3 (3rd C. CE); III 527, l.2 (100–225 CE); VIII 1157, l.3 (late 3rd C. CE); XIV 1665, l.4 (3rd C. CE); XXXI 2600, v. l.3 (late 3rd/ early 4th C. CE); XLII 3087, l.3 (3rd/4th C. CE); LVI 3854, l.2 (3rd C. CE); PSI 9 1080, l.3 (3rd C. CE); P.Rein. 1 56, l.3 = W.Chr. 419 (4th C. CE); SB 20 14339, l.3 (ca. 286 – 302 CE); Cf. SB 24 16339, l.4 = P.Harris I 153 (3rd C. CE).

[479] Bagnall, *Everyday Writing in the Graeco-Roman East*, 132–133.

[480] Participles were commonly used to express the background circumstances, see note (28) (c) on P.Fay. 114 (100 CE) in Geoffery Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*, 2nd ed. (Wiley-Blackwell Imprint Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2014), 174; Quinn and Wacker translate πορευόμενος as "while I was enroute to Macedonia" saying that the participle literally means "when setting out" and the verb can be used in relation to setting out for a region (Ignatius, *Polycarp* 7.2; 8.2), *The First and Second Letters to Timothy*, 60–61.

[481] P. Oxy. II 291 (25–26 CE), XLI 2982 (2nd/3rd C. CE), LV 3808 (75—125 CE), LVI 3852 (2nd C. CE).

[482] Eg. P. Oxy. I 117, 2nd/3rd C CE, ll. 1–5; "Greetings, my lord Apollonius, regarding that which I urged you (σε παρεκάλεσα) when you were present," P.Brem. 19 r. ll. 1–2 (c. 113–120); SB 24 15909 r.l.2 (3 April 6 CE); SB 3 7268 l.1 (c. 98–117 CE); P. Mil. Vogl. 3 201 = SB 6 9160 l.3 (2nd C. CE).

The first clause of 1 Timothy 1:3 "As I urged you to remain in Ephesus…" requires an independent clause to complete the thought. As a number of scholars have noted, the writer does not supply this necessary clause.[483] He begins the next clause with the conjunction ἵνα which forms a purpose clause with the subjunctive, παραγγείλῃς, "so that you may instruct." However, it is a feature of Greek in the Roman era that commands can be constructed using the subjunctive.[484] This means that the ἵνα + subjunctive is not a purpose clause but a command, which completes the thought began at the beginning of the sentence "As I urged you…instruct…."[485] As we have seen, a number of letters formulate their commands using the subjunctive (P. Bagnall.12; P. Bas.17) and these appear to be softening the commands. This softening is in view of the writer's relationship to the addressee since the subjunctive has the quality "may you" rather than the bare imperative.[486]

LSJ defines παραγγέλλω as to "pass on or transmit a message," or it can mean "give orders, give the word of command, esp. of a general" (Xen. *Anab*. 1.8.3; Plat. *Phaedo* 116c). Helpfully, the letter of Diogenes to Titus (sb.14.12202, 2nd C. CE) contains a command παραγγέλλω constructed with the ἵνα + subjunctive,

ἐπεὶ ὡς εἶπόν σοι ἐξεκόπη τινὰ {τι \να/ φυτὰ ἐκεῖ ἵνα παραγγείλῃς τοῖς ἐκεῖ ποιμέσι (ll. 6–10).
"…since as I told you some plants have been cut down there, so that you may warn the shepherds there."[487]

Here the editor has translated παραγγέλλω as "warn"; this is a stronger form of the meaning "pass on the message" as it would seem that the shepherds need to be alerted about the plants that have been cut down. The context of 1 Timothy appears to require a stronger sense than "pass on the message," and needs the sense "to warn" or "to give orders." The

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[483] Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 105-106; Donald Guthrie, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 2 ed., Tyndale New Testament Commentaries (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990, reprint 2002), 67; William D. Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, Word Biblical Commentary (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Pub., 2000), 16.
[484] Chrys C. Caragounis, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament: Morphology, Syntax, Phonology, and Textual Transmission.* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 116; Caragounis offers 1 Cor 14:5 as example of this phenomenon; cf. SB.14.12202, l.8—9 (2nd C. CE).
[485] Quinn and Wacker suggest that the subjunctive has an imperative force, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy*, 61.
[486] White, *Light from Ancient Letters*, 212; for etiquette in letters see Kidson, "1 Timothy: An Administrative Letter," 107—108.
[487] APIS Translation (English) michigan.apis.1910 www.papyri.info

NASB, NRSV's "instruct" seems to move away from the main sense of the verb whereas the NIV's "command" or NKJV's "charge" is more in keeping. The OED lists two definitions for "instruct": "1. direct or command; 2. teach (someone)." For the English word "command" the primary meaning given is "give an authoritative or peremptory order." The word "instruct" can have the connotation "to teach," which may be misleading. The reason for this decision will become clearer as the analysis of the word ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν proceeds later in the chapter.

4.4. The Who? The "certain men"

The object of the verb παραγγέλλω takes the dative and in verse 3 the ones receiving the command are τισίν "certain men." This term also appears in verse 6 (τινες) again referring to the same "certain men." This way of referring to others under discussion occurs in the documentary letters. Petition of Libys a ship owner,

ἐάν τισιν τῶν ναυκλήρων τοιοῦτό τι συμβῆι, ἐμφανίζειν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων στρατηγοῖς, (P.Enteux. 27, 28 Jan 222 BCE, ll. 8—9),
"if certain men from the shipowners have come to an agreement, such as this, in order to present [it] to the officials in charge of the places."[488]

Another instance is in the petition to strategus Tiberius Claudius Asclepiades; Theon claims, "On another occasion too, when certain persons (τινες) feloniously broke into the flat where my slave Epicharis lives." (P. Oxy. 3916, 16 Feb.— 28 Aug. 60 CE, ll. 4—7). These references are to men who are either not known to the writer and/or to the addressee of the letter. Further, there is a tendency to refer to others even when they are known by both the writer and addressee in an indirect manner,

Φιλοκλῆς Ἀρρίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χ(αίρειν) ἄδελφε. καθὼς ἐνετίλου (ἐνε|τείλου) περὶ τῶ (τοῦ) ἀνθρώπω (ἀνθρώπου), ἀπῆ<λ>θε εὐθύως (εὐθέως) (O. Did. 389, ca. 115 – 120 CE, ll.1—4). "Philokles to Arrius my brother. Greetings brother. As you commanded in relation to the man, he left at once!" [489]

[488] Translated by the author.
[489] Translated by the author.

This is even the case in the inscribed letter of Antigonus to Scepsis (311 BCE) where opponents are described as "certain men," "As long as there was agreement on this we participated in the conference on the Hellespont, and if certain men (τινες) had not interfered the matter would then have been settled" (ll.5–8).[490]

Similarly in Dionysia's letter she alludes to "enemies" (πολεμίων, πολεμίους). Whether this refers to Neon alone or to other enemies it is difficult to say. This means that the indirect mention of "certain men" in 1 Timothy is not necessarily a pseudepigraphical device alluding to opponents of pastoral Paul, but a rhetorical turn of phrase when making reference to those on the fringes of association, or those one would rather not name because they are estranged.[491] L.L. Welborn, in his *End to Enmity*, makes the case that historical Paul does not name his opponent in 2 Corinthians, but rather uses periphrastic constructions. Such a device is used when social relations become tense.[492] Just as pastoral Paul in 1 Timothy avoids naming his opponents by using the indefinite expressions "certain men" (τισίν; 1 Timothy 1:3,6;4:1), "some" (τινες; 1 Timothy 4:1; 6:21); "some women" (τινες; 1 Timothy 5:15), "the sins of some men" (Τινῶν ἀνθρώπων αἱ ἁμαρτίαι; 1 Timothy 5:24); "if anyone" (εἴ τις; 1 Timothy 6:3), so too does historical Paul in 2 Corinthians: "someone" (τις), "such a one" (τοιοῦτος), "him" (αὐτόν), "whom" (ᾧ).[493]

Welborn builds on Peter Marshall's work, *Enmity in Corinth: Social Conventions In Paul's Relations with the Corinthians*. He detailed five characteristics of the rhetorical device of not naming enemies. First, "It takes the place of a name of a person who is well known to the readers; b. it makes the person available for caricature; c. it is an exercise in comparison, usually according to the conventions of praise and blame; d. it is always used pejoratively; e. the intention is to shame the enemy."[494] We will see as our analysis of 1 Timothy proceeds that the writer does not name his opponents, for four out of the five reasons identified by Marshall. There are two men who are singled out, Hymenaeus and Alexander (1 Timothy

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[490] Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, Letter 1, 1—12; Also Letter 14. ll.6—7, 71—77 (Ptolemy II to Miletus, c. 262/1 BCE), "certain of the kings" (τινες τῶμ βασιλέων) in reference to kings' decisions in the past.
[491] As a pseudepigraphical device see Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy*, 118.
[492] L. L. Welborn, *An End to Enmity: Paul and the "Wrongdoer" of Second Corinthians* (Berlin;New York: De Gruyter, 2011), 212—230.
[493] Ibid., 212.
[494] Peter Marshall, *Enmity in Corinth: Social Conventions in Paul's Relations with the Corinthians* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1987), 344; Welborn, *An End to Enmity*, 214.

1:20), but this breaks the rule for a very important purpose, which will be discussed later. There is another purpose for using the non-naming device, which is identified by Welborn, and this needs to be kept in mind as we proceed with our analysis. The other purpose for not naming a well-known person or persons is that it makes the person/s available for conciliation.[495] We have identified that the non-naming rhetorical device is used in the letters for those one would rather not name because they are estranged. This allows the possibility that there are some whom the writer would prefer not to name in order to reconcile them to himself and win them over to his view.

The command (παρεκάλεσα) to the "certain men" could be taken in two ways. The first possibility is that these "certain men" are already instructing others in "strange doctrines" and paying attention to "myths and endless genealogies." In this case "command" would be the better translation of παραγγέλλω. The other option is that pastoral Paul is reminding these men through his delegate Timothy not to start doing these things. If this is the case, then the "certain men" are not opponents of Paul but only potential opponents, so that translating παραγγέλλω as "warn" would better convey the sense of the sentence.

4.5. The Antithesis

What follows is an antithesis: what these men are to stop doing is "to teach strange doctrines nor pay attention to myths and endless genealogies" and this is followed by what they are to do instead, "*furthering* the administration of God." There are a number of challenges in interpreting this part of the sentence. These challenges revolve around defining certain terms within the sentence as well as syntactical complexities.

The word ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν occurs here at 1 Timothy 1:3 and 6:3 for the first time in the extant literature.[496] Thereafter this use is confined to the church fathers (eg. Ignatius [105—115 CE], *Pol*., 3.1; Origen [203—250 CE], *Fr. Ps.* 93, 3-4; Eusebius [300—340 CE], *Marc.,* 2.2.35; *Eccl. theol.,* 2:10.2;19.13,14, and *Hist. eccl.,* 7.7.4).[497]

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[495] *An End to Enmity*, 221—225.

[496] Search of the *TLG* reveals no occurrences before 1 Timothy; no listing in the LSJ; No entry in MM; BDAG indicates that it is found in Christian writings and lists only Ignatius, *Polycarp* 3:1.

[497] Also Ignatius, *Polycarp* 3.1 (longer recession); Basil of Caesarea (ca. 330—379), *Epistle* 250.1.35; 261.3.27; *Regulae Morales*, Vol. 31. 696.15; 760.23; 821.23; quoting 1 Tim. 6:3 *Regulae Brevius Tractatae* Vol. 31.1297.31 & *Regulae Morales* 31.812.4,39; Also *Synopsis scripturae sacrae* Vol.28, p. 425 incorrectly attributed to Athanasius, Francesca Prometea Barone, "Pour une édition critique de la Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae du Pseudo-Jean Chrysostome," *Revue de Philologie, de Littérature et d'Histoire Anciennes*, 83 (2009): 7—19.

Here we are faced with the problem of defining a word when it appears for the first time with no surviving antecedents. Since this word only appears after 1 Timothy in the writings of the church fathers, then one must suspect that the writer has coined this word or, at the very least, it was used only within his circle. This suggests that the writer of 1 Timothy is participating in the development of a technical language used to discuss issues related only to an inner circle.[498] Francesca Schironi defines a technical language "as a subcategory of common language containing all the linguistic elements employed by a restricted group of speakers to name, define, and discuss the contents of a particular discipline."[499] While Christianity cannot be thought of as a τέχνη, as science or medicine, early Christians appear to be using similar strategies to develop a specialised language for their new thought and community. Schironi identifies three strategies used by Greek scientists, medical doctors and others to create a technical terminology, "(i) use of existing terms; (ii) coinage of new terms through suffixation or compounding; (iii) borrowing of existing terms from other semantic fields (metaphors)."[500] In regard to ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν, we are dealing with the coining of a new term through compounding. Schironi comments that Greek's "compounding capability are extraordinary resources to 'name' something previously unknown."[501] The advantage of a compound was that it could condense into one word a complex concept or even an entire phrase.[502] The Greek language allowed extensive use of compounds in any field, but as Schironi demonstrates in regard to medical language certain types of prefixes and suffixes became typical.

4.6. Ἑτεροδιδασκαλεω

The word ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν is a compounded noun ἑτερος + διδασκαλία transformed into an infinitive. The primary unit of meaning appears to fall on διδασκαλία with the prefix modifying this primary meaning much like in the medical terminology described by Schironi. We therefore will begin with defining διδασκαλία.

4.6.1. Διδασκαλία

[498] Francesca Schironi, "Technical Languages: Science and Medicine," in *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language*, ed. Egbert J. Bakker (Chichester, West Sussex, UK; Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, 2010), 338—353.
[499] Ibid., 338.
[500] Ibid., 339—340.
[501] Ibid., 340.
[502] Ibid., 341.

The noun διδασκαλία is prominent in the Pastoral Epistles. It is significant that when we turn to the Pastoral Epistles we find that the overwhelming occurrences of διδασκαλία are here; out of the 21 occurrences in the New Testament 15 of them are in the Pastorals, 17 if the compounded ἑτεροδιδασκαλέω is included. We will begin by considering a clear expression of the word in second Timothy,

"All Scripture is inspired by God and profitable for teaching (πρὸς διδασκαλίαν), for reproof, for correction, for training in righteousness; so that the man of God may be adequate, equipped for every good work" (2 Tim 3:16-17).

The adjective ὠφέλιμος "profitable" can be employed in the sense of being useful for a purpose (LSJ). This is the sense here so that Scripture is profitable for four types of activities, including διδασκαλία.[503] These activities all result in the adequate equipping of a man of God.

1 Timothy 4:13 also reflects this relationship between διδασκαλία and the Scriptures, "Until I come, give attention to the *public* reading *of Scripture* (τῇ ἀναγνώσει), to exhortation (τῇ παρακλήσει) and teaching (τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ)." The NASB, by inserting the word "public," has sought to place this command (πρόσεχε) in a public worship setting, but this is in no way required. Pastoral Timothy is to give his attention to three activities: in reading, in exhortation, and in teaching.[504] Timothy is to attend to "τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ." The letter writer reiterates this command again within 3 verses, "Pay close attention (ἔπεχε) to yourself and to your teaching (τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ) (4.16)." In both of these commands Timothy's educational activity is in view.[505] However, this may not be the case with the other uses of διδασκαλία in 1 Timothy. There are four other occurrences,

"…and immoral men and homosexuals and kidnappers and liars and perjurers, and whatever else is contrary to sound teaching (τῇ ὑγιαινούσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ)" (1 Tim 1:10).

[503] Cf. Plato *Resp*. 10 607d—e.
[504] Cf. Romans 15:4.
[505] As BDAG proposes.

"But the Spirit explicitly says that in later times some will fall away from the faith, paying attention to deceitful spirits and doctrines of demons (διδασκαλίαις δαιμονίων)" (1 Timothy 4:1).

"In pointing out these things to the brethren, you will be a good servant of Christ Jesus, constantly nourished on the words of the faith and the sound doctrine (τῆς καλῆς διδασκαλίας) which you have been following" (1 Tim 4:6).

"All who are under the yoke as slaves are to regard their own masters as worthy of all honor so that the name of God and our doctrine (ἡ διδασκαλία) will not be spoken against" (1 Tim 6:1).

We can see that the NASB has not been consistent in translating διδασκαλία.[506] While at times translating the word as "teaching," the translators have varied the translation choosing the word "doctrine." The English word "doctrine" refers to "a set of beliefs or principles held and taught by a Church, political party, or other group" (OED). The emphasis of this word is on the beliefs or principles, so that the focus is on content rather than activity. The idea that appears to lie behind the NASB's translation is that which is passed on or the "teachings" as opposed to the activity of teaching. The question is whether the NASB is justified in translating διδασκαλία as "doctrine" over the more active "teaching."

4.6.2. Διδασκαλία as Defined in BDAG (2000)

The BDAG lists an active and a passive sense to this word, "1. The act of teaching, *teaching, instruction*" and "2. That which is taught, *teaching, instruction."* The second definition listed here in the BDAG is not found in LSJ or in MM. It appears that the BDAG is suggesting that there is a particular biblical nuance to the word and lists Sirach 24:33, Proverbs 2:17, and notes its use in Isaiah 29:13, Matthew 15:9, Mark 7:7, and Colossians 2:22. We will investigate this suggestion by first examining a Greek and a Jewish reference listed under definition "1," Epictetus and Sirach 39:8, before turning to examine three references listed for definition "2," Sirach 24.33, Isaiah 29:13, and Mark 7:7.

[506] Likewise NRSV 1 Timothy 4:1 'teachings'; 'the teaching' 6:1; 'teaching' 1:10, 4:6.

Under the first sense BDAG lists a pertinent example from the first century Stoic philosopher Epictetus,

> Once when a certain Roman citizen accompanied by his son had come in and was listening to one of his readings, Epictetus said: This is the style of my teaching (Οὗτος, ἔφη, ὁ τρόπος ἐστὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας), and then lapsed into silence. But when the other requested to know what came next, he replied: Instruction in the technique of any art (πᾶσα τέχνη) is boring to the layman who has had no experience in it. Now the products of the arts show immediately their use towards the purpose for which they are made, and most of them possess also a certain attractiveness and charm. For example, to stand by and watch the process by which a shoemaker learns (μανθάνει) his trade is, indeed, not pleasant, yet the shoe is useful and not an unpleasant thing to look at either. And the process of education in the case of a carpenter (καὶ τέκτονος ἡ μὲν μάθησις) is especially tiresome to the layman who happens to be watching, but the work which the carpenter does shows the use of his art (τῆς τέχνης) (*Discourses* II.14.1—5 [Oldfather, LCL]).

Epictetus is comparing the process of learning philosophy with that of learning a trade. It is not just knowledge that is being passed on but the art of philosophy, hence Epictetus' silence. For Epictetus his teaching model was that of instruction in an art much as the shoemaker, the carpenter, or the musician learns their trade (I.6). The conclusion here is that διδασκαλία is the activity of teaching or instruction in the knowledge of an art, which can include the art of living or philosophy. The emphasis is not on the knowledge per se but on knowledge that leads to an outcome; for example, shoes, carpentry, or a man of good character. It would be expected that in both Jewish and the New Testament literature that this would be the meaning of διδασκαλία.

In regard to Jewish literature the BDAG lists Sirach 24.33 and 39:8. Sirach is the collection of Hebrew teaching material of Jesus ben Sira, most likely written in Jerusalem about 190 BCE.[507] It was translated by the writer's grandson into Greek, around 132 BCE, for benefit of Greek speaking Jews living in Egypt.[508] The translator provides a prologue in which he discusses his approach to translation. Benjamin Wright comments that the translator was

[507] John G. Snaith, *Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 1.
[508] Ibid.

able to write the prologue in good koine Greek, but his translation approach, an isomorphic method, makes for a difficult and awkward Greek translation at times.[509] However, he is also at times capable of employing a literary vocabulary that reflects his capabilities in the prologue.[510] The work itself is focused on the question of where wisdom can be found and seeks to up hold the Torah as wisdom against the rival claim of Greek παιδεία.[511] If we were to see a Jewish influence in the use of διδασκαλία it would be here in this work.

We will first examine the reference in Sirach (39:8) that the BADG suggests has an active sense "1, The act of teaching, teaching, instruction." Chapter 39 describes the man "who devotes his soul and who thinks about the law of the Most High" (Sir 39.1a).[512] This man "will illuminate the instruction of [of his own] teaching (αὐτὸς ἐκφανεῖ παιδείαν διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ), and in the law of the Lord's covenant he will boast" (Sir 39:8).[513] Παιδεία here must mean "training" (LSJ) so that διδασκαλία is "teaching" or "education."[514] What this process of illumination is given in verses 39:1b—5, "He will seek out the wisdom of all the ancients…he will preserve the narrative of famous men…he will serve among nobles…He will devote his heart to rise early towards the Lord who made him…." It is while the devoted man is doing these things that "if the great Lord wants" (39.6) he will find that he is "filled with a spirit of understanding (39.6)…and will illuminate the instruction of [his own] teaching" (39.8). Since the two passages 38.24—38.34 and 39.1—39.11 are in parallel, it seems that διδασκαλία is a combination of seeking out knowledge, "seek out wisdom of all the ancients…be occupied with prophecies" (39.1b) and the activities of the cultivated civically minded man (as opposed to the men who have to labour for a living) in verses 38:24—34. It is here that διδασκαλία comes closest to mean the content of the teaching or as the BDAG has it "that which is taught," yet it is listed under meaning "1." Even so the emphasis is resting on the process of acquiring that knowledge: "he will seek," "he will serve," "he will travel" (39:1—11).

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[509] Benjamin G. Wright, "Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)," in *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James K Aitken (London; New York: T&T Clark, 2015), 410—424.

[510] Ibid., 412.

[511] C.T.R. Hayward, *Targums and the Transmission of Scripture into Judaism and Christianity* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010), 339—360.

[512] Following quotations from Sirach in *NETS*, 719—762.

[513] Emended following Snaith, "Ecclesiasticus," 191,

[514] See 2 Timothy 2:16 for *paideia* as "training"; the translation of διδασκαλία as "education, Snaith, "Ecclesiasticus," 190.

The nuance suggested for διδασκαλία in Sirach 24.33, listed under definition "2," appears to be strained as it is for Sirach 39:8. The first part of Sirach 24 is a hymn to wisdom, "wisdom will praise her soul" (24.1) and at verse 23 it says that "all these things are the book of the covenant the Most High God, a law that Moyses commanded us." This chapter reiterates the themes in the introduction, chapter 1.[515] After this hymn of praise, Ben Sira describes his contribution to the spread of wisdom, "And I, like a canal from a river…issued forth into an orchard" (24.30).[516] This is the metaphor to describe the educational activities that he brings, "Still I will again make education enlighten like the dawn…Still I will again pour out teaching (διδασκαλίαν) like prophecy, and I will leave it behind for generations of eternity (32—33). See that I have not toiled for myself alone but for all who seek it out" (34). Here διδασκαλία is in contrast to prophecy, but like prophecy it can be poured out—a figure that lends itself to speech. That διδασκαλία is not the content but the activity of instruction is seen in verse 34 since Ben Sira has "toiled" (ἐκοπίασα). This suggests that Sirach 24:33 is a more apt reference for definition "1" than Sirach 39:8.

Further difficulties arise with the thesis that there is a passive sense to διδασκαλία when we examine its use in Isaiah 29 and Mark 7. Isaiah 29:13,

> The Lord said: These people draw near me; they honor me with their lips, while their heart is far from me, and in vain do they worship me, teaching human precepts and teachings (μάτην δὲ σέβονταί με διδάσκοντες ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων καὶ διδασκαλίας).[517]

Here διδασκαλίας is referring to "that which is taught" and so could be rendered as Moisés Silva has done with "teachings." However, since it is coordinated with "ἐντάλματά," translated by Silva as "precepts" (at Isaiah 55: 11 as "commandments"), it could be rendered as "instructions."[518] This would fit the immediate context, which is about the activities of "these people." This observation leads to conclusion that the phrase διδάσκοντες ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων καὶ διδασκαλίας is concerned with the whole process of instruction (διδάσκοντες). The participle διδάσκοντες is built on the verb διδάσκω – to "instruct a person" (LSJ).

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[515] Snaith, "Ecclesiasticus," 120.
[516] Ibid., 126.
[517] Esaias in *NETS*, 825—875.
[518] LSJ identifies ἐντάλματά as a variation of ἐντολή, "injunction, order, command."

Isaiah 29:13 is quoted in Mark 7: 1—13, which is focused on an interaction between Jesus and the Pharisees about the "tradition of the elders." The whole passage revolves around oral tradition and ceremonial observances.[519] The pericope is introduced with "the Pharisees and some of the scribes gathered around Him… and had seen that some of His disciples were eating their bread with impure hands, that is, unwashed" (Mark 7:1—2). The narrator then expands on this by outlining other practices of the Pharisees and scribes in order that they may observe "the traditions of the elders" (v. 3—4). They ask Jesus "why do your disciples not walk according to the tradition of the elders (κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων), but eat their bread with impure hands?" (v.5). Jesus' response is to quote Isaiah 29:13, calling the Pharisees and scribes "hypocrites" (v.6—7). The operation of the quote in this pericope is important for understanding the idea of teaching in the Christian context.[520] The NASB (NRSV) renders Isaiah 29:13b "But in vain do they worship Me, teaching as doctrines the precepts of men (διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίας ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων)." We see that the Greek of Mark varies to the LXX omitting the καὶ and in effect losing the coordination of διδασκαλίας and ἐντάλματα. This perhaps has led to the decision to render διδασκαλίας as "doctrines." But as we have seen in the discussion on Isaiah 29: 13 the focus of these passages is not on beliefs but on practices. And these practices reflect the authorities' rebellion against God's purposes in both Isaiah and Mark.[521] It would appear that this focus in Isaiah 29:13 is what makes it an apt quotation in response to the Pharisees' question about observing the "tradition of the elders."[522] The plural διδασκαλίας could be taken to refer to the whole of the educational process, "the teachings," so therefore Jesus' critique is that the authorities are teaching the tradition as a complete education. Thus the sense here varies little from the sense in Epictetus.

In conclusion, there is some evidence that there is a Semitic influence in the New Testament use of διδάσκαλία. It does include the idea of "traditions" or "that which is taught," but this cannot be distinguished from the practices of the Pharisees as we see in the Mark passage. This links "the tradition of the elders" to the practices of the Pharisees, which makes a

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[519] R. Alan Culpepper, *Mark*. Smyth and Helwys Bible Commentary (Macon, GA: Smyth and Helwys Pub., 2007), 229—232; Robert H. Stein, *Mark*. Baker Exegetical Commentary on the NT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 338—341.
[520] Rikki E. Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus and Mark* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 210—218.
[521] Ibid., 216—217.
[522] Ibid.

distinction between "the act of teaching, teaching, instruction" and "that which is taught, teaching, instruction" almost impossible to discern.[523]

4.6.3. Διδασκαλία as Defined in LSJ (1940)

When we consider the use of διδάσκαλία in LSJ, the reason that the writer of Mark has selected this word becomes apparent as it encompasses the whole process of moving from tradition to practice.

LSJ defines διδάσκαλία in three ways. The first definition is "teaching, instruction." One example is in Pindar's *Pythian Odes* (5th C. BCE); Jason tells the citizens of Cyrene that he was raised and taught by the Centaur Cheiron,

> 'I claim that I shall manifest the teachings of Chiron (φαμὶ διδασκαλίαν Χείρωνος οἴσειν), for I come from the side of Chariclo and Philyra and from the cave where the Centaur's holy daughters raised me' (4. 104 [Race, LCL]).

Cheiron was well known for his teaching in various disciplines: medicine, music, archery, hunting, and prophecy. The poem does not tell us directly what kind of teaching Jason received except that he lived "twenty years without doing or saying anything untoward to [his daughters]" (104—105) and produced a man who, to his father's eyes, was "his extraordinary offspring, fairest of men"(120). Further he is a man who is gracious and extends his benefaction to all, "Jason received them with gentle words and, providing fitting hospitality, extended all manner of festivity" (125). The instruction here is related not to a discipline as such but to the physical and moral development of Jason.

The second example offered by LSJ is worth quoting at length as it describes the most suitable students to study medicine. Hippocrates of Cos, *Law* 2 (uncertain date):

> He who is going truly to acquire an understanding of medicine must enjoy natural ability (φύσιος), teaching (διδασκαλίης), a suitable place, instruction from childhood (παιδομαθίης), diligence, and time. Now first of all natural ability is necessary (δεῖ φύσιος), for if nature (φύσιος) be in opposition everything is in vain. But when nature (φύσιος) points the way to what is best, then comes the teaching of the art (διδασκαλίη τέχνης γίνεται). This must be acquired intelligently by one who from a child has been instructed (παιδομαθέα) in a place naturally suitable for learning

[523] Cf. Colossians 2:22.

(πρὸς μάθησιν). Moreover he must apply diligence for a long period, in order that learning, becoming second nature, may reap a fine and abundant harvest (ἡ μάθησις)(1—13 [Jones, LCL]).

The student who wishes to study medicine must have teaching (διδασκαλίης). They must have also received an early tuition (παιδομαθίης); that is, primary/secondary education. The centre of the thought in this passage is "but when nature (φύσιος) points the way to what is best, then comes the teaching of the art" (διδασκαλίη τέχνης γίνεται). The teaching here is in the art or technical practice. It is not knowledge on its own, but the applied knowledge of medicine.[524] This concurs with Epictetus' use of διδάσκαλία that it is instruction in the technique of an art (τέχνη).

The second definition in LSJ is "elucidation," which does not seem applicable in our instance. And the third definition is "official instructions." This last example is from the papyri (PLips.64) and is quite late (reign of Diocletian), but it resonates with the types of instructions given by superiors, which we have already seen in the administrative correspondence. This papyri, PLips.64, is a collection of official orders and the word διδασκαλία appears in a section giving instructions,

"the ordinance which has been inserted in the instructions (τῇ διδασκαλείᾳ) given below" (l.23).[525]

The LSJ entry for διδασκαλία demonstrates that the emphasis is on the activity of teaching as an art or the wisdom for living well. This may include a body of knowledge, what one may call a doctrine, but the passing on of this knowledge is a part of the activity of educating the student. This supports the conclusion that the BDAG's distinction between "the act of teaching" and "that which is taught" is rather artificial.

4.6.4. Epigraphical Evidence from Greece and Asia Minor

[524] Similarly, Apollo was hymned on the Island of Kerkyra in the second century CE for his good instruction:
"Equal to those born for courage and honour he was granted honour
Born of the gods for this good instruction (ἀγαθᾶς τοῦτο διδασκαλίας)
While teaching well (ἐσθλὰ δαεὶς) Apollo remedied sickness,
He saved many from death and trouble" (IG IX, 1 881; ll.1—4, 2nd C. CE, translation by author). This use of διδασκαλία echoes that of Hippocrates. It is evident that διδασκαλία is the instruction in practices that lead to healing.

[525] Translation by the author.

The epigraphical evidence from Greece and Asia Minor in MM (1963) entry supports the conclusion that διδάσκαλία is the activity of education.

One example is *Syll.*[3] 672 (160/59 BCE).[526] This is a document establishing an educational foundation by Attalus II at Delphi,

> Resolved by the city of Delphi in a plenary assembly and with the legal number of votes: since King Attalus (II) son of King Attalus (I), when we sent as envoys to him previously Praxias son of Eudocus and Callias son of Emmenidas concerning the education of the children (ὑπὲρ τᾶς τῶν παίδων διδασκαλίας), …he listened favourably to our requests and sent to the city 18,000 Alexander drachmas of silver for the education of the children (τὰν τῶν παίδων διδασκ[α]λίαν) and 3,000 drachmas for the honours and sacrifices (ll.1—8).[527]

Here διδασκαλία clearly means "education" and the foundation fund is for the salaries of the teachers (τοῖς παιδευταῖς, l.10). This use of διδάσκαλία is found in inscriptions relating to educational foundations and schools throughout Greece and Asia in the late Hellenistic and early Roman imperial era.[528] In some of these inscriptions the education of students involves the teacher or benefactor as an exemplum to the students.

Other inscriptions in Greece and Asia Minor echo this same use of διδασκαλία. *FD*. III 1:223 (Delphi, 1St C. BCE) uses διδασκαλία in an inscription honouring the founder of an educational foundation in the first century,

> Good fortune. The city of Delphi has appointed as *proxenos* Apollonios Dionysius from Aigirata, who has educated Delphi's sons, and given epideictic speeches, and proved himself in the teaching of knowledge (τᾶι διδασκαλίαι τοῦ μαθήματος) and in his manner of life (τᾶι τοῦ βίου ἀναστροφᾷ) (ll.1—4).[529]

We see here that Delphi's sons have been educated through Apollonios' teaching and his example. This inscription clearly coordinates the passing on of a body of knowledge with the active example of the benefactor. A similar but slightly earlier recipient of honours (Delphi,

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[526] MM (p.158) lists inscriptions from the 2nd edition of *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*.

[527] Translated by M. M. Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest: A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation*, 2nd augmented ed. (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), no 242, 421—423.

[528] Also Syll.3 703 (Delphi, 118 BCE), "And they [Kleodoros and Thrasuboulos] were shown to be concerned for the god and our city, and presently they have taken upon themselves [to provide] for lodging, instruction in the best way of life (ἀναστροφὰν) and the education of the children (διδασκαλίαν τῶν παίδων), and in so doing honouring themselves, their fathers and our city" (ll.8—12), (translation by author).

[529] Translation by the author.

134 BCE) was commended for his manner of life (ἀναστροφὰν) and the education of the children (διδασκαλίαν τῶν παίδων) (*FD* III. 3:119, ll.4—5). An inscription from Miletos actually honours the teacher Alexandros, "From this it became evident that teaching (διδασκαλία) from Alexander was moderate and well-judged… and he has had come to him many other well born children for similar diligence in oversight" (Milet I 7, 259, ll. 21—22).[530] It is significant that in these inscriptions διδασκαλία is coordinated with the ethical example of the honoured.

4.6.5. Defining διδασκαλία

In summary, the core meaning of διδάσκαλία, in an educational context, is to instruct or teach so that the student becomes proficient in an art. This art can include living a socially appropriate life. The aim is to develop the whole person. The focus is not solely on the transfer of knowledge but on the development of skills out of a body of knowledge. To this end διδασκαλία is often coordinated with the ethical example of the teacher or benefactor. This was seen to be an emphasis in the inscriptions of Greece and Asia Minor in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

4.6.6. Translating διδασκαλία

We are now in a position to consider the English words that could be used to translate διδασκαλία. It is argued here that "doctrine" is not an appropriate translation for διδάσκαλία as it shifts the emphasis from activity to beliefs/principles/content. As we have seen in our survey of διδασκαλία, it is a word whose central meaning is about the activity of education. In the LXX, διδασκαλία includes the content of the education, but even here the emphasis is still on instruction in activities or what we could call the art of godly living. There are, therefore, two possibilities for translating διδασκαλία. First, it could be defined as "education," defined in the OED as "the process of educating or being educated." Secondly, the English word "teaching" is also a possibility as it derives from the verb "teach" defined in the OED as "impart knowledge to or instruct (someone) in how to do something, especially in a school or as part of a recognized programme- give instruction in (a subject or skill). Cause to learn by example or experience." When direction in an activity is in view the English word that appears closest to the Greek sense is "instruction" defined by the OED as "detailed information about how something should be done."

[530] Translation by the author.

4.7. What Not to Do. Part One: μὴ ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν

We are now in a position to consider what the "certain men" (τισίν) in 1 Timothy 1:3 are commanded not to do (μὴ ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν). The prefix of this word is ἕτερος, which in the Hellenistic age denoted *duality* as distinct from plurality.[531] This use of ἕτερος continued through the koine period, but in this period ἕτερος began to be substituted for ἄλλος. In classical works ἕτερος had the sense "the other class (of two)" rather than ἄλλος, which is "'different' in quality or kind."[532] The papyri P.Amh II.65.6 (early 2nd C. CE) illustrates the distinction between these two words "it is just that one of them (*sc.* two brothers) (ἕτερος) should be released, if some one else (ἄλλος) is appointed in his stead."[533] There are therefore two options to understand ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν,

1. It could be that the author is using ἕτερος in the more classical sense "other," so that ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν is the activity of teaching a second instruction/education. Here the word ἕτερος is an ordinal and has the meaning "different." This implies distinctiveness rather than "in addition," meaning "of the same kind," as ἄλλος does.[534]
2. It could be that the author is using ἕτερος as a substitute for ἄλλος so that ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν is the activity of teaching a different education among other options.

Virginia Sandiyagu in her study on the use of ἕτερος and ἄλλος in Luke found evidence that the gospel writer sometimes corrected ἄλλος in his sources to ἕτερος to keep the classical distinctions between the two words.[535] This demonstrates that a first century writer could be concerned about maintaining the traditional distinctions between the two words. The question in relation to ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν is whether the writer of 1 Timothy is using ἕτερος in the classical sense or favouring the more contemporary use to mean any other teaching.

To make a decision about these options we will consider 1 Timothy 4:1—3 as this is the clearest description of those who engage in the forbidden activity (ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν),

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[531] The following discussion is taken from James Hope Moulton and George Milligan, in *The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament: Illustrated from the Papyri and other Non-Literary Sources* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1963), 257; discussion about the interchange of these two words in the koine period is absent in BDAG.

[532] Virginia R. Sandiyagu found the same distinctions in use in her investigation of ἕτερος and ἄλλος in Luke, "Ἕτερος and Ἄλλος in Luke," *NovT* 48 (2006): 105—130.

[533] MM, 257.

[534] Sandiyagu, "Ἕτερος and Ἄλλος in Luke," 130.

[535] Sandiyagu, "Ἕτερος and Ἄλλος in Luke," 129—130.

> But the Spirit explicitly says that in later times some (τινες) will fall away from the faith, paying attention to deceitful spirits and doctrines of demons (διδασκαλίαις δαιμονίων), by means of the hypocrisy of liars seared in their own conscience as with a branding iron, men who forbid marriage and advocate abstaining from foods which God has created to be gratefully shared in by those who believe and know the truth.

The "some" (τινες) or "certain men" is a repetition from the opening of the letter, referring back to those referenced at 1 Timothy 1: 3 and 6. It is here that the letter writer elaborates on the activities of those "certain men": they have fallen away from the faith, they have paid attention to "deceitful spirits" and "διδασκαλίαις of demons." Spirits and demons most likely allude to those whose activities that are unpacked in verses 2 and 3. That "demons" can refer to people, or more precisely the people that are utilised by them, is attested. Jesus is said to "have a demon" (δαιμόνιον ἔχεις, John 7:20; 8:48, 52) because of what he says and does (Mark 3:22). Possession by a demon is an idea that occurs in both Jewish and pagan literature. For instance, in the "Testament of Judah" the dying patriarch says,

> My grief is great, my children, on account of the licentiousness and witchcraft and idolatry that you practice contrary to the kingship, following ventriloquists, omen dispensers, and demons of deceit (δαίμοσι πλάνης) (*Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* 4.23.1 [Kee, *OTP* 1, p. 801]).

Plutarch believed that the demons where intermediaries between the gods and the human sphere, and that they played a role in bringing spoken oracles to the diviner (*Def. orac*, 415A; 418D; 437C; 438D). The evidence for the "deceitful spirits" is not so strong. In *Jewish Antiquities*, Josephus says that Saul was beset by "the evil spirit and the demons" (τοῦ πονηροῦ πνεύματος καὶ τῶν δαιμονίων) (6. 211 [Thackeray & Marcus, LCL]). The evil spirit and the demons are seen to possess Saul and they caused him distress.

In ancient thought demons as spirits were thought to be capable of entering a person and taking possession of their soul.[536] In this temporary state they would be inspired by the inhabiting spirit. The phrase the "διδασκαλίαις of demons" implies that the writer believed that some form of instruction was given by demons via a human agent. In 1 Timothy 4: 2 we see that "certain men" are under the influence of "deceptive spirits." In verse 3 the phrase "διδασκαλίαις of demons" refers to men who forbid marriage and advocate abstaining from certain foods. The focus of the writer of 1 Timothy is on the activity that the spirits and

[536] Gregory A. Smith, "How Thin Is a Demon?," *JECS* 16 (2008): 479—512.

demons are teaching or instructing. In terms of BDAG it is the active sense of διδασκαλία that the emphasis is falling. The English word "doctrine" is an unhelpful translation at this point as it sets up a juxtaposition between the idea of "a set of beliefs or principles" and the obvious activity of those "who forbid" (κωλυόντων, 1 Tim 4:3). It is far better to use the more active "teaching" or "instructing," which is concurrent with the broader use that we saw in the LJS and the inscriptions.

The instructions that the "certain men" are paying attention to (1 Timothy 4:1—4) are contrasted with the teaching that pastoral Timothy is to be engaged in at 1 Timothy 4:6,

"In pointing out these things to the brethren, you will be a good servant of Christ Jesus, being nourished on the words of the faith and of the good teaching (τῆς καλῆς διδασκαλίας) which you have been following."[537]

Pastoral Timothy will be nourished on "the words of faith" and "of the good teaching," which must come from pastoral Paul. We can see that pastoral Timothy stands in the same relation to pastoral Paul as the "certain men" stand in relation to the "demons." As the "certain men" pay attention to the instruction of demons, pastoral Timothy is to pay attention to the instruction of pastoral Paul. Pastoral Timothy is to be actively nourished on Paul's instruction. As we saw in our survey above, διδασκαλία is the applied knowledge in the art of living and so pastoral Paul's διδασκαλία is the same. This stands in contrast to the "διδασκαλίαις of demons." This contrast implies that what the writer has in mind in compounding διδασκαλία with ἕτερος is that the activity is a different one of two. This suggests that ἕτερος is being used as an ordinal, meaning "different," which implies distinctiveness rather than "in addition to." The conclusion is that the writer intends for his reader to understand that pastoral Paul is talking about that other distinctive education or instruction.

4.7.1. Defining and Translating ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν

We must conclude that the topic under discussion in the opening command of the letter is *the* other instruction. That the writer uses the word διδασκαλία means that he is tapping into the discourse of education: more specifically education in the way life should be lived.

[537] Translation by author.

As we saw in Epictetus, Pindar's *Pythian Odes*, and the Greek inscriptions, διδασκαλία can refer to the instruction in the art of living. This was also our finding in the Jewish literature, which we concluded could be summed as instruction in the art of godly living. By combining διδασκαλία with ἕτερος he is pointing to a specific instruction in a way of life. It is the teaching of this other instruction that he does not want. He believes that the sources of this other instruction are "deceiving spirits" and "demons" (1 Tim 4:1). This διδασκαλία is truly "other" and stands opposed to the "good instruction" (τῆς καλῆς διδασκαλίας) (1 Tim 4:6). That the writer has transformed what should be a noun ἑτεροδιδασκαλία into a verb ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν, tells the reader that he has in mind the action of teaching this other instruction in another way of life, which derives from "deceiving spirits" and "demons." Bearing in mind the previous caution about the English verb "teach," it seems best to use this verb to convey the idea of an educational process. Therefore, although it is somewhat unwieldy, it seems best to translate ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν with a phrase: to teach the other instruction.

4.8. What Not to Do. Part Two: μηδὲ προσέχειν μύθοις καὶ γενεαλογίαις ἀπεράντοις, αἵτινες ἐκζητήσεις παρέχουσι

This is the second clause governed by the command formed by the subjunctive, ἵνα παραγγείλῃς. So pastoral Timothy is to command "certain men" to neither (μηδὲ),

προσέχειν μύθοις καὶ γενεαλογίαις ἀπεράντοις, αἵτινες ἐκζητήσεις παρέχουσι (1:4).

The "certain men" are not "to pay attention to myths and endless genealogies, which give rise to mere speculation." Towner says that the phrase μύθοις καὶ γενεαλογίαις ἀπεράντοις is "problematic and resists precise interpretation."[538] Although he recognises that the linkage of the two terms is traditional citing Polybius, *Hist.,* 9.2.1 and Plato, *Tim.,* 22A, he proceeds to consider the terms individually.[539] The focus for Towner in expounding this phrase is on the "substance of this false doctrine."[540] Since it has been concluded that the idea of "doctrine" is not at issue here, an alternative proposal is required.

[538] Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 109.
[539] Ibid., 109, fn. 24.
[540] Ibid.

Given that the writer is using a well-known turn of phrase to allude to the type of activity that the "certain men" are not to do then the whole phrase needs to be considered. The earliest pairing of these two words is in Menander (3rd C. BCE),

> Some say that genealogies are myths (τὰς γενεαλογίας μύθους εἶναί), maintaining that there is no difference between the two, such as, if you please, as much as Akousileos, Hesiod, and Orpheus have said in their theogonies (ἐν ταῖς Θεογονίαις). For these are genealogical (γενεαλογικαὶ), but just as much mythical (μυθικαί). [541]

Menander is referring to the oldest of the historians and collectors of tales about the gods and their beginnings. Meander was Plato's source and it was he who placed Acusilaus alongside Hesiod, "Hesiod says that Chaos came first into being—and thereafter rose Broad-breasted Earth, sure seat of all for aye, And Love. Acusilaus also agrees with Hesiod, saying that after Chaos were born these two, Earth and Love" (*Symposium* 178 B [Lamb, LCL]). Many Greek authors, including Menander, seem uneasy about recognising myths and genealogies as history, but felt constrained to use them because they were the basis for knowledge about the gods. Stories about the gods were often recognised as mythical. Genealogies could also be considered mythical as they often traced linages back to gods or heroes in the distant past.[542] Yet the line between genealogies, myths, and ancient history was blurred and stories concerning the founding of cities were to be valued. Plato in *Timaeus* has a recount of a city in Egypt that claimed to be founded by Athena,

> The chief city…is Sais…the founder of which, they say, is a goddess whose Egyptian name is Neith, and in Greek, as they assert, Athena… [Solon] on one occasion, when he wished to draw them on to discourse on ancient history, he attempted to tell them the most ancient of our traditions, concerning Phoroneus, who was said to be the first man, and Niobe; and he went on to tell the legend (μυθολογεῖν) about Deucalion and Pyrrha after the Flood, and how they survived it, and to give the genealogy of their descendants (καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν γενεαλογεῖν)" (22A—B [Lamb, LCL]).

Polybius, also connects "genealogies" and "myths," "the planting of colonies and the foundations of cities and their ties of kinship" (περὶ τὰς ἀποικίας, ἔτι δὲ συγγενείας καὶ

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[541] Translation from Menander, Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν 6 III 338 ll.5—8 (L. Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*), cited online in *Brill's New Jacoby* (F. Jacoby, Die Fragmente Der Griechischen Historiker Parts I-III) (Leiden: Brill, 2007), BNJ 2 T 4. http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-jacoby/akousilaos-of-argos-2-a2 (accessed 2 September 2016)

[542] Jennifer Larson, *Greek Heroine Cults* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 71—77; John M. Wickersham, "Myth and the Polis," ed. Dora C. Pozzi and John M. Wickersham (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 16—31; Jonathan M. Hall, "Ethnicity and Cultural Exchange," in *A Companion to Archaic Greece*, ed. Kurt A. Raaflaub and Hans van Wees (Chichester, U.K.; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 604—617.

κτίσεις)" (*Histories* 9.2.1—2 [Paton, LCL]). Yet Isocrates demonstrates an ambivalence that Greek writers sometimes felt about their myths, "Now, first of all, that which was the first necessity of man's nature was provided by our city; for even though the story (ὁ λόγος) has taken the form of a myth (μυθώδης), yet it deserves to be told again" (*Panegyricus* 28 [Norlin, LCL]). Even though Isocrates concedes that the story about the founding of Athens is a myth, nevertheless he uses it to persuade fellow Greeks to join with Athens in a war of deliverance. As George Norlin describes, Isocrates was arguing that, "Athens must regain her lost supremacy; she alone, by her past history, has proved not only her right but her capacity to unite the Greeks in a common cause."[543] This illustrates the rhetorical power that Isocrates believed the story of the ancient foundations of Athens would have in his speech. We saw in Mark that the Pharisees claimed an antiquity for their instructions "traditions of the elders." The claim that one's traditions, institutions, and genealogical line extended back to the founding fathers of one's city or one's nation was very potent. This suggests that the phrase "myths and endless genealogies" in 1 Timothy (1:4) is alluding to claims that "the instruction" extolled by "certain men" can be traced back to founding fathers in the distant past.

Some scholars have suggested these myths and genealogies refer to Gnostic systems, or that "the false teachers" claimed that their own genealogies could be traced back into Judaism.[544] The teaching that the "certain men" were paying attention to may have made claims founded in some form of Jewish teaching, Gnostic, or otherwise.[545] In Titus, the letter

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[543] "Introduction," *To Demonicus. To Nicocles. Nicocles or the Cyprians. Panegyricus. To Philip. Archidamus*, by Isocrates, ed. George Norlin. LCL (London; Cambidge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966), 118.

[544] Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 111; Gnostic myths based on the OT, N. Brox, *Die Pastoralbriefe*, Regensburger Neues Testament (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1969), 103; the *Apocryphon of John* is an example of a Gnostic system using the OT, see discussion on early Christian ideas about the OT and its use in *Apocryphon of John* in Gerard P. Luttikhuizen, *Gnostic Revisions of Genesis Stories and Early Jesus Traditions* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2006), 20–28, 59–116.

[545] Dibelius and Conzelmann argue for Jewish or Judaizing forms of Gnosticism "reflected elsewhere within the horizon of deutro-Pauline literature," *The Pastoral Epistles*, 16–17; similarly, Joachim Jeremias and Hermann Strathmann, *Die Briefe an· Timotheus Und Titus/Der Brief an Die Hebräer* (Göttingen VandenhoeckörRuprecht 1963), 7. However, Dibelius and Conzelmann point out "a surprising parallel" to 1 Timothy 1: 3–4 in the *Manual of Discipline* from Qumran (1 QS III, 13-15), "For the man of understanding, that he instruct and teach all the sons of light concerning the succession of the generations of all the sons of men…." This suggests some further thought is needed. Rather than alluding to a gnostic system, the reference to myths and genealogies could be alluding to a trend current in Judaism. For example, the Enochic literature displays a fascination with stories from the distant past, lists of names and genealogies. E. Isaac, translator and editor of 1 Enoch (2nd – 1st C. BCE) notes the influence of 1 Enoch on the writers of the NT, including Jude who quotes it explicitly. It played a significant role in early church literature: Jude, Epistle of Barnabas, the Apocalypse of Peter, apologetical works, and was influential with the church fathers including Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Origen and Clement of Alexandria, "1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch" in *OTP* 1, p. 8. Tertullian esteemed 1 Enoch and suggested that

writer urges Titus to reprove the elders, "not paying attention to Jewish myths (Ἰουδαϊκοῖς μύθοις) and commandments of men (ἐντολαῖς ἀνθρώπων) who turn away from the truth" (1:14), and later he is to "avoid foolish controversies and genealogies and strife and disputes about the Law" (3:9). As we saw in Mark 7:7 Jesus called the Pharisees' tradition "commandments of men" (ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων), and here in Titus this same phrase is linked to Jewish myths, foolish controversies, genealogies, strife, and disputes about the Law. The letter of Titus seems to have the same kind of disputes in mind as in 1 Timothy.[546] This suggests that the originators of the alternate teaching are making claims that it can be traced back through genealogies of some sort to Jewish founding "myths" or fathers.[547] In Titus this activity leads to controversies, strife, and disputes about the Law. It appears that in Titus there are rival claims to varying teaching systems or traditions. Similarly historical Paul had to deal with the problem of factionalism in Corinth and rival claims of authority.[548]

The command at 1 Timothy 1:3 is not to teach the other set of instructions as an alternative to pastoral Paul's instructions.[549] The adjective "endless" (ἀπεράντοις), which modifies "genealogies," is most likely alluding to the claims of the alternate teachers to trace their instructions to distant Jewish founders. Although the phrase might be indicating the type of activity that the "certain men" are giving their attention to, it should be appreciated that the writer is casting it in a sarcastic manner to describe the alternate teachers' fixation on

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it was saved from the flood by Noah (*Cult. fem.* 1.3.1–3). 2 Enoch (Late 1st C. CE) describes the life of Enoch and traces his descendants beyond the flood (see his genealogy interwoven with the storyline, chs. 67–73). This story "provides the setting for a loosely assembled array of quite diverse ingredients, including cosmological speculations, ethical instruction, and prophecies of the future," I. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," in *OTP* 1, 91.

[546] Luttikhuizen is at pains to stress the "divergence of opinion among Christians about the meaning and value of the Old Testament. For this reason it is unnecessary, if not far-fetched, to hypothesize a fully different background for the critical references to biblical traditions in the body [of *Apocryphon of John*],"*Gnostic Revisions of Genesis Stories and Early Jesus Traditions*, 28. While he says that the phenomenon of revising the Old Testament need not be traced back to a development within Judaism in regard to *Apocryphon of John*, it does appear in reference to Titus that there is some connection between the disputes and what the writer calls "Jewish myths." What these myths are is difficult to tell as he could be using the term "myth" in a pejorative manner.

[547] Dibelius and Conzelmann conclude that it is highly probable that the Gnosticism of the Pastorals is connected with Judaism (with some qualifications), *The Pastoral Epistles*, 16–17; 65–67; the last chapters of 2 Enoch (67–73) are an example of this as the story of Enoch's descendants provides a way for Enoch's visions and instructions to his sons to be preserved for its contemporary readership.

[548] L.L. Welborn, *Politics and Rhetoric in the Corinthian Epistles* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1997), 1–42.

[549] Jerry L. Sumney, *Servants of Satan, False Brothers and Other Opponents of Paul* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 15.

providing evidence for the authority of their teaching.[550] As we have seen, although it was perceived to be important to be able to trace one's lineage back to founding fathers, the mythical aspect made some writers, like Isocrates, ambivalent about using them.

4.9. The Results: αἵτινες ἐκζητήσεις παρέχουσι

The writer completes the thought on myths and genealogies by the addition of the relative clause, αἵτινες ἐκζητήσεις παρέχουσι μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ τὴν ἐν πίστει.[551] As already noted one of the greatest difficulties in understanding 1 Timothy is the task of defining the rare words that appear in it. One of those words is ἐκζήτησις which is used by the writer to describe the activity that devotion to myths and genealogies will lead to. The verb παρέχω governs both parts of the clause.[552] It is of fundamental importance in understanding 1 Timothy that this clause is understood as it relates to the activities that pastoral Paul wants "the certain men" to desist in and activities he wants them to take up.

4.9.1. Defining the Noun ἐκζήτησις, εως

The NASB translates ἐκζήτησις as "mere speculation."[553] Towner claims that the term means "controversial [or useless] speculations" and "is one of several that belong to Paul's polemical repertoire in the three letters to coworkers drawn on to discredit the opposing doctrines and behaviour as being everything from foolish nonsense to disputatious and pernicious."[554] While there is no doubt that the writer is seeking to discredit the opponents and their instruction, the translation of ἐκζήτησις as "controversial [or useless] speculations" cannot be substantiated. The noun ἐκζήτησις is only found here in 1 Timothy and later Christian literature. The LSJ originally defined it as "research" citing only 1 Timothy 1:4. However, in the supplement the editor emends the entry from "research" to "speculation," and unfortunately gives no explanation or references.

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[550] Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 110–111; Quinn and Wacker note that Timon of Phlius "satirized the philosophers who occupied positions in the Museum of Alexandria as 'well-fed pedants endlessly (*apeirita*) contending in the birdcage of the Muses'" in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* 1.41, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy*, 62; it may be an example of an insider joke shared by the writer and his audience similar to Lucian's satirical technique, Robert Bracht Branham, *Unruly Eloquence: Lucian and the Comedy of Traditions* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 19; cf. Socrates in *Gorgias* declines to speak too plainly lest Gorgias supposes "I am making satirical fun of his own pursuit," which demonstrates that harsh language could be used to mock another's pursuit (translated Lamb, LCL, 462 E).

[551] Marshall, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 366.

[552] Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 111.

[553] Similarly NRSV & NRSVCE; NIV "controversial speculations"; KJV "minister questions."

[554] Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 111–112.

The noun's first occurrence after 1 Timothy is in the fourth century fathers.[555] This may go some way to explain why the majority of readings (mostly Western witnesses) have the more common ζήτησις. [556] Metzger comments that the "meaning of the two words is essentially the same."[557] The noun ζήτησις occurs later at 1 Timothy 6:4,

"he is conceited and understands nothing; but he has a morbid interest in controversial questions and disputes about words (ἀλλὰ νοσῶν περὶ ζητήσεις καὶ λογομαχίας), out of which arise envy, strife, abusive language, evil suspicions."

It also occurs at 2 Timothy 2:23 and Titus 3:9. All three occurrences of the ζήτησις are in similar contexts to the occurrence of ἐκζήτησις in 1 Timothy 1: 4. The activity described by ζήτησις is related to disputes about the words, genealogies, and disputes about the law. It produces as in 1 Timothy 1: 4 envy, strife abusive language, evil suspicions, and quarrels. The activity itself is described as unprofitable and worthless. We will take three steps in defining ἐκζήτησις using the LSJ.

A. Ζήτησις as Defined in LSJ

Although this noun, ζήτησις is translated as "questions," "speculations," and "controversies" in the examples from the Pastorals, in the LSJ it is defined as "seeking, searching for." The LSJ lists three other nuances to this word, two of which are relevant to our investigation.

First, "searching, examining,"

Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*,

What that vision was, no man says; but as soon as day broke, Datis made search through his ships (ζήτησιν ἐποιέετο τῶν νεῶν)" (6.118.1 [Godley, LCL]).

Secondly, "inquiry, investigation, esp. of a philosophic nature,"

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[555] Eg. Athanasius (Discourse III, 58.4), Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae super Psalmos* vol 29, p.357, l.54 (fragment), Didymus Caecus (a number of attestations), Ephrem of Syria, *De diuina gratia*, Page 184 line 9 & *De paenitentia*, Page 367 l.7.

[556] Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament: A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament*, 2 ed. (Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1996), 571.

[557] Ibid.

Plato, *Apology*,

"Socrates, this time we will not do as Anytus says, but we will let you go, on this condition, however, that you no longer spend your time in this investigation (τῇ ζητήσει) or in philosophy, and if you are caught doing so again you shall die" (29 C [Fowler, LCL, 17]).

Plato, *Timaeus*,

"But as it is, the vision of day and night and of months and circling years has created the art of number and has given us not only the notion of Time but also means of research (ζήτησιν) into the nature of the Universe. From these we have procured Philosophy in all its range" (47a [Lamb, LCL]).

We can see that overall the core meaning of ζήτησις is "searching." When it is used in philosophical contexts, which most interests us, it takes on the flavour "investigation" or "research." However the compounding of the word with the preposition may give the word another nuance. Since, ἐκζήτησις is so scantily attested it is worthwhile to consider the verb form compounded with the same preposition.

B. Ἐκζητέω as Defined in LSJ

The verb form ἐκζητέω is well attested. The LSJ defines ἐκζητέω as "seek out"[558] and follows along similar lines of meaning as its noun counterpart; for instance,

Apollodorus*, The Library*,

"On arising and looking for his sword, Peleus was caught by the centaurs and would have perished, if he had not been saved by Chiron, who also restored him his sword, which he had sought (ἐκζητήσας) and found" (Vol I Bk.3.XIII [Frazer, LCL]).

The verb occurs multiple times in the LXX; for example,

2 Esdras,

"and they approached Zorobabel…and said to them, 'Let us build with you, for we seek your God as you do (ὅτι ὡς ὑμεῖς ἐκζητοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ ὑμῶν)'" (4:2 [Wooden, *NETS*]).[559]

[558] There is a second meaning listed, "demand an account of."

The use of the verb can be seen to equate with the noun as it is used in a forensic sense (Judges 14:4), investigation (Baruch 3:23), and searching for God (Psalm 9:11). The verb has a similar meaning in early Christian literature.[560]

C. Defining and Translating ἐκζήτησις, εως

As it can be seen from the above survey, ἐκζητέω does not vary dramatically in meaning from ζήτησις. Examining compounds of ζήτησις with other prepositions reveals an intensification of the word.

For example, ἐπιζήτησις in Josephus*, Antiquities of the Jews,*

"But when the people of Jerusalem heard that Jonathan was taken, and that the soldiers who were with him were destroyed, they deplored his sad fate; and there was earnest inquiry (ἐπιζήτησις) made about him by everybody" (Bk 13.194 [Whiston]).

Another example is ἀναζήτησις in Plato, *Critias,*

"For legendary lore (μυθολογία) and the investigation (ἀναζήτησίς) of antiquity are visitants that come to cities in company with leisure, when they see that men are already furnished with the necessaries of life, and not before" (110 A [Bury, LCL]).

From this evidence it appears that the writer of 1 Timothy sought an intensifying of the noun ζήτησις. This leads to a plausible "searching out" or "intense inquiry or investigation," which would give the translation "myths and endless genealogies which result in intense investigation." In fact, this concords with the meanings that Lampe discerned for ἐκζήτησις in the fourth century church fathers as 'inquiry,' 'inquiry of the final judgement,' and 'search' (PGL). Of particular interest is Plutarch's use in *How a Man May Become Aware of His Progress in Virtue*. In this discourse advises the young man to engage in discussion for improvement in virtue and not for the sake of "momentary repute, nor from motives of ambition" (80B [Babbitt, LCL, 9]). He urges the young man when debating whether,

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[559] Cf. Psalm 9:11, "And let those who know your name hope in you, because you did not forsake those who seek you (τοὺς ἐκζητοῦντάς σε), O Lord" (Pietersma, *NETS*); Barouch 3:23,
"nor the sons of Hagar who seek out (οἱ ἐκζητοῦντες) intelligence upon the earth…" (Michael, *NETS*).

[560] Epistle of Barnabas (1/2 C. CE), 19. 22–24 [*ANF* 1:148]; *Didache* (2nd C. CE) 4.2; Polycarp, *Epistle to the Philippians* 2:1.

> "the spirit of contention and quarrelling over debatable questions (ζητήσεις) has been put down, and whether we have ceased to equip ourselves with arguments, as with boxing-gloves or brass knuckles, with which to contend against one another, and to take more delight in scoring a hit or a knockout than in learning and imparting something." (80B—C [Babbitt, LCL]).

Babbitt has translated ζήτησις as "debatable questions." The intensification of this noun by the writer of 1 Timothy, would render ἐκζήτησις to be "intensive questioning." In both Plutarch and 1 Timothy the context involves contention and quarrelling. It is clear that the author of 1 Timothy has in mind wrangling over questions and research as in Plutarch. The conclusion must be the author of 1 Timothy sees the "certain men" engaged in quarrelling over the investigations or "intensive questioning" into "myths and endless genealogies."

4.9.2. The Translation of ἐκζήτησις as "speculation"

This is some distance from the meaning that is conveyed by using the English word "speculation." This word is derived from "speculate" which the *OED* defines as "form a theory or conjecture without firm evidence." While we might not know what the opponents in 1 Timothy are researching it is apparent that it is related to the myths and genealogies. In Plato's *Critias* leisure gives rise to the development of legendary lore (μυθολογία) and the "investigation (ἀναζήτησίς) of antiquity" (110 A [Bury, LCL]). The thought here is not far removed from 1 Timothy 1:4 were the opponents are spending their time on myths and genealogies, which "results in intense investigation."[561] Its use in *Critias* demonstrates that the intensified ἀναζήτησίς can mean "to search into antiquity" (110A). This idea is also not far removed from the idea of searching into genealogies. The same idea is repeated in 1 Timothy 6:4 "he is conceited and understands nothing; but he has a morbid interest in controversial questions and disputes about words (ἀλλὰ νοσῶν περὶ ζητήσεις καὶ λογομαχίας)." The "certain men" have an unhealthy "passion" or "a madness" (LSJ) "about research."

4.10. What to Do: μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ τὴν ἐν πίστει

We come now to consider what Timothy is to command the "certain men" to do in the second half of this antithesis. We have seen in the analysis of the first part of this sentence

[561] Similarly, "are not doting on the law of God but on human commandments" T. Asher 7.5 in Quinn, *The Letter to Titus*, 100.

that the import lays with the activity of the "certain men" rather than with their doctrine. In the second clause, which is governed by the command ἵνα παραγγείλῃς, the "certain men" have been commanded not to pay attention to myths and genealogies. This clause is modified by a relative clause, which defines the result of the attention. This result is time spent in intense research or investigation. It would be expected that on the positive side of the antithesis that the "certain men" would be actively engaged in some sort of activity that replaces the educational activity they have been commanded not to engage in. However, syntactically the antithesis is formed within the relative clause and does not directly modify the two preceding infinitives ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν and προσέχειν.

The antithesis is formed by the adverb μᾶλλον, which when followed by ἤ, usually excludes the content of the phrase, but there are exceptions (1 Cor 9:15), and this must include 1 Timothy 1:4.[562] The adverb must modify the previous verb παρέχω, which we translated as "they cause." It could also be translated as "they result in" or "they produce" (LSJ). The adverb μᾶλλον in conjunction with ἤ gives the sense "rather than." It is rather awkward and in English one senses the need to supply a verb or a gerund, which the NASB translators have done by including the word "furthering." However, if we consider the noun to have an active sense then the sense of the proceeding verb "to produce" is carried on so that the meaning is not strained.[563] The myths and genealogies produce intense investigation rather than "producing" the attention that is to be given to οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ.

In some texts οἰκοδομίαν or οἰκοδομήν appear as variants. Elliott is in favour of οἰκοδομήν because it is used elsewhere in the NT and in the LXX, and was a word that did not meet the approval of Atticist scribes.[564] Οἰκοδομή literally means building as a process, that is "construction" (BDAG). It is used by historical Paul in a metaphorical sense to mean edification or building up spiritually (1 Cor 14:12; 2 Cor 12:19; Rom 15:2; Cf. Eph 4:29). This word is a viable option as it does have the active sense. However, οἰκονομίαν is supported by the overwhelming weight of witnesses and as Metzger notes "gives a deeper

[562] BDAG, 614; "μᾶλλον ἢ is a Hebraism giving the exclusive sense 'instead of,'" Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 367, fn.18.
[563] NRSV has a similar translation.
[564] J.K. Elliott, *The Greek Text of the Epistles to Timothy and Titus* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1968), 19.

meaning."[565] Further, Marshall notes that the modifying genitive θεοῦ makes οἰκοδομίαν or οἰκοδομήν rather awkward.[566]

The alternative reading of οἰκονομίαν has the sense of "management of a household, direction or office" (BDAG). In the gospel of Luke it is used for the work of a οἰκονόμος and historical Paul applies the idea to the office of apostle, "I have a stewardship (οἰκονομίαν) entrusted to me" (1 Cor 9:17). This is similar to its use by Ignatius in his letter to the Ephesians in regard to the bishop, "For we must receive everyone that the master of the house sends to take care of his affairs (οἰκονομίαν) as if he were the sender himself. And so we are clearly obliged to look upon the bishop as the Lord himself" (IEph 6:1 [Ehrman, LCL]).

However, the BDAG notes that it could also have the sense of "arrangement, order, plan." In relation to God it takes on the sense of God's plan of salvation, his arrangements for humanities' redemption and lists Ephesians 3:9 and 1:10. It notes that Ephesians 1:10 is linguistically difficult, "with a view to an administration (εἰς οἰκονομίαν) suitable to the fullness of the times (τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν καιρῶν), that is, the summing up of all things in Christ, things in the heavens and things on the earth." Later in Ignatius' letter to the Ephesians, Ehrman translates the word as "plan," "For our God, Jesus Christ, was conceived by Mary according to the plan of God (κατ᾽ οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ)" (IEph 18:2 [LCL]).

Despite these two well attested meanings "management" and "plan," the BDAG instead favours "program of instruction, training (in the way of salvation)" as the "best fit in 1 Tim 1:4." It gives two references from Clement of Alexandria as support,

"Through the Prophet Amos, the Word explains His own conduct fully (τὴν οἰκονομίαν μεμήνυκεν): "I destroyed you," He says, "as God destroyed Sodom and Gomorrha, and you were as a fire-brand plucked out of the burning" (*Paedagogus*, 1.8.69.3).[567]

The second reference is,

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[565] Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 571; "The reading is too weakly and narrowly attested…to enter the text" Quinn and Wacker, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy*, 63.
[566] Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 362.
[567] Trans. Simon P. Wood, "Christ the Educator," in *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1954), 62; Roberts/Donaldson translation 'His method of dealing' (*ANF* 2: 227).

"Notice how God seeks their conversion in loving kindness and, in the very words (παρὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν) with which He makes His threats, sweetly reveals the love He has for men (*Paedagogus*, 1.8.70.1).[568]

It is difficult to see in Clement of Alexandria how οἰκονομία could mean "training in the way of salvation" as it appears the sense is closer to "plan" or "method" (cf. 1.10.89.1; 3.12.99.1).[569] Clement also uses it in the first sense given by the BDAG— the king's administration (3.4.27.1). In regard to 1 Timothy, it appears that the editors of the BDAG are suggesting that οἰκονομία takes on a special meaning in their efforts to see how it contrasts with the main import of the command that "certain men" are not to teach "the other instruction." One suspects that this is not the case as Lampe in his *Patristic Greek Lexicon* does not discern such a distinction, despite a detailed examination of this word.

We are therefore left with two options. Towner follows Johnson, who has as his starting point "Paul's setting of the whole letter under the rubric of the ordering of life by God."[570] He chooses this option saying,

> In the absence in 1:4 of a direct statement by Paul to the effect that the *oikonomia theou* is that which has been entrusted or given to Paul (emphasizing specifically stewardship, responsibility, and the activity of management; 1 Cor 9:17; Eph 3:2; Col 1:25), it seems best in this case to increase the emphasis on the pattern and order that is to be implemented.[571]

In the last chapter the conclusion was reached that pastoral Paul left instructions for pastoral Timothy about how he was to conduct himself in the household rather than commands for the church. Pastoral Timothy as pastoral Paul's representative was to follow his father's plan closely, "how one ought to conduct (ἀναστρέφεσθαι) himself in the household of God (ἐν οἴκῳ θεοῦ)" (1 Timothy 3:15). The focus of pastoral Paul's instruction to Timothy is his conduct. Verner concluded that the verb ἀναστρέφω was repeatedly used in Christian literature "to reflect the way in which individuals or groups habitually live: their

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[568] Roberts/Donaldson translation "by means of the plan" (*ANF* 2:227).
[569] See Roberts/Donaldson translations in the previous two footnotes.
[570] Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 113.
[571] Ibid.; cf.„die Heilsordnung Gottes" Brox, *Die Pastoralbriefe*., 103; "God's own plan," Quinn and Wacker, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy*, 25, 63.

habits customs, their way of life."[572] As we saw in the inscriptions, the manner in which a teacher or a benefactor lived was an important factor in their recognition as an exemplary figure. Apollonios Dionysius was given the position of *proxenos* in part because of "his manner of life (τᾶι τοῦ βίου ἀναστροφᾷ)" (FD. III 1:223). If this is the focus for pastoral Timothy, then by extension pastoral Timothy's command to the "certain men" is likely to be their activity. It is best to conclude that οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ is about the manner in which the οἰκονομία is to be conducted, despite Towner's concern about the lack of a direct reference to οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ being entrusted to pastoral Paul. As it has been argued this idea is implied in the appellation of Paul's apostleship "according to the command of God." As we saw, this command could be the simple creation of a votive or it could be the detailed regulations of a household cult or association. This command informs both the purpose statement of the letter 1 Timothy 1: 3—4 and its restatement at 1 Timothy 3: 14—15,

"I am writing these things to you, hoping to come to you before long; but in case I am delayed, I write so that you will know how one ought to conduct himself in the household of God (ἐν οἴκῳ θεοῦ), which is the church of the living God, the pillar and support of the truth."

Both pastoral Timothy and the "certain men" are to conduct themselves according to the command of God and to busying themselves with the administration of God's household. Marshall also makes the conclusion that an active sense should be taken, "the false teachers do not in fact carry out, or by teaching false doctrine fail to carry out, the kind of responsibility given to stewards in God's household."[573] However, contrary to Marshall, the conclusion of this thesis is that the focus is not on false teachings or doctrine but on the activity of administering the commands of God. This administration is what the writer of 1 Timothy would say is the implementation of Paul's διδασκαλία.

To finish we must note that this administering is to be done τὴν ἐν πίστει. The argument of this thesis is that the focus is on the activity of the "certain men" in this sentence. This prepositional phrase must therefore describe how the activity οἰκονομίαν is to be conducted. Both Marshall and Spicq point to historical Paul's use of πιστός in relation to

[572] Verner, *The Household of God*, 109; Ign. *Magn*. 9:1; 1 Clem. 21:8, Herm. Mand. 11:12.
[573] Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 368; cf. Spicq, *Saint Paul*, 21; Guthrie, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 68.

stewards in 1 Corinthians 4:1—2, "Let a man regard us in this manner, as servants of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God (οἰκονόμους μυστηρίων θεοῦ). In this case, moreover, it is requited of stewards (ἐν τοῖς οἰκονόμοις) that one he found trustworthy (πιστός)."[574] Marshall argues that "such administration takes place only through the faithfulness which genuine faith in Christ produces in the leader."[575] Marshall's thought is that faithfulness in the administration arises through Christ's work in the leader. Towner on the other hand, sees the phrase "in the faith" to be in the sphere of authentic faith and allows the leader to apprehend God's ways and patterns.[576] However, there is another option for interpreting the phrase, which is noted in Conybeare and Stock's *Grammar of Septuagint Greek*.[577] In their grammar they describe how the proposition ἐν could express innumerable relations beyond its sphere in Classical Greek,

> One principal use may be summed up under the title of 'The ἐν of Accompanying Circumstances.' This includes the instrumental use, but goes far beyond it. Under this aspect ἐν invades the domain of μετά and σύν. In most cases it may be rendered by the English 'with.'

They list a number of examples: Hosea 1:7; I Kings 17:45, 47; 1 Maccabees 3:12. Interestingly for us they also list 1 Corinthians 4:21 as a New Testament example,

τί θέλετε; ἐν ῥάβδῳ ἔλθω πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἢ ἐν ἀγάπῃ πνεύματί τε πραΰτητος;
"What do you desire? Shall I come to you with a rod, or with love and a spirit of gentleness?"[578]

Here historical Paul is describing the attendant qualities that he could bring to the Corinthians in his capacity as a servant of Christ and a steward of the mysteries of God (1 Cor 4:1). It is therefore possible to see the activity of administration as accompanied "with faith" or "by faithfulness." The demonstrative pronoun τὴν ἐν πίστει would then be implying an emphatic "with the faithfulness [that belongs in God's household]."[579] This accords with the

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[574] Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 390; Spicq, *Saint Paul*, 21—22.
[575] Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 368.
[576] *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 114; Kelly, *Pastoral Epistles*, 46.
[577] F.C. Conybeare, and St. George Stock, *Grammar of Septuagint Greek: With Selected Readings, Vocabularies, and Updated Indexes* (US: Hendrickson Publishers, 2001 [1st ed. 1905]), 82.
[578] Cf. Eph 6:2; 1 Peter 3:16; Mt. 9:34.
[579] Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 368.

reiteration of this command, "how one ought to conduct himself in the household of God" (1 Timothy 3:15). The image of the faithful household steward pervades the sense here.

We are now in a position to formulate a translation for the purpose statement of 1 Timothy 1:3—4,

> As I urged you upon my departure to Macedonia to remain in Ephesus, may you command (or warn) certain men not to teach the other instruction, nor to pay attention to myths and endless genealogies, (spending time on this) results in intense investigations, rather than (producing the attention that is to be given to) God's administration, which is accompanied by appropriate faithfulness.

4.11. Conclusion

We return now to the father-son relationship within the *oikos* as the ideological framework of 1 Timothy. The relationship between pastoral Paul and pastoral Timothy is construed as a father and son relationship. They are engaged in the business of the household of God. As we have seen there are many letters among the Egyptian documentary letters where fathers and sons exchange correspondence about their family business. However, 1 Timothy is not a letter about their family business; that is, their *oikos*. 1 Timothy pictures pastoral Paul and pastoral Timothy as a father and son partnership within a larger *oikos*—the *oikos* of God. Taking into account the administrative style of 1 Timothy, what begins to emerge is a picture of two men, one senior to the other, working in a large household with other administrative officers such as elders and deacons. 1 Timothy as a letter is integrated into the context of a story: the senior man is an apostle and has been called away on business to Macedonia leaving the junior official to carry out the command issued by this senior man.[580] That the senior man is an apostle or an ambassador leaves the reader with the impression that the *oikos* is a royal household, since Hellenistic kings of Asia Minor used this word for their courts (Welles, 65.18; 66.6). The motif of God's household as a royal household frames the instructions of pastoral Paul to Timothy. God is hymned, as "the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only God, be honor and glory forever and ever. Amen (1 Tim 1:17)," before pastoral Paul turns to reiterate his confidence in Timothy as his "son" (1 Tim 1:18) and

[580] In the opinion of the author this story is significant in the interpretation of the letter whether it is "real" or whether it is a product of the imagination of the letter writer.

beginning his instructions at chapter 2 verse 1. Then in the closing remarks of the letter God is again hymned as king, "He who is the blessed and only Sovereign, the King of kings (ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων) and the Lord of lords" (6:15).[581] This is no ordinary household; it is the royal household of a god.[582] This is not so distant from the concept of royal households in the Graeco-Roman world. Certainly, the idea that a god of a household would communicate with the inhabitants is seen in Dionysius' stele. But in terms of a royal household this kind of interaction is seen in Josephus' retelling of Joseph's commissioning by Pharaoh,

> Pharaothes, now doubly admiring Joseph, alike for the interpretation of the dream and for his counsel, entrusted the administration of this office (τὴν οἰκονομίαν) to him, with power to act as he thought meet both for the people of Egypt and for their sovereign, deeming that he who had discovered the course to pursue would also prove its best director. Empowered by the king with this authority and withal to use his seal and to be robed in purple, Joseph now drove in a chariot throughout all the land, gathering in the corn from the farmers, meting out to each such as would suffice for sowing and sustenance, and revealing to none for what reason he so acted" (*Jewish Antiquities* 2.5.7 [Thackeray, LCL]).

Here we have the picture of Joseph "entrusted with the administration of this office" for the purposes of carrying out the practicalities that arose from Pharaoh's prophetic dream. To carry out this administration, Joseph was empowered by the king with his authority. Here we have a similar framework as we have in 1 Timothy. Pastoral Paul, an apostle through the command of God in a dream, has the authority to instruct the king's subjects in order to fulfil the command, just as Joseph was given authority to fulfil the king's commission.[583] This commission is the administration (τὴν οἰκονομίαν) of this office. Elsewhere historical Paul applies this term to himself, but here in 1 Timothy the writer applies it to the "certain men." Therefore pastoral Timothy has the delegated authority from pastoral Paul to command "certain men" to return to the administration of God; that is, the οἰκονομία which implements pastoral Paul's commission. It is implied in the letter's purpose statement that

[581] It is possible that 1 Timothy 6:11 was intended to close the body of the letter since the actual close at verse 20 reflects its structure, Kidson, '1 Timothy: An Administrative Letter,' 113.
[582] This could provide a fruitful avenue of investigation when considered alongside of Dibelius and Conzelmann's discussion of citizenship in the Pastoral Epistles, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 39–41.
[583] For the motif of citizenship in [God's] kingdom, ibid.

this implementation is carried out through an education in the art of godly living (καλῆς διδασκαλίας) (1 Tim 4:6).

Like any art, whether shoe making (Epictetus), medicine (Hippocrates) or godly living (Sirach), there are specific instructions. These instructions are the equivalent to rules and regulations on Dionysius' stele. Similarly in 1 Timothy, commands and instructions make up the bulk of the letter. What can be concluded now is that the command to the "certain men" not "to teach the other instruction" but to return to God's administration is really a command to return to pastoral Paul's διδασκαλία. His διδασκαλία is sound (ὑγιαίνω, 1 Tim 1:10) and good (καλός, 1 Tim 4:4). And pastoral Paul has the authority to give this διδασκαλία on behalf of God because he is God's apostle. As Joseph was "entrusted with the administration (τὴν οἰκονομίαν) of [the] office" by Pharaoh, so pastoral Paul is entrusted with the authority of an apostle to give instruction in godly living. The commands and instructions of 1 Timothy are a part pastoral Paul's διδασκαλία.

In the next chapter, we will be considering the relationship between διδασκαλία, as it is described in 1 Timothy, and the broader concept of education and its practise in Asia Minor. This will provide a beginning point in our investigation into how the "certain men" are being persuaded to obey the command to desist in "teaching the other instruction."

Chapter 5
The Education of the Young Man

Pseudo-Plutarch counsels fathers sometime in the second century CE,

> Briefly, then, I say (an oracle one might properly call it, rather than advice) that, to sum up, the beginning, the middle, and end in all these matters [on rearing children] is good education and proper training (παιδεία) towards moral excellence and towards happiness (*The Education of Children* 5 C [Babbitt, LCL]).

Here in Pseudo-Plutarch, as in other moral literature, there is an expectation that fathers would oversee their children's education or their παιδεία (*paideia*). What will be argued in this chapter is that the writer of 1 Timothy is purposefully tapping into the social-intellectual-political complex that is παιδεία*,* much as he has done with the father-son ideology. The expectation that fathers would play an integral role in the education of their sons provides an intimate connection between the ideology inherent in the father-son relationship and education. We will first consider what was meant by παιδεία before turning to consider the type of education that was on offer for adolescents and young adults in Asia Minor in the late Hellenistic—early Imperial period. We will then survey the literature in which fathers/older men give advice to their sons/juniors and outline some of the recurrent themes that appear. This will enable us to compare and contrast the advice given to pastoral Timothy by his father with the expected advice that was given to the young man in this era. At the end of the chapter, some important conclusions will be made about the education of the writer of 1 Timothy.

In the Pastoral Epistles there is a tight connection between διδασκαλία and παιδεία. The writer connects the two words, διδασκαλία and παιδεία,

"All Scripture is inspired by God and profitable for teaching (πρὸς διδασκαλίαν), for reproof, for correction, for training (πρὸς παιδείαν) in righteousness; so that the man of God may be adequate, equipped for every good work" (2 Tim 3: 16—17).

These two words were often coordinated in discussions on education. This is the case in a speech by Lycurgus, the lawgiver of Sparta,

> Men of Sparta, of a truth habit and training and teaching (καὶ παιδεῖαι καὶ διδασκαλίαι) and guidance in living are a great influence toward engendering excellence (πρὸς ἀρετῆς κύησίν), and I will make this evident to you at once (*The Education* 3 A—B [Babbitt, LCL]).

The translators of these two passages have translated παιδεία as "training" as distinct from διδασκαλία, which they translate as "teaching." Both words are included in lists that seek to outline a transformative process; for Lycurgus the end result is towards excellence or virtue and for the writer of the Pastorals towards "every good work." It is noteworthy however that the writer of the Pastorals restricts his use of παιδεία to the phrase "training in righteousness" subordinating it to his preferred term διδασκαλία. On the other hand, for Pseudo-Plutarch παιδεία is the great theme of his discourse, which he comes close to hymning,

> But learning (παιδεία), of all things in this world, is alone immortal and divine. Two elements in man's nature are supreme over all—mind and reason (νοῦς καὶ λόγος). The mind exercises control over reason, and reason is the servant of the mind, unassailable by fortune, impregnable to calumny, uncorrupted by disease, unimpaired by old age (*The Education* 5 E [Babbitt, LCL]).

At this point, Pseudo-Plutarch has moved beyond παιδεία as a reference to training and is alluding to παιδεία as a charged concept. In this passage, it is παιδεία that lifts the human being from being enslaved to the frailty of his body and places him in the realm of the divine and the immortal. The two elements that man possesses, the νοῦς and λόγος, enable him to attain to such heights. It is here that we begin to see a point of departure between 1 Timothy and Pseudo-Plutarch. The evidence suggests that the writer of 1 Timothy is utilizing the Graeco-Roman concept of παιδεία but shaping it into a new form which he calls τῇ ὑγιαινούσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ, "the sound teaching" (1 Tim 1:10) and τῆς καλῆς διδασκαλίας, "the good teaching" (1 Tim 4:6). However, in order to define the difference in approaches, we must first outline the similarities. The first task is to gain an understanding of παιδεία in Greek culture, while keeping in the bounds of appropriate to this study.[584]

[584] Werner Jaeger took three volumes to survey *paideia* in Greek culture, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*, trans. Gilbert Highet, 3 vols. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1954). Our goal will be far more modest.

Before beginning our discussion, we will first briefly consider παιδεία as a concept. After this we will begin our discussion proper by investigating παιδεία as an activity in Asia Minor. While no definitive study exists in this area, insight can be gleaned from inscriptions and literature. In regard to inscriptions, we will begin with the education of the young Attalus recorded in an inscription from Ephesus in the second century BCE (*JOAI* 47 Beibl. [1964—65] 1—6 no. 1). Extant literature also provides insights into education in Asia Minor. In particular Cicero refers to and gives many insights into the type of education a young man could receive in Athens and Asia Minor in the first century BCE. This will be followed by a discussion of Plutarch's educational activities in the first century CE. Once a framework of educational activity has been established, a survey of literature related to education will be conducted. The *loci* of our discussion will be the father-son relationship and the training of the youths ready for adulthood. Even within this range, we will need to be selective about the materials consulted. The goal of this examination is to identify repeated themes across the literature and through time in order to assess the main strands of concern of those involved in educating the young in the first century CE to the early second century CE. We will conclude our discussion of education by considering the use of διδασκαλία in contrast to παιδεία in 1 Timothy. Our focus will be on the phrase τὸ δὲ τέλος τῆς παραγγελίας (1 Tim 1: 5) as a summary statement of the writer's διδασκαλία. This undertaking should allow us to see clearly the ideological framework of 1 Timothy and enlighten us to "how one ought to conduct [oneself] in the household of God" (1 Tim 3: 15).

5.1. *Paideia* as a Concept

In the introduction to his three volume work *Paideia: the Ideals of Greek Culture*, Werner Jaeger says that the Greeks realised that there were immanent laws by which man exercises his physical and intellectual powers, and they used this knowledge,

> as a formative force in education, and by it to shape the living man as the potter moulds clay…They were the first to recognize that education means deliberately moulding human character in accordance with an ideal…Only this type of education deserves the name of culture, the type for which Plato uses the physical metaphor of *moulding* character. The German word *Bildung* clearly indicates the essence of education in the Greek, the Platonic sense; for it covers the artist's act of plastic

> formation as well as the guiding pattern present to his imagination, the *idea* or *typos*.[585]

Jaeger is at pains to stress that παιδεία was not just the schooling of children but their enculturation into Greek ideals,

> The word paideia, which at its first appearance meant 'childrearing', and which in the fourth century [BC], the Hellenistic, and the Imperial Roman ages constantly extended its connotation, was now for the first time connected with the highest areté possible to man: it was used to denote the sum total of all ideal perfections of mind and body— complete *kalokagathia*, a concept which was now consciously taken to include a genuine intellectual and spiritual culture.[586]

The end result of παιδεία was the "*kalokagathos*": the gentleman imbued with all that it meant to be Greek, cultured and civilized, and equipped with the ability to achieve the highest ideal or *areté*. He was the consummate man of excellence or virtue (ἀρετή), as described above by Pseudo-Plutarch (*The Education* 3 A—B).

5.2. *Paideia* in Asia Minor

The object of παιδεία was "to mould and shape a young man into an elite citizen, one who would participate in civic life and one who was characterized by the ethics and values inherent in the broader culture."[587] Adam White's approach in his dissertation on παιδεία in Paul's Corinthian correspondence was to seek not just a literary vision of παιδεία, but to elucidate Paul's response to the educational standards of popular orators and philosophers of his day.[588] This requires careful articulation of the assumed cultural standards and historical Paul's adaptation. As Peter Marshall warns it is all too easy to see parallels without showing contrast,

> Better results may be forthcoming if we could first show the extent to which technical ideas from the various philosophical schools had become commonplaces of popular morality or were in circulation among educated Greeks, Romans, and Jews through schooling and conversation. We must look for Paul's own contribution, to define the

[585] Ibid., vol.1, xxii—xxiii.
[586] Ibid., 286; M. Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth: The Ambiguity of Youth and the Absence of Adolescence in Greco-Roman Society* (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1991), 84—85.
[587] White, *Where Is the Wise Man?*, 29.
[588] Ibid., 10—12.

differences between him and his contemporaries, in both degree and kind, and explain his reasons.[589]

This warning applies not only to Paul but to any New Testament writer. Earlier commentators Dibelius and Spicq sought parallels, but Marshall's thought moves beyond simple identification of parallels to the recognition of continuity and breaks with the commonly accepted cultural norms. Our effort in this chapter is not just to trace out the lines of παιδεία; it is to identify continuities and discontinuities between the common expectations and the writer's view of education in 1 Timothy.

5.2.1. Educating the Young Man

We will begin our investigation with a crucial piece of evidence for education in Ephesus. What follows is a letter (134/3 BCE) from King Attalus II, which praises the teacher of the future Attalus III for his παιδεία. King Attalus writes to Ephesus to commend Aristod[?] (whose name unfortunately does not survive in its entirety). The underlying purpose of this kind of letter is that the king is recommending that Aristod[?] receive honours from the city. A part of those honours is the inscription of this letter from the king, most likely in a prominent place.

King Attalus to the council and people of Ephesus, greetings. Aristod- , [one of the 'friends'?] and your citizen, whom we judged worthy to supervise my brother's son Attalus, was summoned, and, after being recommended to Attalus, he [took charge of] the appropriate education (τῆς καθηκούσης παιδείας); but he has found even greater approval from us not only because he surpasses so many in the knowledge and instruction of literature, but also because in his character he has shown himself worthy of every [praise] and most suitable to consort with a young man (νέωι). Now because those young men who are excellent by nature pursue with zeal the instructions of their trainers, it is obvious to everyone why this man has been so warmly approved not only by us but also by Attalus himself and why he has obtained, with us and with him, the distinction he deserves.[590]

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[589] Peter J. Marshall, "The Enigmatic Apostle: Paul and Social Change. Did Paul Seek to Transform Graeco-Roman Society?" in *Early Christianity, Late Antiquity and Beyond*, ed. T.W. Hillard et al, vol.2 of *Ancient History in a Modern University* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 153—174 (154 fn. 6).

[590] Ephesos no. 173, in Donald F. McCabe, *Ephesos Inscriptions*. *Texts and List*. vol. II, nos. 101-599, eds. Christoph Börker and Reinhold Merkelbach (1980) (Princeton NJ: Institute for Advanced Study, 1991). Translation by Kent J. Rigsby, "The Era of the Province of Asia," *Phoenix* 33 (1979): 39—47 (45); Rigsby's transcription is from D. Knibbe, *JOAI* 47 Beibl. (1964—65) 1—6 no. 1; with the corrections and restorations of J.

Attalus is described here as a νέος; that is a young man in his twenties. Aristod [?] is described as finishing Attalus' education. Attalus went on to be a scholar, scientist, and a writer.[591] He could be described as a philosopher-king (Plato, *Resp.* 5.473d).[592] This inscription reveals that the king could source a suitable teacher for his nephew from Ephesus. This and other inscriptions leave us in no doubt that Ephesus was not only a political and economic centre during the late Hellenistic and early Roman period but also an intellectual centre.[593] Aristod [?] was able to give Attalus an appropriate education for an elite young man. We also see, as we did in the inscriptions that we canvassed in our discussion on διδασκαλία, that Aristod [?] was a role model for the prince not only because of his teaching, but because of his character. Further, this inscription reveals the same concern about the education of sons as described by Strauss, and is an indication of the pervasiveness of the educational motif in the father-son ideology.

The *neoi*, to which young Attalus belonged, were an association of young men, who had graduated from the *ephebes*.[594] In classical Athens and other Greek cities, the *ephebia* had a military purpose where adolescents of a city from about the age of eighteen, undertook military training and spent time in outposts for a period of two years.[595] Marc Kleijwegt makes the case that in the Hellenistic period this institution took on primarily an educational function and provided an appropriate education and contacts for elite adolescents.[596] The gymnasia were the focus of this activity. It was where adolescents not only undertook physical training, but also could attend lectures by sophists and philosophers, and hear rhetors.[597] Often the gymnasium included a library. Kleijwegt in his research found that in the Hellenistic-Roman period the *ephebia* had changed to a one year period and adolescents could enrol at fourteen.[598] His view is that in the Hellenistic period the *ephebia* became a type of club where the *ephebes* paid for their

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and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* (1968), 464; H. Engelmann, *ZPE* 19 (1975), 224 (line 6); P. Herrmann, *ZPE* 22 (1976): 233—234 (lines 2/3 and 4).

[591] Rigsby, "The Era of the Province of Asia," 46.

[592] For a discussion on the ideal of the philosopher-king see John Colman, "The Philosopher-King and the City in Plutarch's Life of Numa," *Perspectives on Political Science* 44 (2015): 1—9.

[593] Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth*, 118.

[594] The transliterated *neoi* and *ephebes* are commonly used by writers and will be used in this thesis.

[595] Ibid., 91—94, 96.

[596] Ibid., 97.

[597] Dutch, *The Educated Elite in 1* Corinthians, 102–103; 107–108.

[598] Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth*, 97—99.

own expenses rather than an institution for the training of a city's defence force.[599] These associations elected their own treasurers and gymnasiarchs.[600] It appears that in the Roman period, the *ephebia* was preparation for entrance into civic political life.[601] The young men, therefore, came from the curial and subcurial class.[602] The *neoi* were then an extension of the *ephebia*; that is, a club associated with the gymnasium for aristocratic men in their twenties and thirties.[603]

Further, Nigel Kennell in his search of the inscriptions in the Hellenistic period found that the term *neoi* was applied to young men 20 to 30 years old, in either a military context or the gymnasium.[604] He also detected two ways in which the term could be used. In relation to activities within the gymnasium, *ephebes* and *neoi* are nominated as distinct groups, but when these young men are described in relation to those outside the gymnasium, such as the boule or the demos, the group as a whole is described as the *neoi*.[605] During the Hellenistic period the *neoi* were active in defence of their cities and contributing to armed forces of their sovereign.[606] Kennell argues that the *ephebia* was still preparation for the *neoi* military activities in the Hellenistic period. The *neoi* during military operations were overseen by a general and the gymnasiarch. The *ephebes* and the *neoi* could be under the direction of the same gymnasiarch, the younger members of the *neoi* training with the *ephebia*.[607] In larger centres there was a plurality of gymnasia each with its own gymnasiarch.[608] The gymnasiarch's duty was to oversee the running of the gymnasia, provide oil for the members, and organise other educational activities.[609] It

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[599] Ibid., 97.
[600] Ibid.; P. Foucart, "Inscriptions De Pireé." *BCH* VII (1883): 68–77 (77); P. Graindor (1915) 254/5; "Les Cosmètes De Musée D' Athènes." *BCH* XXXIX (1915): 241–402.
[601] For the importance of enculturating the *ephebes* in Ephesus during the Roman Empire period see Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos*, 68–69, 112.
[602] Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth*, 95; Dutch provides evidence that well-to-do Jewish families paid for their sons to be ephebes, *The Educated Elite in 1 Corinthians*, 159–164.
[603] Dutch, *The Educated Elite in 1 Corinthians*, 126–128.
[604] Nigel M. Kennell, "Who Were the *Neoi*?" in *Epigraphical Approaches to the Postclassical Polis: Fourth Century BC to Second Century* AD, ed. Paraskevi Martzavou and Nikolaos Papazarkadas (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 217–232 (218).
[605] Ibid. 229–232.
[606] Ibid., 218–219.
[607] Ibid., 226.
[608] Ibid., 227, the inscriptions from Pergamum demonstrate a varying number of gymnasiarchs, numbering one to seven.
[609] Ibid., 227–228.

was a financially burdensome role.[610] For instance, Menas (133-120 BC) was awarded honours for his benefaction and services to the gymnasium, "Performing sacrifices at the monthly celebrations of the king's birthday, he also put on contests for the *ephebes* and *neoi*; he also held competitions in archery and the javelin; he also set out unguents, turning, through his ambition for renown, the *neoi* to training and diligence (ll. 35—9)."[611] Not only did Menas encourage the *ephebes* and *neoi* to be diligent by organising competitions with awards, he also looked after their discipline (εὐταξίας, l.31) and their παιδεία (καὶ νέων παιδείας) (l. 76).

This inscription gives us a context for young Attalus' education described above. It is most likely that Attalus, as a *neos*, received military training as well as a general education. These inscriptions clearly demonstrate that παιδεία was not just the province of the young but included what we would call adult education. Attatus II describes Aristod[?] as a teacher of rhetoric. We can see the expectation was that the young would obey their educators. All of this was a part of a young man's training for both the military and civic life. The *neoi*, although they were enrolled citizens of their cities, were still expected to be subject to the direction of the gymnasiarch and their teachers.[612]

The other important factor to come out of this discussion is the central place that gymnasia played in the education of its citizens. A gymnasium had spaces for a variety of activities, and in the Roman era was quite complex.[613] In a typical gymnasium there was an open court for wrestling and a running track. Around the central court there were colonnades off which opened to a variety of rooms including a cloakroom, an anointing room for applying the oil, a

[610] Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, 42–43; 52; financing the supply of oil; Gaios Ioulios Eurykl[----] donated ten thousand denarii to the city for the perpetual sacrifices in honour of the Divi Augusti and for the supply of oil for both gymnasia…" inscription from the gymnasium in Messene, Greece in Petros Themelis, "Roman Messene. The Gymnasium," in *The Greek East in the Roman Context: Proceedings of a Colloquium Organised by the Finnish Institute at Athens, May 21 and 22, 1999*, ed. Olli Salomies (Helsinki: Foundation of the Finnish Institute at Athens, 2001), 119–126 (122).
[611] I.Sestos 1 (early Roman period), translated by Kennell, "Who Were the *Neoi*?" 227.
[612] Ibid., 230; For example, Zosimus from Priene (early Roman period) was the gymnasiarch of the *neoi* and is described as serving well, justly and generously and was honoured for his excellence and support (I.Priene 112–114, ll.141–164).
[613] A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1940), 220–221.

dusting room, storerooms, and rooms for playing ball games. Often attached to the gymnasia were baths, lecture theatres, class rooms, and a perhaps a library.[614]

This evidence points to the role of the gymnasia in preparing young men for not only military service but also for civic service. At larger centres, instructors were paid to teach not only arms drill, but also music and variety of intellectual activities.[615] At Athens in the second century BC *ephebes* were able to attend the philosophical schools, whereas other cities provided for teachers and lectures by traveling sophists.[616] The gymnasiarchs often employed professors of rhetoric, or teachers who taught Homer or literature.[617]
We cannot know what kind of intellectual activities young Attalus engaged in as a *neos*. He is described as a philosopher and scientist, so we can at least suppose that he was exposed to the teaching of the current philosophical schools, was taught music, and was introduced to the ancient canon of poetry and literature. He was certainly taught rhetoric.

5.2.2. Paideia in the Gymnasium

Intellectual activity flourished in the Hellenistic period.[618] It saw the development of a variety of schools from the old Athenian stoa. The teaching of rhetoric became a predominant feature of the education of the young, despite Socrates' critique.[619]
The philosophical schools maintained the continuity with the old philosophical stoa. In the Hellenistic period there was a growing concern for ethics in pursuit of the common good.[620] At the primary stage of education students would be exposed to a canon of classic Greek works, principally Homer, while the philosophical schools were interested in adult education.

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[614] Ibid., 220–221, 224; larger centres often had public libraries separate from the gymnasium, e.g. Athens, Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 37.8.
[615] An example comes from the first century CE. A statue was erected in the gymnasium to Tiberius Claudius Theon, who has beside his left foot a bundle of papyrus rolls characterising him as a philosopher or orator. He is described in the inscription on the base as a "hero," Themelis, "Roman Messene. The Gymnasium," 124.
[616] Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian*, 224.
[617] Ibid., who lists in fn 28, page 352, "Instructors Provided by Gymnasiarchs" Pergamum, *Ath. Mitt.* (1907), p. 279; (1908), p.376; Eretria *Syll.*^{3}, 714, *IG*, xii. ix. 235; Priene IPriene, 112, line 73; "Lectures," Pergamum , *Ath. Mitt*., (1908); p.380, (1910), p. 404; Sestus, *OGI*, 339, line 75; lectures with philosophers in Athens *IG*^{2}, II—III. 1006, 1011, 1028—1030, and grammarians and rhetoricians in lines 1039–1043.
[618] The Hellenistic kings sponsored intellectual activity and developed libraries, T. Keith Dix, "Aristotle's 'Peripatetic' Library," in *Lost Libraries: The Destruction of Great Book Collections since Antiquity* ed. James Raven (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 58–74.
[619] Henri I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (London; New York: Sheed and Ward, 1956), 210; George A. Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 7—9.
[620] Everett Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 321–323

Students were usually won to a school as a way of life.[621] The Hellenistic kingdoms brought with them new relationships between cities and their kings, within cities between common citizens and the new aristocracies and bureaucracy, and between all citizens and their gods. While cities continued their traditions, looking back to glory days of founding fathers, there was an inevitable adaption to the new political and ideological circumstances. This continued under the Romans. Cities continued to manage themselves within the political realities of monarchical rule. Hellenistic kings in Asia Minor, particularly the Attalids, were benefactors of schools, but Roman emperors were not so engaged.[622] In the Roman period we do find benefactors continuing to provide some resources for education within their cities, but the number of inscriptions for this kind of liturgy is significantly smaller than for the Hellenistic period. However Vespasian issued a rescript granting immunity from municipal levies to grammarians and rhetoricians, effectively becoming an educational benefactor to the whole Empire.[623] Even with this benefaction, families still had to finance the education of sons.[624] We should notice that this concession was not made to philosophers, so any individual wanting to further his education in a philosophical school had to finance it without any concessions. It is in this period that communities of individuals formed to educate and encourage one another in a particular philosophical way of life.

Within the gymnasia, however, no one philosophical school predominated. A young man could be introduced to any number of ideas through attending lectures by visiting teachers or meetings of philosophical communities.[625] If there was a library attached to his gymnasium he could follow up any strain of thought that interested him.[626] Some libraries could be quite well stocked; for instance, each ephebic year had to contribute one hundred volumes to the library in Athens.[627] A decree (127 CE) for Longianus, the poet, demonstrates the importance of visiting scholars, the gymnasiums, and libraries in the education of young

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[621] Ibid., 323–325.

[622] Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 214.

[623] Vespasian said in the rescript that the role of teachers was “to train the souls of the young to gentleness and civic virtue,” Michael McCrum and A.G. Woodhead, *Select Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors, Including the Year of Revolution, A.D. 68–96* (Cambridge, UK: University Press, 1966), no. 458. See Winter for translation and discussion, *Philo and Paul among the Sophists*, 23–24.

[624] Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 3.

[625] Gray, "Philosophy of Education," 238; See Seneca’s description of attending philosophical lectures, Epistle 76 “On Learning Wisdom in Old Age,” 1—4.

[626] Gray, "Philosophy of Education,” 238.

[627] Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian*, 224.

men.[628] Halicarnassus, after public demonstrations of his "poems of every kind," showered Longianus with a number of honours, including the setting up of statues in the city, and in the gymnasium of the ephebes "next to ancient Herodotus," and the presentation of his books "in the libraries in our city, so that the young men (οἱ νέοι) may be educated in these also, in the same way as in the writings of the ancients."[629]

The gymnasium also provided a place for younger men to meet and converse with older men.[630] Introductions to schools built around the philosophical teaching of a master or to religious cults would be a natural outcome. Indeed, the gymnasium was not the only place this could happen as baths also provided opportunities for introductions, the leisure of conversation, and rooms for meetings.

There were many opportunities for the young of the elite and sub-elite class of the thriving cities of Asia Minor to be exposed to the literature and thought of the ancients as well as being involved in the current intellectual and cultural pursuits.

5.3. Paideia in School: the Case of Cicero

The intellectual environment of Asia Minor was multifaceted with many schools offering the individual a place of learning and belonging. There is some evidence that young men shopped around looking for philosophical schools and teachers of rhetoric that suited them. Josephus tells us that he investigated all the Jewish sects from the time he was sixteen (*Life* 10—12). Young men could change *rhetors* if they found them unsatisfactory.[631] Cicero is a case in point. He was able to visit many teachers and schools, a luxury that would have been envied by many young men. Even so he illustrates a trend among young men to seek out the best teachers.[632] Often, finding the right teacher proved difficult.[633] Unfortunately, we only have glimpses into Cicero's travels, but he attended schools in Asia Minor and was with Antiochus of Athens for six months. Cicero describes Antiochus as "the wise and famous

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[628] Charlotte Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods: Study Based on Inscriptions Found at Aphrodisias in Caria* (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1993), No. 88. Col. ii, see pp. 223—227.
[629] Text and translation from ibid., No. 88. Col. ii, ll. 11—16, pp. 225—226.
[630] Dutch, *The Educated Elite in 1 Corinthians*, 136.
[631] Winter, *Philo and Paul among the Sophists*, 28.
[632] Ibid.
[633] Ibid., 24.

philosopher of the Old Academy, and with him as my guide and teacher I took up again the study of philosophy, which from my early youth I had pursued." (*Brutus* 315).[634] As a youth Cicero had translated Aratos and Xenophon.[635] While he was in Athens, Cicero studied rhetoric with "Demetrius the Syrian, an experienced teacher of eloquence not without some reputation" (*Brutus* 315). After his time in Athens, Cicero travelled to Asia Minor, and,

> was with the most distinguished orators of the region, who were generous in giving me opportunity to practise declamatory exercises with them. The chief of these was Menippus of Stratonicea, in my judgement the most eloquent man of all Asia in that time; and certainly, if to speak without affectation and without offence to good taste is Attic, he was an orator who could justly be placed in that category. But the one most constantly with me was Dionysius of Magnesia. There was also Aeschylus of Cnidus and Xenocles of Adramyttium. These men were at that time accounted the principal teachers of oratory in Asia (*Brutus* 315).

Like many young men, Cicero was not satisfied with the rhetorical training offered by these teachers, so he set off to Rhodes, "However, not content with them, I went to Rhodes and attached myself to Molo, whom I had already heard at Rome. He was distinguished, not merely as a practical advocate and composer of speeches for others, but was particularly skilful in criticizing and correcting faults, and wise in his whole system of teaching" (*Brutus* 316). Cicero describes Molo as correcting his faults in delivery "marked by a youthful impetuousness and lack of restraint" (*Brutus* 316).

Cicero's grand educational tour saw him at the schools of some of the finest teachers of rhetoric. We see that these men are from a geographical area in which Ephesus sits.[636] The standard of education that could be obtained in Asia Minor could satisfy a man such as Cicero. We thus have a continuum of educational excellence from Attalus' teacher from Ephesus in the second century BCE to Cicero in the first century BCE. There was a high standard of education offered throughout Asia Minor in the Roman period.[637]

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[634] All quotes from *Brutus*. Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Brutus. Orator*. Trans. G. L. Hendrickson and H. M. Hubbell, LCL (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1939).
[635] Harold Guite, "Cicero's Attitude to the Greeks 1," *Greece & Rome* 9 (1962): 142-159 (143); for Aratus see *Nat. d*. ii. 104 and Xenophon, *Off*. ii. 87.
[636] See Marrou for the historical geography of the Hellenistic schools, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 212—216.
[637] Ibid., 215.

Cicero's educational tour reflected the interests he had developed as a student in his teenage years. It provided him with the opportunity for further philosophical and rhetorical training. These twin interests stayed with Cicero throughout his life, and in his forced retirement we find him writing philosophy. For Cicero the two were companions, "the perfect philosopher is also the perfect orator…Writing philosophy properly is something that demands supreme rhetorical gifts and skills."[638] Properly speaking Cicero is a sceptic, a stance he inherited from his philosophy teacher in Rome, Philo of Larissa. Scepticism allowed Cicero the flexibility to judge the best arguments from the different schools according to his purpose.[639] In his dialogues, with himself in character, he presents opposing systems of thought providing the necessary critiques of the views while leaving the final judgement to the reader. He departs from this method, however, in his treatise, *de Officiis*, to his son Marcus. It is advice to a young man, who was then twenty-one and who was about to embark on a career. In this work Cicero writes from a Stoic perspective. Although in his other works he criticises Stoics, he is able to exercise the freedom of judgment and uses Stoicism since it suits his purpose.

This gives us a glimpse in to what is often perceived as an eclecticism of the age.[640] This eclecticism has been viewed by modern scholars as evidence of unsystematic thinking by philosophers of the Hellenistic-Roman period. Gisela Striker observes that the Hellenistic philosophers Philo and Antiochus (Cicero's teacher) had gained, by 1995, a modicum of respect as thinkers, while Cicero remained languishing as an unoriginal thinker.[641] The same could be said of our writer of 1 Timothy. Cicero was constrained, not because he lacked originality, but because he belonged to a time when men "were anxious to show that their doctrines went back to the great founding fathers—Socrates, Plato, Aristotle or even Pythagoras."[642] Similarly, the eclecticism of 1 Timothy has gone unappreciated, his writing seen as a patchwork of secular materials and traditions harking back to historical Paul.[643]

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[638] Malcolm Schofield, "Writing Philosophy," in *The Cambridge Companion to Cicero*, ed. C. E. W. Steel (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 73—87 (75).
[639] Ibid., 85
[640] Gisela Striker, "Cicero and Greek Philosophy," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 97 (1995): 53—61; notice that the Alexandrian philosopher, who is honoured in Ephesus, is described as "eclectic" [φ]ιλόσοφον ἐγλεκ[τικόν.], IEph 789. 4 (no date).
[641] Striker, "Cicero and Greek Philosophy," 56.
[642] Ibid.
[643] Notice the similarity in Striker's critique of scholars' use of Cicero's works as source to be mined for other philosophers' thinking, "although we have finally left behind the excesses of *Quellenforschung,* according to

Part of Cicero's purpose was to raise awareness in his Roman audience of Greek philosophy and to stimulate them to read the works themselves. Importantly, however, he was attempting to apply Greek philosophy to the moral questions facing himself and his readers, and many of his works, *de Officiis* included, belong to the genre of consolation and moral advice.[644]

5.4. Teaching Paideia: the Case of Plutarch

In *Brutus* Cicero describes visiting a number of rhetoricians in Asia Minor (315—316). It can be postulated that there were such teachers of rhetoric in first century BCE Ephesus, as rhetoricians appear in the epigraphical record in the first century CE.[645] Also resident in Ephesus were philosophers.[646] In the first century CE Plutarch was offering an education that must have been typical of philosophers in this region.[647] Plutarch's writings provide us with a mass of literature aimed at the young. Another advantage to studying Plutarch is the detailed scholarship devoted to his life and works. A study of Plutarch will provide an informative example of a teacher/philosopher in action with which to compare the writer of 1 Timothy.

5.4.1. Plutarch and Education in the First Century CE

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which Cicero's works were just a patchwork of paraphrases and Greek passages in translation…" ibid., 57—58; 1 Timothy as a patchwork of materials, Dibelius and Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 5; Hanson, *The Pastoral Letters*, 15; cf. Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 13—16; for a critique of the author as an unsystematic thinker who has arranged his literary elements into "a disorganised collage" see Donelson, *Pastoral Epistles*, 67–69.

[644] Striker, "Cicero and Greek Philosophy," 57.

[645] No inscriptions can be securely dated to first century BCE but a feel for the prestige of the rhetor can be gained: "ῥήτωρ:" IEph 1713; IEph 3062 (no dates); [T(itus) Cl(audius)] F[lavian]us Dionysios was a rhetor, sophist and procurator, GRBS 21, 1980, 373–374 (117/138 CE), G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 52. He was honoured with a burial within the city walls (IEph 426 (AD 117/138 CE); for a discussion on the honour of a city burial see Martin Steskal, "Wandering Cemeteries: Roman and Late Roman Burials in the Capital of the Province of Asia," in *2èmes Rencontres D'archéologie De L'ifea: Le Mort Dans La Ville Pratiques, Contextes Et Impacts Des Inhumations Intra-Muros En Anatolie, Du Début De L'age Du Bronze À L'époque Romaine*, ed. Olivier Henry (Rencontres d'Archéologie de l'IFEA. <halshs-00808410>, 2013): 243—257.

[646] "φιλόσοφος:" IEph 616 (AD 217/218 CE); IEph 789; IEph 1958; IEph 3901 (no dates); IEph 4340 (133/200 CE).

[647] IEph 4340 (133/200 CE) was erected for [...]li[us] Secundinus of Tralles a Platonic philosopher by Coelius Marcellinus who was himself "a teacher." This indicates that philosophers could see themselves as teachers in first and second centuries.

A young man may have encountered some philosophical writing with his *grammatikos*, the teacher who prepared students for literary study and rhetorical training.[648] There was a canon of classic works from which school reading was selected. These readings usually included Plato's dialogues, Xenophon's Socratic works, the minor Socratics Aeschines and Antisthenes, and the exoteric works of Aristotle and his pupil Theophrastus.[649] Writing exercises using the *gnome* or maxim were also a part of schooling from the earliest to the later years.[650] Using these materials a *grammatikos* would begin with basic rhetorical exercises in preparation for a student's time with the teacher of rhetoric.[651] The rhetor's job would be to prepare a man for public life.[652] For very wealthy elite youth this could mean a career in politics in their city, acting as magistrates, benefactors, and diplomats.[653] Providing legal advice and representation in the courts may have also been a possibility.[654] For those less wealthy, who needed to earn an income, there were opportunities for educated young men to work as government administrators, teachers, doctors, wholesale merchants, or architects (Cicero, *de Off*. 1.151).[655] If the young man's family had the financial means then his education would end with the rhetor.[656] The rhetor would use philosophical materials to

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[648] Michael B. Trapp, "Philosophy and Philosophers in the Imperial Period," in *A Companion to Plutarch*, ed. Mark Beck (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2013), 43—57 (47); Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, 83.

[649] Trapp, "Philosophy and Philosophers in the Imperial Period," 47. Trapp cites Quintilian, *Education of the Orator* 10.1.81–84; Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 18.13–17; Theon, *Progymnasmata* 2. Evidence suggests that works such as these (most definitely Aristotle's works) were housed in Royal, public, and private libraries in the Hellenistic and Roman eras, Dix, "Aristotle's 'Peripatetic' Library," 58–74; John McK. Camp, "The Philosophical Schools of Roman Athens," *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire: Papers from the Tenth British Museum Classical Colloquium*, ed. Averil Cameron and Susan Walker (London: University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, 1989), 50—55; some of Aristotle's works (if not all?) were known in Asia Minor and Aegean region through the Hellenistic period and into the second century CE, *Aristotle Poetics: Editio Maior of the Greek Text with Historical Introductions and Philological Commentaries*, ed. Leonardo Tarán & Dimitri Gutas (Leiden; Boston Brill, 2012), 25—34.

[650] Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt,* 44; Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, xi.

[651] Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, 83.

[652] Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 52.

[653] Winter, *Philo and Paul among the Sophists*, 35.

[654] Minor civil cases were left to local municipal courts, Bruce Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth: The Influence of Secular Ethics and Social Change* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 60; although Roman law differed from the local laws, in making decisions involving disputes about marriage contracts, wills, boundaries etc, Roman magistrates in the Greek east would consult established legal practice. Court proceedings could therefore be extremely complex needing expert advice, Uri Yiftach-Firanko, "Law in Graeco-Roman Egypt: Hellenization, Fusion, Romanization," *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall. Online: Oxford University Press, 2011. DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199843695.013.0023 (accessed 29 June 2017).

[655] Winter, *Philo and Paul among the Sophists*, 23; Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt,* 4; Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 257; although Cicero advises that some occupations are too vulgar for the gentleman (*de Off*. 1.150).

[656] Trapp, "Philosophy and Philosophers in the Imperial Period," 47—48.

cultivate more advance skills of speaking.[657] Such works as *Timaeus* and Xenophon's *Symposium* served as models for the more advanced rhetorical exercises. These exercises prepared the young man to give speeches to law courts, in the city's boule, or at a public assembly.[658] It equipped him to plead cases in the courts, to argue for or against motions in the city council, or to praise the great man on a special occasion or at his funeral.[659]

Many thought that at this stage the young man was ready for adulthood, equipped with the necessary παιδεία.[660] He was a gentleman ready for service in his community in honour of his family, his fatherland, and the gods. There was, however, the possibility of further study at the adult education level.[661] As in the case of Cicero, the young man could pursue advanced rhetorical training and philosophical teaching. Plutarch believed that further character training for the young man was a necessity,

> my dear Nicander, so that you may know how rightly to listen to the voice of persuasion, now that you are no longer subject to authority, having assumed the garb of a man. Now absence of control, which some of the young men, for want of education, think to be freedom, establishes the sway of a set of masters, harsher than the teachers and attendants of childhood, in the form of the desires, which are now, as it were, unchained (*On listening to Lectures*, 37C—D).[662]

In passing to adulthood some young men, the *neoi*, believed they could give rein to their desires, but these desires, says Plutarch, are "a set of masters" harsher than "the teachers and attendants of childhood." These young men "live as they wish; but in untrained and irrational impulses and actions there is something ignoble, and changing one's mind many times involves but little freedom of will" (*On Listening*, 37E). However, the young man who

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[657] Trapp, "Philosophy and Philosophers in the Imperial Period," 47—48.

[658] Winter, *Philo and Paul among the Sophists*, 5.

[659] Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, 81.

[660] Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth,* 85—86, 95, Caius Iulius Candidianus from Brigetio (Pannonia) was eighteen and seven months and "was considered a complete intellectual," 120; another instance is Marcus Aurelius Magas, who was said to have distinguished himself through his παιδεία and died at eighteen after performing two police offices in Lycia (Schindler, Bubon 14); παιδεία was coupled with the adjective ἐγκύκλιος meaning "complete." The "τῆς ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας" is the "complete education" that Pliny the Elder recommends as the preface to any other activity in life (*Natural History* Preface 14 [Rackman, LCL]); for discussion see Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, 33—39.

[661] Some young men took up this option; a young man from Laconia "has distinguished himself from his age contemporaries in behaviour, as a philosopher, in paideia and in his speech," IG V 563 translated by Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth,* 87.

[662] All quotations from Plutarch, "On Listening to Lectures," in *Moralia*, trans. Frank Cole Babbitt, LCL (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927).

continues in the philosophy he became acquainted with in this childhood will find that philosophy as an adult "ought to feel like an old friend and familiar when you come to philosophy" and this philosophy "alone can array young men (τοῖς νέοις) in the manly and truly perfect adornment that comes from reason" (*On Listening*, 37F).[663] Plutarch believed that young men needed further assistance to reign in their desires and only philosophy could help them do that and attain to true manliness.

We are thus talking about adult education for the *neoi* after their formal studies in childhood. If a young man did continue in philosophy as Plutarch recommends how would he do it? Michael Trapp in his article "Philosophy and Philosophers in the Imperial Period" gives a detailed description,

> embarking on a formal higher education in philosophy was by this period not a question of entering an institution of the style of the fourth-century academy or Lyceum; such establishments had never spread much beyond Athens…It was instead a matter of signing on with an individual freelance tutor (*kathêgêtês*), who had gathered together as large a group of pupils as local enthusiasm and his own pulling power allowed (Glucker (1976) 124–134). Rather than any elaborate structure of grades and sets, we should think instead in terms of a single mixed-age and mixed-ability seminar group, and a routine of activities that combined the close reading of classic philosophical texts with exegeses from the tutor, set-piece lectures on selected topics, exercises on logic, question-and-answer sessions, and student presentations, some of them restricted to the core group of paying pupils, and some open to visitors from a broader interested public.[664]

We see here a distinct development of the *neoi* from the Hellenistic to the Roman period. They were no longer militarily trained; rather they entered into roles in family businesses and /or into public life.[665] With no military training or assignments the path was open for the young man to take on another kind of training as suggested by Plutarch. While a philosopher's range of topic areas could be broad from mathematics to biology, Plutarch's

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[663] Παιδεία was seen as preparation for philosophy, Morgan, *Literate Education*, 34.

[664] Trapp, "Philosophy and Philosophers in the Imperial Period," 48; Trapp citing J. Glucker, *Antiochus and the Late Academy* (Göttingen, 1976); note that Secena mentions that "Men of all ages are admitted to this class-room" of the philosopher (Epistle 76.2 [Gummere LCL]).

[665] A military career or medicine were other options for a youth with παιδεία; Cicero's Marcus opted for a military career; medicine, SEG 32-1261 (2nd —3rd C. CE); Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth*, 138–143.

prime concern for the young was character training.[666] The second century handbook, the *Didaskalikos* of Alcinous, breaks the concerns of philosophy into three broad areas, "the concern of the philosopher, according to Plato, would seem to be channelled in three directions: (1) the contemplation and understanding of what exists, (2) the performance of what is noble, and (3) the actual study of reason."[667] Our primary concern is with the direction, "the performance of what is noble." About this Alcinous says, "Of practical philosophy [i.e. ethics], one part is concerned with the care of morals, another with the administration of the household, another with the state and its preservation. Of these the first is called ethics, the second economics, and the third politics."[668] Plutarch provides us with numerous works designed to acquaint the young man with ethics. Some works are designed to introduce a single aspect of practical philosophy, such as politics in "Precepts of Statecraft." Other works touch on all three. We now turn to survey the literature of Plutarch, Pseudo-Plutarch, Cicero, and Xenophon.

5.5. Plutarch's Advice to the Young

A number of Plutarch's essays on practical ethics are addressed to young associates. Lieve van Hoof in his essay on Plutarch's practical ethics notes that his readers are "often politically active: amongst the Greek and Roman dedicatees and addressees named in the previous section, not a few were indeed politicians, sometimes on a local or provincial, sometimes on an Imperial level. Conversely, none of the men addressed in the practical ethics is characterized as a philosopher."[669] Van Hoof says that Plutarch wanted to convince his readers, who are not philosophers, that philosophy was to their benefit. His writing has a "protreptic function that would hardly make sense for a target audience of philosophers."[670] The audience for his ethical advice was a "highly elite readership, rather than philosophical specialists."[671] Van Hoof argues that Plutarch's imagined audience were not superficial elements in the text, since they "*influence* Plutarch's texts: the practical ethics are, in other words, adapted to this elite, non-specialist target audience."[672] Within this audience

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[666] Trapp, "Philosophy and Philosophers in the Imperial Period," 44.
[667] Alcinous, *Didaskalikos* 3.1 from John M. Dillon, ed., *Alcinous: The Handbook of Platonism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 4.
[668] Alcinous, *Didaskalikos* 3.3 from Dillon, *Alcinous*, 5.
[669] Lieve van Hoof, "Practical Ethics," in Beck, *A Companion to Plutarch*, 141.
[670] Ibid., 141—142.
[671] Ibid., 142.
[672] Ibid., 142.

Plutarch addresses a number to young men and women, who were about to enter into adult occupations, albeit elite ones. These works include *Precepts of Statecraft*, *How the Young Man Should Study Poetry*, *On Listening to Lectures*, and *To the Bride and Groom*. These works contained advice drawn from classical scholars as well as popular ethics.[673] We will consider three of these treatises as similar themes pervade them all.

5.5.1. Precepts of Statecraft

The impetus for writing *Precepts of Statecraft*, says Plutarch, was the request for advice by Menemachus, who was thinking of entering politics (*Precepts of Statecraft* 798 A—C).[674] Plutarch's project is to apply philosophical teaching to the practice of politics unlike "those philosophers who urge people to take lessons from them, but give no real instruction or advice" (*Precepts of Statecraft* 798 A). What political activity needs, says Plutarch, is a "firm and strong foundation, a choice of policy arising from judgement and reason" and not policy based on empty opinion or contentiousness (*Precepts of Statecraft* 798 C). Statecraft is full of examples of men in politics, who failed because of their character flaws. Menemachus, however, since "you are henceforth to live as on an open stage, educate your character and put it in order" (*Precepts of Statecraft* 800 B). Plutarch advises that an aspiring young statesman should develop a mentoring relationship with an older statesman, who can serve as a model (*Precepts of Statecraft* 805 E— 806 B). Much of the advice is about developing the right kind of character and associates, "for the State needs, not men who have no friends or comrades but good and self-controlled men" (*Precepts of Statecraft* 807 A; 819 B—D). The statesman must watch for errors in his friends (*Precepts of Statecraft* 807 C—D) and know when to give up on a friendship (*Precepts of Statecraft* 808 A—B). A statesman will prefer a friend to a flatterer (*Precepts of Statecraft* 807 A). In regard to personal enemies, a statesman will know when to put aside enmity for the common good (*Precepts of Statecraft* 809 C—D). In regard to common good, a statesman will put aside his own ambition and he should yield to others and delegate responsibilities (*Precepts of Statecraft* 812 C—D; 813 B—D). Although he has opponents, he should not seek to banish them (*Precepts of Statecraft* 813 A—C). A statesman should seek the right kind of honour "the honour of an office resides

[673] Ibid., 142—143; The term "popular ethics" should not be taken pejoratively but was a serious philosophical undertaking by Plutarch and others, Lieve van. Hoof, *Plutarch's Practical Ethic: The Social Dynamics of Philosophy*. Oxford Scholarship Online Classical Studies (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 7.
[674] All quotations from Plutarch, "Precepts of Statecraft," ed. Harold North Fowler, LCL (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936).

in concord and friendship with one's colleagues much more than in crowns and a purple-bordered robe" (*Precepts of Statecraft* 818 A—B). There is a good deal of advice on how to deal with factional disorder (*Precepts of Statecraft* 823 F—825 F).

5.5.2. On Listening to Lectures

The appropriate use of speech in the formation of character is at the heart of much of what Plutarch has to say to the young. In the *Precepts of Statecraft* there is a concern for the proper control of speech. A statesman of course needs oratory, "but, considering oratory to be, not the creator of persuasion but certainly its co-worker, we should correct Menander's line, "The speaker's nature, not his speech, persuades," for both his nature and his speech do so" (801 C). As the statesman uses speech as a co-worker alongside his character so a young man uses what he hears as a co-worker in the formation of his character.

The same utility can be made in listening to lectures. We have already introduced "On Listening to Lectures," and in this work Plutarch advices Nicander that,

> silence (ἡ σιωπή) is a safe adornment for the young man (τῷ νέῳ κόσμος), and especially so, when in listening to another he does not get excited or bawl out every minute…But those who instantly interrupt with contradictions, neither hearing nor being heard, but talking while others talk, behave in an unseemly manner (ἀσχημονοῦσιν); whereas the man who has the habit of listening with restraint and respect (ἐγκρατῶς καὶ μετ᾽ αἰδοῦς), takes in and masters a useful discourse, and more readily sees through and detects a useless or false one, showing himself thus to be a lover of truth and not a lover of disputation, nor forward or contentious (*On Listening* 39 B—D).

We see here the ideal picture of a young man in relation to another, one might think, older man who is speaking. It is a picture of a reserved and self-controlled person, not at the ready for disputes. As we have already seen 1 Timothy the "certain men" are to avoid disputes and contention. Similar to the "certain men" in 1 Timothy, who waste their time, Plutarch's young man is not to divert the speaker to petty and frivolous problems (*On Listening* 43 A). Plutarch says that there are serious underlying ethical issues, like a deadly disease that threatens the young man, so, "it is not the time to be inquiring about such questions, but how you may be rid of self-opinion and pretension, love affairs and nonsense, and settle down to a modest and wholesome mode of living" (*On Liste*ning 43 B).

5.5.3. Advice to the Bride and Groom

Plutarch's *Advice to the Bride and Groom* is addressed to his former students Pollianus and Eurydice on their wedding day. It is a wedding present full of advice on how to achieve a happy life together.[675] The aim of *Advice to the Bride and Groom* is that his students would be reminded of his teaching. In order for his advice to be remembered he structured it in the form of forty-eight brief comparisons,

> I have put together in the form of some brief similitudes, so that they are the more easily remembered, the main points of the teaching you have often heard in the course of your education in philosophy (ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ παρατρεφόμενοι). These I sent as a gift to you both. (*Bride and Groom*, 138 C).[676]

Plutarch's students have heard the advice given in *Advice to the Bride and Groom* many times before, and they have been educated together in philosophy. Here we catch a glimpse into Plutarch's classroom. Not only does he have young men in his classroom, but women as well. It is unfortunate that we cannot glean more specific information about the arrangements for the education of women from Plutarch. We can conclude, however, that Plutarch did address his advice directly to young women at some stage in his teaching, "Always have on your lips the remarks you learned with me (παρ᾽ ἡμῖν) as a girl" (*Bride and Groom*, 145E). Plutarch's advice to Eurydice is to have in her speech those things she learnt as a girl when she was "with me" (παρ᾽ ἡμῖν). The translation given by Swain takes the second person plural as a royal "we". Yet, as we saw in our discussion of διδασκαλία, Epictetus believed that his philosophical instruction was only for his students and not for the layman (Discourses II.14.1—5). This suggests that Plutarch and Epictetus had students, who were or had undertaken an introduction to philosophy. Plutarch sees Pollianus as now able to study philosophy and have advisers, but his wife is unable to do this (*Bride and Groom* 145 C). But she is not to be bereft of philosophy as Pollianus is to be her teacher. Plutarch believes that philosophy will benefit Eurydice as she will not be tempted to indulge in frivolous luxury, but will be engaged with serious occupations in order to develop her

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[675] Lisette Goessler, "Advice to the Bride and Groom: Plutarch Gives a Detailed Account of His Views on Marriage," in *Plutarch's Advice to the Bride and Groom and a Consolation to His Wife: English Translations, Commentary, Interpretive Essays, and Bibliography*, ed. Sarah B. Pomeroy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 97.

[676] All quotations from Plutarch's "Advice to the Bride and Groom," Translated by Donald Russell. In *Plutarch's Advice to the Bride and Groom, and a Consolation to His Wife: English Translations, Commentary, Interpretive Essays, and Bibliography*, ed. Sarah B. Pomeroy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 5—13; Greek text from Babbitt, LCL.

womanly virtues; “such studies keep women away from absurd behavior” (145 C).[677] There is a sense of some mutuality here, but Pollianus is definitely seen as the senior partner in their relationship (139 D). Pollianus is to play the senior role in their mutual partnership in marriage. Swain describes it best,

> Every action performed in a good household (ἐν οἰκίᾳ σωφρονούσῃ) is done by the agreement of the partners (ὑπ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων ὁμονοούντων), but displays the leadership and decision making of the husband’ (ch. 11, 139D). In the thought of this period the idea of *sôphrosynê* (chastity, modesty, decency, self-control) is often linked with *homonia*, for the aims of ‘consent’ are furthered by quiet, stable behavior. Consent between the partners (literally ‘by both being like-minded’) makes the husband’s task easier at home. [678]

This advice is intended not only for relationships within the household, but also with a view to relationships outside. Plutarch describes how Gorgias offered advice about concord (περὶ ὁμονοίας) to the people of Olympia, which was rejected because he did not have concord in his own household (144C). Plutarch comments, “A man who proposes to produce harmony in the city or in the marketplace or among his own friends, must have harmony at home (τὸν οἶκον)” (144C [43], Russell [Pomeroy, p.11]). Harmony is guaranteed through this hierarchical arrangement within the household.

5.5.4. Summary

In summary, the theme that runs through Plutarch’s advice to the young is that character development is of prime importance. A virtuous character can be cultivated through philosophy. The young need to be careful in their selection of role models. A young man should seek out a mentor in politics, who will be a good example. He should also be careful in selecting the right kind of friends. He may have opponents, but for the sake of the common good he should exercise his self-restraint and put aside personal enmity. In listening to others a young man should keep silent, it is a “safe adornment,” and he is not to enter into disputes. Similarly, a young woman should adorn herself with womanly virtue. A household is a microcosm of a city where the partners in it seek harmony, concord, and common wealth. Factions and discord should be avoided in politics and in the home. One’s

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[677] Simon Swain, "Plutarch's Moral Program," in Pomeroy, *Plutarch's Advice to the Bride and Groom*, 94.

[678] Swain, "Plutarch's Moral Program," 95 (Greek text from Babbitt, LCL, 139 D).

conduct is never entirely a private matter but is observable by those outside the household. While a woman may guard her character by her reserved speech, a man's character is exposed as if on stage if he enters politics.

5.6. Pseudo-Plutarch: The Education of Children

The work *The Education of Children* has long been considered by scholars not to be a work by Plutarch, so they assign it to a Pseudo-Plutarch.[679] The title of the work indicates that it concerns the ἀγωγή, or "training," of children rather than simply their academic education.[680] The writer is similar to Plutarch in his emphasis on philosophy over and above training in rhetoric.[681] Both authors see the importance of rhetorical training as a skill, but they subordinate it to philosophy (*The Education* 5.C). He sounds, "Ciceronian when he speaks of philosophy as *paideia*; he is a Hellenist throughout."[682] Much like Plutarch, his philosophy is "an eclectic synthesis of the classical tradition," which includes Plato, Aristotle, and Xenophon.[683]

Since Pseudo-Plutarch's advice is directed to fathers, its emphasis is somewhat different to Plutarch's advice to the young. He believes that ideally the father should oversee all phases of his son's education and not leave it to slaves and teachers (*The Education* 9 D).[684] He urges fathers to pay attention to the character of the teachers they select for their sons,

> Teachers must be sought for the children who are free from scandal in their lives, who are unimpeachable in their manners, and in experience the very best that may be found. For to receive a proper education is the source and root of all goodness…Nowadays there are some fathers who deserve utter contempt, who, before examining those who are going to teach, either because of ignorance, or sometimes because of inexperience, hand over their children to untried and untrustworthy men (*The Education* 4B—C).[685]

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[679] Graeme Francis Bourke, "How to Create the Ideal Son: The Unhidden Curriculum in Pseudo-Plutarch on the Training of Children," *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 46 (2014): 1174–1186.
[680] Bourke, "How to Create the Ideal Son," 1175.
[681] Edmund G. Berry, "The De Liberis Educandis of Pseudo-Plutarch," *HSCP* 63 (1958): 387—399 (389).
[682] Ibid.
[683] Ibid.
[684] Strauss, *Fathers and Sons in Athens*, 82—86.
[685] All quotations from Plutarch, "On the Education of Children," in *Moralia*, trans. Frank Cole Babbitt, LCL (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927).

Like Plutarch, Pseudo-Plutarch counsels that the young should practice silence, "for timely silence is a wise thing, and better than any speech" (The Education 10F). Intemperate speech causes strife (*The Education* 10F— 11 A). He advises that greater caution and watchfulness be exercised over adolescents and not to let the impetuosity of youth to range unrestrained (*The Education* 12A—B). The faults of children he says are trivial and incorrigible, "but the iniquities of early manhood are often monstrous and wicked— unlimited gluttony, theft of parents' money, gambling, revels, drinking bouts, love affairs with young girls and corruption of married women" (*The Education* 12 B). Fathers are to be an example of the good behavior they hope for in their sons, "to make themselves a manifest example to their children, so that the latter, by looking at their fathers' lives as at a mirror, may be deterred from disgraceful deeds and words" (*The Education* 14 A). Pseudo-Plutarch warns that sons be kept from flatterers since they dangle pleasure as "an irresistible lure to get their advice taken" (*The Education* 13 A).

In summary, the themes and anxieties of *The Education of Children* echo those of Plutarch in his advice to young men. The development of character is the primary occupation of both writers. For both men a virtuous character can be cultivated through philosophy and good role models both in the past and in the present. Both the young and fathers are warned about selecting the wrong kind of teachers and friends. For pseudo-Plutarch the young man's father is his principle role model and his guide to a virtuous and prosperous life.

5.7. Cicero and *de Officiis*

Cicero wrote a number of philosophical works, but the work that interests us is his discourse, *de Officiis*, written to his son, Marcus. Marcus was studying philosophy in Athens, but Cicero had received word that his son was not attending to his studies.[686] He had intended to travel to Athens to assist his son, but was called back to Rome on political business. So the conceit of this discourse was as an address giving fatherly advice to his son in Athens. Yet this is a work that is both personal and general. It is addressed both to his son and to young men like him, "the subject of this discussion, however, is not your personal history, but the general

[686] For the background to Cicero and his son see Andrew R. Dyck, *A Commentary on Cicero, De Officiis* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 12.

theme" (1. 45).[687] Douglas Kries argues that *de Officiis* is not a personal address to his profligate son. He points to a comment made by Cicero to his friend Atticus about *de Officiis*, "'Here I philosophize (what else?) and expound the subject of Duty on a magnificent scale. I am addressing the book to Marcus. From father to son what better" (15.13a.2, #417. C *Letters to Atticus* [Shackleton Bailey, LCL]).[688] Kries comments, "What is noteworthy about this brief passage for our purposes is Cicero's suggestion that his goal is not to speak directly to Marcus, but that addressing the book to him will give the project its 'theme' or, we might even say, its 'conceit.'"[689] This proposal chimes with Cicero's concern about his legacy among the young of Rome.[690] Further, Kries points to Cicero's allusion to other famous letters from fathers to sons as a hint to Cicero's motivation, "letters have survived composed by three men who we are told were masters of practical wisdom: the first was sent by Philip to Alexander, the second by Antipater to Cassander, and the third by Antigonus to his son Philip" (2.48). Kries proposes that *de Officiis* should be read as belonging to a tradition of letters "from fathers to sons that contain fatherly advice to young statesmen."[691] He concludes by saying that "De officiis should not be read as the personal letter of a father trying to exhort a not-too-promising son. Rather, the intended audience of the work are aspiring young statesmen and the father and son aspect of the work provides the form or genre."[692] However, given Cicero's concern, not just for his son, but for the youth and their future part in maintaining the Republic, his lifelong passion, this work is more than another philosophical discourse addressed to a family member; it is a work that stands close to his inner most concerns at this time in his life.[693] As Andrew Dyke comments, "As a father-son communication, *Off*. strikes an intimate tone unique among the extant *philosophica.*"[694]

5.7.1. De Officiis

As we have been discussing, *de Officiis* is addressed to Cicero's son,

> My dear Marcus, you have now been studying a full year under Cratippus, and that too in Athens, and you should be fully equipped with the practical precepts and the

[687] See discussion on the audience of *de Officiis*, ibid., 10—11.
[688] Cited in Douglas Kries, "On the Intention of Cicero's De Officiis," *Rev Pol* 65 (2003): 375—393.
[689] Ibid., 379.
[690] Dyck, *A Commentary on Cicero, De Officiis*, 10—11.
[691] Kries, "On the Intention of Cicero's De Officiis," 379.
[692] Ibid.
[693] Dyck, *A Commentary on Cicero, De Officiis*, 8—11; *De Divinatione* was addressed to his brother Quintus.
[694] Ibid., 13.

> principles of philosophy; so much at least one might expect from the pre-eminence not only of your teacher but also of the city; of the former is able to enrich you with learning, the latter to supply you with models (*exemplis*) (1.1).[695]

For Cicero the value of philosophy is the value that it adds to one's life; it is "the equipping with practical precepts and principles." Cicero commends to Marcus the study in both Greek and Latin not only philosophy but oratory. He urges Marcus to read his works on philosophy, but leaves the conclusions "to your own judgement" (1.2—3). Although Cicero is writing to his son, he concedes that he is also writing to a man in his majority. As has been pointed out there was a tradition of fathers offering sons advice, so Marcus, though an adult at twenty-one, is still at a stage in which his father can offer advice.

Cicero states his purpose, in writing what is clearly intended to be a philosophical discourse, "those [philosophical] teachings which have been handed down on the subject of moral duties seem to have the widest practical application" (1.4). This is, therefore, a work on ethics,

> For no phase of life, whether public or private, whether in business or in the home, whether one is working on what concern oneself alone or dealing with another, can be without its moral duty; on the discharge of such duties depends all that is morally right, and on their neglect all that is morally wrong in life (1.4).

Cicero notes that moral duty is the "common property of all philosophers" (1.5). Like Plutarch in *On precepts of Statecraft*, he selects a school from which to proceed in his discussion, "I shall, therefore, at this time and in this investigation follow chiefly the Stoics…I shall at my own discretion draw from those sources in such measure and in such manner as shall suit my purpose" (1.6). In discussing ethical matters Cicero is pragmatic, selecting those resources that suit his purpose.

De officiis is divided into three books. The first two books will occupy our attention since in the third Cicero is striking out on his own and formulating his own ideas on how to reconcile "morals" considered in book 1 with "expediency" in book 2.[696] Since the purpose of our

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[695] All quotations from M. Tullius Cicero, *De Officiis*, trans. Walter Miller, LCL (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1913).

[696] Ibid., 1.10; Kries, "On the Intention of Cicero's De Officiis," 382—387.

survey is to identify recurrent themes in the advice given to young men, it is best to stay within books 1 and 2 where Cicero is discussing commonly held views on these topics.
In the first book he discusses "the moral" under two subheadings, nature (1.11) and fortune (1.120). Under the first subheading Cicero argues that morals arise from nature. Humans are endowed with reason (1.11) and it is a manifestation of Nature and Reason that man has a feeling for order, for propriety, for moderation in word and deed (1.14). All that is morally right rises from one of four sources,

> (1) with the full perception and intelligent development of the true; or
> (2) with the conservation of organized society, with rendering to every man his due, and with the faithful discharge of obligations assumed; or
> (3) with the greatness and strength of a noble and invincible spirit; or
> (4) with the orderliness and moderation of everything that is said and done, wherein consist temperance and self-control (1.15).

Cicero then proceeds to outline the moral duties that arise from each of these sources. The first division, says Cicero, consists in knowledge of truth and "touches on human nature most closely" (1.18). Knowing the truth requires time and attention to weigh the evidence, but people must not "devote too much industry and too deep study to matters that are obscure and difficult and useless as well" (1.18—19).

The second division is the most extensive in its application, "the principle by which society and what we may call its 'common bonds' are maintained" (1.20). He divides this into two: justice and charity. Justice he says is "the crowning glory of the virtues and on the basis of which men are called 'good men'" (1.20). The first office of justice, says Cicero, "is to keep one man from doing harm to another, unless provoked by wrong; and the next is to lead men to use common possessions for the common interests, private property for their own" (1.20). If this is the first office then the foundation of justice "is good faith—that is, truth and fidelity to promises and agreements" (1.23). This section is filled with examples from Roman history. Its principle concern is wisdom in benefaction; principally be generous within your financial limits and wise about the character of those you give to. The man who deserves to be favoured is "endowed with these finer virtues— temperance, self-control, and that very justice" (1.46).

If common bonds are to be preserved, says Cicero, then "kindness be shown to each individual in proportion to the closeness of his relationship" (1.50). There are degrees of common bonds, some close, and some remote (1.53). The closest exist between kindred (1.54),

> for since the reproductive instinct is by Nature's gift the common possession of all living creatures, the first bond of union is that between husband and wife; the next between parents and children; then we find one home, with everything in common" (1.54).

The home, he says, is the foundation of civil government. This last comment suggests that Cicero is thinking that the family is a metaphor for the city. Family ties "hold men fast through good-will and affection; for it means much to share in common the same family traditions, the same forms of domestic worship, and the same ancestral tombs" (1.55).
He treats friendship as a special kind of bond (1.56). He finishes this section by extolling the love of country for "one's native land embraces all our loves; and who that is true would hesitate to give his life for her, if by his death he could render her a service?" (1.57). In the next sentence it appears that Cicero has moved onto a topic that is for him not just philosophical but personal, "so much the more execrable are those monsters who have torn their fatherland to pieces with every form of outrage and who are and have been engaged in compassing her utter destruction." Walter Miller notes that Cicero here is referring to Antony, Caesar, Clodius, and Catiline.[697] We should note that Cicero does not name his personal enemies, but only alludes to them; whereas those from the past who failed in their moral duties he names. We should also note the hyperbole–these men are "monsters," they have torn their fatherland to pieces, with *every* outrage, they have engaged in activities that will result in her *utter* destruction.

He next moves to the third theme "a noble and invincible spirit." In this section Cicero is advising Marcus on how to develop his character. He begins by introducing the four cardinal virtues in Greek thought, which are courage, righteousness, wisdom, and self-restraint.[698] He

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[697] Notes a and b, Cicero, *De Officiis*, LCL (1913), p. 60.
[698] ἡ δικαιοσύνη, ἡ φρόνησις, ἡ ἀνδρεία, ἡ σωφροσύνη, Diogenes Laertius, "Plato, " *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* (Hicks, LCL), 3.80; Helen North, *Sophrosyne: Self-Knowledge and Self-Restraint in Greek Literature* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966), 24— 25, 245—246; for a discussion on the flexibility of the canon, which sometimes included piety see Brian William Powell, "Did Paul Believe in Virtue?" (PhD diss., Macquarie University, 1995), 54—62.

says that these are the "sources moral rectitude and moral duty emanate" but the most glorious is courage (1.61—62). Courage is related to justice,

> But if the exaltation of spirit seen in times of danger and toil is devoid of justice and fights for selfish ends instead of for the common good, it is a vice; for not only has it no element of virtue (1.62).

Not only has Cicero defined courage for his reader, but he has also defined the opposing vice. In this finely crafted passage, Cicero has worked together many of his concerns in *de Officiis*; the character or spirit of a man, the common good, judgement in the "finer feeling," justice and reputation. With this picture of the great and courageous soul (1.66) he contrasts the man of vice, who seeks his own selfish ends and gains a reputation by treachery and cunning. The "high-souled man" (1.68) is marked by two characteristics, one is an indifference to outward circumstances, and the other is that he is not afraid to undertake deeds that are "extremely arduous and laborious and fraught with danger" (1.66). Although such a man strives for these things, he should not be ambitious for glory "for it robs us of liberty" (1.68). Such a man is in fact free of every disturbing emotion; he has a calm soul (1.69).

From here he moves on to discuss practical wisdom in administering the state. In so doing he does seem to digress (1.92). However, we would do well to note some points that Cicero makes about administration. He urges Marcus to remember two of Plato's rules: "first, to keep the good of the people so clearly in view that regardless of their own interests they will make their every action conform to that; second, to care for the welfare of the whole body politic and not in serving the interests of some one party to betray the rest" (1.85). In other words, avoid factional strife. He also urges Marcus in administering punishment that it should not be out of proportion with the offence and it should not be inflicted with passion. Anger should be eradicated (1.89). He discusses a number of examples of men who were able "to keep an unruffled temper" (1.90).

The last virtue he discusses, which he does at some length, is temperance (1.93). Temperance is the "complete subjection of all the passions, and moderation of all things. Under this head is further included what, in Latin, may be called *decorum* (propriety); for in Greek it is called πρέπον. Such is its essential nature, which is inseparable from moral goodness; for what is proper is morally right" (1.93—94). Miller notes the difficulty for

Cicero in translating the Greek πρέπον by using the Latin term *decorum* "is as difficult to translate into English as πρέπον is to reproduce in Latin."[699] The difficulty is not just in translating terms but in explaining the Greek concept to a Latin audience: "such is its essential nature that it is inseparable from moral goodness; for what is proper is morally right, and what is morally right is proper." It appears that Cicero is straining to distinguish πρέπον from moral rectitude for his Latin audience: he almost despairs, "the nature of the difference between morality and propriety can be more easily felt than expressed" (1.94). He moves on to more comfortable territory by describing how πρέπον relates to the other three virtues: "for to employ reason and speech rationally, to do with careful consideration whatever one does, and in everything to discern the truth and to uphold it—that is proper. To be mistaken, on the other hand, to miss the truth, to fall into error, to be led astray—that is as improper as to be deranged and lose one's mind" (1.94).

After an extended elaboration of πρέπον, Cicero returns to discuss the last source of what is morally right, "(4) with the orderliness and moderation of everything that is said and done, wherein consist temperance and self-control" (1.15). Orderliness and moderation is intimately tied to πρέπον, "as to the duty which has its source in propriety, the first road on which it conducts us leads to harmony with Nature and the faithful observance of her laws" (1.100). Under the heading of temperance, Cicero deals with the young man's life's calling, pointing out that he may not be able to follow in the footsteps of his father, since nature may have equipped the young man with other abilities (1.116). A young man should imitate his father, but not his faults (1.121). The exception to this rule is if nature does not permit such imitation (1.121). Different ages require different duties. The young man's duty is to,

> show deference to his elders and to attach himself to the best and most approved of them, so as to receive the benefit of their counsel and influence. For the inexperience of youth requires the practical wisdom of age to strengthen and direct it. And this time of life is above all to be protected against sensuality and trained to toil and endurance of both mind and body, so as to be strong for active duty in military and civil service. And even when they wish to relax their minds and give themselves up to enjoyment they should beware of excesses and bear in mind the rules of modesty (1.122).

[699] Cicero, *De Officiis* (Millar, LCL), 96 note a; North, *Sophrosyne*, 268—269.

In his advice, Cicero reflects our earlier discussion of the *neoi*. It is the time to look for a mentor, it is time to begin a career, either in the military or in public service, and it is time to be trained and to seek practical wisdom. Modesty governors all these activities and those highlighted are deference to elders and the avoidance of excesses (1.122).

Cicero begins to conclude book 1 by offering advice on how to make a choice between duties. His advice is to consult others, but the young man needs to avoid the example of some great man, such as Socrates or Aristippus, who did or said things contrary to manners (1.148). The young man is to seek past and present examples "those whose lives are conspicuous for conduct in keeping with their high moral standards, and who, as true patriots, have rendered or are now rendering efficient service to their country" (1.149).

In his second book 'Expediency' he traces out those kinds of duty which have to do with "the comforts of life, with the means of acquiring the things that people enjoy, with influence, and with wealth" (2.1). We will not survey this book in detail as we have done with the first, but it is worth noting that Cicero begins this work by defending philosophy. In this defence his language becomes heightened,

> for what, in the name of heaven, is more to be desired than wisdom? What is more to be prized? What is better for a man, what is more worthy of his nature? Those who seek after it are called philosophers; and philosophy is nothing else, if one will translate the word into our idiom than 'the love of wisdom' (2.5).

Cicero commends philosophy as it aids in solving the moral dilemmas facing himself and his son and his son's cohort. In book three he hopes to resolve the conflict between the right and the expedient. It is important to note that Cicero is not only promulgating classical philosophy as an antiquarian pursuit, but as a tool with which to solve what he perceives as his present moral dilemmas. Inherent in Cicero's project is his use of tradition with the assumption that he is free to adapt it to his present concerns.

5.8. Xenophon

We will complete our survey by discussing Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*. Cicero tells his son Marcus in *de Officiis* that when he was his age, twenty-one, he translated *Oeconomicus*, and commends Xenophon's principles saying "As for property, it is a duty to make money, but

finance only by honourable means; it is a duty also to save it and increase it by care and thrift" (2. 87).[700]

5.8.1. Oeconomicus

Gabriel Danzig describes the *Oeconomicus* as

> a guide to the art (or science) of household management, one of the most desirable arts a free man in ancient Greece could wish to acquire…It is filled with practical advice on organizing one's household and making a respectable living in fourth-century Greece. In this sense it belongs to the classical tradition of advice-literature, a genre which includes such works as Hesiod's *Works and Days*, Virgil's *Georgics*, and even Ovid's *Art of Love*.[701]

Danzig observes, however, that it is far more than a manual of practical household advice.[702] He argues that neither Socrates nor Ischomachus, his sparring partner, make for good role models of household managers.

On the surface, Socrates is offering an ethical critique and a corrective to the economic impulse, which motivates young men like Critobulus, the main protagonist in *Oeconomicus*. Socrates appears to hold the rich gentleman farmer, Ischomachus, up as a role model. Danzig says that Socrates,

> is engaged in an act of genuine education, leading Critobulus away from his pecuniary interests and seeking to turn him into something better than he is at present… it aims to reduce Critobulus' preoccupation with the things that money brings, and to force him, and readers like him, to find activities worth pursuing for their own sakes. It aims to turn Critobulus into a respectable Athenian gentleman, a real Ischomachus.[703]

Yet Socrates, himself, was ineligible for any honour and respect of his fellow-citizens. His poverty deprived him of all claim to the title of a gentleman. In the light of this Danzig argues that Socrates efforts were not to turn Critobulus into an Ischomachus, rather it was

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[700] He makes extended use of Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* in *De Senectute,* 59.
[701] Gabriel Danzig, "Why Socrates Was Not a Farmer: Xenophon's Oeconomicus as a Philosophical Dialogue," *Greece & Rome* 50 (2003): 57—76 (57).
[702] Ibid.
[703] Ibid., 61.

"the investigation of the mutual antagonism between Socrates the philosopher and Ischomachus the respectable citizen of Athens."[704] Socrates, though poor, had many hours of leisure, an enviable state in Athens. Ischomachus has little leisure time although he is rich. Further, Socrates is critical of Ischomachus' efforts to pursue a reputation as a gentleman (6.12-17; 7.2-3). Socrates said to Ischomachus, "the earning of a reputation is not the same thing as the pursuit of excellence (*arete*)."[705] Ischomachus' efforts to secure wealth and a good name involve a lot of physical hard work.

A picture develops of two modes of life. As Danzig describes, Ischomachus, since he is wealthy, is "forced to fund expensive city expenditures (7.3), and is constantly in danger of legal proceedings (11.21-5), motivated undoubtedly by the desire to win a share of his wealth. He has been beaten by his own supposedly well-trained wife in some undisclosed domestic squabble (11.25), a fact which seems to cast some doubt on his earlier account of her excellent behaviour."[706] Socrates, on the other hand, has leisure to engage in conversation and philosophy, unperturbed by the troubles of the wealthy man.

Yet Socrates, although he has none of these troubles, is forced to admit that there is something in Ischomachus' life that is admirable. Ischomachus explains that it is "a pleasure to honor the gods in grand fashion and to help friends in need." Socrates agrees with Ischomachus at this point, "surely those who can maintain their own estate and yet have enough left to adorn the city and relieve their friends may well be thought affluent and powerful men" (11. 9—10 [Marchant and Todd, LCL]). There does seem, therefore, some purpose to the long and detailed description of household management and farming that is in *Oeconomicus*. While Xenophon may have admired Socrates' commitment to a simple lifestyle free of worry and full of leisure to pursue the intellectual life, he is not able, as Danzig says, to put aside the gentleman's ability "to support and help one's family, friends, and city."[707]

The recurrent theme in *Oeconomicus* is that the pursuit of virtue is far more valuable than the pursuit of wealth. However, if one cannot live up to the example of Socrates in his

[704] Ibid., 63.
[705] Ibid., 66.
[706] Ibid., 69.
[707] Ibid., 76.

simplicity, then working hard and productively in order to bring honour and benefit to one's city, family, and friends can be noble. To run an ordered and profitable household is an admirable pursuit. This is tempered advice to a young man in Critobulus' position. Xenophon provides a model for the educational approach taken by Cicero in *de Officiis*. He allows his reader to consider for themselves the possibilities and implications of certain choices.[708] This is an educational work for those who are already men. The concerns for the appropriate administration of the household and city are also reflected in Plutarch's essay in *The Precepts of Statesman*.[709] Advice to the free young man will always touch on his twin duties: his household and his state.[710]

5.9. Recurrent Themes

There are a number of recurrent themes that can be traced through the literature relating to the education of young men. Moral writers advised both young men and their fathers. This advice was a part of the ongoing παιδεία that turned a son into a citizen. As we can see in the preceding survey, this advice covered a large range of topics. But central to all the topics covered was the development of the young man's character. Consistently, the writers discuss how the young man could cultivate virtue. Cicero's exposition reveals the underlying classical tetrarchy of the four cardinal virtues, courage, justice, wisdom, and temperance. Cicero is promoting these classical Greek virtues to his Roman audience. While he struggles to explain temperance, for a Greek audience these four virtues were self-evident. To possess these virtues was to be the complete man, who had reached the highest pinnacle of existence, and whose nature is summed up by the term "gentleman." All of the Greek writers surveyed would have taken this conceptual framework for granted, since the goal of the παιδεία was the attainment of these virtues.

Cicero, Plutarch, and Pseudo-Plutarch seem convinced that philosophy would form a young man into a true gentleman. It was seen as the key to building the right kind of character and acting virtuously. So much so that at points some of our writers eulogise the practice of philosophy. However, Xenophon from the fourth century BCE sounds a corrective note

[708] Ibid., 332—333.

[709] Xenophon's concerns about the relationship between the household, city, and empire are explored more in *Cyropaedia*. See Philip Stadter, "Fictional Narrative in the Cyropaedia," in *Xenophon*, ed Vivienne Gray (Oxford Readings in Classical Studies. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 367–400.

[710] Entrance into political offices and marriage marked a transition for the young man, Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth*, 72—73.

in the pursuit of philosophy. In *Oecomonicus*, while he respects his hero Socrates and never criticises his teaching, he sounds a note of moderation. Pursuing philosophy to its extremes has its benefits, but only someone like Socrates could do it. Not everyone can be like Socrates, so a middle way should be sought. Working hard and productively in order to bring honour and benefit to one's city, family, and friends is worth pursuing. Philosophy is worthwhile even for a working man because it helps the man to pursue virtue, which is far more valuable than wealth. A constant theme is that a young man should seek the right kind of honour and not be ambitious for public accolades. For Cicero, philosophy was useful in the storms of political life for it kept the high-souled man calm.

In all the writers the unstated assumption was that young men were prone to excess and vice. It is also apparent that they believed that young men lack judgement particularly in the selection of friends and role models. In the advice directed at fathers there was a notable strain that a young man should be trained to make appropriate judgements in regard to role models. Pseudo-Plutarch spends a good deal of time advising fathers on how to select the right kind of teachers for their sons. Teachers were assumed to be role models and pass on their character to their students. Teachers must be trustworthy. He calls for fathers to be appropriate examples to their sons. Cicero offers himself as an example to his son. In sum, a father should watch over his sons' education and provide direction even after he finishes his schooling.

Our writers advise the young man to form a mentoring relationship with an older man. They are to select a man who can act as a model of virtue and instruct the young man in the practicalities of his chosen career. Men of history provide good examples; both positive and negative. Cicero's *de Officiis* is replete with Roman examples. A young man should show a special kind of temperance or σωφροσύνη.[711] He will respect his elders and show appropriate deference. A young man will control his speech and be in the habit of listening with restraint and respect. Intemperate speech causes strife. Young men are liable to waste time on talking nonsense. A young man will exhibit modesty by being careful with his words (*de Officiis* 1.126). Although a young man should be temperate in

[711] Young men were often praised on their epitaphs for their *sophrosyne*, Reinach, H, 'Inscriptions d'Aphrododisias' REG XIX (1906) 142, no 74; MAMA VIII 482.

his actions and speech towards his elders, there is no discussion in any of our writers as to the point at which the young man becomes one of the elders. As we saw in the discussion of the *neoi*, the age range was roughly twenty to thirty (or may be even more). The ancients saw the period of young manhood extending into what we would call adulthood.[712]

This explains the extended advice given to young men on politics and the household. It was at this period of time that young men were embarking on political careers and starting their own households.[713] Hence our writers see that they are in need of advice to guarantee their success in these endeavours. The young statesman is in need of advice by an older and wiser hand. Failure in character can lead to failures in one's career. Cicero's *de Officiis* is replete with many examples of this kind. Only one's character can save one from the pitfalls of public office. Empty pursuit of public honours will inevitably lead to strife. A statesman must be self-controlled, since at times he must put aside personal enmity for the common good. He must also control his language to avoid factional disorder. In politics a man needs to exercise judgement and reason. A good grasp of justice will aid the statesman. Justice keeps men from harming one another and leads men to use common possessions for the common good (*de Off*. 1.20). Cicero urges Marcus to be of service to his country not like some men, who tear their fatherland to pieces for their own ends. Such men are "monsters." A reputation for courage cannot be gained by treachery or cunning. A man ambitious for glory will be robbed of his liberty.

A young man also needs friends. Friends should be selected who have a good character. Fathers are advised to train their sons to distinguish between a friend and a flatterer. Wealthy fathers should look out for flatterers, who lead young men astray. Young men are in need of supervision not only because they can be carried away by the allure of vice, but also by an excess in what is good.[714] For instance, Cicero warns that knowledge is useful but one can spend "too much time and study to matters that are obscure and

[712] In classical Athens men were considered young until thirty, Strauss, *Fathers and Sons in Athens*, 139—140; in the Hellenistic-Roman period "the upper age limit of the neoi is kept vague as well; one remained a neos, at least in theory, until the age of fifty. Then one entered the college of old men, the gerousia," Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth*, 56.

[713] A youngster from the age of sixteen to seventeen could take on minor magistracies, however, the age was normally twenty five to thirty, about the same age that young men were married, Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth,* 56—57, 72.

[714] North, *Sophrosyne*, 209.

difficult and useless as well" (*de Off*. 1.18—19). Other examples of excess are the pursuit of luxury and comfort. Frivolous conversation, so much the weakness of the young, is often at the expense of conversation that builds character. Temperance is the key to avoid these perils.

5.10. Timothy and the Advice to the Young Timothy.

1 Timothy stands in a long tradition of an older man advising a young man. This is not a question of literary genre. Advice can come in the form of a letter or a dissertation. It is a social convention: older men advise and are role models for younger men. We have seen this not only in the literature, but in the inscriptions and the reports of Cicero on his education. Our survey of education in Asia Minor and in the literature has revealed certain expectations of young men, teachers, and mentors. These expectations are conventional, built around assumptions that young men are in need of advice on the day to day practicalities of their newly acquired offices. In our sample practical advice is offered to the new landholder, statesman, and husband. Fathers were normally expected to advise their sons, but the reality was that many young men entered adult life without a living father.[715]

In 1 Timothy pastoral Paul takes on Timothy as an adopted son. Many of the traditional elements and themes of fatherly advice are present in 1 Timothy. It should not surprise us that advice about the practicalities of pastoral Timothy's new position in Ephesus dominates this letter. How young pastoral Timothy is envisaged to be is difficult to say, since his age could range anywhere from his twenties into his thirties. The salutary element is not pastoral Timothy's age, but that pastoral Paul has left Timothy alone in a new role. As we saw in our discussion in the third chapter, that role is as some kind of overseer in an organisation conceived of as a royal house. This imagery immediately taps into a repetitive theme in the literature: the household as a metaphor for the city.

In Pseudo-Plutarch we see that true παιδεία can only come from a father, who is to be a true role model for his son, not slaves or hired servants, even if they are educated teachers.

[715] Since men tended to marry in their late twenties or early thirties, they would be in their late forties—early fifties when their eldest son reached their majority at eighteen. This meant that many young men had no father to guide them through their early twenties, Strauss, *Fathers and Sons in Athens*, 67—68, 71.

Nevertheless teachers need to be selected with care as they are constant companions and role models for a son. As we saw in King Attalus' letter to the Ephesians, a good companion and teacher is to be commended. Good teachers were hard to find. A young man with an ineffective teacher may fail to learn, even worse he may be lead astray. The great danger for a young man was being seduced by men posing as friends, who are called in our literature "flatterers." A flatterer could lead a young man into vice and excess. Excess was a constant danger. Cicero warns knowledge is a good thing, but one can engage in too much study and waste time. As Xenophon counsels unless one is a Socrates then the young man would do well to chart a course of moderation.

This background enlightens 1 Timothy extremely well. We can now see the currents, the ebb and flow of concern and anxieties. Like Cicero's *de Officiis*, 1 Timothy is not directed to Timothy alone but to his cohort, who are in danger of being led into vice and excess by bad teachers. The overall picture is that the "certain men" are young men like Timothy.[716] There are bad teachers, who have seduced "the certain men" with the instruction of demons (1 Timothy 4:1). This hyperbole should not surprise us. As Cicero breaks with his moderate tone to Marcus, to call those who destroy the Republic "monsters," so here the writer breaks his poise to strike with passion at those who threaten the household of God. The plain unadorned prose of the rest of 1 Timothy reflects an image of pastoral Paul as the man unruffled by emotion, like Cicero's high-souled man.[717] Yet even a high-souled man has his limits.

[716] Hutson, "My True Child," 23—25.

[717] As some have noted the writer of the Pastorals "lacks the Apostle's vigour and variety; he writes smooth, often monotonous sentences," Kelly, *Pastoral Epistles*, 21; P. N. Harrison describes the writer's style in comparison to Paul's style as "looser, less nervous, and less rugged style, and into the current vocabulary of his day," *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press; Humphrey Milford, 1921), 11—12.

5.11. The Goal of these Instructions (1 Timothy 1:5)

Pastoral Paul is the example of virtue that the young men should be emulating. This crucial point was identified by Fiore.[718] The letter is from a father to a son about the affairs in administering a divine/royal household.[719] The father is a role model for his son as the son, emulating his father, is a role model to the other young men in the divine/royal household. The father models the goal that is aimed at by the advice. This goal is clearly stated in 1 Timothy 1:5,

τὸ δὲ τέλος τῆς παραγγελίας ἐστὶν ἀγάπη ἐκ καθαρᾶς καρδίας καὶ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς καὶ πίστεως ἀνυποκρίτου,

"But the goal of our instruction…" relates back to the commandment that pastoral Paul gives and Timothy is to reiterate in verses 3 and 4. As we saw in the last chapter the command is really a number of commands. The "certain men" are to desist with the other διδάασκαλία and time consuming research and instead are to turn their attention to the administration of God. As we have seen these warnings echo the usual warnings given to young men: do not be seduced and led astray; do not indulge in the good to excess. These instructions however are not the object of the command in and of themselves. The end goal is a list of three character traits, which characterizes pastoral Paul, Timothy, and is meant to characterise the "certain men."

It is regrettable that τὸ τέλος has not been recognised as a technical term in 1 Timothy.[720] Jaeger in discussing Plato's *Geogias* observes that "the Good… is called the telos of all conduct [in 499e]."[721] This note is made in the discussion of Plato's conception of the statesman's real task, the *eidos*, which is to be organised into the greatest perfection. As every craftsman gives his work form and order, there is

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[718] Fiore, *The Function of Personal Example*, 198—201.

[719] P. Mich. VIII 485 gives an interesting insight into the value of the father-son relationship in 2nd C CE government bureaucracy. It is a letter from Ammonius to Sabinus urging him to assist Valerius in writing to his father's superior so he may take up a position in the same corps as his father. See Harrison, *Paul's Language of Grace*, 74—75.

[720] In spite of the title, Towner gives little attention to the term, *The Goal of Our Instruction*. See for instance page 156. There is little more than a passing note to τὸ τέλος as "the goal" in Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 114; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 368; Kelly, *Pastoral Epistles*, 46.

[721] Jaeger, *Paideia*, vol II, 145, fn. 107.

the regular and orderly states of the soul are called lawfulness and law, whereby men are similarly made law-abiding and orderly; and these states are justice and temperance…Then it is this that our orator, the man of art and virtue, will have in view, when he applies to our souls the words that he speaks, and also in all his actions, and in giving any gift he will give it (*Gorgia*s, 504 D—E [Lamb, LCL]).

It is this task, obverses Jaeger, which creates order (τάξις) in the human soul and this is the Good or τὸ τέλος.[722] It is Aristotle, in particular, who takes up this term τὸ τέλος and makes it his own. Elizabeth Shaw in her article, "Philosophers for the City: Aristotle and the Telos of Education," relates that Aristotle saw "all men 'aim at the good life and happiness,' but some 'go wrong at the start in their search for happiness.' That is to say, some err in their initial conception of their goal."[723] Aristotle's goal did not just relate to the individual and his happiness, but to the individual as a citizen,

With a view to cultivating a citizenry open to political rule 'rather than those fit only to rule and be rule despotically,' Aristotle's proposed education has the general goal of fostering the habits of freedom. This education should be uniform and public: 'inasmuch as the end for the whole state is one, it is manifest that education must necessarily be one and the same for all and that the superintendence of this must be public.'[724]

Aristotle utilizes the term τὸ τέλος numerous times in his writings, but in a passage that reflects Shaw's observations and is relevant to our purposes he says,

But the object aimed at as End (τέλος) is the chief good, and is the cause of the subordinate goods and first of all; so that the Absolute Good would be this—the End (τὸ τέλος) of the goods practicable for man. And this is the good that comes under the supreme of all the practical sciences…And that the End (τὸ τέλος) stands in a causal relation to the means subordinate to it is shown by the method of teachers (διδασκαλία); they prove that the various means are each good by first defining the End (τὸ τέλος), because the End aimed at is a cause (*Eudemian Ethics* 1218b.7—21 [Rackham, LCL]).

This passage forms part of Aristotle's conclusion to book one and sums up his introduction that, "Happiness is at once the pleasantest and the fairest and best of all things

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[722] Ibid.

[723] Elizabeth C. Shaw, "Philosophers for the City: Aristotle and the Telos of Education," *Modern Age* 47 (2005): 30—36 (31).

[724] Ibid.

whatever" (1214a. 7-8 [Rackham, LCL]). He concludes his introduction by saying that Absolute Good that he is in search of is "the End (τὸ τέλος) of the goods practicable for man." Importantly for our understanding of the use of τὸ τέλος in 1 Timothy 1:5, Aristotle says that the End that is aimed at is the cause. He uses the example of health: it is not that which contributes to health that is good but the end which is good; that is, health. So διδασκαλία is not the good in and of itself, since it is a means, "the method of teachers" as Rackman translates it, towards τὸ τέλος.

As Peter Marshall warned we should not only look for parallels but consider how the writer differs from the conventional. Cicero in *de Officiis* commended tradition, but was willing to adapt it to his own needs. In fact, Plutarch's and Cicero's strategy in writing advice enlightens the strategy used by the writer of 1 Timothy. They both selected a philosophical stance to guide their discussions of ethics, but at the same time felt free to select from various other schools as suited their needs. This gives their writing an eclectic feel. So too the writer of 1 Timothy. He has selected his stance, the Pauline tradition, supplementing it as he felt the need. These are the "various materials" that Dibelius and Conzelmann identified.[725] Like the current ethical writers, the writer of 1 Timothy adapts the philosophical tradition to suit his purpose.[726] Unlike the other writers he does not see a continued παιδεία in philosophy as the young man's saviour. There is no hymn to παιδεία in the Pastorals. Indeed, it is subordinated to διδασκαλία (2 Tim 3: 16-17). We can hypothesise that the writer, in using the term διδασκαλία, wished to avoid the connotations of παιδεία. His end goal is not the gentleman whose character is imbued with the four cardinal virtues.

The goal of his command is love from a pure heart (ἐστὶν ἀγάπη ἐκ καθαρᾶς καρδίας) and a good conscience (καὶ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς), and sincere faithfulness (καὶ πίστεως ἀνυποκρίτου). These are not the four cardinal virtues to be expected from a traditional Greek education. The writer of 1 Timothy has radically reshaped the end goal. We can infer that the writer has consciously avoided the term παιδεία. He has in mind a new type of man; this man is a new type of citizen in God's royal household. This citizen is

[725] Dibelius and Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 5.
[726] A strategy adopted by other early Christian thinkers, Werner Jaeger, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1965), 61—64.

formed through "the sound teaching" and "the good teaching." This is a type of philosophy (adult παιδεία), which a young man like Timothy and his cohort has to enter into.[727] This same idea is present in Clement of Alexandria,

> Teaching (διδασκαλία) that follows Christ recognizes God in the creator. It brings Providence in, even to matters of detail. It shows that the elements are by nature subject to birth and change. It teaches (διδάσκει) us, so far as we can, to exercise our citizenship (πολιτεύεσθαι) in likeness to God, and accept God's plan (τὴν οἰκονομίαν) as the directive power for the whole of our education (παιδείας) (*Stromata*, Book 1. 11.52.3).[728]

Like Clement, "the certain men" of 1 Timothy are to accept "the administration" (τὴν οἰκονομίαν) of the διδασκαλία as the directive power over the whole of their παιδεία and any other διδασκαλία that might be on offer. Further, we can conclude that in 1 Timothy 1:5 "the command" (τῆς παραγγελίας) is a synonym for pastoral Paul's διδασκαλία. As we concluded in the last chapter, διδασκαλία is concerned with the development of skills out of a body of knowledge and is best translated "instruction." Pastoral Paul's command, therefore, in 1 Timothy 1 verses 3 and 5 is the command to implement his διδασκαλία. He is urging Timothy to instruct the "certain men" in the sound διδασκαλία (1 Tim 1:10), which will result in "the end" (τὸ τέλος). This end is the ideal Christian character.

5.12. Conclusion

In conclusion, the writer of 1 Timothy belongs to a vital and energetic intellectual society. From the investigation over the last four chapters, it can be gleaned that 1 Timothy was written by someone with knowledge of Asia Minor, its customs and literary heritage. [729] Ephesus was an important learning centre and its setting for 1 Timothy should not be dismissed as a piece of pseudepigraphical colouring. [730] It provides a suitable background against which the writer can introduce various philosophical, traditional, and Pauline materials into his letter.

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[727] Ibid., 58—62.

[728] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis. Books One to Three*, trans. John Ferguson, vol. 85 of *The Fathers of the Church* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1991), 61; Cf. *Strom*. 2.312 (ANF 4—6).

[729] It cannot be dismissed that the writer is actually located in Ephesus; evidence indicates that young men travelled to Ephesus and Smyrna to complete their education, Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth*, 118—119.

[730] Dibelius and Conzelman, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 5.

It is clear that the writer of 1 Timothy has been exposed to philosophical teachings and traditions. This does not mean that he had spent time as an adult with a philosopher, since anyone with a secondary school education would have been exposed to some philosophical writings in their time in school. We cannot be sure at what point this may have happened. Standard selections of readings for grammarians were poets and playwrights: Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Euripides, and Menander.[731] Time with the *rhetor* would have exposed a student to a greater range of prose texts.[732] The advanced exercise of declamation required a good knowledge of Greek history.[733] Many of the preliminary exercises in rhetoric revolved around impersonation and praise of historical figures.[734] These exercises assume a "good knowledge of the relevant literary texts with proper understanding of all the surrounding circumstances."[735] Although most of the Greek Hellenistic evidence is lost, it could be postulated that the figure of Socrates and his thought would be introduced at this level.[736] Exposure to figures of the past and their ideas could also come through the public speeches given by sophists, many of whom had a celebrity status in the period of the Roman Empire.[737] Further, if the writer came from a sub-elite family wealthy enough to enrol their son as an *ephebe*, he would have been exposed to philosophical ideas through the gymnasium. He would also have had access to a library. Even without this, access to philosophical ideas and trends could be gained through attending free lectures given by travelling teachers. At the barest minimum the writer of 1 Timothy has had some education in rhetoric.[738] In the next chapter, we will consider how the writer attempts to persuade the young men "to conduct [themselves properly] in the household of God" (1 Tim. 3: 15).

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[731] Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 192—201.

[732] Ibid., 227; Cicero describes how "Quintus Nobilior, son of Marcus" was "trained by his father from boyhood to study of letters (studio litterarum; ie, to study literature)" and was "reported to have been not without readiness in discourse" (*Brutus*, Hendrickson and Hubbell, LCL 20.79).

[733] Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 231—238.

[734] Ibid., 228—229.

[735] Ibid., 231.

[736] Ibid., 232—235; Theon advised that reading orators would be introduced to the student of rhetoric in stages followed by the historians; first Herodotus, followed by the more demanding authors such as Theopompus, Xenophon, Philistus, Ephors and Thucydides. Xenophon would be a natural conduit for an appreciation of Socrates.

[737] Ibid., 238—240.

[738] Sons could improve their social status through education, but at a cost to their parents, CIL VIII 5370, Seiius Fundanus from Calama (Numidia) lamented "he has buried his sons after so many outlays of money, which did not bring anyone rewards," see discussion by Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth,* 87—88.

Chapter 6
The Orator: Persuading the "certain men"

In this chapter and the next it will be argued that pastoral Paul continues on from his command (1 Tim 1:3–4) constructing a rhetorical digression (1 Tim 1:5–20) in which he hopes to persuade the "certain men" to turn from the other instruction to the sound διδάσκαλία (1 Tim 1:10). This section is built using a combination of readily identifiable rhetorical devices and educational materials. The writer's aim is to persuade the "certain men" that they are really men of ὕβρις (*hybris*) and are in need of the mercy of God. Pastoral Paul offers himself as an example of one who has received this mercy from God (1 Tim 1:13–16). We will first briefly acquaint ourselves with the rhetorical devices at play in this section (1 Tim 1:5–20) before turning to analyse the argumentative strategy. For the sake of the reader this will be divided into two parts. The digression falls naturally into two sections and the first is verses 5 to 17, which lays out the persuasive terrain. In this part of the digression the focus is on a comparison between pastoral Paul and "the certain men." The second section, verses 18 to 20, which will be dealt with in the next chapter, reiterates the rhetorical contours of the first and is focused primarily on the comparison of pastoral Timothy with Hymenaeus and Alexander. What will emerge is a carefully crafted strategy that is meant to elicit powerful emotions in the "certain men" to persuade them to act.

6.1. Rhetoric and 1 Timothy

Training in rhetoric was a goal of the schoolboy's education.[739] While *paideia* developed the right kind of character for a citizen, rhetoric equipped him with the tools to participate in civic life. Training in rhetoric equipped the citizen to speak to other citizens in order to persuade them to feel, act, and think in certain ways desired by the speaker. Aristotle saw rhetoric not as the end but as the means,

> that its function is not so much to persuade, as to find out in each case the existing means of persuasion. The same holds good in respect to all the other arts. For instance, it is not the function of medicine to restore a patient to health, but only to

[739] School boys aged 12–15 usually began preparation for training in rhetoric with their grammarian. The grammarian would take them through a series of written exercises in preparation for declamation, Kennedy, ed., *Progymnasmata*, x; these preliminary exercises were built on skills and knowledge learnt in the earlier phase of education, Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 223.

> promote this end as far as possible; for even those whose recovery is impossible may be properly treated (*Rhetoric* 1.1355b14).[740]

The focus for Aristotle is the art or the "means" available to the orator in his efforts to persuade his audience. The orator cannot always persuade his audience just as a doctor cannot always restore a patient to health, rather both use the best means possible to achieve their respective ends. Aristotle's treatise, like the handbooks of rhetoric that followed, focused on methods of persuasion.[741] The character of the orator and the legitimacy of his argument were treated elsewhere.[742] Rhetoric equipped a citizen to give public speeches, and for this reason Aristotle classed it as a subdivision of politics.[743] The citizen was trained to prosecute and defend in the courts, persuade or dissuade citizens to or from certain courses of action in the assembly, or to eulogise citizens at their funeral or at a festival. These were the three kinds of speeches that citizens were trained to give: forensic (persuasion in court), deliberative (persuasion in the civic council), and epideictic (influencing the values and beliefs of the audience).[744] We have already established that the purpose of 1 Timothy is to persuade the "certain men" not to "to teach the other instruction" nor to spend their time on myths and genealogies, but to confine themselves to "the administration of God" (1 Tim 1: 3–5). This means that the audience is making a decision about their future behaviour, and this suggests the deliberative species of rhetoric.[745]

Donelson has identified the use of rhetoric in the Pastoral Epistles.[746] His discussion relates to the Epistles generally, but our question is how is the writer of 1 Timothy furthering his purpose by using rhetorical devices? In other words, how does the use of rhetorical techniques contribute to his purpose to dissuade "certain men" not to engage in certain behaviours and to persuade them to the right end (1 Tim 1:3–5)? As Donelson's discussion demonstrates, the writer uses rhetorical devices throughout the letter. A comparison of 1

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[740] All quotes, unless otherwise stated, are from Aristotle, *Art of Rhetoric*. Translated by J. H. Freese. LCL. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926).
[741] Donelson notes that the writer of 1 Timothy probably did not have first-hand acquaintance with Aristotle's work, but knew the enough of its general outline through "the canons on rhetoric," *Pseudepigraphy*, 71.
[742] Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, 55–56.
[743] Ibid.
[744] Ibid., 4 and 58.
[745] Ibid., 4; Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy*, 76.
[746] Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy*, 67–113.

Timothy and other administrative letters reveals that verses 5 to 20 in chapter 1 are interrupting the flow of the letter, and in rhetorical terms it would be called a digression.

6.2. A Digression

Demetrius' handbook on letter writing advised against oratorical display in letters, however, rhetorical techniques still found their way into written prose where the object was to persuade the reader (*On Style* 225, 233–234).[747] History writing made use of rhetorical techniques, not only in presenting speeches of characters, but in constructing narratives.[748] It was inevitable that those trained in rhetoric would utilise their skills in writing letters seeking to persuade their readers to certain courses of action.[749] Historical Paul is a fine example; in all his letters he aims to persuade his readers to his view of things and to urge them to pursue certain courses of action.[750] This is not to say that letter writing gave way to a species of oratory, but that techniques that were used in constructing speeches were used in letters.[751] The persuasive strategy of 1 Timothy is evident in what can be identified as an ethical digression in verses 6–20 of chapter 1. This ethical digression underpins the presentation of the commands that follow and is designed to persuade the "certain men" to obey the commands given to them by pastoral Timothy.

6.2.1. Disruption to the Expected flow of 1 Timothy as an Administrative Letter

Often in administrative letters that were surveyed in chapter three, the commands or instructions begin after a description of the circumstances of the letter writer or the recipient. For example the letter of the strategus of Lycopolite to the strategus of Hermopolite (P.Oxy. 2560, 258 CE),

> …aeus, also called Laetus, strategus of the Lycopolite nome, to Aurelius Chaeremon, also called Sparatiates, strategus of the Hermopolite nome, his very dear friend, greeting.
>
> …Publius, or however else he is styled…to Aurelius Horigenes, also called Apollonius, acting-nomarch of Antinoopolis, and he, in accordance with his duty, finding another

[747] Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists*, 17; also 229–235, p.19.
[748] George A. Kennedy, *The Art of Persuasion in Greece* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963), 43–51.
[749] Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, 8–9.
[750] Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, 9; Mark Douglas Given, *Paul's True Rhetoric: Ambiguity, Cunning, and Deception in Greece and Rome* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2001), 1–4.
[751] This is suggested by the appendage of letter writing manuals to manuals of rhetoric, Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists*, 2–6; Harding, *Tradition and Rhetoric*, 180–181.

doctor with the same name as the wanted man, sent him here. But he said that the wanted man was in the village of Pokis in the upper toparchy of Koussae in the nome under your control. You will do right in accordance with your duty if you hand the wanted man over to Koulos, son of Thatres, and As…, son of Nilus….(ll.1–16).[752]

We can see in this letter that after the greeting, the writer has gone into some detail to explain why he is writing to Apollonius (ll. 4–14). Only then does he give the instruction, "you will do right in accordance with your duty" (ll.14–15), which is the purpose of the letter. Similarly in the letter to Hermias (P.Tebt. I 27), which was considered in chapter three, there is a long passage dedicated to the circumstances for writing (ll.27–41), followed by the command "see that suitable persons are appointed" (l.43). Some administrative letters do not describe the circumstances, but begin the letter body with commands and instructions.[753]

In the case of 1 Timothy, the circumstances of the letter are given immediately after the prayer, followed by the command "may you command (or warn) certain men" (1:3–4).[754] If the writer of 1 Timothy was following the administrative letter pattern then one would expect that the list of instructions beginning at chapter 2 verse 1 "first of all, then, I urge…" would immediately follow. We see this in the letter to Hermias (P.Tebt. 27). The initial command is given "see that suitable persons are appointed" (l. 42) followed immediately by instructions related to the neglect of duty described in the circumstances of the letter (ll.27–41): "and display unremitting zeal…" (ll. 45), "and procure from the komogrammateis…" (l.47), "and appoint those fit to the posts…" (ll.51–52) and so on. What we observe in 1 Timothy is a similar pattern in chapter 1 verses 3–4 and chapter 2 verse 1 through to chapter 3 verse 15. However, the passage chapter 1 verse 5 to verse 20 is a digression from this pattern.

6.2.2. An Ethical Digression

Ethical digressions were often found in judicial speeches, but could be found in deliberative speeches as well.[755] As Kennedy describes a digression was sometimes found in the "proof"

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[752] Also P. Tebt. 34 (ca. 100 BCE); 33 (112 BCE); P. Oxy 2106 (early 4th C. CE); Business letters P.Oxy 116 (2nd C.CE); 531 (2nd C . CE); 121 (3rd C. CE); 118 (late 3rd C. CE).

[753] P. Tebt. 289 (23 CE); P.Oxy 291 (25–26 CE).

[754] Translation by author.

[755] Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, 5.

section of a legal speech, "a 'digression' or 'excursus', which is not so much a true digression as a discussion of some related matter that may affect the outcome or a description of the moral character, whether favourable or unfavourable, of those involved in the case."[756] In a number of speeches by Lysias, he uses an ethical digression in which he denigrates the character of the defendant. For instance, he says of Agoratus in his trial for murder,

> So then these persons, men of Athens, lost their lives through the depositions of Agoratus. But after the Thirty had cleared them out of their way, you know well enough, I imagine, what a multitude of miseries next befell the city; and for all of them this man, by taking those people's lives, was responsible. It gives me pain, indeed, to recall the calamities that have befallen the city, but it is a necessity, gentlemen of the jury, at the present moment, so that you may know how richly Agoratus deserves your pity! (*Against Agoratus*, 43–44 [Lamb, LCL]).

As Kennedy comments, "virtually all the misfortunes of Athens are blamed on the villanous [*sic*], but probably insignificant, figure of the defendant."[757] This type of character assassination, called invective, is a significant feature of Greek and Roman oratory.[758] Kennedy says that the justification for the presence of invective in speeches was the use of argument from probability.[759] The speaker needed to present his own character in the best light to win his hearers' support, while at the same time presenting as unfavourable an account of his opponent as possible. The object was to make the case that assertions in the speech were, in all probability, right because the orator's character was trustworthy and reliable, while his opponent was deceptive, vile, and untrustworthy (Dem. *Cor.* 8. 126–131, 252–253).[760]

6.2.3. Preliminary Analysis of 1 Timothy 5–20

The overall purpose of the digression was to commend one's character as a speaker while discrediting one's opponent. A survey of the digression of 1 Timothy 1: 5–20 reveals a sharp contrast between the "some men" (τινες; 1:6) and pastoral Paul, who thanks Christ Jesus for his strength "because He considered me faithful, putting me into service" (1:12). The "some men" have "turned aside," they want to "be teachers of the law" (1:7), and are ignorant, yet

[756] Ibid.
[757] Ibid., 67.
[758] Ibid.; Jennifer W. Krust, *Abandoned to Lust: Sexual Slander and Ancient Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 17–22.
[759] Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, 67.
[760] Ibid.

they make confident assertions. These men are characterised by a list of vices of those who are "lawless and rebellious" (1:9). Pastoral Paul, on the other hand, although he acted in similar ways, was "shown mercy" (1:13) and was saved (1:15).

Fiore in his thesis identified Paul's relationship with Christ as the example in the letter,

> Paul calls explicit attention to himself as example at [1 Timothy 1 verse] 16. He exemplifies Christ's purpose to save sinners…While *hypotypōsis* is the principal word designating the example, *endeiknymi* shares that function…The parameters of the example are filled in at 12–14 and include Paul's present situation of being a Christ-empowered …, loving…, and faithful…servant in contrast with his impious…, inimical…, ignorant…, and faithless…past…The example demonstrates that the salvation which the superlative sinner…Paul received, 15, is available to all who believe.[761]

As Fiore identified, the example (*hypotypōsis*) is Paul's saving relationship with Christ. Pastoral Paul was the superlative sinner, but now Christ because of his mercy has considered Paul faithful, "putting him into service." This is in contrast to the "some men" who have turned aside (1:6), some of whom have shipwrecked their faith (1:19). The prime examples of this behaviour are the men Hymenaeus and Alexander (1:20).

What can be perceived is that the writer has carefully constructed an antithesis in this digression. This appears to be the main persuasive strategy.[762] The "certain men," although characterised by ignorance and assertiveness, could follow Paul's example, who once engaged in similar behaviour, but was shown mercy (1:12).

6.3. Rhetorical Analysis and 1 Timothy

Donelson identifies the Pastoral Epistles as falling under the aegis of deliberative rhetoric, since they are hortatory and dissuasive.[763] He discusses the two major types of rhetoric proofs: enthymemes and paradigms.[764] Persuasion relies on proving logically the veracity of one's assertions. Aristotle says that the formalism required for science is out of place for a

[761] Fiore, *The Function of Personal Example*, 198–199.
[762] See Cicero for a discussion of the topic of "contraries," *Topica,* 47–49.
[763] Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy*, 76; Harding, *Tradition and Rhetoric*, 188–190, 214–215.
[764] Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy,* 75–76.

general audience. Proofs in rhetoric are called πίστεις (*pisteis*) and are composed on probabilities, signs, and paradigms.[765] As Donelson describes,

> Aristotle is arguing that, since rhetoric deals with persuasion, the dynamic of belief and disbelief between the orator and the audience determines the probative status of the art. He defines ἔνδοξα in the *Topics* as 'things generally admitted by all, or by most men, or by the wise, and by all or most of these, or by the most notable and esteemed'. Aristotle apparently means that a speech requires the consent of the audience and, therefore, the propositions which compose arguments are those statements which the audience will accept as valid.[766]

This is more than the orator being mindful of his audience: the audience, in effect, is participating in its own persuasion. Donelson goes on to say that "[Aristotle] declares that rhetorical proofs do not deal with necessities but only with accidentals. This is because rhetoric's subject matter is human behaviour and human behaviour is always contingent. Thus rhetorical proofs are rarely drawn from necessity (ἐξ ἀνάγκης) but from what is generally true (ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ)."[767] He says in science proofs are normally given with a three-fold syllogism, but in rhetorical proofs normally one of the propositions is suppressed. Aristotle "concludes that this imperfection actually assists in the persuasion of the crowd, for it encourages them to participate in the speech by completing the argument."[768] This is called an enthymeme. Aristotle says that there are three kinds of proofs in rhetoric "those based on the character (ἦθος) of the speaker, those based on the emotions (πάθος) of his hearers and those based on the speech itself."[769] He says, "I call an enthymeme a rhetorical syllogism, and an example rhetorical induction" (*Rhetoric* 1. 1856 b). This underlies the logic of rhetorical proofs and would be expected to be found in speeches where the object is to persuade the audience. These are the kinds of proofs that would be expected in the digression in 1 Timothy 1: 6–20. Before moving on to the analysis proper there are a number of technical matters to note.

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[765] Ibid., 73.
[766] Ibid., 73–74; citing Aristotle, *Top.*100a30–100b20.
[767] Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy*, 74; *Rhet.* 1.1357a14–15.
[768] Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy, 74*; *Rhet.* 2.1400b29–30.
[769] Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy*, 75.

6.3.1. Enthymemes and Paradigms

It is important to describe Aristotle's distinction between an enthymeme and a paradigm (example). He says that the difference between example and enthymeme,

> is evident from the Topics (ἐκ τῶν Τοπικῶν), where, in discussing syllogism and induction, it has previously been said that the proof from a number of particular cases that such is the rule, is called in Dialectic [ie scientific] induction, in Rhetoric example; but when, certain things being posited, something different results by reason of them, alongside of them, from their being true, either universally or in most cases, such a conclusion in Dialectic is called a syllogism, in Rhetoric an enthymeme (*Rhetoric*, 1.1856 b9).

Aristotle says that the distinction between enthymemes and paradigms is based on different types of deduction.

Before we discuss this further, we must first clarify the concept of "Topics" or *topoi* since Western writings on rhetoric, philosophy, and literature from antiquity to the present day have often offered a variety of different and sometimes conflicting definitions and uses of the concept.[770] Jon Hesk describes *topoi* as "commonplaces" from the Greek word for "place" or "location," which refers to "a place in a hand-book which could be imitated and applied by a speaker for his particular rhetorical requirements."[771] In Aristotle's *Rhetoric* he sometimes uses the term "topos" to designate a pattern or mode of argument which is an element of an enthymeme. So for instance, he gives twenty-eight "general topoi" which can be glossed as a binary relations such as "more/less," "opposite of," or "cause/effect."[772] The crucial point says Hesk, "is that an Aristotelian topos can be a pattern of argument which one would expect to be able to deploy again and again in different contexts and in relation to different political, forensic, or epideictic content."[773] This original conception of the "Topics" is "very different from the one often used by classicists and ancient historians when they look at the Attic orations themselves. For most of these modern critics, a topos is a rhetorical strategy with specific content which recurs across the corpus of speeches."[774]

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[770] Jon Hesk, "'Despisers of the Commonplace': Meta-Topoi and Para-Topoi in Attic Oratory," *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 25 (2007): 361–384 (362).
[771] Ibid.
[772] Aristotle, *Rhet.*2.1397a6–1400b33.
[773] Hesk, "'Despisers of the Commonplace,'" 363.
[774] Ibid.

Rather than calling these content specific allusions, *topoi*, it is perhaps best to call them themes.[775]

Returning to our discussion on deduction, Aristotle is saying that while enthymemes are usually constructed using a *topos*, a paradigm, on the other hand, involves using inductive reasoning. In inductive reasoning the premises used supply the evidence for the truth of the conclusion. This, however, is not absolute proof, which is why Aristotle thought they were less effective.[776] He spends a greater proportion of his time discussing enthymemes since they are deductive arguments whose conclusions are certain, while the truth of the conclusion of an inductive argument is probable, based upon the evidence given. However, Aristotle believed that the paradigm was particularly useful in deliberative rhetoric.[777] Although examples and enthymemes are used in each species of rhetoric, "examples are most suitable for deliberative speakers, for it is by examination of the past that we divine and judge the future. Enthymemes are most suitable for forensic speakers, because the past, by reason of its obscurity, above all lends itself to the investigation of causes and to demonstrative proof" (*Rhetoric*, 1.1368a.40–41).[778] Example lent itself to the deliberative speech, since, "the deliberative situation, because it involves a consideration of the future, is often novel, presenting a seemingly radical departure in some sense from previous situations."[779] The situation faced by the orator is not only new but it is indeterminate, "he must actively and creatively determine what the problems are."[780] The rhetor, says Scott Consigny,

> uses the example not on the grounds of similarity, but rather as a means of creating similarities. The example acts as a 'lens' or a 'screen' through which the rhetor sees and discriminates a model or pattern with which he actively and creatively ascribes a structure to the novel and indeterminate context or text, amplifying some aspects and

[775] As suggested by Hesk's comment, "Despisers of the Commonplace," 636.
[776] Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy*, 76.
[777] Scott Consigny, "The Rhetorical Example," *Southern Speech Communication Journal* 41 (1976): 121–132; Kristoffel Demoen, "A Paradigm for the Analysis of Paradigms: The Rhetorical Exemplum in Ancient and Imperial Greek Theory," *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 15 (1997): 125–158.
[778] Consigny, "The Rhetorical Example," 126.
[779] Ibid.
[780] Ibid., 127.

minimizing others, and thereby leading us to see and become disposed toward the situation in certain specific ways.[781]

Thus the argument from example provides a window into what might be.[782] Seen in this way the example can be powerfully persuasive as it provides an image of the future set before the audience.[783]

6.4. Rhetorical Analysis of 1 Timothy 1:5–20

In the previous chapter it was identified that the writer has used various materials to construct his letter. In the passage, verses 5 to 20, he uses a number rhetorical devices including, enthymemes, examples, and *gnomai* (maxims of the famous). It is the underlying themes that give this passage coherence. Most importantly these themes provide the letter writer with persuasive leverage. In order to grasp how the letter writer has unrolled his persuasive strategy we will work through this passage systematically, focusing on the smaller units. These smaller units build to reach a climax, which, in terms of narrative of the letter, is designed to persuade the "certain men."

6.4.1. Recapping

In the previous chapter, eclecticism was noted to be a feature of philosophical work in the late Hellenistic and early Roman period. As we saw in our survey of Plutarch, the types of materials and arguments employed in advice giving often referred back to the addressee's previous education. What we would expect to find are materials and devices commonly found in educational contexts as well as those specific to the teacher/philosopher and his students. Donelson identifies in 1 Timothy a number of special topics that were developed out of the shared beliefs of the writer and his readers. However, he has overlooked a number of common topics deployed by the writer in this passage. Further, there are themes at work in this passage that tap into the particular social conventions, making this passage emotionally persuasive. As was identified in chapter three, the prevailing social convention at work in this letter is the father and son ideology. The preliminary survey of this passage revealed that the "certain men" are held in contrast to pastoral Timothy as Paul's son. It appears that these men are at risk of the same type of behaviour that was identified last

[781] Ibid., 129; Cf. Odd Magne Bakke, "Concord and Peace": A Rhetorical Analysis of the First Letter of Clement with an Emphasis on the Language of Unity and Sedition (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 54–57.
[782] Ibid., 131.
[783] Demoen, "A Paradigm for the Analysis of Paradigms," 131.

chapter as belonging to youths – arrogance and excessive behaviour. It is submitted that this drives to the very heart of what is at stake in this passage and in this letter.

The identification of the primary social convention at work in this letter allows us to enter, in some way, into the dynamics of the relationship between fathers and sons, young men and elders, which is at play in 1 Timothy. These dynamics are internalised social norms that give rise to important emotional responses. It is these emotional responses in an audience that orators were trained to play on. It was recognised by Aristotle that the most effective speakers appealed to the emotions of their audience, "the orator persuades by means of his hearers, when they are roused to emotion (πάθος) by his speech" (*Rhetoric* 1.1356a5). Common to all speakers was the need to secure the goodwill of the hearer.[784] This, says Christopher Carey, was normally done in the *prooemium*, or the introduction, to lay claim to qualities which the audience would respect.[785] Carey observes that the need to establish a bond between the speaker and his audience was not only confined to the *prooemium*, but it could be found in the proof or the narrative, if it was a forensic speech.[786] Basic was the need to create not only goodwill in the hearer, but also to create a sense of prejudice towards one's opponent.

Since 1 Timothy is a letter rather than a speech there is no formal *prooemium*. However, the writer of 1 Timothy has at his disposal the letter proem. As we observed earlier, the object of the salutation was to activate the social situation which would come into being if both parties were present.[787] It was argued that the salutation "Timothy my true child in the faith" activates the conventions surrounding fathers and sons. But most importantly of all was pastoral Paul's self-identification as "an apostle of Christ Jesus according to the commandment of God our Savior, and of Christ Jesus." This would have evoked certain commonly held beliefs within the audience. The case was made that Paul's apostleship "by the command of God" referred not only to Paul's commissioning, but to the commands that follow in the letter. As we saw, Dionysius had received commands or ordinances from Zeus for a community of people in his care and these ordinances had been written up on a

[784] Christopher Carey, "Rhetorical Means of Persuasion," in *Persuasion: Greek Rhetoric in Action*, ed. Ian Worthington (London; New York: Routledge, 1993), 26-45 (27).
[785] Ibid.
[786] Ibid, 30.
[787] In chapters 2 and 3.

stele.[788] It was argued that the instructions that follow on from the opening salutation in 1 Timothy would be viewed by an audience in Asia Minor as an understandable development of Paul's vision. This salutation, therefore, not only activates the social conventions between father and son, but it forms the ground both for an appeal to goodwill towards pastoral Paul and the grounds upon which he may instruct the "certain men." This ground relies on a topic found in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*,

> Another topic is that from a previous judgement in regard to the same or a similar or contrary matter, if possible when the judgement was unanimous or the same at all times; if not, when it was at least that of the majority, or of the wise, either all or most, or of the good; or of the judges themselves or of those whose judgement they accept, or of those whose judgement it is not possible to contradict, for instance, those in authority, or of those whose judgement it is unseemly to contradict, for instance, the gods, a father, or instructors.(2.1398b12).

In 1 Timothy pastoral Paul is asserting that he was commanded by God and Christ Jesus. As we see in Aristotle, pastoral Paul's assertion is based on the previous judgement of those whose judgment is impossible to contradict. Therefore, the argument would run that if God and Christ Jesus judge that pastoral Paul is faithful to put into their service (1 Tim 1:12), then he has the authority to command as their apostle the "certain men," therefore the "certain men" should obey.[789]

6.4.2. Verse 5: The Intersection of Closing and Opening Arguments

The writer, however, is not content to rest his instruction on this logic alone. He employs an arsenal of rhetoric techniques in the digression to motivate the "certain men" to obey. Pastoral Paul begins by appealing to common ground between him and the "certain men,"

τὸ δὲ τέλος τῆς παραγγελίας ἐστὶν ἀγάπη ἐκ καθαρᾶς καρδίας καὶ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς καὶ πίστεως ἀνυποκρίτου (verse 5).

[788] Discussed in chapter 4; Barton and Horsley, "A Hellenistic Cult Group," 7–41; Stowers, "A Cult from Philadelphia," 287–301.

[789] The Roman father's authority was instilled through education, Corbeill, "Rhetorical Education and Social Reproduction in the Republic and Early Empire"; cf. D. Francois Tolmie, *Persuading the Galatians: A Text-Centred Rhetorical Analysis of a Pauline Letter* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 31–34.

We have already considered τὸ τέλος as a technical term. The phrase τὸ δὲ τέλος τῆς παραγγελίας sums up the goal of the previous commands. However, the sentence itself belongs to the digression. This is, in fact, a literary device employed by the writer throughout the letter. Presumably aware that the letter would be composed of varying units, he devised sentences to connect these units either by using "hooked keywords" or intermingling of threads.[790] Verse 5 offers an end to the previous command, but in terms of the forthcoming unit it acts as an opening statement commending Paul and his commands to his readers. Similar interconnecting statements are found at 1 Timothy 1:11; 2:8, 12, 3:1; 4:6; 6:2b.[791] As we have been discussing, the orator needed to secure the goodwill of his audience and this usually took place at the opening of a speech. Here in 1 Timothy 1:5 the writer is not so much commending himself, but the commands he has just given. He needs to secure the goodwill of his reader, since he is about to persuade him that the character of the "certain men" is to be despised (1 Timothy 1: 6–10). It is at this point that we sense that the audience the writer has in mind is larger than just pastoral Timothy. It is not pastoral Timothy who needs persuading that the "certain men" are weak in character, but the "certain men" themselves and those who may be influenced by them. This will be discussed further in the conclusion, but for now it will suffice to bear in mind that even within the narrative of the letter, the writer is "looking" beyond pastoral Timothy to those who the writer imagines are sitting with him.[792]

The non-naming strategy has implications here in the opening of his digression. In utilizing the non-naming strategy "certain men," he is indirectly applying what follows to these unnamed men. This is a well-recognised strategy called in Greek ἔφοδος and in Latin an *insinuatio*.[793] The Greek term ἔφοδος was used inconsistently among rhetoricians, but three senses can be distinguished. First, it can be applied to an introduction where a "subtle approach" was taken. It was an indirect introduction, corresponding to the Latin

[790] A number of scholars have identified this structural technique using "hooked keywords" or thematic connections between units, see Bruce Longenecker's discussion of Lucian's advice in linking separate sections in "'Linked Like a Chain': Rev 22.6–9 in Light of an Ancient Transition Technique," *NTS* 47 (2001): 105–117; H. van Dyke Parunak, "Transitional Techniques in the Bible," *JBL* 102 (1983): 525–548; applied to 1 Timothy see Neste, "Cohesion and Structure in the Pastoral Epistles," 84–104.
[791] This identification of units varies from Neste, "Cohesion and Structure in the Pastoral Epistles."
[792] Just as Cicero in *de Officiis* was writing to his son and his son's cohort.
[793] E. W. Bower, "Εφοδος and Insinuatio in Greek and Latin Rhetoric," *ClQ* 8 (1958): 224–230.

insinuatio.[794] Some rhetoricians understood it to be a separate section of the speech alongside the introduction. One rhetorician gives an altogether different definition.[795]
In the case of 1 Timothy it can be seen that the writer is using the subtle approach in this the introduction to his digression. Betz argues that historical Paul is using this technique, the *insinuatio*, at least in part, in Galatians.[796] He lists three occasions when the speaker might use this indirect introduction or subtle approach,

> [First], when our cause is discreditable, that is, when the subject itself alienates the hearer from us; (2) when the hearer has apparently been won over by the previous speakers of the opposition; (3) or when the hearer has become wearied by listening to the previous speakers.[797]

In the case of 1 Timothy, it is apparent that pastoral Paul's circumstances fit the two circumstances. There appears to be some hesitation on the part of the rhetoricians about its use, perhaps because it was "an address which by dissimulation and indirection unobtrusively steals into the mind of the auditor" (Cicero, *De Inventione*, 1.15.20 [Hubbell, LCL]).[798] The primary reason why such an approach would be taken is that the audience was hostile to the speaker.[799] By using *insinuatio* the speaker hoped to by-pass his auditors' prejudices and ingratiate himself into their minds and hearts. In the case of 1 Timothy's "hearers" the primary problem is that some in the audience have been won over by pastoral Paul's opponents. If pastoral Paul were to use a direct approach, he would run the risk of creating hostility in his audience. His object is to win them over so, as we shall see, his strategy is to reveal to his audience indirectly what he believes to be the truth of the matter: the "certain men" are those in his audience. But first he needs to commend himself and his command to his audience. This he does in the salutation and in verse 5.

Many have discussed the terms "love from a good heart…a good conscience and a sincere faith."[800] These virtues will be discussed in chapter seven, but for now it is important to note the function of this statement at the opening of this digression. Since this statement is to

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[794] Ibid., 226.
[795] Ibid., 227.
[796] Betz, *Galatians*, 45.
[797] Ibid., 45, fn. 18 citing *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 1.6.9.
[798] Bower, "Εφοδος and Insinuatio in Greek and Latin Rhetoric," 229–230.
[799] Carolyn R. Miller, "Should We Name the Tools: Concealing and Revealing the Art of Rhetoric," in *The Public Work of Rhetoric: Citizen-Scholars and Civic Engagement*, ed. John M. Ackerman and David J. Coogan (Columbia, SC, University of South Carolina Press, 2010), 56–75.
[800] Dibelius and Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 18–20; Fiore, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 41–42.

win the goodwill of the writer's readers, then the list of terms does not arise from the theology of the writer: rather they are virtues that both the writer and his readers would agree are praiseworthy.[801] The object of his command is to instil these praiseworthy virtues in the "certain men." It must be surmised that the "certain men" believe that their "other instruction" would secure for them these praiseworthy virtues.

6.4.3. Verses 6–7: A Restatement of the Problem

Having secured the goodwill of his readers, the writer then seeks to demonstrate how the "certain men" have failed to achieve the desired goal. Verses 6 to 7 are a restatement of the problem in verses 3 to 4. If the "certain men" were opponents and 1 Timothy was aimed at a broader audience, then the function of verses 6 to 7 would be to create a prejudice in the readers against the "certain men" by undermining their credibility.[802] However, we have already made the case that the object is to persuade the "certain men," so there is a different aim. What will be argued here is that the writer hopes to convince the "certain men" that they are in an undesirable condition and, as mentioned before, arouse certain emotions in them. The writer does this by employing a vivid metaphor and invoking common prejudices against the young.

The participle ἀστοχήσαντες "straying from these things" or more literally "missing the mark" was a common metaphor, somewhat hackneyed some might say. But it suits the purposes of the writer quite well. The verb originally meant literally to aim at a target with a weapon, for example a sword, and miss (Aesop's *Fable* 51 and 81).[803] While it continued to be used in the literal sense, it also took on a metaphorical meaning and was used whenever any goal had not been reached (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Dem*, 33). It was sometimes used in contexts where men had gone beyond the bounds of propriety, acted in ignorance, or were outright lawless.

Plutarch describes Galba as falling short of what was proper, "And now, in his desire to display a great change from Nero's immoderate and extravagant manner of giving, he was

[801] Carey, "Rhetorical Means of Persuasion," 27.

[802] Ibid., 29, 35.

[803] Fable 51, A. Hausrath and H. Hunger, *Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum*, vols. 1.1 & 1.2, 2nd ed., Leipzig: Teubner, 1.1:1970; 1.2:1959, retrieved from Thesaurus Linguae Graecae® Digital Library, http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/Iris/Cite?0096:002:0 (accessed 21 March 2017); Fable 81, E. Chambry, *Aesopi fabulae*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1:1925; 2:1926, retrieved from Thesaurus Linguae Graecae® Digital Library, http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/Iris/Cite?0096:015:0 (accessed 21 March 2017).

thought to fall short (ἀστοχεῖν) of what was fitting (τοῦ πρέποντος)" (*Galba* 16.1, [Perrin, LCL]). It was also used in contexts where men fail because of ignorance and inexperience,

> We also make extensive use of praise or blame in these contexts; if we do so skilfully, we achieve results that are neither small nor unimportant, while inexperience and clumsiness make us miss them (ἀστοχοῦντες) (Plutarch, *Table-Talk* 9.14;743E [Minar, Sandbach, and Helmbold, LCL]).

In *On Listening to Lectures* Plutarch is critical of those who lack restraint and call out in a lecture,

> No less so are those who fail (ἀστοχοῦντες) to respect the quality of persons, and cry aloud to a philosopher "Smart!" or to an aged man "Clever!" or "Flowery!", thus transferring to the philosophers the expressions of those who make a sport and an opportunity to show off out of their scholastic exercises, and applying meretricious commendation to sober discourse, as though they should put on an athlete's head a crown of lilies or roses instead of laurel or wild olive! (46A [Babbitt, LCL]).

As we discussed earlier, Plutarch is advising the young man to show self-control in lectures and respect the speaker. In this passage we see the excess of praise which characterises the young. In some contexts "missing the mark" is in reference to ignorance (Polyb. 18.37.1), overestimation (Strabo 8.3.30; Dion. Hal. *Dem.* 55), and arrogance (Polyb. 7.14.3). In others it is associated with impiety (Plut. *Def. orac.* 414 F).

In other contexts it is used to describe the behaviour of those who act violently and lawlessly. In P.Tebt. III 798 (2nd C. BCE) Asclepiades petitions the comogrammateus, Petosiris, in regard to an assault at the baths, "with no regard for decency (ἀστοχήσαντες) having beaten me and kicked me in the stomach they fancied they would escape" (ll.14–17). Asclepiades' use of the word suggests the idea of overstepping the bounds of decent and lawful behaviour.

In summary, this word has the idea of aiming at a goal and failing. It was often used in contexts where men had acted, in the estimation of the writer, without propriety, with ignorance and lawlessness. It is associated with those who were arrogant and overestimated their own abilities. This word could be used in everyday writing as Asclepiades petition shows. Further, in Hermias' letter (P.Tebt. I 27) the positive aspect of the word is used, "and make it your aim (ἡμῖν στόχασαι) that proclamations are published in the villages" (iii.70). This indicates that this vocabulary could easily find its way into administrative

correspondence, especially in the context of exhorting a fellow official to achieve his assigned goals.

In the context of 1 Timothy 1:6, therefore, the word has the sense that "certain men" have missed the goal or "the end" (τὸ τέλος) of verse 5, which they were aiming at. In so doing they have overstepped the bounds of propriety and have acted in ignorance and arrogance. Certainly this makes sense in the context of verses 4 and 5 where they are instructed not "to teach the other instruction" or waste time with "myths and genealogies." They have over stepped the bounds of what is proper for such men in their compliance with pastoral Paul's instruction.

The writer having established this metaphor lays down another, ἐξετράπησαν εἰς ματαιολογίαν, "have turned aside to fruitless discussion" (1 Tim 1:6b). These are vivid metaphors relating the idea of aiming for a goal (τὸ τέλος) and losing one's way. These metaphors come to a climax in the metaphor of the shipwreck in verse 19. The shipwreck was a common metaphor for those who fail in life.[804] As we see, "some" (1 Tim 1:19) have rejected the command and have suffered shipwreck. This is an appropriate metaphor for those who have failed to achieve their aim, as the ship fails to reach the port that it was aiming for but instead winds up on the rocks.[805] The placement of this metaphor, here at the end of this passage, provides further evidence that it is operating as a unit. It finishes with a more vivid and compelling metaphor than it begins.[806] The implications of this will be discussed a little later.

6.5. The Condition of the Certain Men

The writer presses on from the image of the "certain men" losing their way to a statement that highlights their ignorance and their arrogance. This is no more than we would expect from the use of the word ἀστοχέω. These are themes common to young men that we have

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[804] *Cebetis Tabula* 24, 1–2; Philo, *On Dreams* 2. 147; See Fiore, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 52; Dibelius, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 33–34, fn. 12.

[805] For the metaphor that the ship reaches the right destination otherwise suffers shipwreck to illustrate those who abide by the law, see Dio Chrysostom, Discourse 75.1; Plato, *Republic* Bk 3 389d; *Epistle* 1. 14–24, "The Epistles of Socrates and the Socratics" translated by Stanley Stowers, in Malherbe, *The Cynic Epistles*.

[806] Shipmaster's were "under some kind of contract to entirely ensure the safe arrival of their cargo," G.H.R. Horsley, ed., *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* (Macquarie University: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, 1982), 2.25:74; we must consider the import of such a metaphor associated with a seaport such as Ephesus.

identified in the survey of literature aimed at the young. Young men were characterised as being predisposed to arrogance, acting in ignorance, and excess. As we have seen in Strauss' discussion, the image of the rebellious or disobedient son played a minor key in the father-son ideology of classical Athens.[807] The "certain men" in 1 Timothy are on the precipice of rebellion against the command of pastoral Paul. This kind of disobedience, ignorance, and excess is closely associated with the vice of ὕβρις (*hybris*) in Greek thought.[808] It is the underlying theme that is operating in this passage verses 5 to 20. Importantly, it is used of pastoral Paul, himself a ὑβριστής, to describe his condition before he received the call to service (1 Tim 1:12–13). In this condition pastoral Paul is operating as an example of the state that the "certain men" find themselves in.[809]

6.5.1. *Hybris*

Hybris was the vice that was commonly associated with the lack of restraint.[810] As we saw in our survey in chapter five, the preeminent virtue for the young man was self-restraint. The lack of restraint in young men was a danger to families and the city. It was during the Peloponnesian War that high spirited young men were left unrestrained. As Strauss describes,

> Nevertheless, the image of the rebellious or disobedient son, a son who would even turn with violence on his father, became the symbol of both generational and other change brought on by the dislocations of the long Peloponnesian War.[811]

This image of the rebellious and violent young man disrupting the household (οἶκος) had its roots in the *Odyssey*. The swineherd warns Odysseus about the danger from unmarried young men, who are swarming to suit his wife,

> if you truly intend to enter the throng of the suitors, whose wantonness (τῶν ὕβρις) and violence reach the iron heaven. Not such as you are their serving men; no, they who serve them are young men, well clad in cloaks and tunics, and their heads and handsome faces are always sleek; and polished tables are laden with bread, and meat, and wine (15.325–334 [Murray, LCL]).

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[807] Strauss, *Fathers and Sons in Athens*, 216–217.
[808] Marshall, *Enmity in Corinth*, 182–190.
[809] Fiore, *The Function of Personal Example*, 198–199.
[810] Throughout this thesis the transliterated form of ὕβρις will be used.
[811] Strauss, *Fathers and Sons in Athens*, 217.

Odysseus is in danger of destruction, as is his son and his whole household, by the men of *hybris*. These imposts on the norm of hospitality are described by Athena as "shameful acts," which are accompanied by outrage (ὑβρίζοντες) and arrogance (1.226–229). The term *hybri*s is used nineteen times throughout the Odyssey, all in relation to the suitors' behaviour and character. Not only are the suitors consuming the household they are enjoying the process of destroying the honour of the house of Odysseus.[812]

The ideas of wanton destruction, of overweening arrogance, and shameful disregard for the norms of propriety all point to underlying social conventions revolving around honour and shame. These social conventions remain consistent throughout the centuries and can be found in the earliest Greek poetry through to the first century CE and beyond. To accuse another of *hybris* was to deploy the powerful social discourse of shame.[813] And the accusation of *hybris* could be recognised by any number of motifs and allusions, without the word even being used. This type of implicit discourse is a form of innuendo. Marshall argues persuasively that historical Paul is implying that his opponents are acting in a *hybristic* fashion in 2 Corinthians 10–12.[814] Historical Paul has carefully constructed a rhetorical appeal in these chapters, where, as Peter Marshall argues,

> Paul's use of innuendo has been admirable. The favourable components of praise and blame have been firmly established. He has commended himself as a man of restraint and moderation in regard both to his attitude to his visions and revelations and the devices which he uses to speak about them. At the same time, he has been able to disparage his enemies. This forms part of his comparison and the contrast between his conduct and theirs is patently obvious, especially as it draws to a conclusion the theme of *hybris* in chapters 10 and 11.[815]

Similar innuendo and other rhetorical devices are at work in 1 Timothy 1: 5–20. A comparison is being made between pastoral Paul as a man of restraint and his opponents as men of *hybristic* excess. The "certain men" of 1 Timothy are portrayed in a similar fashion to historical Paul's opponents in 2 Corinthians. The opponents are portrayed as taking a superior place, claiming a better instruction, and in effect usurping pastoral Paul's place and

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[812] Marshall, *Enmity in Corinth*, 183.
[813] Douglas L. Cairns, *Aidōs: The Psychology and Ethics of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greek Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 52–53; 229–231.
[814] Marshall, *Enmity in Corinth*, 364–381.
[815] Ibid., 378–379.

his instruction. Such was the characteristic tension between young men and their elders in ancient Greek society.[816] The young were considered prone to the ill-treatment of others and disobedience, which was considered an act of *hybris*.[817] Such behaviour would be identified as *hybristic*.[818]

6.5.2. The Concept of *Hybris*

Hybris is not just a word that can be defined, but a social convention that had its own innate dimensions for the ancient Greeks.[819] Despite this, a beginning must be made. N.R.E Fisher in his study of *hybris* in ancient Greece glosses *hybris* as,

> essentially the serious assault on the honour of another, which is likely to cause shame, and lead to anger and attempts at revenge. *Hybris* is often, but by no means necessarily, an act of violence; it is essentially deliberate activity, and the typical motive for such infliction of dishonour is the pleasure of expressing a sense of superiority, rather than compulsion, need or desire for wealth.[820]

Fisher was able to demonstrate that *hybris* was stereotypically applied to youth.[821] In regard to the young, Aristotle believed that they were excessively concerned with their honour,

> They are passionate, hot-tempered, and carried away by impulse, and unable to control their passion; for owing to their ambition they cannot endure to be slighted...They are ambitious of honour, but more so of victory; for youth desires superiority, and victory is a kind of superiority (*Rhetoric*, 1389 a5–6).

A little later he says, "And they think they know everything, and confidently affirm it, and this is the cause of their excess in everything. If they do wrong, it is due to insolence (εἰς ὕβριν), not to wickedness" (*Rhetoric* 1389b14–15). Aristotle expected that young men would seek after good things such as honour and victory, but do so excessively. Fisher's monograph has made a substantial contribution to understanding the notion of *hybris* in Greek thought. However, it did not go unchallenged. As Fisher's work was in response to an earlier article by

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[816] Cairns, *Aidos*, 90–91.
[817] Aristotle, *Rhet.*2.1378 b. 6; Sophocles, *Ant.* 658–665.
[818] Arthur W. H. Adkins, *Moral Values and Political Behaviour in Ancient Greece: From Homer to the End of the Fifth Century* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1972), 86–88.
[819] N. R. E. Fisher, *Hybris: A Study in the Values of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greece* (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1992), 10.
[820] Ibid., 1.
[821] Ibid., 97–98, 343–344, 446, 454–455, 491

MacDowell, Douglas Cairns in turn argued that Fisher had not quite captured the essence of the concept,

> he consistently locates the essence of the concept in the commission of concrete acts, and defines the disposition of *hybris* with reference to the commission of such acts, as merely the intention, desire, drive, or tendency to commit hubristic acts…My position is that this view must be modified; for I do not believe that the act is prior to the disposition in the definition of *hybris*, nor that *hybris* must be defined in terms of an intention to insult a specific victim.[822]

Both Fisher and Cairns agree that,

> Aristotle's definition of *hybris* in the Rhetoric falls within his discussion of *pathos* of anger, and more specifically of its cause, *oligôria*, of which is backed by a definition of the former: 'For *hybris* is doing and saying things at which the victim incurs *aischyne*, not in order that the agent should obtain anything other than the performance of the act, but in order to please himself' ([Rhetoric] 1378b23–5).[823]

Cairns understood Fisher to be saying that "*hybris* has more to do with specific acts than with attitudes," whereas he obverses that, "Aristotle begins by classifying *hybris* as a type of attitude (*oligôria*), albeit one which is necessary manifested in word and deed."[824]

Cairns' refinements of Fisher's argument are important to consider as they have significance in interpreting the argument that the writer of 1 Timothy is advancing in the passage 1:5–20. Cairns argued that the dispositional aspect of *hybris* is far more important than Fisher acknowledges. Central to his critique is his argument that Aristotle places one's motive at the heart of any judgement on whether an individual has acted with *hybris*,

> Fisher translates *prohairesis* here [Rhetoric 1374a6–13] as 'intention', but *prohairesis* is a technical term in Aristotle's ethical writings which signifies much more than intention…From [a number of passages] we learn that all actions which result from *prohairesis* are voluntary, but not all voluntary actions result from *prohairesis*… and that *prohairesis* follows deliberation *qua* deliberative desire to perform actions which contribute to the ends set by one's rational desire for the good. Thus it requires that

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[822] Douglas L. Cairns, "Hybris, Dishonour, and Thinking Big," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 116 (1996): 1–32 (1); D. M. MacDowell's earlier article "'Hybris' in Athens," *Greece & Rome* 23 (1976): 14–31.
[823] "Hybris, Dishonour, and Thinking Big," 2.
[824] Ibid.

> concept of the end of one's conduct which is supplied by one's developed and settled state of Character (*hexis*).[825]

It is important to note Cairn's connection between the "settled stated of Character" and *hybris* as a form of injustice that he sees in Aristotle, "particular injustice is concerned with *pleonexia*, with wanting more of some external good ([*EN*] 1129a32–b11); this greed, however, is not purely material, as it covers desire not just for money, but also for *timê*, safety, and other things of that type ([EN] 1130b2–4)."[826] The particular injustice that Cairns has in mind can be concerned "with honour, requires a specific victim, and can be manifested in words or in deeds, by physical assault (*aikeia*, [EN] 1131a8) or by verbal insult *propêlakismos*, [EN] 1131a9)."[827] Cairns critiques Fisher's discussion at a point that is important for understanding the connection between the "certain men's" behaviour in verses 6 and 7, and the list of character types in verses 8 to 10. Cairns argued that,

> Fisher has not only failed to identify the place of *hybris* in Aristotle's scheme, he has also underestimated the extent to which Aristotle's remarks on *hybris* form part of a systematic ethical theory, which, while it starts from the opinions of the many (and the wise), not infrequently has to revise the significance of popular terms in order to accommodate them. The main upshot of this is that Fisher places too little emphasis on the dispositional aspect of the concept.[828]

The point that Cairns wishes to press is that Aristotle's emphasis is on "the agent's attitude to his own honour [*Rhet*. 1378b23–8]," which is "necessary if hybris is to be a form of injustice, of the *pleonexia* which seeks more for oneself at the expense of others."[829] It is, therefore, not the act nor the effect on the "patient" (the one effected by an act of *hybris*) that makes an act *hybristic*, "but the motive; and that motive is a *prohairesis*, a particular choice of a developed character."[830] The name for this state of character is a ὑβριστής.

6.6. The Application of Cairn's Insights on *Hybris* and the "certain men" of 1 Timothy

This picture readily fits the description of the "certain men," who are acting excessively by wasting their time, and who "think they know everything" since they "have turned aside to

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[825] Ibid., 3–4.
[826] Ibid., 5.
[827] Ibid.
[828] Ibid., 6.
[829] Ibid.
[830] Ibid.,7.

fruitless discussion, wanting to be teachers of the Law, even though they do not understand either what they are saying or the matters about which they make confident assertions" (1 Tim 1: 6–7). They are behaving *hybristically* since they are striking out on their own, making their own judgements and confident assertions. It is a picture of men who are usurping the place of Paul. It is not their actions as much as their set character; it is their desire to take the place of pastoral Paul in giving instruction that makes them ὕβρισται.[831] As Cairns has carefully outlined, the "certain men" are seeking for themselves an honour at the expense of Paul. Pastoral Paul is rightfully the one who has been "called into service" as the representative of God and Christ Jesus, and not the "certain men." They are behaving as typical young men by acting as though their instruction is superior to pastoral Paul's instruction.[832] But, says the writer, they are ignorant of the matters they claim they know about. They have a propensity to rush in because of their naiveté as Aristotle describes the young, "for they are naturally as hot-blooded as those who are drunken with wine, and besides they have not yet experienced many failures" (*Rhetoric*, 2.1389a8). They have passion and hope, and while it gives them energy, "the former of these prevents them fearing, while the latter inspires them with confidence, for no one fears when angry, and hope of some advantage inspires confidence" (*Rhetoric* 2.1389 a9–10). Their ignorance can give them false confidence, and also it can leave them vulnerable to deception (*Rhet.* 2.1389 a8). It is apparent that the "certain men" are liable to excess, failure because of ignorance, and being led astray. These are the very things that are being implied in verses 3–4 and 6–7. The writer then moves on to demonstrate that all of this stems from a motive arising out of a particular kind of developed character in verses 8–11.[833]

6.7. Verses 8–11: The Law of *Hybris* and the "certain men"

6.7.1. Preliminary Survey of Verses 8–11

The link between the "certain men" and the example of pastoral Paul is made by the bridge,

> But we know that the Law is good, if one uses it lawfully, realizing the fact that law is not made for a righteous person, but for those who are lawless and rebellious, for the

[831] Aristotle connects activity to opinion, "Slighting is an actualization of opinion in regard to something which appears valueless; for things which are really bad or good, or tend to become so, we consider worthy of attention, but those which are of no importance or trifling we ignore. Now there are three kinds of slight: disdain, spitefulness, and insult (ὕβρις)," *Rhetoric*, trans. Freese. LCL, 2.1378 b. 3–4.
[832] Cf. Hutson, "My True Child," 209, 211–212, 365–368.
[833] As Cairns describes "Hybris, Dishonour, and Thinking Big," 7.

> ungodly and sinners, for the unholy and profane, for those who kill their fathers or mothers, for murderers and immoral men and homosexuals and kidnappers and liars and perjurers, and whatever else is contrary to sound teaching, according to the glorious gospel of the blessed God, with which I have been entrusted (1 Tim 1:8–11).

This section would be recognised by an educated person as a list of vices (or more precisely character types) associated with *hybris*.[834] While it appears to be a piece of hyperbole, it is forming a part of an argument from the lesser to the greater. The "certain men" are claiming more knowledge than they should yet they are in fact no better than those who break the law and act in *hybris*. What links the "certain men" to the list of lawless characters is that those who do such things possess "a settled disposition to choose such vicious acts for their own sake, *qua* acts of injustice."[835] This is an argument from comparison; what is valid in the less should be valid in the greater. As Cicero in *Topica* describes,

> All arguments from comparison are valid if they are of the following character: What is valid in the greater should be valid in the less, as for example since there is no action for regulating boundaries in the city, there should be no action for excluding water in the city. Likewise the reverse: What is valid in the less should be valid in the greater; the same example may be used if reversed (23 [Hubbell, LCL]).

While Cicero's example deals with property, the form of the argument can be seen. More applicable is Aristotle's "the greater potentially inheres in the less,"

> Wrong acts are greater in proportion to the injustice from which they spring. For this reason the most trifling are sometimes the greatest, as in the charge brought by Callistratus against Melanopus that he had fraudulently kept back three consecrated half-obols from the temple-builders; whereas, in the case of just actions, it is quite the contrary. The reason is that the greater potentially inheres in the less; for he who has stolen three consecrated half-obols will commit any wrong whatever (*Rhetoric* 1.1374b 24–29 [Rackman, LCL]).

The argument in 1 Timothy appears to be that the activities, attitude, and character of the "certain men" are deemed to be against the law and the writer suggests that they are in the same category as those that would commit the wrongs listed.[836] What could be thought of

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[834] As a catalogue of vices see Dibelius and Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 22–23.
[835] Cairns, "Hybris, Dishonour, and Thinking Big," 5.
[836] As Marshall rightly notes it is a list of sinners, *Pastoral Epistles*, 377–378.

as youthful exuberance in the "certain men" is really a case of *hybris* since the "greater [that is *hybris*] inheres in the less [that is the activities and attitude of the "certain men"]."[837] It is important in order to follow the writer's reasoning to briefly examine *hybris* as a crime and then outline how *hybris* is related to the lawless characters listed in verses 9–10.

[837] K. J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1974), 103, exuberance and *hybris* could be forgiven in the young (Eur. frag. 149 and Lysias 20.3, 24.17).

6.7.2. *Hybris* as a Criminal Act

Among the commentators of 1 Timothy there is a certain perplexity over the writer's discussion of the law in verses 7 to 10.[838] Some scholars "see no difficulty in locating the tenets of these verses within the spectrum of Pauline thought" while others "find in these verses alone sufficient reason for denying Pauline authorship to the epistle."[839] There are two problems to be resolved in interpreting the use of the term "law" in verses 8 and 10. The first problem is the relationship of the law between pastoral Paul and the historical Paul's discussion of the law. The second is the relationship of the "certain men" who "want to be teachers of the law" to the law as it is referred to in verses 8–10. The underlying question revolves around the use of the Old Testament law by both the writer of 1 Timothy and the "certain men." Another level of complexity is added when it is observed that the terms used in these verses owe more to Hellenistic than Hebrew discussions of the law.[840]

The difficulty with grasping the reference to the law in 1 Timothy is the relationship of the term to its use in Romans and Galatians. Historical Paul uses the term with a great deal of flexibility and the subtleties of which he expected his readers to follow. As Leon Morris observes,

> Paul uses the term *law* in a bewildering variety of ways. Typically it is the law of Moses, the law of the Old Testament. Thus, even though neither Moses nor the Bible is mentioned, plainly this is meant when he speaks of the Jews as having 'in the law the embodiment of knowledge and truth' (2:20). It is difficult to be certain of all the occasions when he means the law of Moses, for the context does not always put the matter beyond doubt, and we must bear in mind that in this epistle he never speaks of 'the law of Moses' in set terms. Nor can we say that 'the law' as opposed to 'law' means the Mosaic law, since both usages can apply either to the Mosaic law or to law in general.[841]

Therefore, the interpreter needs to be cautious in making judgements about the use of the word in 1 Timothy. The term "teachers of the law" gives the impression that the "certain men" want to teach from the Mosaic Law, however, the vice list that follows is made of

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[838] Stephen Westerholm, "The Law and the 'Just Man' (1 Tim 1,3–11)," *Studia Theologica– Nordic Journal of Theology* 36 (1982): 79–95; Dibeilius and Conzelmann, 22.

[839] Westerholm, "The Law and the 'Just Man,'" 79; in keeping with Pauline thought, Dibelius and Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 22.

[840] Westerholm, "The Law and the 'Just Man,'" 79; Dibelius and Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 23.

[841] Leon Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), 143–145.

terms drawn more from Greek thought on what is unlawful.[842] Further, we must bear in mind what the distinction is between the "certain men" who want to be "teachers of the law" and Timothy, who is urged to devote himself to "the reading, the exhortation, to the instruction" (1 Tim 4:13).[843] The writer appears to be distinguishing between those who use the law ignorantly and make "confident assertions" and those who use it "lawfully" (νομίμως, 1 Tim 1:8). [844] Those who use the law "lawfully" are acting within the bounds of the law. A similar idea is in Antiphon's "On the Murder of Herodes,"

> you must use the laws (ἐκ τῶν νόμων) to discover whether or not the speech for the prosecution is giving you a correct and lawful (ὀρθῶς καὶ νομίμως) interpretation of the case (5.14 [Maidment, LCL]).

The person that acts within the bounds of the law then could be said to be "righteous" (Plato, *Symp.* 182a). This same simple logic is at work in Romans 2: 13.[845] Yet the similarity of the argument must not lead to an importation of all of Paul's theology of righteousness from Romans into the simple observation of 1 Timothy 1: 8–9. The use of the term "law" in verse 9 must refer to an acknowledged reference to the law between the writer and the reader.[846] In order for this term to apply to the "law" as in God's law in the Scriptures and the "law" that can be described using Greek terms, then common ground must be in view.[847]

The thesis advanced here is that the writer is relying on commonly held assumptions by Jews and Greeks about the law against *hybris*.

6.7.3. *Hybris* in Greek Written and Unwritten Law

The Greeks believed that the law against *hybris* was introduced by Solon in the sixth century BCE.[848] In his poems *hybris* is discussed in terms of the damage it can do to civic relations,

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[842] Dibelius and Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 23; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 376–379.

[843] Translation by author.

[844] Brian S. Rosner makes the case that Paul negatively critiques the Law's use while at the same time approves of its use as wisdom– the "law as written for their instruction," "Written for Our Instruction: The Law as Wisdom in Paul's Ethics," *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 3 (2013): 129–144.

[845] James D.G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, Word Biblical Commentary (Dallas: Word Books, 1988), 104–105.

[846] The idea that the "law is not made for a righteous person" may reflect common knowledge implied by the "we know." An epigram used as a school exercise written on an ostracon (2nd century CE) says "He who does no injustice does not need the law" (ὁ μηθεν ἀδικων οὐδενος δειται νομου); Greek text, J. Grafton Milne, "Relics of Graeco-Egyptian Schools," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 28 (1908), Ostracon no. vii (126); translated by Teresa Morgan, *Popular Morality in the Early Roman Empire* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 111.

[847] Dibelius and Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 23, "a Hellenistic transformation of Jewish ethics."

[848] Fisher, *Hybris*, 37, 68.

> The citizens themselves, through their foolish acts, are willing to destroy the great city, persuaded by wealth, and the mind of the leaders of the people is unjust, for whom soon there will be many griefs to suffer as a result of their great *hybris*. For they do not know how to control their excess…, not to conduct properly their present good cheer…This now is coming to the whole city, an unavoidable wound…which is awakening internal *stasis* and sleeping war which destroys the lovely youth of many men.[849]

In this poem we see common ideas of *hybris*, but we can also observe the effect that Solon believed *hybris* had on a city. *Hybris* is destructive if allowed to run rampant in a community; it leads to disaster. It also causes factions (*stasis*) and factions cause wars which lead to the destruction of youth of men. *Hybris* had corrosive effects on both individuals and communities. Aristotle has similar concerns in his discussion of *hybris* and assumed that such a law existed.[850] However, as Fisher found, not one of the preserved forensic speeches is a prosecution for *hybris*.[851] In Demosthenes' speech "Against Meidias" written in order to persecute Meidias for *hybris* in his assault on himself at a festival do we have an example of the law of *hybris* applied; however, this court case never took place since Meidias "settled out of court" with a cash payment.[852] Even so Demosthenes' speech provides an example of how the law may have been enacted.[853] Demosthenes accuses Meidias of "brutality and insolence (τὴν ὕβριν)" (1 [Vince, LCL]), which all acknowledge, but his "plaint in the Assembly" is "against him as an offender in connexion with the festival, not only for his assault on my person at the Dionysia, but for many other acts of violence during the whole period when I served as chorus-master" (1–2 [Vince, LCL]). In this speech Demosthenes quotes the law,

> If anyone assaults (ὑβρίσῃ) any child or woman or man, whether free or slave, or commits any unlawful act against anyone of these, any Athenian citizen who desires so to do, being qualified, may indict him before the Judges (47 [Vince, LCL]).

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[849] Fragment 4, Demosthenes, *On the Embassy*; translation by M. L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1974), in Fisher, *Hybris*, 70.
[850] Fisher, *Hybris*, 21–25.
[851] Ibid., 37.
[852] Vince describes it as "hush money" in Demosthenes, *Orations, Volume III: Orations 21–26: Against Meidias. Against Androtion. Against Aristocrates. Against Timocrates. Against Aristogeiton 1 and 2,* trans. J. H. Vince, LCL (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935), 2–5.
[853] cf. Demosthenes, *Con.* 54.1.

This, however, does not enlighten us as to the actual unlawful nature of *hybris*, as it rests on assumed knowledge. It can be taken that it is a breech that all consider intolerable as Demosthenes preface to quoting the law shows,

> For nothing, men of Athens, nothing in the world is more intolerable than a personal outrage (ὕβρεως), nor is there anything that more deserves your resentment (46 [Vince, LCL]).

This rhetorical commonplace is part of Demosthenes' tactic, since if a personal outrage is intolerable then how much more is it when that outrage is committed publically on an official in a festival? An outrage (ὕβρις) is deemed even greater against a public official in a public setting. It is possible that the shame that Demosthenes felt may have contributed to the withdrawal of his action in court.[854] The point here is that *hybris* was seen as unlawful and was a part of the unwritten law code of Athens. It was also a charge that could be brought in Ptolemaic Egypt.[855] Whether it was a part of the written law code and acted upon is not of any consequence as it was assumed to be a part of the unwritten law that had its origins in the ancient Greek past before the days of Solon (Hesiod, *Op*. 213–218).[856]

6.7.4. *Hybris* in the Septuagint

We have been considering the *hybris* within the Greek framework, but the word's central meaning "arrogant, insolent, outrageous" made it amply suitable for glossing similar words in the Hebrew Scriptures. The words ὕβρις and ὑβριςτής are used throughout the Septuagint. In the well-known proverb (Pr 16:18) the Greek translators glossed גֵּאוֹן (*gā·ʾôn*) with ὕβρις, "Pride (ὕβρις) goes before ruin, and malice before a fall."

The translators glossed גֵּאוֹן (*gā·ʾôn*) again with ὕβρις in Leuitikon 26:19, "And I will smash the insolence (τὴν ὕβριν) of your arrogance, and I will make your sky iron and your earth like copper." We can see that the translators have selected *hybris* because of the association that people with pride and arrogance run into ruin. In Hesiod's *Works and Days*, a man with *hybris* "encounters calamities." Furthermore, people with *hybris* in Leuitikon 26:19 bring judgement upon themselves in the form of drought, and this echoes the swineherd's words in the *Odyssey* that the suitors' *hybris* reaches to the iron heaven (15.325–334). It is these

[854] Fisher, *Hybris*, 67.
[855] Fisher, *Hybris*, 83–85.
[856] Ibid., 185–200.

kinds of interplay between the two languages that makes for a dynamic reading of the Septuagint.

גָּאוֹן (*gā·ʾôn*) is used in Isaiah 16:6–7 along with the adjective גֵּא (*gē(ʾ)*), which is used to describe the one who is proud or haughty.[857] In the Greek, Moab is described metaphorically as a man of *hybris* (ὑβριστὴς), who has suffered disaster (Esaias 15: 1–9) and had his *hybris* striped away by the judgement of Yahweh,

> We have heard of the pride (τὴν ὕβριν) of Moab: exceedingly proud (ὑβριστὴς σφόδρα) he is; you have removed his arrogance. Your divination is not thus; Moab shall wail, for in Moabitis all shall wail (Esaias 16:6).

Not only are the Moabites wailing because disaster has fallen on their nation, but we should consider the shame that must be borne for a nation who must seek shelter within the borders of their enemy, "the fugitives of Moab will sojourn with you" (16:4).[858] They are like a man of *hybris* whose pride has led to ruin (Prov 16:18) and shame (*Od.* 1.127–129).[859] Ezekiel also used גָּאוֹן (*gā·ʾôn*) in a similar way to Isaiah when describing the arrogance of Egypt (30: 6, 18; 32: 12). In his word of prophecy against Israel, he uses גָּאוֹן (*gā·ʾôn*) to describe their inflated confidence as the people of Abraham (33:24),

> And I will render the land a wilderness, and the insolence (ἡ ὕβρις) of its strength shall perish, and the mountains of Israel shall be made desolate so as not to be passed through (Iezekiel 33:28).

This judgement against Israel alludes to the judgement against *hybris* in Leuitikon 26:19. The related גַּאֲוָה (*gă·ʾăwā(h)*) is also translated as ὕβρις. It is used in Esaiah 13: 11 in a passage about the judgement of the world and is used to describe the sin of the ungodly,

> And I will command evils for the whole world, and for the impious (τοῖς ἀσεβέσιν), their own sins (τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν); I will destroy the pride (ὕβριν) of the lawless (ἀνόμων) and bring low the pride (ὕβριν) of the arrogant (ὑπερηφάνων).

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[857] J. Swanson, *Dictionary of Biblical Languages with Semantic Domains: Hebrew (Old Testament)* (E-Edition), (Oak Harbor: Logos Research Systems, Inc, 1997).
[858] John Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 1–39*, The New International Commentary on the Old Testament (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 345.
[859] Cairns, *Aidōs*, 56.

Hybris is not always used to translate גָּאוֹן (*gā·ʾôn*) and גַּאֲוָה (*gă·ʾăwā(h)*). Both words can have a positive sense in Hebrew: גָּאוֹן (*gā·ʾôn*) majesty, splendour, glory (Ex 15:7), and גַּאֲוָה (*gă·ʾăwā(h)*) majesty (Deut 33:26, 29), having a high status or rank (Ps 68:35).[860]

What is of interest to us is when the negative aspect is in view. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* gives two senses in its entry for ὕβρις: "1. 'arrogance, insolence'" and "2. 'violent and outrageous treatment.'"[861] These uses match the contours of ὕβρις and in the contexts where גָּאוֹן (*gā·ʾôn*) and גַּאֲוָה (*gă·ʾăwā(h)*) are used, as we have seen, make it amply suited as a gloss for the negative aspect of these words. For completeness sake we will mention the two other Hebrew words that are translated with ὕβρις: זָדוֹן (zā·dôn) (Prov 11:2; Ezek 7:10) and עַלִּיז (*ʿăl·lîz*) (Isa 23:7). The adjective עַלִּיז (*ʿăl·lîz*) usually has the sense "rejoicing, reveling" (Isa 13:3, 22:2; Zep 2:15; 3:11 etc). In Isaiah 23:7 the translators appear to have taken עַלִּיז (*ʿăl·lîz*) to mean "arrogant rejoicing" or "proud boasting" and translated it with the word *hybris*.[862]

The use of the term *hybris* in the Septuagint, gives support to the idea that the law of the Old Testament condemned *hybris*. As we have seen, historical Paul calls those who are insolent and arrogant unrighteous in Romans (1: 28–30). Indeed there is an impressive resonance between 1 Timothy 1:9 and Esaias 13: 11. The writer of 1 Timothy is echoing similar themes of judgment against the impious (τοῖς ἀσεβέσιν) and destroying "the pride (ὕβριν) of the lawless (ἀνόμων)." The recognition that arrogance underpins the description of the "certain men" enables us to see the connection between their *hybris* and the warning of coming disaster, "bring low the pride (ὕβριν) of the arrogant (ὑπερηφάνων)" (Esaias 13:11).

6.8. *Hybris* as the Theme in verses 8–10

It is plausible that the native Greek speaker would slip into the thought that the Septuagint's condemnation of *hybris* related to the unwritten Greek laws we discussed earlier. This makes an easy transition to move from portraying the "certain men" in 1 Timothy as men of *hybris*

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[860] F. Brown, *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1996), 144–145; Swanson, *Dictionary of Biblical Languages with Semantic Domains: Hebrew (Old Testament)* (E-Edition).

[861] T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain; Paris; Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2009).

[862] Oswalt takes the word as a vocative "exultant one," *The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 1–39*, see p. 425 note 6.

and utilising the unwritten law, at work in both the Old Testament and the written and unwritten laws of ancient Athens. It is the contention of this thesis that the law that is being referred to is the law against *hybris*. A number of scholars have noted that the list appears to be shaped by the Ten Commandments.[863] This, however, does not explain the Hellenistic flavour of the crimes.[864] However, if *hybris* is the underlying theme, then it becomes clear that the list is made up of those who commit crimes closely associated with *hybris*. While verses 6–7 describe the actual activities of the "certain men" that are threatening the community, the list of verses 9–10 functions to portray the opponents' character in terms of *hybris* by its repetitive use of words associated with *hybristic* behaviour. [865]

The list of characters in verses 9–10 is constructed in two parts: a list of pairs followed by individual items. The first pair (ἀνόμοις… καὶ ἀνυποτάκτοις) relate to those who act outside the civic law.[866] Opening this list with the terms ἀνόμος and ἀνυποτκτος gives a sense of arrival at the culmination of the νόμος words and throws into sharp relief the character of the "righteous person" and those "wanting to be teachers of the law." Those who are lawless and rebellious are typically those who are ὕβρισται.[867]

6.8.1. The First Pair of Law Breakers: ἀνόμοις…καὶ ἀνυποτκτοις

Introducing this list with ἀνόμος and ἀνυποτκτος sets the scene just as it does in Lysias' speech "Against Simon,"

> They had already got as far as Lampon's when I, walking by myself, met with them; and considering it a monstrous and shameful thing (ἡγησάμενος εἶναι καὶ αἰσχρὸν) to stand by and see the young fellow subjected to such lawless and violent outrage (ἀνόμως καὶ βιαίως ὑβρισθέντα), I seized hold of him. They, when asked why they were treating him in such lawless fashion, refused to answer, but letting the young fellow go they began to beat me (3.17 [Lamb, LCL]).

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[863] Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 125; Fiore, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 43–44; Marshall only sees a general correlation that "has been developed considerably," *Pastoral Epistles* 378–379.

[864] As Dibelius and Conzelmann noted, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 23.

[865] John T. Fitzgerald, "The Catalogue in Ancient Greek Literature," in *The Rhetorical Analysis of Scripture: Essays from the 1995 London Conference*, ed. Thomas H. Olbricht and Stanley E. Porter (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 275–293.

[866] Plato, *Pol.* 302e; *Leg.* 884–887.

[867] Hesiod, *Theog.* 307; Martin Ostwald, *Nomos and the Beginnings of the Athenian Democracy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 86.

Lysias' use reflects the general idea of ἀνόμος as described by Ostwald, "a violent and unruly kind of conduct which infringes νόμος both in its sense of 'law and order' and 'proper behaviour.'"[868] Similarly, in the Septuagint the lawless are those who act with *hybris* (Esaias 13: 11).

The word ἀνυπότακτος is not well attested in the extant Greek literature, although in the New Testament it appears four times, three of those in the Pastorals.[869] Polybius uses the word in relation to keeping his narrative ordered and letting it not become unruly (Polyb. 3.38.4).[870] This seems to be the sense of the word, not to be unruly or to be ungovernable as we see in Josephus' use of the word: the Jewish nation is described by Artaxerxes, "which has peculiar laws (τοῖς νόμοις), is insubordinate to kings (ἀνυπότακτον), is different in its customs, hates monarchy and is disloyal to our government" (*Antiquities of the Jews* 11.217 [Thackeray, LCL]). A similar meaning is found in Titus. Elders (πρεσβυτέρους) are to be appointed who do not to have unruly children, if any man is above reproach, the husband of one wife, having children who believe, not accused of dissipation or rebellion (ἀνυπότακτα)" (Titus 1:6). The elders are to have these kinds of qualifications, since "there are many rebellious men (ἀνυπότακτοι), empty talkers and deceivers, especially those of the circumcision (Titus 1:10). The use of ἀνυπότακτος, therefore, ties back into the theme of rebellious young men in 1 Timothy. Those who are lawless and rebellious are those who usurp authority and pay no heed to what is customary and legal nor do they subject themselves to the appropriate authorities. The pairing of ἄνομος with ἀνυπότακτος lays down the thematic tenor of this passage and relates it to the overall theme of the letter; unrestrained young men are capable of lawlessness and rebellion.

6.8.2. The Second and Third Pair of Law Breakers: ἀσεβέσι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῖς, ἀνοσίοις καὶ βεβήλοις

The second and third pairs are related to those who are impious and impiety is closely associated with the idea of *hybris* (Aesch. *Pers.* 805–820). In Plato's *Laws*, "the laws respecting impiety (ἀσεβείας)" stand against those who hold "false notions about the gods" (10.907C–D [Bury, LCL]) and the reader knows from the beginning of Book X that such a

[868] Ostwald, *Nomos and the Beginnings of the Athenian Democracy*, 85.
[869] In relation to things rather than persons the word has the meaning "not made subject" (LSJ), Heb 2:8; Epictetus, *Discourses* 4.1.162.
[870] Also *Histories* 2.3.36; 3.5.21.

thing is an outrage (περὶ θεοὺς ὑβρίζει) (10.885B). The writer of 1 Timothy links the impious to sinners (ἁμαρτωλοῖς). The term "sinners" is one that is predominantly found in Jewish literature, unlike many of the other terms in the list. It does appear in Philodemus (1st C. BCE) in regard to the anger of slaves (Περὶ ὀργῆς frag. 17, col. 36).[871] Sinners feature in the later Jewish literature (Tob 4:17; Wis 19:13; Pss. Sol. 2:16, 34; 1 En. 3–5.6 and 100:9). Particularly instructive is a passage in Sirach,

> [God's] ways are straight for the devout; so for the lawless (τοῖς ἀνόμοις) there are pitfalls.
>
> Good things have been created from the beginning for the good; so for sinners (τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς), evil things… (39:24–25)
>
> All these [good things] belong to the pious (τοῖς εὐσεβέσιν) for good; so for sinners (τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς) they will be turned into evil (39:27).

In this passage the lawless are sinners, and these people are contrasted with the devout and pious. It is easy to see that the lawless could be associated with the impious and sinners as they are in 1 Timothy.

Ἀνοσίοις καὶ βεβήλοις are two words that continue the theme of impiety and lawlessness. The first word, ἀνόσιος "unholy, profane" (LSJ) is only found in the NT here in 1 Timothy and in 2 Timothy 3:2 (again in a list). However, it was used widely in Greek literature. In Aeschylus' *The Seven of Thebes*, Amphiaraus, the prophet, is caught up in events beyond his control. Eteocles bemoans his fate, "Alas for the fate that visits mortals and links a righteous man with his impious inferiors!" (597-8). Eteocles continues, "So too this seer…a virtuous, upright (δίκαιος), courageous and pious (εὐσεβὴς) man, a great prophet, has joined together against his will with impious men (ἀνοσίοισι) of arrogant speech" (609-613). Noble virtues such as piety and righteousness are contrasted with the ἀνόσιος, those who are arrogant in speech. Similarly in Plato's *Republic* the tyrant is lawless and he, "does not withhold his hand from shedding the blood of his fellow tribesmen, but unjustly brings charges of murder to the law courts, as indeed usually happens, thereby wiping out a man's life, tasting kindred blood with impious (ἀνοσίῳ) tongue and mouth, and exiles, executes" (565e-566a [Emlyn-Jones and Preddy, LCL]). Here the tyrant has an unholy tongue and mouth that he uses to

[871] It does appear in Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1109a33, but Rackman (LCL) notes that this is most likely an interpolation.

murder his kin. Tyrants murder kin and commit deeds that are wicked (ἀνόσια) (*Resp.* 615 d; cf. Ezekiel 22:9). Such an association looks forward to the murders in the list.

Ἀνοσίοις is linked to βεβήλοις "unhallowed, impure" (LSJ). These two concepts are also linked in association in 3 Maccabees; Simon the high priest prays,

> Lord, Lord, king of the heavens and sovereign of all creation, holy among the holy ones, sole ruler, almighty, hearken unto us, who are being oppressed by a vile and unholy man (ὑπὸ ἀνοσίου καὶ βεβήλου), grown insolent with presumption and power (2:2).

We should notice the tight conceptual link here with the man who has grown insolent with presumption and power (θράσει καὶ σθένει πεφρυαγμένου) with the concept of *hybris*. As we saw in our earlier survey of the Septuagint, *hybris* is associated with those who are lawless, arrogant, godlessness, impious, and commit sin (See esp. Esaias 13:11).

6.8.3. The Fourth Pair and the Individual Law Breakers: πατρολῴαις καὶ μητρολῴαις, ἀνδροφόνοις

The last pair deals with those who are violent toward their kin, with the word ἀνδροφόνοις (murderers) acting as a bridge between the pairs and the single items. In Plato's *Laws* the penalty for patricide and matricide (τὸν πατροφόνον ἢ μητροκτόνον) is death, and this is the same penalty for impiety and temple robbing (9.869B). In *Phaedo* those who have committed murder (ἀνδροφόνους), patricide, and matricide are in torment in the afterlife. And these people call out to those they have outraged (ὕβρισαν) (114a–b). The word ἀνδροφόνοις is in addition to πατροφόνον ἢ μητροκτόνν. It may sum up the thought or it may be an additional type of murder. In the scholia on Aeschylus' play *Eumenides*, which dates from either the Hellenistic or Roman period, ἀνδροφόνος is used of Clytemnestra's murder of Agamemnon,

Τί προστέταχθε ποιεῖν περὶ ἀνδροφόνου γυναικός

"Who has been called upon to do [something] about the murder (lit. man killing) by the woman (wife)?" (line 211a).[872]

[872] This reference is from M, TLG, is "old" see Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship: A Guide to Finding, Reading, and Understanding Scholia, Commentaries, Lexica, and Grammatical Treatises, from Their Beginnings to the Byzantine Period* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 36–37; Ostwald notes in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* that "the 'lawless' conduct [νόμον ἄνομον] which has become the 'rule' for the house of Atreus

This suggests the possibility that the thought is “man killer” or even “husband killer.”

6.8.4. Individual Law Breakers: πόρνοις, ἀρσενοκοίταις, ἀνδραποδισταῖς, ψεύσταις, ἐπιόρκοις

To the ancient audience the terms πόρνοις, ἀρσενοκοίταις, ἀνδραποδισταῖς, ψεύσταις, ἐπιόρκοις are acts of lawlessness and *hybris*.

Πόρνοις translated in the NASB as “fornicators” was used in Greek with the meaning “male prostitute.” Self-prostitution for an Athenian male citizen was against the city’s law (Aesch. *Tim.* 1.51–52).[873] In the case against Timarchus, Aeschines reasons “if a man at Athens not only abuses other people (ὑβριστὴν οὐκ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους μόνον), but even his own body, here where there are laws...who would expect that same man, when he had received impunity and authority and office, to have placed any limit on his license?” (*Against Timarchus* 1.108 [Adams, LCL]). Aeschines alleges that Timarchus prostituted himself, and he describes this as an act of *hybris* (ὑβριστὴν) and as such this act was against the law.

Ἀρσενοκοίτης translated as “homosexual” in the NASB must relate to the law against *hybris*. This is a difficult word since it occurs for the first time in 1 Corinthians 6:9, also in a vice list. It has the literal sense “male-bedder,” which is perhaps a term developed to describe what Aristotle calls τῶν ἀφροδισίων τοῖς ἄρρεσιν “those who have intercourse with men” (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1148b 29 [Rackman, LCL]). In this passage Aristotle says that if one engages in certain practices because of a natural disposition then they are not acting in an unrestrained manner,

> Other morbid propensities are acquired by habit, for instance, plucking out the hair, biting the nails, eating cinders and earth, and also sexual perversion (τῶν ἀφροδισίων τοῖς ἄρρεσιν). These practices result in some cases from natural disposition (τοῖς μὲν γὰρ φύσει), and in others from habit, as with those who have been abused from childhood (τοῖς ὑβριζομένοις ἐκ παίδων). When nature is responsible, no one would describe such persons as showing Unrestraint (ἀκρατεῖς), any more than one would

(1142)” in reference to Clytemnestra’s murder, *Nomos and the Beginnings of the Athenian Democracy*, 86; a play on words here should be considered.

[873] Fisher, *Hybris*, 109–110.

> apply that term to women because they are passive and not active in sexual intercourse (*Nicomachean Ethics*, 1148b 27–33 [Rackham, LCL]).

The phrase here in Aristotle seems to imply a passive disposition to male sexual activity. The point he is making is that such strange propensities may not necessarily be vices caused by unrestraint (1148b 32). However, we are suggesting that the word relates to lawlessness. Since the writer has already used a term to describe male prostitution, then the word must be referring to some other type of male sexual act. Later use of the ἀρσενοκοίτης suggests a man who has sex with boys/young men.[874] *Hybris* can be used of a lover who intends to inflict dishonour or shame on a boyfriend (Lys. 14.26).[875] But more particularly, it seems that *hybris* is associated with the forced sexual act as in Lysias' case, "Against Simon,"

> We felt desire, gentlemen, for Theodotus, a Plataean boy; and while I looked to win his affection by kindness, this man thought by outrage (ὑβρίζων) and defiance of the law to compel him to accede to his wishes. To tell all the ill–treatment that the boy has suffered from him would be a lengthy business: but I think it proper that you should hear the numerous offences he has committed against myself (3.5–6 [Lamb, LCL]).

What is implied here is that Simon wanted to force Theodotus into having sexual relations with him against his will. The complainant in this case admitted that he had desires for Theodotus, but it is implied that a relationship with him was not to be considered unlawful. What was unlawful was the wanton pursuit of "the young fellow" (τοῦ νεανίσκου) (10) by Simon, which included breaking into the defendant's house and entering the women's quarters, violently assaulting the defendant, seizing and beating the boy. This man's behaviour is described as insolent (ὕβρεως) (5 and 7) and lawless (τῇ τούτου παρανομίᾳ) (10).

Elsewhere accounts of rape and forced seduction of boys are described in terms of *hybris* and lawlessness (Lys. 12.98; Thuc. 8.74; Isoc. *Nic*. 36; *Paneg*.114).[876] Such acts are not only considered lawless they were against the law of *hybris*,

> And what other law? The law against outrage (τὸν τῆς ὕβρεως), which includes all such conduct in one summary statement, wherein it stands expressly written: if any one

[874] Eusebius preserves a use of ἀρσενοκοίτης in *Praeparatio Evangelica* (Preparation for the Gospel), 25b–27a. Eusebius' use of this word appears to be dependent on *The Book of the Laws of Divers Countries (Book of the Laws of Countries)* from the third century; see discussion in N. Kelley, "Astrology in the Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions," *JEH* 59 (2008): 607–629.
[875] Fisher, *Hybris*, 109.
[876] Ibid.; Kenneth James Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 27.

> outrage a child (ἐάν τις ὑβρίζῃ εἰς παῖδα) (and surely he who hires, outrages (ὑβρίζει)) or a man or woman, or any one, free or slave, or if he commit any unlawful act (ἐὰν παράνομόν) against any one of these. Here the law provides prosecution for outrage (γραφὰς ὕβρεως), and it prescribes what bodily penalty he shall suffer, or what fine he shall pay. Read the law (Aeschines, *Against Timarchus*, 15 [Adams, LCL]).[877]

Therefore, ἀρσενοκοίτης, in this context must refer to some form of sexual crime, most likely against an adolescent or young man.

Ἀνδραποδισταῖς is translated as "kidnappers," which is an adequate gloss of this Greek word in this context (Plato, *Resp.* 344b; Lys. 10.10). As some commentators have suggested it could also mean abduction for the purposes of slave trading (Plato *Leg.* 7. 823e).[878] In a discussion about lawless and self-restraint, Dio Chrysostom says,

> If men were to do away with the laws and licence were to be granted to strike one another, to commit murder, to steal the property of one's neighbours, to commit adultery, to be a footpad, then who must we suppose would be the persons who will refrain from these deeds and not, without the slightest scruple or hesitation, be willing to commit all manner of crimes? For even under present conditions we none the less are living unwittingly with thieves and kidnappers (ἀνδραποδιστῶν) and adulterers and joining with them in the activities of citizenship, and in this respect we are no better than the wild beasts (*On Virtue* 69.9 [Crosby, LCL]).[879]

In this passage Dio Chrysostom is contemplating the thought that if men are only constrained by the law they are therefore lawless in character. And if this is the case, he concludes that he and his audience are living with thieves, kidnappers (ἀνδραποδιστής), and adulterers. Such people are no better than wild beasts, and in the *Nicomachean Ethics* such people are associated with unrestraint and are described as exhibiting the worse kind of vice (1145a 15–20).[880] In the Greek context the word could allude to seducing another man's wife and running away with her.[881] The "abduction" of another man's wife was an act of *hybris*: it was an insult to a man's hospitality to seduce his wife or sons.[882]

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[877] Fisher, *Hybris*, 109

[878] Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 380.

[879] The law against kidnapping Polybius, *Histories* 12.16.

[880] Paul describes combat with opponents at Ephesus as fighting wild beasts, 1 Cor. 15:32.

[881] Dio Chrysostom, *Euboean* 7. 94–95 says that Paris "appropriated [Menelaus'] wife as well as his treasures" in the course of his hospitality (Cohoon, LCL); "a wife…by capture" (ἁρπαγῆς), Herodotus*, The Histories* 1. 3 (Godley, LCL); Gorgias implies that Hellen was rapped and abducted and so was "forcibly invaded and lawlessly

Ψεύσταις, ἐπιόρκοις relate to those who lie for their own ends. Such people deceive not just individuals but whole communities (Isoc. *Callim*. 18. 55–56). Demosthenes, in *De Falsa Legatione*, was prosecuting Aeschines for corruption in public office,

> Of all these heinous crimes against the commonwealth, gentlemen of the jury, he has been proved guilty. No element of baseness is lacking. Bribe-taker, sycophant, guilty under the curse, a liar (ψεύστης), a traitor to his friends,—here are flagrant charges indeed! (19. 201 [Vince, LCL]).

The word ψεύστης (liar) when teamed with ἐπίορκος seems to relate to lying publicly, just as perjury implies lying in court. In another case, Demosthenes portrays Aristogiton among those who misuse their privilege,

> they mount the platform in the Assembly, where you look to your orators to explain their policy, not to flaunt their wickedness; they come equipped with a hardened front, a raucous voice, false charges (ψευδεῖς), intimidation, shamelessness (*Against Aristogiton* 25.9 [Murray, LCL]).

Ἐπιόρκοις are "perjurers" (LSJ) or those who "swear falsely" by the gods in the context of a law court (Isoc. *Callim.* 18.56). As in English, it is used of those who tell lies in a court of law after swearing an oath and such behaviour is "an affront" τολμάω (Isoc. *Callim.* 18. 56; cf. Dem. *Onet*. 31.9; Aesch. *Tim*. 3.208). An interesting use for our investigation is Aeschines' "Against Ctesiphon,"

> Now this man it was, fellow citizens, this past master of flattery, who, when informed through scouts of Charidemus that Philip was dead, before any one else had received the news, made up a vision for himself and lied about the gods, pretending that he had received the news, not from Charidemus, but from Zeus and Athena, the gods by whose name he perjures (ἐπιορκῶν) himself by day, and who then converse with him in the night, as he says, and tell him of things to come (3. 77 [Adams, LCL]).

The use of ἐπίορκος here is not in the context of a courtroom, rather it is an offence directly against the gods to be falsely claiming to have received an oracle from them. This use suggests the possibility that the writer of 1 Timothy has used this word to conclude his list as

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overpowered (ἀνόμως ἐβιάσθη) and unjustly outraged (ἀδίκως ὑβρίσθη)" (frag. 11.7, John Hawthorne, "Gorgias of Leontini: A Critical Appraisal with Translation and Commentary of the Extant Fragments" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1949), 77; for a report of an actual case of "kidnapping" a wife see G.H.R. Horsley, ed., "A Family Feud," *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* (Macquarie University, North Ryde: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, 1983), 3.101: 149–155.

[882] Dio Chrysostom, *Euboean* 7. 139; 148–152.

a lasting indictment against the "certain men" who are promoting the other instruction. His case is that pastoral Paul has received an oracle from God the Father and Christ Jesus whereas the "certain men" are making baseless claims in regard to their authority. If this is the case then he is implying that the "certain men" are lying about their authority being derived from God. They are perjurers against God himself.

6.9. Conclusion: Guilty of *Hybris* under the Law

The interpretation outlined above solves the two problems identified earlier. The first is the relationship of the law as used by the writer of the Pastorals and the historical Paul's discussion of the law in Romans. The underlying question here is how is the term "law" as used by the writer of 1 Timothy. We have argued above that the writer has in mind the Greek law against *hybris*, which is also reflected in Septuagint. Historical Paul employs the same strategy in Romans. Paul's argument in Romans 1:18–32 condemns Gentiles for unrighteousness. Yet it has similarities to Jewish polemic against the Gentiles (Joseph. *Ag. Ap.* 2.37.273–275).[883] If it is a well recognised Jewish polemic, then it becomes apparent that this passage forms part of a rhetorical strategy and the real object of Paul's interest is the Jew.[884] It would be easy for Jews to agree that the vices discussed by Paul in Romans 1:18–32 belong to Gentile sinners. The more difficult task for Paul is to convince the Jew that he was unrighteous like the Gentile.[885] The Jew may agree with Paul that the Gentiles are ungodly and unrighteous, but in so doing they fall into Paul's rhetorical trap.[886] In Romans 2:1 Paul's real target comes into view if we take the "you" (εἶ) to be addressed to Jews, "therefore you have no excuse, everyone of you who passes judgment, for in that which you judge another, you condemn yourself; for you who judge practice the same things." From here historical Paul goes on to demonstrate that the Jew is unrighteous like the Gentile,

> But do you suppose this, O man, when you pass judgment on those who practice such things and do the same yourself, that you will escape the judgment of God? (2:3)… But if you bear the name "Jew" and rely upon the Law and boast in God… and are confident that you yourself are a guide to the blind…having in the Law the embodiment of knowledge and of the truth, you, therefore, who teach another, do

[883] Dunn identifies *Wisdom of Solomon* 11–15 as an influence, *Romans 1–8*, 53, 72.
[884] Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 93; Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 72–73, 78–79, 90.
[885] Ibid., 90–93; James D. G. Dunn, *Beginning from Jerusalem* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 885.
[886] Moo, *Romans*, 128; cf. Stanley K. Stowers, *The Diatribe and Paul's Letter to the Romans*, SBL Dissertation Series 57 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981), 112; I disagree with Stowers, who argues that Paul is not addressing Jews here.

> you not teach yourself? You who preach that one shall not steal, do you steal? You who say that one should not commit adultery, do you commit adultery? You who abhor idols, do you rob temples? You who boast in the Law, through your breaking the Law, do you dishonor God? For 'the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of you,' just as it is written (2:17–24).[887]

It is clear that the answer to the rhetorical questions that historical Paul asks his Jewish interlocutor is "yes." The proposed unrighteous acts can be found in both the Jewish and Gentile laws. While stealing, adultery, and idolatry are crimes derived from the Ten Commandments, Paul's question "do you rob temples" gives the rhetorical game away. It was a rhetorical commonplace to accuse an opponent of temple robbing in Gentile discourse.[888] Both Jews and Gentiles would agree that such activities were unrighteous acts (Joseph. *Ant*. 4. 207).[889] The point is not that the Jews in Paul's audience engaged in these kinds of acts, but any unrighteousness acts, however small are unrighteous. This is an appeal to the rhetorical commonplace, the lesser to the greater, which we have come across in 1 Timothy. The accusation that these sorts of unrighteous acts could be attributed to his Jewish audience sharpens the point of Paul's Scriptural citation "the name of God is blasphemed among the nations" (Rom 2:24).

The argument in 1 Timothy is similar to historical Paul's argument here in Romans. The aim of Paul's questions is to cast doubt in the Jewish mind whether they, who teach the law, are guilty of transgressing it. Like the "certain men," the Jews of Romans 2:17 and 23 are over confident in their relation to the law yet the Scripture stands against them. Paul thus argues that both the Gentile and the Jew stand under the condemnation of the Jewish God because both have failed to abide by the laws that both agree upon. It would seem that Paul sees an equivalence between the Gentile law and the Jewish law since Gentiles "do instinctively the things of the law" (Rom 2:14). This same thinking is at play in 1 Timothy 1:8–11. The divine intention is reflected in both the Gentile and Jewish laws. The law against *hybris* is therefore

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[887] Moo, *Romans*, 157; Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 116–118.

[888] Ibid., 114–115; Cicero, *Verr* 2.1.4.9–10; 2.1.17.45–54; 2.3.3.6; as an example of a *topos* or common place, Hermogenes, 6. 11–14 (Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 79–81). For commentary see Tamsyn Barton, "The Inventio of Nero: Suetonius," in *Reflections of Nero: Culture, History, and Representation*, ed. Jaś Elsner and Jamie Masters (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 48–63 (53).

[889] Temple robbing– 2 Makkabees records that the high priest Menelaus stole articles from the temple in Jerusalem (4:32); Jews described as thieves, *Ant. Jews* 19. 354; Strabo 16.2.37; Adultery *Ant. Jews* 18.130; Mark 6:17–18; John 8: 1–11.

a divine law and condemns the "certain men." The righteous man is not condemned by such a law, since such a man would be living in accordance with the divine law.[890]

The interpretation offered here also solves the problem of the relationship of the "certain men" who "want to be teachers of the law" to the law as it is referred to in verses 8–11. Stephen Westerholm argues that the opponents in 1 Timothy "are wrong in applying regulations which they derive from the law (the Pastor does not at this point dispute the legitimacy of the derivation) to people whom the law was not meant: 'knowing this, that the law is not laid down for the just man, but for the lawless.'"[891] Central to Westholm's thesis is that the "righteous man" is a Christian and therefore it is inappropriate for the opponents to be applying the Old Testament law to Christians, since the law in his interpretation is "for 'sinners' outside the church of Jesus Christ."[892] He takes the writer to be contrasting the "just man" with "all who oppose the Christian gospel."[893] However, the contrast here is mis-identified. The primary concern as we have identified is that the "certain men" are "teaching the other instruction" in contrast to pastoral Timothy who is instructing under Paul's authority. The contrast is with the "just man," who must be pastoral Timothy (which implies all who hold to Paul's διδασκαλία), and the "certain men," who are ὕβρισται and are falling under the condemnation of the law. The point at issue is the discipline of the "certain men," who belong to the Pauline community, but are behaving in a lawless and rebellious manner.[894] The writer, as we have been discussing, has employed common rhetorical strategies to shame the "certain men," so they do not usurp Paul's authority. As Westerholm says the opponents are "self-styled 'teachers of the law,'" and as we have been arguing, they are seeking to establish their own διδασκαλία outside of Paul's authority. Unlike Westerholm this thesis does not see the myths and endless genealogies as a description of the type of teaching, rather it is a sarcastic allusion to the "certain men's" basis for claiming authority.[895] The writer describes the "certain men" as "wanting to be teachers of the law"

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[890] Spicq, *Saint Paul*, 332; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 377; Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.26; Ovid, *Metam.* 1.89–93, 351–355; Antiphanes, *Frg.*, 288.
[891] Westerholm, "The Law and the 'Just Man' (1 Tim 1,3–11)," 83.
[892] Ibid., 85.
[893] Ibid., 85.
[894] Richard P. Saller, "Pietas, Obligation and Authority in the Roman Family," in *Alte Geschichte Und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ed. Volker Losemann and Peter Kneissl (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1988), 393–410 (408), it was accepted in Roman culture for fathers to discipline verbally their adult sons.
[895] See Betz's comments on Paul's use of sarcasm in Galatians, *Galatians*, 264–265.

as they are teaching the Scriptures outside of pastoral Paul's authority, as if they are Jewish teachers. The use of the term "teachers of the law" is to highlight their divergence from pastoral Paul's gospel. Westerholm's thesis can be refined: the law was not intended for Christians who stay within Paul's διδασκαλία (as "just" people), but for Christians who are "sinners" because they have opted for another διδασκαλία other than pastoral Paul's.[896] The issue, therefore, is not over doctrine or the law, rather the issue at stake here is that of factionalism.[897]

The writer has now established the premise of his case that the certain men are guilty of *hybris*. As will become clear through the example of Paul in the next section of his digression, the "certain men" need not stand condemned by the divine law. From this point the argument shifts dramatically. In a forensic case one would expect the example to provide contributory evidence of the crime or crimes. However, as was identified above, this digression is utilising deliberative rhetoric. Having established the problem facing the community, he now turns in verses 12 to 17 to offer the solution to the problem through the example of Paul. It is the example of Paul which we will now focus on in verses 11–17. We will deal with the example of Timothy in the next chapter.

6.10. Verse 11: Connecting the Law and the Gospel

The phrase κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ μακαρίου θεοῦ (verse 11) is loosely attached to what goes before.[898] This along with the relative clause ὃ ἐπιστεύθην ἐγώ acts as a bridge to the next section.[899] This is another example of the writer's literary technique in which he completes the preceding thought and opens a new one.[900] The writer is not offering a counter-view of the law and denouncing the heretical use of it, rather he is restating the premise of the preceding argument.[901] As was argued in chapter three, "the commandment of God…and of Christ Jesus" was the commandment establishing pastoral Paul as their representative and verse 11 describes the blessed good news with which he was entrusted.

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[896] Cf. Westerholm, "The Law and the 'Just Man' (1 Tim 1,3–11)," 85.
[897] Cf. Sumney, *Servants of Satan, False Brothers and Other Opponents of Paul*, 254–278.
[898] Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 381.
[899] Marshall only sees the relative clause as a bridge, *Pastoral Epistles*, 384.
[900] See the example in Longenecker, "'Linked Like a Chain,'" 110–113.
[901] Cf. Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles,* 382.

This then establishes the background to the example about to be offered. This example is not of pastoral Paul per se rather the example is his relationship with Christ Jesus.

6.11. Verses 12 to 17: Paul's Relationship with Christ as a Model

"I thank Christ Jesus our Lord, who has strengthened me, because He considered me faithful, putting me into service, even though I was formerly a blasphemer and a persecutor and a violent aggressor. Yet I was shown mercy because I acted ignorantly in unbelief" (12–13). Pastoral Paul has found he has been strengthened by Christ (v.12), who has put him into service; that is, commissioned him to be his Apostle. This happened even though he was "formerly a blasphemer and a persecutor and ὑβριστής" (v.13). He has thus provided himself as an example of a ὑβριστής.

Pastoral Paul calls himself "a blasphemer" (βλάσφημον) or one who speaks ill of God or is libellous (LSJ). In discussing the use of this word, Donelson argues that the writer makes a "subtle addition" in order to portray Paul as the "proto-typical converted heretic."[902] Pastoral Paul's former self certainly is being portrayed as an example for the "certain men"; however, there is no need to think that the writer has added anything to the Pauline tradition. Historical Paul's behaviour before his encounter with the risen Lord Jesus could easily be construed as *hybris.* Fisher argued that there was nothing fundamentally religious about the concept.[903] However, Cairns was able to demonstrate that the victim of *hybris* could be a god.[904] In Galatians historical Paul describes himself as persecuting the "church of God beyond measure and tried to destroy it" (1:13). Historical Paul's destructive actions were not just directed at individuals but at God's church. Paul came to see this in his revelation of Jesus Christ (Gal 1: 12).This violence, in effect, was a form of sacrilege and as such an act of *hybris* against God. This is set in the context of Paul's extreme zeal for his ancestral traditions (Gal 1:14). Paul's *hybris* was not just his violence towards Christians, but his presumption that he was honouring his ancestral traditions by his actions. If the tradition in Acts is correct and Paul had planned to take his quest to Damascus, then there is every indication that he believed that he was acting on God's behalf (Acts 9:2; 22:3–5; 26: 12). This could be described as "thinking more than mortal thoughts" or as Cairns describes "thinking big."[905] Xerxes demonstrates a similar kind of "thinking big" in his plan to take Asia and Europe saying, "we will make the borders of Persian territory and of the firmament of heaven be the same" (Herodotus, *Histories* 7.8C.1 [Godley, LCL]). This presumption could be

[902] Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy*, 101.
[903] Fisher, *Hybris*, 2–3, 32, 142–148.
[904] Cairns, "Hybris, Dishonour, and Thinking Big," 17–22; as Fisher would agree, *Hybris*, 148.
[905] Cairns, "Hybris, Dishonour, and Thinking Big," 17.

described as "'thinking big' liable to attract divine [(φθόνος) 'indignation'] (7.10e) and as *hybris* (7.16a.2)." [906]

In the Septuagint βλάσφημος is used of those who ignore God's law; that is, they are lawless (Esaias 13:11), and of those who act violently against God's people (2 Makk 9:28). It is also used of those who act as if they were divine; in their presumption they act without regard to God's law.[907] Even God's own people can be blinded in their prosperity. They can act with *hybris* and blasphemy against the Lord as is seen in *Psalms of Salomon*, Psalm 1. The 'I' of the hymn is Mother Zion, lamenting the sins done in secret that have resulted in an attack by sinners (vv. 1 & 7).[908] The people of Zion presumed they were righteous because of their prosperity (vv. 2–3). They believed "they were exalted to the stars; they said they could not fall" (v.5), and in this they had committed an act of *hybris*, "But they became insolent (ἐξύβρισαν) in their prosperity" (v.6). Although they thought they were righteous "their acts lawlessness (αἱ ἀνομίαι αὐτῶν) surpassed those of the nations before them; they profaned (ἐβεβήλωσαν) with profanity (ἐν βεβηλώσει) the sanctuary of the Lord" (v.8). This recognition that the people of God could profane God's sanctuary provides a blueprint behind the description of pastoral Paul as a blasphemer. Historical Paul had believed he was acting in righteous zeal but to his shame he found that he had acted in presumption, with violence and *hybris* towards God's people. This in itself was an act of *hybris* towards God. This connects historical Paul with Pastoral Paul since both had presumed to act on God's behalf. So too the "certain men" in their zeal believe they are acting in righteousness, but instead they are acting with presumption outside the command of God. This is an act of *hybris* on their part and as such makes them blasphemers. Indeed, their usurpation of pastoral Paul's authority is blasphemous as Sirach implies, "Like a blasphemer is the one who neglects a father" (3:16).

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[906] Ibid., 18.

[907] See the confession of Antiochus to presumption and arrogance (2 Makkabees 9: 5–12); the description of the blasphemers in 2 Makkabees 10: 4, 36 should be seen in this context.

[908] Rodney A. Werline, "The Formation of the Pious Person in the Psalms of Solomon," in *The Psalms of Solomon: Language, History, Theology*, ed. Eberhard Bons & Patrick Pouchelle, Early Judaism and Its Literature (Atlanta, Georgia: SBL Press, 2015), 133–154; *Psalms of Solomon,* 1:6–8, sins done in secret whether words or deeds are blasphemous.

The word "pursuer" (διώκτης) though rare has no pejorative meaning. Most scholars understand this to be an allusion to Paul's pursuit of Christians to Damascus.[909] While this is most likely so, Paul is operating as an example of a ὑβριστής. He was pursuing the Christians to fulfil his own sense of piety and honour (Acts 26:4–5, 9; Phil 3:6). This suggestion relies on a shared tradition between the writers of 1 Timothy and Acts. The ὑβριστής, as we have discussed above, pursues his own honour at the expense of the other's honour. In Greek literature, Sophocles' Ajax pursues his own honour in an excessive manner, while breaching the "heroic code."[910] Anyone conversant with historical Paul's testimony would be aware of the description of himself as an excessively zealous Jew (Gal 1:13; Phil 3:6; Acts 26: 4–5).[911]

Lastly, pastoral Paul describes himself as a ὑβριστής. Historical Paul, confident that he was pursuing the Christians as an expression of piety, was ignorant of the harm he was doing to the very God he thought he was serving (Gal 1:13; Acts 8:1; 9:1–2; 22:3–10). In Acts, Paul in his *hybris* had a literal fall (Acts 9:4; 26:14). It was only then that his eyes were opened to the awful truth that in his excessive zeal, he was guilty of what could be described as *hybris* (Acts 22:6–11; 26:13–15). In the same way the "certain men" are zealously pursuing what they believe will secure them the authority to be "teachers of the law." They are blind to the fact that in their pursuit, and they are guilty of breaking the very law they are seeking to instruct from. Pastoral Paul's concern at this point is to open their eyes to the truth that they are over-zealous pursuers of their own honour (wanting to be teachers of the law) and are guilty of *hybris*.[912] Pastoral Paul, therefore, sums up his character in its violent and excessive behaviour as a ὑβριστής. In this he reflects the character of the "certain men": they are blasphemers in that they claim too much for themselves, they are pursuers of their own

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[909] Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 391; Dibelius and Conzelmann, *Pastoral Epistles*, 28.

[910] Cairns, *Aidōs*, 228–229.

[911] Excessively zealous: Galatians 1:13, Betz, *Galatians*, 67–69; Philippians 3:6, Peter T. O'Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1991), 376–381.

[912] Paul refers to the light before him (Acts 22:6; 26:13) and to the revelation by God (Gal 1:15–16); in confession inscriptions (2nd–3rd C, Phrygia and Lydia) enlightenment of one's sins comes from god: See discussion on Petzel 1994, 7–11 no.5 lines 2–7 in Eckhard Schnabel, "Divine Tyranny and Public Humiliation: A Suggestion for the Interpretation of the Lydian and Phrygian Confession Inscriptions," *NovT* 45 (2003): 160–188 (176–177); the self- proclaimed quest for honour was a significant feature in the language of benefaction in Greaco-Roman society, see the discussion on Kleanax's "love of honour" (φιλοτιμία, ll. 5,10 &15, J. and L. Robert, BE 1983, no 323) in the Chapter 1; the motivation would seem to rest on the reciprocation of gratitude, which is only fitting to "one who is the benefactor and provider of all education" (τῶι ὡς ἀληθῶς εὐεργέτηι καὶ πάσης π[α]ιδείας κοσμητῆι ὄντι, Plotina Augusta writing in 121 CE., Athens, SIG^3 834) in Harrison, *Paul's Language of Grace*, 48, and for a discussion on loving honour, 40–43.

piety and honour at the expense of others, and they overstep the bounds of what is honourable, pious, and lawful.

6.12. Arousing Emotions in the Audience: Motivating the Readers of 1 Timothy

The letter writer's description of pastoral Paul as "a blasphemer and a pursuer and a ὑβριστής" brings to a climax the picture that has been building since 1 Timothy 1: 6. 1 Timothy 1 verses 12 to 13 are emotionally charged. They draw in the reader to feel what pastoral Paul felt in receiving mercy. The object of rhetoric was to elicit certain emotions in the audience, which would lead to the decisions that the orator desired. In verses 6 –11, the writer has avoided calling the "certain men" blasphemers, pursers of excess, and ὕβρισται, rather he has built through repetition and other rhetorical devices a readily discernible picture. This is designed to elicit a certain emotional response in the audience. Ed Sanders describes how this tactic was used in forensic oratory,

> It is notable that Aristotle…does not tell an orator to call for emotions, but rather to show the audience that certain situations exist so these emotions will arise naturally– for example, he says a speech might need to prepare the audience to be disposed to be angry.[913]

In 1 Timothy the emotion which the writer hopes to elicit from his audience is gratitude (χάρις) to Christ Jesus in the same way as pastoral Paul is thankful (1 Tim 1:12).[914] The salient thing in this passage is Paul's example of his former self. And this epitomises the state of the "certain men." This is not a picture of first time conversion from paganism to belief in Christ, but the picture of one who was in the community of God but sinned through *hybris*.[915] The allusions to activities of the "certain men" in verses 6–8, the movement of the argument from the lesser to the greater in verses 9–11, culminates in Paul's example in verse 16. The term ὑβριστής in verse 13 is strategically placed at the end of the three word example, the purpose of which is to disclose to the minds of the "certain men" their own state: they are

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[913] Ed Sanders, "'He is a liar, a bounder, and a cad': Arousal of Hostile Emotions in Attic Forensic Oratory," in *Unveiling Emotions*, 359–387 (362).

[914] Χάριν and εὐχαριστία were expressions of thanks frequently found in honorary inscriptions in the Imperial period, H.S. Versnel, "Religious Mentality in Ancient Prayer," in *Faith, Hope and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World*, ed. H.S. Versnel (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 1–64 (47); although εὐχαριστέω could be used in confession inscriptions (εὐχαρτιστῶν τῷ θεῷ "giving thanks to the god" (BWK 106 209 CE), A. Chaniotis, *EBGR* 2007, no 66, p.300; "ηὐχαρίστησεν" *IGUR* I 148. 9,13–14,18: thanks to Asklepios, Rome 3rd C. CE), it could be used in response to mercy (ἐλέου) (*SEG* 57 1186. 9–10); (ἠλέησες) 53 1344.8). Paul is thankful (Εὐχαριστῶ) to God (1 Cor 1:4), but he could also be thankful for other believers (Rom 1:8; Eph 1:16; Phil 1:3; Phlm 4).

[915] Cf. Dibelius and Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 27–28.

ὕβρισται. However, the writer does not call the men ὕβρισται, rather he leaves them to make that conclusion. He expects that this identification will elicit the same emotions as Paul had on the Damascus Road. These emotions are not expressed, but are the implicit in pastoral Paul's gratitude to Christ's mercy.[916]

The emotions that the writer hopes to elicit in his audience can be deduced from the emotional responses directed at those who have found themselves to be a ὑβριστής. Athena, commenting to Telemachus, describes the suitors as those, "with such outrage (ὑβρίζοντες) and overweening do they seem to me to be feasting in thy halls. Angered would a man be at seeing all these shameful (αἴσχεα) acts" (*Odyssey* 1. 227–229 [trans. Murray, LCL]). Those who engage in *hybris* are lawless and shameless (ἀναισχυντία) (Dem. *1–2 Aristog*. 25.9). In this oration, ἄιδος is related semantically and conceptually to other terms which describe shame or disgrace: αἶσχος "shame" or "disgrace," νέμεσις "righteous anger" or "indignation," and ἀεικής "unseemly, shameful" (LSJ).[917]

In considering emotions of another culture, one must be careful. In the past it was fashionable to describe western, English speaking culture as a "guilt culture" and ancient Greek culture as a "shame culture." However, as Douglas Cairns demonstrates in his *Aidōs: The Psychology and Ethics of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greek Culture* such hard distinctions are not sustainable in light of the evidence.[918] It is more a matter of degrees,

> This is not to say that there are not significant differences between our society and that of ancient Greece which may be usefully explained in terms of tendencies to emphasize shame rather than guilt. Shame, for example, does belong with a considerable expressed emphasis on the good of reputation, on one's public persona, on one's peers as a major source of moral authority.[919]

Furthermore, in a study of a text from the first century, one must also be alert to the differences between the culture of ancient Greece and the Greek east in the Roman Empire. Angelos Chaniotis, in discussing the study of emotions in the epigraphical and papyrological

[916] Praise for God's mercy Rom 15:8–12; 11:30–36.
[917] Cairns, *Aidōs*, 51–64; ἀεικέλιος poetic form of ἀεικής (LSJ).
[918] Ibid., 27–47.
[919] Ibid., 44.

record, notes the neglect of this study in relation to the study of emotions in literature.[920] It will be important to consider the expression of such emotions in the record, such as we have it, in considering the emotional response that the writer of 1 Timothy hopes to engender in his audience with his rhetorical strategy.

It is proposed here that the writer hopes to arouse in his audience the emotions of shame, guilt, and fear. In bringing these emotions to the surface he then hopes to resolve them by offering Paul's example as a solution, so that they will, with pastoral Paul, be grateful and rejoice.

6.13. Shame, Guilt, and Fear

We have already noted that the suiters in the Odyssey are shameless and in their *hybris* they dishonour Telemachus. Cairns discusses the other side of the coin,

> the suitors' 'uglinesses' and their *hubris* further suggest that these deficiencies entail breaches of *aidōs*. It is…obvious that *aidōs* is felt, when active, to prevent breaches of the co-operative virtues and that the suitors are without such *aidōs* – they are described as *anaideis* throughout the poem; but the important point here is that lack of *aidōs* in the co-operative sphere can be seen as the perpetration of *aischea*, deeds disgraceful for their agent, which suggests that such conduct may be *aischron* for its agent.[921]

The dishonour done to others due to *hybris* is an important feature of this kind of social discourse. In relation to 1 Timothy, we must be alive to the emotional undercurrent that is generated by the dishonouring of pastoral Paul.[922] Rejecting pastoral Paul's authority for the authority of another is a move that would be viewed as being dishonourable. Onlookers to this situation would be aware of the shame brought upon pastoral Paul by the rejection of his authority.[923] That pastoral Paul does not express this outright is an indication of depth of

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[920] Angelos Chaniotis, "Introduction," in *Unveiling Emotions: Sources and Methods for the Study of Emotions in the Greek World*, ed. Angelos Chaniotis (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012), 11–36.
[921] Cairns, *Aidōs*, 56–57.
[922] ibid., 21–26.
[923] Dio Chrysostom says that failure to honour a benefactor resulted in shame (αἰσχύνη) and was akin to impiety (ἀσέβεια) toward the gods (*Or*. 31. 57, 65, 80–81, 153–154,). For the honour paid to benefactors in Imperial Greek cities see Philip A. Harland, "The Declining Polis? Religious Rivalries in Ancient Civic Context," in *Religious Rivalries in the Early Roman Empire and the Rise of Christianity*, ed. Lief E. Vaage, Studies in Christianity and Judaism (Canada: Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion, 2006), 21–50; Cairns describes

dishonour that is being perpetrated against him. The arousal of shame in this context should elicit a response that recovers the dishonoured person's honour and leads to a return to a cooperative relationship.[924] The function of shame is that it allows the members of one's cooperative unit to be honoured while also possessing and keeping honour for oneself. Sophocles' Ajax is an example of a man, who feels disgraced by his companions (*Ajax* 41; 301–304). In an effort to regain his honour he oversteps the bounds, disgracing his friends (φιλοῖ) and perpetrating *hybris*.[925] In his *hybris* he acts in a shameful manner, torturing and killing sheep, which he believed in a delusional state to be his friends (*Ajax* 394–409). In the morning he awakens to his shameful condition. While not admitting that he has committed *hybris*, nevertheless, he acutely feels his own dishonour (*Ajax* 440).[926] As he contemplates the future in this state,

> his thoughts return to his father, who is the very focus of his *aidōs*; he is determined to show his father that he is not unworthy of his birth or his inherited nature (470–2), and he manifests a typical *aidōs*–reaction in his inability to contemplate facing his father without some proof of his success at Troy (462–6).[927]

This typical reaction to ἄιδος (*aidōs*) appears to be the reaction that the writer of 1 Timothy hopes to engender in the "certain men." Ἄιδος is "an inhibitory emotion based on sensitivity to and protectiveness of one's self-image," while the verb conveys "a recognition that one's self-image is vulnerable" and could be glossed "I am abashed."[928] It is suggested here that the "certain men" are to become aware of a sense of "abashment" or shame in their *hybris* and alive to the dishonour they have done to Paul. Not only are they to feel shame, but in the context of the deliberative discourse, they, like Ajax, are to reflect on the future in a continued state of shame.

6.14. The Predicament of the "certain men"

We discussed earlier that the *hybris* of the "certain men" was not just directed at pastoral Paul but also at God and Christ Jesus. The rejection of pastoral Paul's authority is in turn a

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the inner struggle in Achilles between asserting his own honour and respect for his superior Agamemnon, *Aidōs*, 100.

[924] Shame acts as an inhibitor of aggressive assertion of honour and preserves the honour of one's friends (φιλοῖ), Cairns, *Aidōs*, 50–68; 98–103.

[925] Ibid., 228–241.

[926] Ibid., 230.

[927] Ibid., 231.

[928] Ibid., 2.

rejection of those who sent him as their apostle.[929] To reject a king's representative was the height of disgrace.[930] The king normally responded with anger and retaliation (Arist. *Rhet.* 2.2.7). Similarly, devotees of the gods were often anxious about disgracing their god or gods. Any disgrace or dishonour would engender anger on the part of the deity and result in punishment. This kind of anxiety was prevalent in Asia Minor in the imperial period.[931] It is perhaps best illustrated by what are known as the "confession inscriptions" or as Alsak Rostad describes them "reconciliation inscription[s]."[932] These inscriptions, which are dated from the early second century and mostly found in Phrygia and Lydia, were set up by the repentant after they had been punished by their god for ignorantly performing a misdemeanour, wilful violation, or neglect of sacred obligations or commands. The narratives of these confessions often contain stories of divine punishment. For instance,

> Great is Zeus of the Twin Oaks. Because I, Athenaios, was punished by the god because of a transgression of ignorance, I was, when I had received many punishments, demanded in a dream to give a stele and I wrote down the powers of the god. Conveying my thanks (εὐχαριστῶν) I wrote this down on a stele in the year 348, on the 18th of the month Au(d)naios (BWK 11).[933]

In this inscription, Athenaios ignorantly transgressed in some way and because of this he was punished. However, punishments by the gods were often for specific wrong doing (ἁμαρτία, ἁμάρτηα), which could be inflicted on the sinner or their family. These could involve ailments to the eyes, breasts, legs, buttocks and disrupted speech; other calamities include becoming deranged, insane, and unconscious. Sometimes the punishment was catastrophic,

> Great is Men Labanas and Men Petraeites. Because Apollonios, living in the house of the god – he was instructed by the god – was disobedient, he (i.e. the god) killed his

[929] Fisher, *Hybris*, 88; Xenophon, *Anabasis* 3.1.29; also consider the rejection of David's ambassadors, 2 Samuel 10.

[930] Polybius, *Histories* 1.6.5; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 14.107.

[931] Angelos Chaniotis, "Constructing the Fear of the Gods: Epigraphic Evidence from Sanctuaries of Greece and Asia Minor," in *Unveiling Emotions*, 205–234; Aslak Rostad, "Confession or Reconciliation? The Narrative Structure of the Lydian and Phrygian 'Confession Inscriptions,'" *Symbolae Osloenses: Norwegian Journal of Greek and Latin Studies* 77 (2002), 145–164; Schnabel, "Divine Tyranny and Public Humiliation," 160–188; Beate Dignas argues that there was a continuity of cults, belief and practice between rural and urban dwellers, "Urban Centres, Rural Centres, Religious Centres in the Greek East. Worlds Apart?," in *Religion Und Region: GöTter Und Kulte Aus Dem ÖStlichen Mittelmeerraum*, eds. Elmar Schwertheim and Engelbert Winter, Asia Minor Studien, 45 (Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 2003), 77–91.

[932] "Confession or Reconciliation?," 147.

[933] Translated by Rostad, "Confession or Reconciliation?," 152.

> son Iulius and Markia, his granddaughter, and he (i.e. Apollonios) wrote down the powers of the gods on a stele, and from now on I give you praise (BWK 37).[934]

This inscription is of interest to us for a number of reasons. Apollonios was living in "the house of god" and he was "instructed" or "commanded" "by god," but he was disobedient it would seem to the instruction. The punishment for this disobedience was the death of his son and granddaughter. Rostad argues that the motivation for erection of such inscriptions was the declaration of reconciliation with the god(s).[935] This reconciliation elicits from Apollonios continued praise to the gods as well as a public recognition of their power. This inscription illustrates the very real fear that ordinary citizens had about the power of their gods to punish them.[936]

In the case of the "certain men" of 1 Timothy, they stand accused of disobedience to God's command, insulting God himself and blasphemy. Perjury is listed verses 9–11. We discussed the possibility that this included breaking an oath to God or acting towards God in a lawless manner. Perjury could be punished by the gods in whose name the oath was taken. This punishment was often inflicted not only upon the perjurer, but also on his or her family and household.[937] The writer of 1 Timothy has indicated the "certain men" are guilty of a serious crime against God. It could be assumed that the response of God would be anger and the infliction of punishment against these lawless men, who have insulted his apostle and disobeyed his commands. The emotional response would naturally to be to fear the coming punishment.[938] Chaniotis sums up his article on fear and divine punishment saying,

> The fear of god is a constitutive element of religiosity in the Greek and Hellenised world, since popular religion can be understood as belief in the presence and power of (a) god, a belief that was based on experience and was both expressed and enhanced through rituals…The experience that supported the belief in god(s) was often an emotional one– including that of fear.[939]

The "certain men" are not alone in their experience. As we have already noted, pastoral Paul serves as model for their experience. Paul too had found that he was guilty of blasphemy,

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[934] Translated by Rostad, "Confession or Reconciliation?," 156.
[935] Ibid., 160–163.
[936] Schnabel, "Divine Tyranny and Public Humiliation," 173–178.
[937] Rostad, "Confession or Reconciliation?," 161.
[938] Chaniotis, "Constructing the Fear of the Gods," 215–223.
[939] Ibid., 227.

excess, and *hybris* towards God. He too stood in their shoes. However, in this letter the usual "confession formula" is inverted. Pastoral Paul begins by thanking Christ Jesus. The thanks in a confession inscription normally came after the narration.[940] Here pastoral Paul "thanks" Christ Jesus. In the "confession inscriptions" the thanks is normally conveyed by the word εὐλογεῖν "to praise" or "to celebrate" (LSJ), where as here in 1 Timothy pastoral Paul "gives thanks" (χάριν). [941] There appears to be a rethinking of the expected formulation by the writer.[942] There is no description of punishment in this narration. Pastoral Paul was shown "mercy" instead of punishment. He believes this mercy was "because I acted ignorantly in unbelief; and the grace of our Lord was more than abundant, with the faith and love which are *found* in Christ Jesus" (vv13–14). Yet we have seen that in the "confession inscriptions" sins done in ignorance were not overlooked and still resulted in punishment from the god. For Paul mercy was found in the abundant grace of Christ Jesus. Verses 13 and 14 play the same role in declaring the power of the god(s) in the "confession inscriptions."[943] All these verses act as a declaration of the reconciliation that Paul experienced in his relationship with God. He had committed *hybris* toward God, but he found he was "with the faith and love which are…in Christ Jesus" (v 15). It is a rare thing among the confession inscriptions to find the god extending mercy; one instance is "I [i.e. Men Artemidorou?) am merciful, because my stele gets set up the very day I have fixed" (Petzl No 5, ll. 23–24, Lydia 3rd C. CE).[944] In this and the majority of confession inscriptions, the supplicant has normally made some propitiation to the gods before receiving relief from the god(s). In Acts, Paul suffers from blindness, but makes no propitiation for his sin.[945] Instead, in terms of 1 Timothy, Christ takes him into his service.

Pastoral Paul describes himself as entering into the διακονία (1 Tim 1:12). As we have already discussed, the over-arching metaphor in relation to Paul's apostleship in this letter is the royal household of God. It is not unusual to find devotees of a god or gods describing

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[940] Schnabel, "Divine Tyranny and Public Humiliation," 161, "The basic structure of these texts is well known: transgression–punishment–confession–expiation–divine order to erect a stele."
[941] Ibid., 177,
[942] Ibid., 178–188. The confession inscriptions date from the second century CE, which overlaps the time period for the composition of 1 Timothy. Schnabel argues cogently that practice of erecting confession stelae was a polemical response to Christian missionary activity. He suggests that the inscriptions reflect the practices and religious ideology that predates the vogue for inscribing confessions.
[943] Ibid., 161.
[944] Translation, ibid., 167.
[945] Blindness as a punishment, Petzl No 5, ll. 19–21; for commentary see Schnabel, "Divine Tyranny and Public Humiliation" 165–169 and Chaniotis, "Constructing the Fear of the Gods," 219–220.

themselves as the slave or servant of god.[946] In Ephesians 6:6 the believers are described as "slaves of Christ" (δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ). But here in 1 Timothy, the writer selects a similar word to describe the type of service he has entered into, but eschews the terminology of the cults (θεραπευτής, Ὑπουργός, Λάτρις, Ὑπηρέτης-Δοῦλος).[947] Διακονία "service" (LSJ) can be used in terms of household staff (Thuc. 1.133). In Plato's *Republic*, men act in service as a retailer for a tradesman in the marketplace, "there are after all those who see this and set themselves up to provide this service (τὴν διακονίαν). In properly run states they are generally those who are physically the weakest and are of no use at doing any other work" (2.371c [Emlyn-Jones and Preddy, LCL]). Aeschines argues that there is no distinction between those elected to office (ἀρχή) and those in service (διακονία) or "employment under special enactment" (*Against Ctesiphon* 3.13 [Adams, LCL]). Some might see a distinction, which is why Aeschines needs to argue his point, but the relevant point for us is that to be "in service" was to be in the employ of someone either paid or as a slave. This close association with the slave terminology of the cults has its reverberations. The essential thing is that pastoral Paul was shown mercy, and not only was he excused of his sin without punishment, but extraordinarily he was put into service of the very God he had insulted through insolence. Pastoral Paul had much to be thankful.

6.15. Verses 15 –17: Hymning Salvation

> It is a trustworthy statement, deserving full acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, among whom I am foremost of all. Yet for this reason I found mercy, so that in me as the foremost, Jesus Christ might demonstrate His perfect patience as an example for those who would believe in Him for eternal life. Now to the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only God, be honor and glory forever and ever. Amen (1 Tim 1:15–17).

These verses act as a conclusion to the argument that has gone before. Here there are three elements that were identified as belonging to educational texts in chapter 5: a *gnome*, an example, and a hymn.

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[946] H.W. Pleket, "Religious History as the History of Mentality: The 'Believer' as Servant of the Deity in the Greek World," in *Faith, Hope and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World*, ed. H. S. Versnel (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 152–192.
[947] Ibid., 159–170.

In Pseudo-Plutarch's *The Education of Children* it is παιδεία that preserves a young man from vice and excess. As we have already noted in 1 Timothy, it is not παιδεία that perseveres a young man from vice and excess. It becomes evident in pastoral Paul's recount of his encounter with Christ Jesus that it is Christ who rescued him from the midst of his sin and excess. It is therefore not *paideia* that is hymned here in verse 17 but God the king. In the Hellenistic world kings saved by rescuing cities from enemy attack.[948] In Asia Minor Augustus was styled as the saviour of the republic by defeating Mark Antony and Cleopatra.[949] Here, however, pastoral Paul is talking about his salvation from God's judgement on his sin as a man of *hybris*. It is somewhat ambiguous to whom the writer is alluding to with the title "king." Is he referring immediately back to Christ Jesus or to "God our saviour" in the salutation? Nevertheless, the crucial dynamic being played out here is that Christ Jesus or God (or both) was able to save a sinner like Paul from his *hybris*.

6.15.1. A Gnome

The gnome that emerges from this should be treated as the relational lynch pin in the writer's thought. Stephen Llewelyn, in his article on "faithful words," makes the point that "the word spoken by a deity is not so much termed 'faithful' as is that spoken for him/her by others."[950] The faithful words are then pastoral Paul's words "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners." This may seem obvious, but it provides an insight into the dynamics of the relationship between pastoral Paul, Timothy, and the "certain men." There are two key elements at work here that draw the twin concerns of this letter together.

First, pastoral Paul is giving a faithful word as a representative of God and Christ Jesus. In the inscription Llewelyn uses to illustrate this, Gaurus "obtained the prophets' faithful words (πιστοὺς λόγους) and inscribed the victory of Caesar and the contests of the gods" (*SEG* 37 1012, 1987).[951] In this inscription, found at the site of an oracle at Akçapınar, Gaurus describes the prophets' words as faithful or true and then expands on these true words – the victory of Caesar (Julius or Augustus?) and the activities of the gods. It demonstrates that the

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[948] Angelos Chaniotis, "The Divinity of the Hellenistic Rulers," in *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*, ed. Andrew Erskine (USA, UK & Australia: John Wiley & Sons, 2009), 431–445 (433, 436).
[949] V. Ehrenberg and A.H. M. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus & Tiberius* (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1976), no. 98, ll. 35–37, p. 81–84; J. R. Harrison, "Saviour of the People," in Llewelyn, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, 9.2:4–5.
[950] "Faithful Words," in Llewelyn, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, 9.5:9–14.
[951] Translated by Llewelyn, ibid.

prophet is operating as an intermediatory between the divine world of the gods and the human realm. In our example, pastoral Paul as the representative of the divine gives a true word about the activity of the divine. This true word is that Christ Jesus will save sinners, or as we have been arguing men of *hybris*. Although, these "certain men" would normally be expected to be punished by the god for this *hybris*, the true word from Christ Jesus' representative is that they can be saved from this punishment. This true word is backed up by the example of pastoral Paul, who was once among the "certain men" of *hybris*. Indeed, pastoral Paul describes himself as the "foremost of all sinners."

The second element is the educational aspect. Teresa Morgan describes a gnomic saying as a quotation by a famous figure and says that they were distinguished from anonymous proverbs or maxims.[952] Gnomic sayings were an important element in rhetorical training. Hermogenes of Tarsus in his *Progymnasmata* describes a *gnome* as

> a summary statement, in universal terms, dissuading or exhorting in regard to something, or making clear what a particular thing is. Dissuading, as in the following (*Il*. 2.24): 'A man who is a counsellor should not sleep throughout the night'; exhorting, as in the following (Theognis 175): 'One fleeing poverty, Cyrnus, must throw himself/ Into the yawning sea and down steep crags.' Or it does neither of these things but explains the nature of something; for example (Demosthenes 1.23): 'Undeserved success is for the unintelligent the beginning of thinking badly.'[953]

Morgan goes on to say that "the function of a gnome is explicitly ethical: it is useful; it tells you something about the nature of the world, or about what to do or not to do."[954] *Gnomai* (γνῶμαι) were to be found in classical authors such as Euripides or Menander, but in our example pastoral Paul himself is providing a quotation, not an unusual thing for a leader to do.[955] The *gnome* was to be "taken seriously, heard, read, marked, learned and inwardly digested, and then put to use."[956] The gnome here in 1 Timothy describes the nature of things in relation to Christ Jesus. His purpose in coming into the world was to save people just like Paul and the "certain men." As we have described above, this is powerfully persuasive and acts as a conclusion to the argument built up from verse 5. But more than

[952] Morgan, *Popular Morality in the Early Roman Empire*, 84.
[953] Ibid., 85.
[954] Ibid.
[955] The chorus describes Menelaus' speech about Ajax's *hybris* as "wise maxims" in Sophocles' *Ajax* 1091, Cairns, *Aidōs*, 235–237.
[956] Morgan, *Popular Morality in the Early Roman Empire*, 86.

this its place in the education of the "certain men" is to be the beginning point of their διδασκαλία: "It is to be learned and inwardly digested and put to use." This saying is the summary of pastoral Paul's διδασκαλία and it is the healthy διδασκαλία (1 Tim 1:10) that heals the "certain men" of their *hybris*.[957] It is also the beginning point of the instructions that follow on from chapter 2:1.

6.15.2. The Example

The writer goes on to state explicitly that the relationship between pastoral Paul and Christ Jesus is an example in 1 Timothy 1: 16. The example is another feature of the educational texts that were surveyed in chapter 5. Paul describes Christ Jesus' patience with him πρὸς ὑποτύπωσιν "as an example." A ὑποτύπωσις was a sketch or an outline (LSJ) often for a written work. Galen uses it to describe a draft for a book (Gal. *In Hipp. Acut. Comment*. 15.760) and this is the most likely meaning of the word here.[958] As pastoral Paul was the "foremost of all [sinners]" (v. 15), he also becomes the foremost to be saved, "so that in me as the foremost" (ἵνα ἐν ἐμοὶ πρώτῳ). Pastoral Paul becomes an example because he is the forerunner of those who are to experience Christ Jesus' patience.[959] As was discussed earlier, the prime function of the example in deliberative rhetoric was to show a picture of the future. And indeed this is just as the writer describes in pastoral Paul's example– it results in a demonstration of Christ Jesus' "perfect patience" (1 Tim 1:16).

So while the gnome gives the nature of Christ's activity in the world, pastoral Paul's example demonstrates how it is enacted in the lives of other sinners like himself. In other words, it demonstrates to the "certain men" that they can be saved from their *hybris* against God. What the "certain men" will be saved into is "eternal life" (εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον) (1 Tim 1:16). This is the goal of the belief and reiterates the goal of verse 5, just in different terms. This eternal life may be thought of as present (1 Tim 4:8a) or in the future (1 Tim 4:8b; 6:19), but Marshall says that these references are ambiguous.[960] However, as we discussed in the last

[957] For a discussion on medical imagery in the Pastoral Epistles see Abraham J. Malherbe, *Paul and the Popular Philosophers* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 121–136; Fiore, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 44; cf. Dibelius and Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 24–25.
[958] Cf. E. Kenneth Lee, "Words Denoting 'Pattern' in the New Testament," *NTS* 8 (1962): 166–173.
[959] Dibelius and Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 30; Quinn and Wacker, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy*, 135, "the en of 'in me first' has an instrument and even exemplary sense" (referring to Moule, *Idiom*, 70).
[960] Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 403.

chapter, the goal (τὸ τέλος) of verse 5 was the end that was aimed at but its beginning is in the present for the student– "they [teachers] prove that the various means are each good by first defining the End (τὸ τέλος)" (Aristotle, *Eudemian Ethics* 1218b.19 [Rackham, LCL]). The eternal life, therefore, is not just a temporal thing (an eschatological hope), but present in the development of the Christian virtues of verse 5 "love from a pure heart and a good conscience and a sincere faith." Eternal life is a life of quality that reflects the desires of all involved, pastoral Paul, pastoral Timothy, and the "certain men." This reflects similar thinking in the gospel of John (3:15; 17:3) and in Romans, "But now having been freed from sin and enslaved to God, you derive your benefit, resulting in sanctification, and the outcome, eternal life (τὸ δὲ τέλος ζωὴν αἰώνιον)" (6:22).

The virtues listed in verse 5 are available even to those who sin against God within the Christian community. Some scholars understand the writer to be a Pauline exclusivist and that the image of him as the forerunner makes him the embodiment of the gospel.[961] In some ways this is true. However, the writer would be an exclusivist only if the sinners described were all those without salvation, but as we have been arguing the sinners are those within the community. Pastoral Paul is the forerunner of those within God's community who are of the type of the "certain men." At this point scholars tend to confuse categories, as does Marshall, "the gospel Paul has preached (vv. 11, 15) and experienced (vv. 13f., 16) will do for others what it did for him; heretics too, if they acknowledge their ignorance."[962] Marshall, like others, clumps sinners who are outside the community in with those who are inside the community.[963] But this misses the point of the writer's purpose in persuading the "certain men" to follow pastoral Paul's example, receive Christ's offer of patience, and return to Paul's διδασκαλία. The message is exclusivist in that it is aimed at those within the Pauline community.

6.16. Similar Examples of Factional Strife in the New Testament

The writer of 1 Timothy is not the only writer to be faced with dealing with the problem of sin and factional strife within the community of believers. The first letter of John deals with a similar issue (1 John 1: 6–10). The writer stresses the relational aspect of walking in the light.

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[961] Ibid., 403.
[962] Ibid., 404.
[963] Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 139, 148–151; Kelly, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 54–55.

He also offers a path out of relational strife through confession and forgiveness. As we saw in the confession inscriptions, the act of confessing was an expression of reconciliation between the confessor and the deity. But here it is formulated between community members. While in the confession inscriptions atonement was through punishment by the god, the writer of 1 John asks the community members to forgive (1:9). This reflects a similar approach in 1 Timothy where Christ offers his "perfect patience" to sinners. This dovetails into pastoral Paul's example as one who also acknowledged his sin and accepted the forgiveness of Christ. It is also at the heart of historical Paul's doctrine of justification. In his argument from Scripture in Romans 4, Paul quotes David, "Blessed are those whose lawless deeds have been forgiven, And whose sins have been covered. Blessed is the man whose sin the Lord will not take into account" (Rom 4: 7–8). We can see this principle at work in the reconciliation between Paul and the "certain man" in the second epistle to the Corinthians, "But one whom you forgive anything, I forgive also; for indeed what I have forgiven, if I have forgiven anything, I did it for your sakes in the presence of Christ" (2 Cor 2:10). The reconciliation between members of a Christian community was important if their communities were to survive and the gospel preached. The factional strife that is so inherent in tight knit communities needed to be addressed.

6.17. The "certain men" of 1 Timothy: Young Men of Excess and Factional Strife

The issue at hand here in 1 Timothy is dealing with another instruction other than the instruction of those authorised to give it. To call the "certain men" "heretics" and their instruction "heresy" is to misidentify the heart the problem behind 1 Timothy.[964] The actual "other instruction" for the writer is of secondary concern to him. It is a symptom of the character of the "certain men," who are usurping the rightful instruction and running off into excess. As others have identified, the instruction described in chapter 4: 1–4 is by nature ascetic.[965] It is not that their instruction is quantitatively different from pastoral Paul's instruction, but that they are taking it to an extreme. As we saw in the previous discussion it was not only vice that young men were prone to but also excess of what was good.

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[964] Eg. Dibelius and Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 12, "heresy," 15, 65, 66; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 371–372, 530–535.

[965] Gail C. Streete, "Askesis and Resistance in the Pastoral Epistles," in *Asceticism and the New Testament*, eds. Vincent L. Wimbush and Leif E. Vaage (New York: Routledge, 1999), 299–316; other proposals have been made Richard Clark Kroeger and Catherine Clark Kroeger, *I Suffer Not a Woman: Rethinking 1 Timothy 2:11–15 in Light of Ancient Evidence* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992), 79–98.

However, excess could be seen as a virtue since it was a virtue to exceed the virtues of one's ancestors. For instance, Conon was honoured by his city,

> being a virtuous man and an ornament of our city, who all ancestral honour did excel (ὑπερβάλὼν) by his own zeal (σ[πουδῇ]) for the city (*SEG* 37 (1987) 1210.8–13).[966]

As Harrison describes "the language of excess (ὑπερβάλλειν) typified the description of benefactors in honorific inscriptions. Benefactors 'excelled' in a range of virtues: eg. good will…, benevolence…, courage…, love of glory… and honour.., greatness of mind… and moderation…. Significantly, in this inscription Conon as a benefactor is said to have eclipsed the honour of his ancestors."[967] This illustrates the pursuit for honour within the social world of the readers of 1 Timothy. The description of the activities of the other instruction "men who forbid marriage and advocate abstaining from foods" (4:3) reveals a zealousness that outstrips even historical Paul.[968] And this is indeed the point. This generation of potential young leaders wish to surpass Paul in this zeal for God, not realising that in doing so they are falling into the same sin as Paul.

The excessive zeal of the "certain men" has not led to the honour they had hoped for, but instead created a fractional dispute between themselves and those who saw themselves as "Timothys" and holding to the traditional instruction of Paul.[969] The solution to this problem as the writer sees it is for the "certain men" to acknowledge their sin and return to the more moderate instruction of pastoral Paul and Timothy. And the way of moderation is seen throughout the instructions of the letter; for instance, the overseer "must be above reproach, *the husband of one wife*, temperate, prudent (σώφρονα), respectable (κόσμιον), hospitable, able to teach, not addicted to wine or pugnacious, but gentle, peaceable, free from the love of money" (1 Tim 3:2–3).[970] Further, the virtues of self-control, piety, and self-

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[966] Carallia in the Imperial period, J.R. Harrison, "Excels Ancestral Honours," in Llewelyn *, New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, 9.9:20–21.

[967] Ibid., 20.

[968] Paul's asceticism see Ronald F. Hock, "God's Will at Thessalonica," in Wimbush and Vaage, *Asceticism and the New Testament*, 159–170; N. Elliot, "Asceticism among the 'Weak' and the 'Strong' in Romans 14–15," in Wimbush and Vaage, *Asceticism and the New Testament*, 231–251.

[969] Seeking honour can cause *stasis* or factions, see discussion in Marshall, *Enmity in Corinth*, 187–188; as Cicero advised in *de Officiis* the young man should not be ambitious for glory "for it robs us of liberty" (1.68).

[970] From the days of Solon, holding to the Mean was a way of restraining the excess of the rich and ensuring the justice for the poor; "Solon's political vocabulary includes several terms that later writers link closely with sophrosyne: *hêsychiê* (quietness 3.10 Diehl^{3}…) *eunomiê* ("orderly behavior," the antithesis to *hybris* and *koros* [3.32–34]); *kosmos* ("order" [1.11]); and *dikê* (3.14)," North, *Sophrosyne*, 14–16 for expressions of *sophrosyne* see North: prudence, 64; sobriety, 20–21; gentleness preserves one from treating others with contempt,

restraint dominate the letter. Σωφροσύνη was allied with the doctrine of the mean; the mean kept one from excessive or defective behaviour.[971] It was summed up in the maxim "nothing too much."[972] The writer's counter to "abstaining from foods" (4:3) is addressed by eating in gratefulness as a reflection of pastoral Paul's gratefulness for his salvation (1 Tim 1:12). In this he provides a way of eating that remains within the bounds of piety and is not gluttonous. In the same way, the advice of the writer is that the overseer is to have to have one wife, not no wife at all.[973] Σωφροσύνη in the Hellenistic era came to be seen as restraint to Erôs and gluttony.[974] The eating of certain foods and rejection of marriage became major issues in the church in the second century and beyond.[975] But here the writer is advocating a reeling in of restraint taken to an extreme and a return to a middle way. It is not that the writer is countering a type of doctrine (heresy), but certain practices that were gaining prominence, which he believed were undermining the διδασκαλία of Paul.

6.18. Conclusion

In this chapter, we considered the rhetorical devices employed by the writer to persuade the "certain men" not to engage in the behaviours described in verses 3–4. These behaviours were considered excessive and disrupted the διδασκαλία of pastoral Paul. The writer argues that the "certain men" are guilty of *hybris* in their rejection of Paul's authority. In this they are guilty of the same crime against God as Paul in his pre-enlightened state. We found that in the common thinking of Asia Minor such crimes would deserve the punishment of God. However, pastoral Paul's relationship with Christ demonstrates that mercy can be found. And not only mercy, but an appropriate place of service can be found in God's household. In the next chapter we will consider what this service is and how pastoral Timothy functions as a model. It will also be argued that Hymenaeus and Alexander (1:20), in antithesis to

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(Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 2.2–11), and is the "antithesis of the man who stirs up civil strife," Dover, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle*, 204.

[971] Aristotle, *EN* 2.2.6–7; 2.9.9; See Marshall, *Enmity in Corinth*, 191–192.

[972] ibid., 191; A maxim "'on every tongue" and inscribed in the forecourt of the temple at Delphi, Plato, *Protagoras* 343b; "Nothing in excess" Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 10.24.1 [Jones, LCL].

[973] This is a fifth option to the interpretation of μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἄνδρα not considered Verner, *The Household of God*.

[974] *Anthologia Palatina*, 12.118; 12.23; 6.305; North, *Sophrosyne*, 244.

[975] Fiore, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 98–99; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 530–535; Teresa M. Shaw, *The Burden of the Flesh: Fasting and Sexuality in Early Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), see especially the relationship between diet and sexual desire, 53–64; for discussion on asceticism, food and drink, and the Eucharist see Andrew B. McGowan, *Ascetic Eucharists: Food and Drink in Early Christian Ritual Meals* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1999).

pastoral Timothy, serve as examples of those who have rejected Paul's διδασκαλία, but are being taught to submit to the instruction of the apostle of Christ Jesus and God.

Chapter 7
The Goal of the Command Entrusted to Timothy

In the last chapter we dealt with the first half of the ethical digression, 1 Timothy 1:5 to 17, and it was concluded that pastoral Paul's relationship with Christ demonstrates that mercy can be found for the "certain men" who are guilty of *hybris*. Having made the case that reconciliation is available through grace (1 Tim 1:14), the writer moves on, returning to the command given in verses 3–4, "this command I entrust to you, Timothy, my son" (1 Tim 1:18).

Pastoral Timothy is to possess the goal of this command, verse 19 "keeping faith and a good conscience." In this chapter it will be argued that pastoral Timothy is to be the demonstration of this goal in verse 5; it is he who has "love from a pure heart and a good conscience and a sincere faith." While pastoral Paul's relationship with Christ is the blueprint by which the "certain men" may be rehabilitated, pastoral Timothy is the example of Paul's command in practice. In contrast to pastoral Timothy stand the named "certain men," Hymenaeus and Alexander (verses 19–20).[976] Their disastrous choice to follow the other διδασκαλία has resulted in them being disciplined by pastoral Paul. It will be proposed here that the purpose in naming these men is to provide a warning to others not to follow the course that they have taken. As we have argued earlier, this digression has features of deliberative rhetoric. In this concluding sentence (verses 18–20), the writer presents his audience with two very stark alternatives depending on their future choices. These verses contain the solution to the problem that the "certain men" and their other διδασκαλία present to the community.

7.1. Verses 18 to 20: The Entrusted Command

Ταύτην τὴν παραγγελίαν παρατίθεμαί σοι, τέκνον Τιμόθεε, κατὰ τὰς προαγούσας ἐπὶ σὲ προφητείας, ἵνα στρατεύῃ ἐν αὐταῖς τὴν καλὴν στρατείαν, 19 ἔχων πίστιν καὶ ἀγαθὴν συνείδησιν, ἥν τινες ἀπωσάμενοι περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἐναυάγησαν· 20 ὧν ἐστιν Ὑμέναιος καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, οὓς παρέδωκα τῷ Σατανᾷ ἵνα παιδευθῶσι μὴ βλασφημεῖν.

[976] Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 66; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 412–413; Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 108, 159–160.

This concluding sentence is structured so that the main clause, which is governed by the verb παρατίθεμαί "I am entrusting," is followed by a succession of dependent clauses. Thematically it is divided into two parts. The subject of the first part is Timothy, who is entrusted, "in accordance with the prophecies…so that…having faith…." The second part of the sentence is thematically in contrast to Timothy, "which some have rejected...among these are…whom I have handed over…so that they will be taught not to blaspheme." This contrast has not been created syntactically; the writer does not rely on conjunctions such as δέ or ἀλλά.[977] This makes the syntax complicated, but allows the writer to compose a sentence that flows thematically from the entrustment of the command to Timothy to the blasphemy of Hymenaeus and Alexander. The effect is to layer the subordinate clauses without a sharp break for contrast, building to a crescendo. As we observed earlier, the writer has up to this point avoided naming the "certain men," but here he dramatically reveals the names of two of the "certain men" and their sin. As we have been arguing, the purpose of this digression is to persuade the "certain men" not to take up the other διδασκαλία as these men have done.

Within the narrative of the letter, Hymenaeus and Alexander would be figures known to pastoral Timothy and his audience as those who had been disciplined by pastoral Paul. Nevertheless, to be named as blasphemers would be shameful. Hymenaeus and Alexander are examples of the types that "the law was made for," who are ὕβρισται: they are lawless and unruly. As we discovered in the survey of educational literature, examples were used as powerful demonstrations of the principles that the writer was discussing. The writer is making use of deliberative rhetoric, and his purpose is to advise the community in making a decision about the future. Here in 1 Timothy, its first and foremost purpose is to warn those at risk not to teach the other instruction, otherwise they may come to the same end as Hymenaeus and Alexander. If these men do heed the warning, then the example of Paul as a former ὑβριστής is superfluous. Paul's example, however, does demonstrate that it is possible to be saved from this state. Therefore, the purpose of Paul's model relationship with Christ is that Hymenaeus and Alexander, while they have been excluded from the

[977] Fiore, *The Function of Personal Example*, 13.

community, are able to be reconciled and be called back into the community to serve.[978] The example of pastoral Paul reveals a future in which such sinners can be reconciled through the grace of Christ. The naming of Hymenaeus and Alexander may shame them, but in the light of Paul's example it opens the way to their reconciliation with the community from which they have been expelled.

As we discussed in the last chapter, the example "acts as a 'lens' or a 'screen'" through which the orator "sees and discriminates a model or pattern with which he actively and creatively ascribes a structure to the novel and indeterminate context."[979] The orator would draw attention to some aspects of his example and minimize others, so that his audience would become disposed to imitating the example in the way posed by him. In deliberative rhetoric the audience was often called to act in a similar fashion as the named example(s). For example, Isocrates recommended that his audience follow the example of their forefathers,

> We know, moreover, that those who became the founders of this city entered the Peloponnesus with but a small army and yet made themselves masters of many powerful states. It were fitting, then, to imitate (μιμήσασθαι) our forefathers and, by retracing our steps, now that we have stumbled in our course, try to win back the honours and the dominions which were formerly ours (*Archidamus* 6.82 [Norlin, LCL]).

What is interesting about this example is that Isocrates is calling on his audience to "retrace our steps" and imitate their forefathers' action in winning the Peloponnese. In a similar way, the writer of 1 Timothy is calling on the "certain men" to imitate the example of Paul, the founder of the community. In deliberative rhetoric, the example is usually forefathers or great heroes of the past.[980] However, in the Christian discourse examples were far nearer in time. The historical Paul could even call on the Corinthians to imitate himself, "Be imitators (μιμηταί) of me, just as I also am of Christ. Now I praise you because you remember me in everything and hold firmly to the traditions, just as I delivered them to you" (1 Cor 11:1–2).

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[978] "Most commentators see the phrase παρέδωκα τῷ Σατανᾷ as excommunication," Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 69; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 414–415; Fiore, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 52–53; this action had already taken place, Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 160–161.
[979] Consigny, "The Rhetorical Example," 129.
[980] Bakke, *"Concord and Peace,"* 54–57.

In 1 Timothy, pastoral Paul is asking his audience to follow the example of a person in their midst, not a forefather or a hero. In chapter 4:12, pastoral Timothy is a τύπος "an example." Here pastoral Timothy is being urged to embody the goal of the command with which he has been entrusted. The word τύπος literally means a mark left by a blow such as a seal in wax (LSJ). It could also mean a wrought figure such as an idol. In a related way it could be used in the sense of "pattern": "pots in good order of the aforesaid pattern (τύπῳ)" (P. Tebt. 11, 342, 25).[981] This use implies that the writer expected pots replicating those described. This idea of pattern made it suitable in an ethical sense in historical Paul'*s* epistles. For instance, historical Paul asks the Philippians to "join in following my example (συμμιμηταί), and observe those who walk according to the pattern (τύπον) you have in us" (Phil 3:17). Historical Paul is urging the Philippians to observe those who live according to the pattern that he and Timothy have set. Therefore, pastoral Timothy in 1 Timothy is to set a pattern that he has observed in Paul for others to follow.[982] In the rhetorical flow of the digression, where the object of the example is to allow the audience to "divine and judge the future" (*Rhetoric* 1368a.29–30), pastoral Timothy is providing a pattern that can be emulated by the "certain men."[983] He is the vision made flesh of what it means to obey pastoral Paul's commands, keeping to his διδασκαλία.

7.2. The Example of Timothy

It is pastoral Timothy who is the example to be emulated by those who heed the warning and obey Paul's command.[984] This is nothing but appropriate, since pastoral Timothy is Paul's son and is therefore his representative to the community.[985] Here in the conclusion of the digression, pastoral Timothy, having been entrusted, is described as the one "keeping faith and a good conscience" (1:19). This is a reiteration of the virtues outlined in verse 5 that accompany the goal of the command (παραγγελία) "love from a pure heart and a good conscience and a sincere faith." In the previous chapter it was noted that these virtues would be seen as desirable by both Paul and his detractors. However, it is not just that these virtues form a common ground between them, but they must in some way counter the

[981] Lee, "Words Denoting 'Pattern' in the New Testament," 169.
[982] Ibid., 170.
[983] On the use of example as a feature of deliberative rhetoric see L. L. Welborn, "First Epistle of Clement," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel et al. Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 1055—1060.
[984] Just as it is used in 1 Clement, Unnik, "Studies on the So-Called First Epistle of Clement. The Literary Genre," 164–165.
[985] The son as the father's representative was demonstrated in chapter 3 and 4.

activities of the "certain men."[986] Timothy, as the embodiment of these virtues, stands in contrast to the "certain men" and his disposition must counter their *hybris*. This provides a context by which we can judge what the writer hopes to achieve in using these three terms (1 Tim 1: 5 and 19) to describe the character of pastoral Timothy's life.

7.3. The Goal of the Command

The goal of the command in verse 5 is love (ἀγάπη). In an educational context this is quite extraordinary, since the goal of παιδεία was a gentleman imbued with the four cardinal virtues courage, righteousness, wisdom, and self-restraint (Cicero, *off* 1.61–62). Moral writers could adapt the list of the four cardinal virtues for their own needs.[987] However, the writer of 1 Timothy has rewritten the end goal of the educational process altogether.[988] The question is whether the goal of the instruction is a virtue, a disposition, or an action.[989]
The substantive ἀγάπη was rarely used.[990] The verb ἀγαπάω in classical Greek meant "to be satisfied with something" or "to receive/greet/honour."[991] As an inward attitude it has the meaning "desiring someone or something."[992] It could also take on the idea of affection between parents and children, but this was not the usual term (Demosthenes, *Boeot* 2. 40.8). The usual term to describe love and affection was φιλέω (LSJ), and the affectionate regard and friendship one had for family and friends was φιλία.[993] Children were expected to love their parents. Aristotle thought the love of children for their parents resembled that of men for gods,

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[986] James G. Sigountos, suggests a similar strategy is used in 1 Corinthians 13, where the acts of love counter the negative activities and attitudes of the Corinthians, "The Genre of 1 Corinthians 13," *NTS* 40 (1994): 246–260; cf. Nils Johansson, "I Cor. XIII and I Cor. XIV," *NTS* 10 (1964): 383–392.
[987] Stephen Charles Mott, "The Greek Benefactor and Deliverance from Moral Distress" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1971), 310–322.
[988] As we concluded in chapter 4.
[989] Love comes close to being a virtue in Philo, *On the Unchangeableness of God*, 69; *Questions on Exodus*, 21; love as a disposition, Fiore, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 41; love as an action, Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 369; Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 114–115; Dibelius and Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 18.
[990] Ethelbert Stauffer, *TDNT* 1.35–55 (37–38); cf. LSJ ἀγάπ-η, ἡ.
[991] Stauffer, *TDNT* 1.35–55 (36); cf. LSJ ἀγαπάω.
[992] The adjective ἀγαπητός when used of persons could mean "beloved" (Homer, *Od*. 4.727), especially of an only child. This may go some way to explain the choice of ἀγάπη by the translators of the LXX to describe the love of God for his only child the nation of Israel; for discussion on ἀγαπητός in the New Testament and early Christian literature, see Alanna Nobbs, "'Beloved Brothers' in the New Testament and Early Christian World," in *The New Testament in Its First Century Setting*, ed. P. J. Williams (Grand Rapids; Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2004), 143–150.
[993] Mary Whitlock Blundell, *Helping Friends and Harming Enemies: A Study in Sophocles and Greek Ethics* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 31–38.

> The affection (φιλία) of children for their parents, like that of men for the gods, is the affection for what is good, and superior to oneself; for their parents have bestowed on them the greatest benefits in being the cause of their existence and rearing, and later of their education (παιδευθῆναι). Also the friendship (φιλία) between parents and children affords a greater degree both of pleasure and of utility than that between persons unrelated to each other, inasmuch as they have more in common in their lives"(*Nicomachean Ethics*, 1162a. 5–6 [Rackham, LCL]).

Dio Chrysostom uses a compounded φιλία term to discuss the parent-child bond, "For while the begetting of offspring is an act of necessity, their rearing is an act of love (φιλοστοργίας)" (Fragment 6 [Crosby, LCL]).

However, we see in Dio Chrysostom's writings in the first century CE that the verb ἀγαπάω had taken on a similar sense to φιλέω,

> For precisely as infant children when torn away from father or mother are filled with terrible longing and desire, and stretch out their hands to their absent parents often in their dreams, so also do men to the gods, rightly loving (ἀγαπῶντες) them for their beneficence and kinship, and being eager in every possible way to be with them and to hold converse with them (*Discourse* 12.61 [Cohoon, LCL]).

Dio Chrysostom could extend its use to the relationship between god and man, "Moreover, Zeus declared that of all the cities beneath the sun he loved (ἀγαπῆσαι) that city (Troy) most" (*Discourse* 33:21 [Crosby, LCL]). The idea that men would love (ἀγαπάω) the gods is quite unusual since the usual response to the gods is piety (εὐσεβέω), which was "to behave in the right manner towards the gods."[994] Most certainly Dio Chrysostom is picking out the particularity of Zeus' relationship with Troy, rather than making a general statement about the relationship of the gods to men. As Anders Nygen pointed out "For the Greeks it is self-evident that the gods do *not love*. Why should they, when they possess all that they can wish?"[995] This suggests that ἀγάπη/ἀγαπάω is being used in particular manner in Christian

[994] P.A. Meijer, "Philosophers, Intellectuals and Religion in Hellas," in *Faith, Hope and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World*, ed. H. S. Versnel (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981), 216–262; cf. LSJ "live or act piously or reverently."

[995] Anders Nygren, *Agape and Eros: Part I, a Study of the Christian Idea of Love: Part II, the History of the Christian Idea of Love*, trans. Philip S. Watson (London: SPCK, 1982), 201.

literature. While changes in the use of ἀγάπη/ἀγαπάω were happening in the broader culture, we will confine ourselves to developing a definition from the Christian literature.[996]

7.3.1. Use of ἀγάπη/ἀγαπάω in LXX and Hellenistic Judaism

It is in the LXX (third century BCE) that the noun and verb (ἀγάπη/ ἀγαπάω) takes on special significance in reference to "the love of God for man and of man for God" (LSJ). Quell's analysis of LXX translation of those words derived from the Hebrew root אהב ('hb) with ἀγάπη/ἀγαπάω reveals,

> that love in the OT is basically a spontaneous feeling which impels to self-giving or, in relation to things, to the seizure of the object which awakens the feeling, or to the performance of the action in which pleasure is taken. Love is an inexplicable power of soul given in the inward person: רֹמְא (Deut 6:5). One loves 'with all one's heart and soul and strength' (Deut 6:5; 13:4) if one does justice to the feeling of love. Love and hate are the poles of life (Qoh 3:8; 9:6).[997]

The Hebrew term with the root אהב can be used in relation to the love and desire between men and women, but it also is used "to denote personal relationships which have no connexion with sexuality," such as parents and children, friendships, and business partnerships.[998] In the OT love is "a basic feeling of the pious in relation to the Godhead."[999] In summary, "love in the OT is a contrary feeling to fear, striving to overcome distance and thus participating as a basic motive in prayer. To love God is to have pleasure in Him and to strive impulsively after Him. Those who love God are basically the pious whose life of faith bears the stamp of originality and genuineness and who seek God for His own sake."[1000]

When we turn to God's love, it is rare that God is described as loving an individual (2 Sam 12:24; Neh 13:26, Isa 48:14).[1001] The love of God is normally directed to the nation of Israel where it is often described in terms of the father-son relationship (Deut 8:5; Isa 1:4; 30:1,9; 43:3–7; Hos 11:1, 3; Jer 12:7–9; Mal 1:2, 6).[1002] These same themes are taken up in

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[996] More recent work on these terms is somewhat scant, Werner Jeanrond, "Biblical Challenges to a Theology of Love," *Biblical Interpretation* 11 (2003): 640–653.
[997] Gottfried Quell, *TDNT* 1.21–34 (22–23).
[998] Ibid., 23–24.
[999] Ibid., 28.
[1000] Ibid.
[1001] Ibid., 30.
[1002] A Ibid., 31–34; Another motif is the husband and wife relationship (Hos 1:2; 3:1).

Hellenistic Judaism, where God loves the seed of Abraham (Pss. Sol. 18:4; Jos. *Ant*. 8:173). What comes into view is the notion of faithfulness between God and man,

> the martyr who decides unconditionally for God and accepts all kinds of torments for His sake will experience the more deeply in all his sufferings the faithfulness of God, and will receive eternal life in the future world (Wis 3:9; Dan 9:4 (LXX), Bel 37(38); 4 Macc 16:19ff; 15:2)…Hence the love of God includes love for God. The source, however, is to be found in God, as is emphasized in the epistle of Aristeas. ἀγάπη, which constitutes the power of piety, is the gift of God (Ep. Ar., 229).[1003]

In addition, Philo attempted to fuse the older Jewish concept of love and the Hellenistic ideal of humanity in his chapter "On Humanity" (*Virt.* 51–174). A similar train of thought can be found in Josephus, *Against Apion* 2.209–219. In Philo there are ever widening circles of relationships, where compatriots are at the centre of love (*Virt*. 66–101.), followed by resident aliens (*Virt*. 102–108), enemies (*Virt*. 109–120), slaves (*Virt*. 121–124), animals and plants (*Virt*. 125–149) until love embraces the whole of creation (*Virt*. 150–160).[1004]

7.3.2. Ἀγάπη/ἀγαπάω in the NT

While Jesus continues with this Jewish idea of ἀγάπη/ἀγαπάω, he reshapes it. In his well-known rebuttal of the lawyer, he employs the verb, "'You shall love (Ἀγαπήσεις) the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind.' This is the great and foremost commandment. The second is like it, 'You shall love (Ἀγαπήσεις) your neighbor as yourself.'" (Matt 22:38–39). The response to God is ἀγάπη qualified so as to demonstrate the completeness of this response. This demand to ἀγαπάω is then to be reflected in the relationship one has with one's neighbour. However, Jesus frees love from the moorings described by Philo, where the individual is at the centre of the concentric rings of love, and moves the locus of love to the other.[1005] The good Samaritan sees the man in need as his neighbour, which was not dependent on pre-existing relational ties.

In turning to the historical Paul's letters, God demonstrates his ἀγάπη towards believers, "but God demonstrates His own love (τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγάπην) toward us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us" (Romans 5:8). This ἀγάπη/ἀγαπάω is an active benefaction on

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[1003] Stauffer, *TDNT* 1.39–40.
[1004] Ibid., 40; Cf. Cicero, *De officiis* 1.50–57; see chapter 4 for discussion.
[1005] Ibid., 46.

the part of God, who rescues those who are required to show him devotion but fail. God, though righteous, acted on behalf of the unrighteous. As we saw in the last chapter, pastoral Paul found mercy through Jesus Christ, although he was "a blasphemer, a pursuer and a man of *hybris*." This could be summarized as historical Paul's gospel (1 Cor 15:1).

Historical Paul calls on believers to respond to God with ἀγάπη. Yet this love is not shown to God so much as it is toward one's neighbour (Gal 5:13–26).[1006] In this historical Paul reflects Jesus' teaching. However, historical Paul departs somewhat from Jesus as he reemploys love for compatriots as love for fellow believers (Gal 6:10).[1007] This love, however, is not built on the pre-existing relationships that a believer has, as we saw in Philo, but the love shown is built on the pre-existing relationship that God has with those he loves. Responding to God is not so much to love him, but loving those he loves. This use reflects the particularity of the one loved when ἀγάπη/ἀγαπάω terms are used as we saw in the Dio Chrysostom passage above.

7.3.3. Ἀγάπη/ἀγαπάω in 1 Timothy

Most commentators understand ἀγάπη in 1 Timothy 1:5 as an active love rather than an affectionate feeling.[1008] For instance, Towner sees this love as a general expression of the gospel, "love is the end product of authentic conversion that renders the human interior faculties capable of producing the manner of living God intends."[1009] While this is generally true, we have been arguing that the context makes verse 5 particular to the circumstances faced by pastoral Paul and Timothy in the church in Ephesus. Pastoral Timothy is the example of the true child, who like Telemachus is loyal to his father. The end goal is to love as pastoral Timothy does. The "certain men" are to be true "sons" of pastoral Paul and to love him as such.[1010] The historical Paul uses this same metaphor in 1 Corinthians 4: 14–17 to exhort the Corinthians to follow his example,

> I do not write these things to shame you, but to admonish you as my beloved (ἀγαπητὰ) children (τέκνα). For if you were to have countless tutors in Christ, yet you would not have many fathers, for in Christ Jesus I became your father through the

[1006] Ibid., 50.
[1007] Ibid., 51.
[1008] Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 114–115; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 369; Dibelius and Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 18.
[1009] Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 115; Dibelius and Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 18.
[1010] The father-child metaphor was common in Graeco-Roman authors, T. R. Stevenson, "The Ideal Benefactor and the Father Analogy in Greek and Roman Thought," *ClQ.* 42 (1992): 421–436.

> gospel. Therefore I exhort you, be imitators of me. For this reason I have sent to you Timothy, who is my beloved (ἀγαπητὸν) and faithful (πιστὸν) child in the Lord, and he will remind you of my ways which are in Christ, just as I teach everywhere in every church.

As P. Marshall points out this is more than an analogy as Paul is reminding the Corinthians of his "authority and affection and care."[1011] We should note also that historical Paul has sent Timothy as his "beloved (ἀγαπητὸν) and faithful (πιστὸν) child" to remind them of his ways "which are in Christ." As we have been discussing, pastoral Timothy as Paul's son is to embody his father's values and principles, and represent him to the world outside of the *oikos*. It is suggested here that the love that is the goal of the instruction in 1 Timothy 1:5 is the familial love between children and their parents. Like historical Timothy and the other beloved children in Corinth, the "certain men" in Ephesus are to have this same love for pastoral Paul. And as we have noted, this love, ἀγάπη, is directed to Paul because of the unique relationship that he has with the "certain men."

The bond of love between parents and children was to create unity and mutual dependence between the generations. This reciprocal nature of the parent-child bond was apparent in classical Greece as Blundell describes,

> It is 'madness' to harm those closest to one ([Isaeus 1.20]). But the requirement of family loyalty is by no means based simply on benevolence prompted by natural affection. Like other forms of *phila*, family ties are sustained by relationships of mutual *charis*, of favours given and received. Parents naturally love and care for their children, but they also expect to benefit from them in quite practical ways, especially through the reciprocation of nurture when the time comes.[1012]

The love that is discussed here is φιλία (*philia*); the verb being φιλέω (*phile-ō*). As we saw it is the usual term for natural affection between friends and family members. The verb is used only once by historical Paul (1 Cor 16:22). In the Pastoral Epistles the verb is used once at Titus 3:15, but the noun does appear in a number of compounded words representing

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[1011] *Enmity in Corinth,* 249; in this passage Paul shifts from the metaphor of "brothers" (1 Corinthians 1: 10) to "children," see discussion on Paul's self- designation as "brother" and "father" in D. G. Horrell, "From 'Adelphoi' to 'Oikos Theou': Social Transformation in Pauline Christianity (Aspects of Kinship and Household Language in the Shaping of Early Christian Communal Relationships)," *JBL* 120 (2001): 293–311.

[1012] Blundell, *Helping Friends and Harming Enemies*, 41; a similar reciprocal loyalty and affection (*pietas*) was to exist between parents and children in the Roman family, Saller, "Pietas, Obligation and Authority in the Roman Family," 393–410.

various aspects of affectionate relationships. [1013] There is a concentration of these nouns in Titus. For instance, older women are instructed to be models for younger women, "so that they may encourage the young women to love their husbands (φιλάνδρους), to love their children (φιλοτέκνους)" (Titus 2:4). Further, pastoral Titus is instructed to "greet those who love (τοὺς φιλοῦντας) us in *the* faith" (Titus 3:14). Therefore, relationships between believers in the Pastoral Epistles can be described using the φιλία/φιλέω related terms. Interestingly, God's love is described using a φιλία related term, "But when the kindness of God our Savior and His love for mankind (ἡ φιλανθρωπία) appeared, He saved us" (Titus 3:4–5). However, the coordination between the terms ἀγάπη/ἀγαπάω and φιλία/φιλέω is more assumed than expressed.

Paul in Romans 12 does expressly coordinate the term ἀγάπη/ἀγαπάω with the idea of brotherly love,

> Let love (Ἡ ἀγάπη) be without hypocrisy. Abhor what is evil; cling to what is good. Be devoted to one another in brotherly love (τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ); give preference to one another in honor; not lagging behind in diligence, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord; rejoicing in hope, persevering in tribulation, devoted to prayer, contributing to the needs of the saints, practicing hospitality (τὴν φιλοξενίαν) (9–13).

While hospitality (φιλόξενος) is a mark of an elder in 1 Timothy (1 Tim 3:2), the coordination of ἀγάπη with φιλία found in Romans is only an underlying assumption in 1 Timothy. Relationships between believers, including Paul's father-son relationship with Timothy, are expressed in terms of ἀγάπη in 1 Timothy. As we have been arguing the statement of the goal of the command in verse 5 is set in the context of the relationship between pastoral Paul, Timothy, and the "certain men" just as it is in 1 Corinthians 4:14–17. In this passage the historical Paul admonishes the Corinthians as his "beloved (ἀγαπητὰ) children" and calls himself their father (πατήρ). It is on this basis that he admonishes them and exhorts them to imitate him (vv. 14–16).[1014] This idea is linked to the concept of education in this passage.[1015] The Corinthians may have had "countless tutors (παιδαγωγοὺς) in Christ," but only one

[1013] Historical Paul uses compounded φιλία nouns in Romans 12.10, τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ and εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι.
[1014] Mark Hopper, "The Pauline Concept of Imitation (Mimesis)" (PhD diss., Southern Baptist Seminary, 1983), 130.
[1015] Judge, "The Conflict of Educational Aims," 697.

father, who they are to imitate (v.16).[1016] Historical Timothy is said to remind the Corinthians of Paul's ways "just as I teach (διδάσκω) everywhere in every church." Although the Corinthians are his children (τέκνα), Timothy is singled out as his "beloved (ἀγαπητὸν) and faithful (πιστὸν) child," who is to remind them of his ways (v. 17); it is the same in 1 Timothy.[1017] Pastoral Paul is admonishing the Ephesians and exhorting them to obey Timothy as they would obey him. Therefore, the goal of the instruction in verses 3–4 of chapter 1 is that the "certain men" are to love Paul as a father. And this in turn assumes compliance to the command given.[1018] As we saw in Chapter 4, good sons honour their fathers and are loyal to them (Pseudo-Plutarch, *Lib. ed*, 7D–E); bad sons dishonor them. To dishonor one's father is an act of *hybris*. Thus, to love Paul through obedience to his instruction is to avoid *hybris*.

Furthermore, as we have seen in our discussion on ἀγάπη/ ἀγαπάω in the authentic letters of Paul, to love fellow believers is to love God. Similarly, to honour Paul is to honour the one who sent him. As we have already argued, to dishonour pastoral Paul is to dishonour God and Christ Jesus. This is an act of *hybris*. But to love Paul as a father would mean that the "certain men" would avoid *hybris* against God and Christ Jesus. In other words, the end result of pastoral Paul's command is love. This love is not a virtue or a disposition, but the active relation of the "certain men" to pastoral Paul that is appropriate in their relational context. Just as the historical Paul can say that "love is patient, love is kind and is not jealous" (1 Cor 13:4) in the context of friendships, so pastoral Paul can, in 1 Timothy, urge love in the form of obedience in the context of the father-son relationship. The obedience of children to their fathers is an important qualifier for office in the Pastoral Epistles. In 1 Timothy the overseer, "must be one who manages his own household well, keeping his children under control" (3:4). Similarly in Titus elders are to have children "who believe, not accused of dissipation (ἀσωτίας) or rebellion (ἀνυπότακτα)" (1:6). Pastoral Paul, therefore, is playing the part of the father who manages his household well by keeping his children under control. The expectation is that the "certain men" as sons will not become "lawless

[1016] Hopper makes the point that the *paidagogos* was a boy's personal attendant, who was entitled to some respect, but "there was no comparison between his relation to the boy and that of the boy's father," "The Pauline Concept of Imitation (Mimesis)," 130.
[1017] Hopper describes Timothy as an elder brother, ibid., 131.
[1018] In Roman family life the ideal was *pieta* –the idea that love for one's father would entail compliance to his wishes. Eva M. Lassen, "The Roman Family: Ideal and Metaphor," in *Constructing Early Christian Families: Family as Social Reality and Metaphor*, ed. Halvor Moxnes (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), 103–120.

(ἀνόμοις) and rebellious (ἀνυποτάκτοις)" (1:9), rather they will be obedient to their father's command. This then provides a context in which to understand the three qualifiers to their filial love, which is "from a pure heart, and a good conscience and a sincere faith" (1 Tim 1:5).

7.4. The Attributes from which Love Arises

The preposition ἐκ "from" in this sentence in verse 5 expresses the source of the ἀγάπη.[1019] As Towner notes, these three qualities "a pure heart and a good conscience and a sincere faith" are interior features of these men's lives.[1020] It is from these interior features rightly composed that the love for Paul will spring.

7.5. A Pure Heart

The word "heart" (καρδία) does not appear in the papyri and inscriptions up until the late third to early fourth century. However, in Greek literature it appears over 2,500 times in the Greek corpus (TLG) before the fourth century. This includes just on 900 uses in the Septuagint where it is used primarily to translate the Hebrew לֵב (*lēb*) and לֵבָב (*lēbāb*).[1021] Jewett found in his survey of the secondary literature on καρδία that scholars had determined there was a distinction between Hebraic thought and Hellenistic thought on the concept of "heart." In particular Adolph Schlatter found,

> The Jews [Philo and Josephus] who ceased to use [καρδία] understood man in the Hellenistic manner through an analysis of the thought process which was considered to be man's central and most characteristic act. Thus νοῦς and λόγος became the central categories whereas the physical aspects of man were viewed as that which the upper man must control. The thinking act came to be thought of as the independent creator of its thoughts, while conscience and other elements were granted a personified independence, with the result that man was split up into opposing entities. In contrast to this typically Hellenistic anthropology was the Hebraic one which utilized the word heart to depict the essential unity between thought, emotion and body and finally the unity of man before God.[1022]

Jewett concluded that there was a debate between the Jewish traditionalists and the Hellenists in Alexandria as to whether the spirit rests in the brain or the heart.[1023] It becomes apparent, therefore, that the New Testament writers, especially Paul, continued the Hebraic

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[1019] Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 115; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 370.
[1020] Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 115.
[1021] There are a few cases where καρδία is used to translate other Hebrew terms, Friedrich Brumgärtel and Johannes Behm, "Καρδία," *TDNT*, 605–614.
[1022] Robert Jewett's comments on A. Schlatter, "Herz und Gehirn im ersten Jahrhundert," in *Studien zur Systematishen Theologie*, ed. F. Traub (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1918), 86–94, in *Paul's Anthropological Terms* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 308–309.
[1023] Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms,* 308–309.

usage of heart. However, while he does utilize the word καρδία he also uses Hellenistic concepts like νοῦς, λογισμός, and συνείδησις.[1024] Rudolph Bultmann had argued that νοῦς, νόημα and καρδία were virtually synonymous.[1025] However, Jewett is quite critical of this as "it deals with the terms out of context and what is worse, it forces one to assume that Paul was simply careless in his usage."[1026]

Further, any survey of καρδία in the LXX reveals that it does not stand "simply within the tradition of the O.T., the apocalyptic and Rabbinic literature and the N.T., but at times rather in the Hellenistic tradition with Philo and Josephus."[1027] The translators of the LXX could translate the Hebrew "לֵב etc" with νοῦς rather than καρδία (6 compared to the 723 times), not because it was interchangeable, but because they could not "in every instance carry through the Hebraic heart idea."[1028] This suggests that one should be wary of a broad, general definition of the "Hebraic heart idea."

In a recent study of the Hebrew term in the OT, Christopher Black found that the Hebrew word לֵבָב (lēbāb), when translated as καρδία in reference to human beings, could denote firstly, "the physical, cardiac organ and the chest cavity," secondly, "encompass the psychological aspects and include one's emotional feelings and desires" and thirdly, "communicate the mental faculties of 'mind,' 'wisdom,' and 'will' and the spiritual faculties of 'spirit' and personality."[1029] Such a broad conceptual range suggests that the idea in the Hebrew usage cannot be reduced down to a single definition of לֵבָב /καρδία. Further, given Jewett's criticisms one suspects that the distinction between Hebraic and Hellenistic thought is one of degree. When moving to Paul's usage one must be cognizant of these varying uses of לֵבָב /καρδία in the Septuagint. Similarly, in Greek literature the term varies in use. With this in mind, careful attention must be paid to the context in which historical Paul uses καρδία, as well as the other terms he deploys in relation to the word.

[1024] Ibid., 309.
[1025] Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament,* 1:220–223.
[1026] Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms*, 311.
[1027] Ibid.
[1028] Ibid.
[1029] Christopher Black, "In Search of a Human Constitution: A Theological Exploration of the Heart, Soul, and Mind of the Shema" (PhD diss., New Orleans Baptist Seminary, 2010), 130; it is a pity that Black uses a truncated OT rather than using the broader Septuagint. This would have enabled him to give a fuller background to the Greek terms in use of the shema in the NT. Further he has restricted his research to לֵבָב, and while this does give insight into the translation of καρδία, it is limited, since he does not consider the other Hebrew words translated as καρδία.

We thus come to the use of καρδία in 1 Timothy 1:5. We have already made the case that the context is the relationship between Paul, Timothy, and the "certain men." We have narrowed the conceptual field down to a relational context. We will assume that the writer is drawing on Pauline thought in promoting the goal of pastoral Paul's command, rather than drawing directly on the Septuagint or Jewish thought. Thus, we turn to survey the term in historical Paul's letters in the context of relationships between believers.

7.5.1. The Use of καρδία in the Authentic Pauline Epistles

Historical Paul uses the term thirty five times in all; it appears more frequently in Romans where he uses καρδία fourteen times. In order to contain our survey we will focus on Paul's use of καρδία in Romans. Paul begins by saying that the heart can be foolish (1:21), it can have lustful desires (1:24) and the heart can be stubborn and unrepentant (2:5). These aspects are in relation to God. However, in Romans 2:15 the heart's relation to the Law comes into view. We considered this passage (Romans 2: 14–16) in our description of the law (chapter 6). Here we should note that the "work of the Law" can be written on the heart of the Gentiles. It is interesting that Paul can think that the interior dimension of a person can have an exterior that can be written on. This "work of the Law" can be responded to by another interior element the "conscience." This conscience can be coordinated with the Gentiles' thoughts so that it appears that these two in tandem can accuse or defend them on "the day when…God will judge the secrets of men through Christ Jesus" (2:16; 8:28). These dimensions, the heart, the conscience, and thoughts, are therefore hidden presumably from others, but not from God "on the day."

In verse 2:29 it becomes apparent that not only can God judge the secrets of this interior place, but he can act upon it. In this verse Paul contrasts the activity of circumcision "outward in the flesh" (2:28) with an inward "circumcision" which "is of the heart, by the Spirit."[1030] The correspondence here must be spiritual, since the activity is performed by the Spirit. Paul, therefore, understands that a heart can respond to and be acted upon by God.

[1030] Sunny Chen, "The Social and Corporate Dimensions of Paul's Anthropological Terms in the Light of Discourse Analysis" (MCD University of Divinity, Melbourne, 2014), 232.

This idea that the heart can be circumcised is most likely drawn from Deuteronomy 10:16 and Jeremiah 4:4.[1031]

There are three other references to the heart in Romans 3 to 8, and then a grouping of references in the section chapters 9–11. At 6:17 Paul thanks God that "you [the Romans] became obedient from the heart (ἐκ καρδίας) to that form of teaching (τύπον διδαχῆς) to which you were committed." The "you" here are the "beloved of God in Rome" (τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ) (Rom 1:7). The similarity between the passage 6:17–23 and the thought behind 1 Timothy chapter 1 is striking. Most apparent is that the Romans, "beloved of God," became obedient "from the heart" (ἐκ καρδίας). Sunny Chen argues that the term "heart" here "reflects the positive attitude expressed by a group, the believers in general, and the Roman Christians in specific, towards God and God's teaching."[1032] Some scholars see the word "heart" here to mean "the centre of man" as it does in chapter 10, but, as Chen argues "the word denotes a positive orientation of the audience towards God's teaching."[1033] The Romans were obedient; in other words, their compliance to "the form of teaching" came "from the heart."

In Romans 6:17–23, Paul says that the Romans are compliant to "that form of teaching." It is not his teaching rather he calls it a "form" (τύπον). We have already discussed the word τύπος and here it must mean "pattern." Chen identifies the teaching as God's teaching, but it is strange to think that the Romans would be compliant to a pattern of God's teaching if it means teaching directly emanating from him. Paul is commending the Romans for their commitment to this pattern of teaching, so this leads one to think that the pattern of teaching is the same pattern as Paul's teaching. At the beginning of the letter Paul sees the Romans' faith as parallel to his own and that they might be mutually encouraged "by the other's faith" (1: 12). He goes on to say that he is "eager to preach the gospel to you also who are in Rome" (1:15). It is not that the Romans are hearing the gospel for the first time, so Paul must be referring to his teaching or instruction. Therefore "that form of teaching" to which the Romans are committed must be a pattern of teaching given to them by another

[1031] Ibid., 232–233.
[1032] Ibid., 235.
[1033] Ibid.; cf. Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms*, 333; Robert Jewett, *Romans: A Commentary*, eds. Roy Kotansky and Eldon Jay Epp, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 418; Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 400.

apostle or apostles (note ἐλάβομεν of 1:5). Paul therefore is commending the Romans on their obedience to the teaching of the apostles, for in so doing they have freed themselves from sin (6:18). As we have argued in 1 Timothy, it is through obedience to pastoral Paul that the "certain men" will be free from the sin of *hybris*. In Romans 6:19 the Romans in their former state were "slaves to impurity and lawlessness" which lead to "lawlessness." As we have seen in 1 Timothy the "certain men" were guilty of lawlessness and rebelliousness (1 Tim 1:9). The Romans now, says historical Paul, present "their members as slaves to righteousness resulting in sanctification" (6:19). Now that they are in this state of sanctification they feel ashamed (ἐπαισχύνεσθε) of their former impurity and lawlessness (6:21).

In Greek thought the expression of shame (αἰσχρός) is attached to the activity of the conscience.[1034] But before moving on to the conscience, it should be noted that in Romans 6:19 that "righteousness" is in contrast to "impurity and lawlessness." Here purity is juxtaposed to righteousness as it is in 1 Timothy. Following this line of thought, it would seem in 1 Timothy that a righteous person (1 Tim 1:9) could be described in terms of purity. It is therefore contended that the three qualifiers "a pure heart," "a good conscience" and "a sincere faith" are qualities of a righteous person (1 Tim 1:5, 19). Construed in these terms purity would refer to righteousness, "which is obedience from the heart to the form of teaching" (Rom 6:17–19). This could be summarized as "a pure heart." We might suppose an impure heart relates to lawlessness. Such a flow of thought is found in Psalm 50 (51),

> Have mercy on me, O God according to your great mercy…blot out my lawless deed (τὸ ἀνόμημά μου).
> Wash me thoroughly from my lawlessness (ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνομίας), and from my sin cleanse (καθάρισόν) me,
> Because my lawlessness (τὴν ἀνομίαν) I know and my sin is ever before me…
> A clean heart (καρδίαν καθαρὰν) create in me, O God, and an upright spirit renew within me.
> Do not cast me away from your face,
> And your holy spirit do not take from me…
> I will teach lawless ones your ways,
> And impious ones will return to you.

[1034] Cairns, *Aidōs,* 303–305, 344–354.

Rescue me from bloodshed, O God,

O God of my deliverance;

My tongue will rejoice at your righteousness (vv 3–16 [1–14]).

As we saw in our discussion of pastoral Paul's example in chapter 6, the "certain men" are to follow the pattern of Paul's path to salvation from impiety and *hybris*. They are extended mercy, just as the psalmist asks for mercy for his lawless deed (v.1). The personal internal dimensions are patent in this Psalm. The psalmist asks God to create within him a pure heart; that is, he is washed from his lawlessness and has his sin cleansed. This will lead, the psalmist says, to an upright spirit and joy. Not only does this cleansing have internal results, but it will lead to the psalmist teaching lawless ones God's ways and impious ones, who will return to God. These ideas are readily identifiable in both Romans 6 and 1 Timothy as we have already described. The creation of a pure heart in Psalm 50 has both internal consequences – an upright spirit and the presence of the holy spirit. But it also has external consequences – teaching those who are lawless and joy in God's righteousness. In verses 18–19 the psalmist envisions a time when there is no sin to mar the appropriate worship of God. In this time sacrifice will be made in response to God's goodness and this sacrifice is described as a sacrifice of righteousness. In a like manner, historical Paul's slaves of righteousness are free from sin and have become obedient.

Later on in Romans, Paul urges the Romans "by the mercies of God, to present your bodies a living and holy sacrifice, acceptable to God" (Rom 12:1). While the psalmist might have envisaged the sacrifices of actual goats or sheep on the altar, Paul translates this into "spiritual service of worship" (Rom 12:1b). This then is how he begins his ethical exhortation to the Romans. The mercy of God leads to service, just as we saw in 1 Timothy that God's mercy did away with pastoral Paul's lawlessness (1 Tim 1:13) and saw him placed into service (1 Tim 1:12). In Romans 6 obedience from the heart leads to freedom from sin and a state of enslavement to righteousness. Yet, this is a strange form of slavery, since the ones who are enslaved, that is the Romans, are choosing slavery through obedience. Therefore, the act of the heart here is volitional.[1035] There is a similar flow of thought in Romans 12. The phrase "to present your bodies" (Rom 12:1) evokes the idea of slavery, but again this is a volitional act. They are to sacrifice themselves, which is an act of "spiritual service of worship," just as pastoral Paul obeyed the commandment to serve as an apostle in 1 Timothy (1:1, 12). In 1

[1035] Chen, "Paul's Anthropological Terms," 235.

Timothy 1, pastoral Paul was not only shown mercy but also grace and this grace was accompanied by faith and love, "which are in Christ Jesus" (v.14). In Romans 12 grace, which was given to historical Paul, is the foundation for his instructions in ethical behaviour (Romans 12:4–15:13). In this section the concepts of faith and love predominate. One can conclude that grace leads historical Paul to give ethical instructions and those ethical instructions are shaped by love (Rom 13:10; cf. 1 Cor 13:1–13) and faith (Rom 14:1–15:3). Thus, love and faith in 1 Timothy have ethical dimensions that are related to the volition of a heart that is pure, both in its internal state and in its righteous response to God.
Historical Paul also employs the term "heart" intensively in Romans 9–11. In these chapters it relates to the relationship of the Jewish nation to God. Paul's coordination of the word heart and conscience in opening this section (Romans 9:1) is quite instructive for our investigation into 1 Timothy 1:5. Historical Paul opens this section with an oath, which is a declaration of truth.[1036] A predominant feature is that "to take an oath is in effect to invoke powers greater than oneself to uphold the truth of a declaration, by putting a curse upon oneself if it is false."[1037] It is recognized by the invocation of the god/s as to the veracity of the statement or the pledge made.[1038] At times punishments are listed should the statement be found to be false, but this is often implicit. The guarantor of the oath is normally the direct object of the verb of swearing; one "swore Zeus."[1039] Furthermore, oaths according to Aristotle are a type of evidence, rather than an argument.[1040]

Historical Paul's oath here in Romans 9:1 is in the first person and as such is a type of informal oath.[1041] Oaths such as Paul's are given when no confirmatory evidence can be supplied.[1042] So here in Romans 9:1–2 Paul is making an oath about the emotional state of his heart, since it is hidden from view. As we have seen, only God knows the secrets of a person's heart. One may wonder why Paul is making an oath about his sorrow and grief at the state of Israel, "my fellow kinsmen in the flesh." Authorial oaths like these sometimes

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[1036] Alan H. Sommerstein, "What Is an Oath?," in *Oaths and Swearing in Ancient Greece*, eds. Alan H. Sommerstein and Isabelle C. Torrance (Berlin, Germany; Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2014), 1–5.
[1037] Quoted from R. Janko, *The Iliad: a Commentary.* Volume IV: Books 13–16 (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, UK., 1992), 194 in Sommerstein, "What Is an Oath?," 1.
[1038] Ibid., 1–2; Isabelle C. Torrance, "Swearing Oaths in the Authorial Person," in *Oaths and Swearing in Ancient Greece*, 348–371 (354).
[1039] Sommerstein, "What Is an Oath?," 1–2.
[1040] *Rhet.* 1377a8–b10; Sommerstein, "Oratory and Rhetoric," in *Oaths and Swearing in Ancient Greece*, 230–239 (232).
[1041] Sommerstein, "The Informal Oath," in *Oaths and Swearing in Ancient Greece*, 315–347 (315).
[1042] That is, the statements are made according to the judgement of the speaker, ibid., 355.

appear in contexts where there are rivals.[1043] So it appears that Paul may feel that he could be accused by possible rivals of being unfeeling in regard to his kinsmen.[1044] Similarly in 1 Timothy 2:7, pastoral Paul reiterates this oath, although in a truncated fashion, "I am telling the truth, I am not lying." In this context he is again declaring his appointment as a preacher and "an apostle." As was discussed in chapter 3, pastoral Paul's apostleship rested on a direct command from God that only he had access to. There were no other witnesses to his commission. Pastoral Paul in 1 Timothy 2:7 is providing contributory evidence that he was commissioned by God and Christ Jesus.[1045] Further, it also hints that there may be some, rivals to historical Paul's authority, who disputed his commission as an apostle. The defense of pastoral Paul's apostleship emerges in 1 Timothy as an undercurrent; at its most focused, the writer denounces those who have "fallen away from the faith," "paying attention to deceitful spirits and [instruction] of demons" (1 Tim 4:1). It is important to note that at the end of letter to the Romans, historical Paul warns the Romans against rivals described in similar terms, "For such men are slaves, not of our Lord Christ but of their own appetites; and by their smooth and flattering speech they deceive the hearts of the unsuspecting" (Rom 16:18). Here the men, who "cause dissensions and hindrances contrary to the teaching which you learned," are described as "slaves" not of "our Lord Christ, but of their own appetites" (Rom 16:17–18). This echoes the language of Romans 6 where men are slaves of unrighteousness, but here they are slaves to their own appetites. In language reminiscent of the Pastoral Epistles these men by their "smooth and flattering speech" "deceive the hearts of the unsuspecting" (Cf. 1 Tim 6:20; 2 Tim 3:6; Titus 1:10–11; 3:9).[1046] It is therefore possible for hearts to be deceived by opponents. In terms of 1 Timothy it would appear that a pure heart would be one not deceived by the opponents.

The issue of truth telling is at the heart of historical Paul's oath in Romans 9:1–2. We can note that in Romans 9:1–2 that truth telling in the form of an oath is coordinated with the conscience and with the secret activity of Paul's heart. In these verses it is clear that historical Paul understands the conscience to be a separate entity from the activity of the

[1043] Ibid., 368–369.
[1044] Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms*, 455; Barrett, *The Epistle to the Romans* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1973), 175–176.
[1045] Cf. Torrance, "Swearing Oaths in the Authorial Person," 367; Plato's oath to Dion's family and friends in regard to Dionysius' agreement not to harm Heracleides, *Epistle* 7, 349b4–7.
[1046] Karris, "The Background and Significance of the Polemic of the Pastoral Epistles," 549–564.

heart.[1047] Before discussing this relationship we will need to outline the idea of the conscience in the authentic correspondence of Paul.

7.6. A Good Conscience

The study of the conscience in the historical Paul's correspondence has received significant attention.[1048] Jewett's history of the scholarship in the twentieth century shows a shift from the nineteenth century's preoccupation with the conscience as a moral-conscience idea to the question of the relationship between Paul's use of "conscience" and the Greek idea of conscience.[1049] At this point there is a consensus that Paul adapted and extended the Greek idea of conscience for his own purposes.[1050] C. A. Pierce (1958) made significant strides in the study of Paul's use of the term conscience by categorizing its various manifestations.[1051] He found that there were two predominant uses by Paul: an awareness of "moral badness" and an awareness of an "absence of moral badness."[1052] He further argued that the idea of conscience in terms of "moral positively good" was rare in the New Testament period.[1053] Philip Bosman (2003), in his more recent survey of scholarship on the conscience in the New Testament, concluded that more careful attention needed to be paid to "the differences and similarities between Paul and preceding Greek literature."[1054] He sought to investigate the word group σύνοιδα/συνείδησις using a diachronic method, in conjunction with a description of the word group's semantic environment. Bosman describes this method saying,

> Employing the so-called stimulus-response scheme, it is argued that a primary experience lies at the root of the conceptual development, which is culture-specifically verbalised and cognitively connected to various related concepts and topoi [themes].

[1047] Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms*, 445–446.

[1048] See Jewett's summary on the history of the research, *Paul's Anthropological Terms*, 402–421.

[1049] Another survey on the Western problem of the troubled conscience and Paul see Krister Stendahl, "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West," *The Harvard Theological Review* 56 (1963): 199–215.

[1050] Margaret E. Thrall, "The Pauline Use of Συνείδησις," *NTS* 14 (1967): 118–125.

[1051] Claude A. Pierce, *Conscience in the New Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1958); Richard Sorabji, *Moral Conscience through the Ages: Fifth Century BCE to the Present* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014), 12.

[1052] Pierce, *Conscience in the New Testament* , 60–65.

[1053] Ibid., 45, 87.

[1054] Philip Bosman, *Conscience in Philo and Paul: A Conceptual History of the Synoida Word Group* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 48.

> In combination, these represent the conceptual framework in which the word group finds its meaning.[1055]

This method is very close to the one outlined in this thesis. Its strength lies in observing the employment of a concept in the contemporary world of the writer/thinker, establishing similarities and differences in use, while at the same time being aware of the historical development of the concept, which may be adopted or adapted by a writer to suit their purpose. Bosman found that "this framework [of the σύνοιδα word group] was never a static entity, but underwent changes responding to fluctuations in general mentality, which generated new concepts and vocabulary."[1056] Bosman ties psychological responses to the conceptual framework in an attempt to elucidate, "when the response is reinforced by other factors…in the case of the σύνοιδα word group, unpleasant consequences, the association between the stimulus and the response is reinforced. This results in the probable recurrence of the same response each time the stimulus reappears."[1057] In this Bosman is perhaps the first to attempt to give an account of the phenomenon of the conscience as a concept.

Bosman deduces four identifiable aspects to the conceptual framework that is triggered in response to certain stimuli that results in the word group being deployed.[1058] First, the stimulus is identified as some sort of transgression. Secondly, the committed transgression results in a psychological response in the transgressor in which individuals feel themselves to be the subject of a condition they judge negatively, or feel themselves to be consciously affected by the event of transgression. Thirdly, a distinction should be drawn between the condition the individual finds himself in and the symptoms that result. Fourthly, reinforcement occurs by social degradation of the transgressor through shame and withholding honour. Internal discord has a weakening effect on the individual, which threatens his freedom to act boldly among his peers and with his inferiors. The basic conceptual framework can be diagrammatically described as follows,

Transgression>inner disharmony>outward vulnerability>shame.[1059]

[1055] Ibid., 76.
[1056] Ibid.
[1057] Ibid., 77.
[1058] What follows is drawn from ibid., 78–79.
[1059] Ibid., 79.

This schema will be utilized in the discussion on the conscience in 1 Timothy. For now we need to consider Bosman's finding on historical Paul's use of the σύνοιδα/συνείδησις word group.

7.6.1 The Conscience in Historical Paul's Correspondence

In his study of the linguistic development of the σύνοιδα/συνείδησις word group, Bosman found a development from the idea of awareness, "I know with myself that I have done terrible things," in the classical period to the Hellenistic period were the concept had developed into a semi-independent inner entity.[1060] An instance of the classical sense of awareness is Orestes confession to Menelaus in Euripides' *Orestes*, "Understanding (ἡ σύνεσις): the awareness (σύνοιδα) that I have done dreadful things" (396 [Kovacs, LCL]). In the Hellenistic period this idea of awareness within oneself became a permanent component of the soul. When a person was guilty of a crime or a failure of the moral standard, then it was expected that the conscience would be affected independent of the person's will. As Polybius comments, "For no one is such a terrible witness or such a dread accuser as the conscience that dwells in all our hearts" (*The Histories*, 18.26.13 [Paton, LCL]). The substantive use of ἐμαυτῷ σύνοιδα "I know in myself" becomes divorced from the subject of the verb and so it becomes a second "knowing" subject alongside the subject of the verb.[1061] This concept "treats us if we were each composed of two people. One of them knows of the defect but is keeping it a secret; the other shares the secret– in cases of moral conscience, a guilty one."[1062] Philo has this understanding of the conscience,

> For every soul has for its birth-fellow and house-mate a monitor whose way is to admit nothing that calls for censure, whose nature is ever to hate evil and love virtue, who is its accuser and its judge in one. If he be once roused as accuser he censures, accuses and puts the soul to shame, and again as judge, he instructs, admonishes and exhorts it to change its ways. And if he has the strength to persuade it, he rejoices and makes peace. But if he cannot, he makes war to the bitter end, never leaving it alone by day or night, but plying it with stabs and deadly wounds until he breaks the thread of its miserable and ill-starred life (*On the Decalogue* 87 [Colson, LCL]).[1063]

[1060] Ibid., 277–278.
[1061] Ibid., 277.
[1062] Sorabji, *Moral Conscience through the Ages*, 12.
[1063] Cf. Pierce, *Conscience in the New Testament*, 46.

Bosman found that Paul's use of the σύνοιδα was similar to Philo's use; they both deployed the term within similar themes or topics. Paul, however, displays a crucial further development.[1064] Bosman identified four features that are a development from Philo: "the inner monitor," "Συνείδησις and boasting," "Συνείδησις, truth and knowledge," and "Συνείδησις and the inner court of law."[1065] We will concentrate on three of these features because of their relevance to 1 Timothy.

In the first, Bosman found that the most significant feature of conscience (συνείδησις) in Paul is "that it acts as a monitor of inner conditions and processes."[1066] It does this by registering all the states of the inner person and reports on them in an impartial and reliable manner. In Philo there was a tendency towards neutrality, which is established in Paul.[1067] Philo uses the term a clean conscience (καθαρὸν συνειδός) to describe this permanent entity when it is not in operation after a deliberate transgression has been committed.[1068] Similarly, in 1 Corinthians 8:7 Paul describes how the conscience can become "impure" when "polluted" by conduct that is against a person's knowledge of their deepest convictions (γνῶσις), "However not all men have this knowledge (ἡ γνῶσις); but some, being accustomed to the idol until now, eat food as if it were sacrificed to an idol; and their conscience (ἡ συνείδησις) being weak is defiled." It appears that Paul thought that the conscience can lack knowledge of what is morally significant– that is it is weak.[1069] While it might lack knowledge its role as monitor remains consistent. The conscience is the monitor that judges conduct and registers any deviations from the norm of what is right and good, "including those of the inner disposition that drives conduct."[1070] Not only is the conscience a monitor of one's own conscience, but uniquely to Paul is that it can "draw conclusions about another person's integrity…by the observance of conduct."[1071]

This brings us to the second feature of Paul's conscience "συνείδησις and boasting." Bosman sees Paul using the σύνοιδα/συνείδησις word group in a unique way within the παρρησία

[1064] Bosman, *Conscience in Philo and Paul*, 265.
[1065] Ibid., 265–271.
[1066] Ibid., 265.
[1067] Ibid., 266.
[1068] *Praem.* 84; *Spec.*2. 203–204; Bosman, *Conscience in Philo and Paul*, 165–166, 266.
[1069] Ibid., 210–213.
[1070] Ibid., 266.
[1071] Ibid., 267.

theme. The term παρρησία means "outspokenness, frankness, freedom of speech" (LSJ). In the earlier development of conscience these terms would be mutually exclusive, but Paul relates συνείδησις positively to it. This can be seen in two instances. First,

> For our proud confidence (καύχησις) is this: the testimony of our conscience (τῆς συνειδήσεως), that in holiness and godly sincerity, not in fleshly wisdom but in the grace of God, we have conducted ourselves in the world, and especially toward you (2 Cor 1:12). [1072]

Secondly,

> Therefore, since we have this ministry, as we received mercy, we do not lose heart, but we have renounced the things hidden because of shame (τῆς αἰσχύνης), not walking in craftiness or adulterating the word of God, but by the manifestation of truth commending ourselves to every man's conscience (συνείδησιν) in the sight of God (2 Cor 4:1–2).

Paul asks his conscience to testify to his inner condition to prove himself as a true plain speaker. He is not a mere talker but his words correlate with the divine truth.[1073] Bosman detected a twofold link between "plain speaking" (παρρησία) and συνείδησις in these passages. A person's conscience cannot have παρρησία/ καύχησις if their conscience gives a damning testimony.[1074] The second link is that inwardly the conscience is the ideal instrument to voice an impartial and reliable judgement on the inner state that manifests itself as παρρησία.[1075] Since others do not have access to a person's inner state then they must judge his credibility in regard to his manner. As we saw in Romans 9:1–2 Paul calls on the Romans to judge the state of his heart according to his ability to make an oath.

These verses are important in understanding the use of conscience in 1 Timothy as they relate the conscience to the heart. Just as in Philo, who sees the conscience as an independent judge, Paul's conscience would accuse the soul if it failed to testify to its true state. The guilty conscience feels pain. As Plutarch describes,

> My conscience (ἡ σύνεσις), since I know I've done a dreadful deed, like an ulcer in the flesh, leaves behind it in the soul regret which ever continues to wound and prick it.

[1072] As does Philo, *Her.*6–7; Bosman is suggesting that καύχησις is closely related to the παρρησία theme, *Conscience in Philo and Paul*, 149–150, 267.
[1073] Ibid., 267.
[1074] Ibid.
[1075] Ibid.

> For the other pangs reason does away with, but regret is caused by reason itself, since the soul, together with its feeling of shame (αἰσχύνῃ), is stung and chastised by itself (476 F [Helmbold, LCL]).

The conscience, knowing that the self has done a "dreadful deed" feels pain like an ulcer and this pain is accompanied by regret and shame. Paul's conscience in Romans 9 is able to testify about the condition of his heart and judge that he is not lying. The corollary of this is that if Paul were lying his conscience would judge that he is a liar and he would feel the pain of regret and shame. And this pain would have a physical manifestation visible to others; conversely, the absence of pain enables him to speak boldly.

We move on to the fourth feature of the conscience in Paul, "Συνείδησις and the inner court of law." Philo makes extensive use of forensic terminology, but this is not the case with Paul.[1076] However, in those instances where he does use it, it is "potently present."[1077] In Romans 13:1–7 Paul uses the imagery of the law court to show that the conscience plays a supplementary role alongside the external authority of the state.[1078] The relationship of the conscience with authorities appointed by God is important in understanding the use of συνείδησις in 1 Timothy. In Romans 13 the term "conscience" is set in the context of the governing authority's right to dispense justice and administer taxes (Romans 13:1–6). Such activities are a part of God's moral universe (Romans 13:1). Those who oppose these authorities oppose the ordinance of God and bring condemnation on themselves (v.2). If the believer does not want to fear these authorities then they are to "do what is good" (vv.3–4). Justice comes through the authorities, who act as "a minister of God," and who brings "wrath on the one who practices evil" (v.4). Paul concludes by saying, "Therefore it is necessary to be in subjection, not only because of wrath, but also for conscience (συνείδησιν) sake" (v.5). Just as one is to fear or obey the authorities, so one is to be in subjection to one's conscience.

7.6.2. A 'good conscience' in 1 Timothy

We are now in a position to consider the "good conscience" (συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς) of 1 Timothy 1 verses 5 and 19. We start by observing that the conscience is a natural partner to

[1076] Ibid., 270.
[1077] Ibid.
[1078] Ibid.

the heart. A "good conscience" is therefore related to the "pure heart." As we have seen in Romans 9, historical Paul's conscience can testify to the condition of his heart. It must be presumed, therefore, that the writer of 1 Timothy would understand that the conscience observes and testifies about the heart's condition. The conscience would be responding to the condition of the heart and therefore its condition is built on what it finds. If the heart's condition is in harmony with the external activity of its owner, then the conscience can testify to the integrity of heart and action, just as historical Paul's conscience can testify to this at Romans 9:1. Some scholars of the Pastoral Epistles would judge that the writer's "good conscience" is being viewed in the same way– the absence of anything judged to be morally bad.[1079] It is at this point that some scholars collapse the idea of a "clean conscience" (ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει), 1 Timothy 3:9, into a "good conscience" in 1 Timothy 1:5 and 19.[1080] It is possible that the adjective "good" is selected as a variation to the "pure heart" for stylistic reasons.[1081] However, Marshall argues that the writer is describing something more than a clean conscience in verses 5 and 19.[1082] The "clear conscience" at chapter 3:9 is the absence of anything morally bad in relation to "holding the mystery of the faith."[1083] The "clear conscience" here must mean that the testimony of the deacon's conscience as to his holding of the faith is congruent with his practice. It must be that the "holding of the faith" is an internal condition, so that the writer is saying that the deacon is not claiming he has this internal condition "holding to the mystery of the faith" while at the same time being "double-tongued," "addicted to too much wine" etc.[1084] It is possible this is what is meant by the term a "good conscience," but the very term "good" points away from this interpretation.

The adjective "good" in relation to things imparts a positive quality: "good, serviceable," or "morally good" (LSJ).[1085] Paul uses the adjective in this sense at Romans 2:7, "to those who

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[1079] Fiore, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 41–42; Pierce, *Conscience in the New Testament*, 96.
[1080] Sorabji, *Moral Conscience through the Ages*, 26, n. 76;
[1081] Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 118.
[1082] Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 224–225, following D.C. Arichea and H.A. Hatton, *Paul's Letters to Timothy and to Titus*, UBS Handbook Series (New York: United Bible Societies, 1995), 73; cf. Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 118.
[1083] Bosman, *Conscience in Philo and Paul*, 115.
[1084] Philo in *Prob*, 99, understands a "pure conscience" to be free of fawning, flattery, and hypocrisy.
[1085] The phrase ἀγαθῇ συνειδήσει in the first epistle of Hippocrates (l.11) is being used in a non-reflexive sense approximately meaning "with our shared good knowledge" (Wesely D. Smith translates it as "with your good understanding," *Hippocrates Pseudepigraphic Writings* (Leiden; New York; København; Köln: Brill, 1990), 489–449); for discussion on the non-reflexive use of σύνοιδα see Bosman, *Conscience in Philo and Paul*, 51–52.

by perseverance in doing good (ἔργου ἀγαθοῦ).” It must be considered that the conscience in 1 Timothy 1:5 has a positive aspect not just the absence of an awareness of transgression.[1086] Bosman observed that once the conscience had evolved into a semi-independent inner entity, “its basically negative character becomes something of a problem as it cannot be both permanent and restricted to a negative role at the same time.”[1087] Philo’s conscience could be positively expressed as “pure;” that is, “I am not aware of having done anything wrong.” Bosman argues that this positive sense must become neutral; it emerges in Philo and reaches maturity in Paul’s συνείδησις.[1088] However, it is suggested here that in 1 Timothy that the positive aspect of the conscience is implied by the use of the term “good.” [1089]

7.6.3. The Adjective “good”

In Plato the substantive “the good” (τὸ ἀγαθόν) is the highest ideal and forms a part of his cosmology. However, he does use the term in relation to the everyday. In *Greater Hippias* those things that are fine are those that are suitable for their function (290C–291D).[1090] A wooden spoon can be καλός “fine” if it does well what a spoon is supposed to do (290D–291B). In *Republic* 10, the good and the fine are collocated on just this basis (601d): “‘the virtue or excellence, the beauty and correctness of each manufactured item, living creature, and action <is> related to nothing but the use for which each is made or naturally adapted’ (trans. Grube, revised Reeve 1992).”[1091] Rachel Barney concludes that “both goodness and fineness seem to be teleological norms, constituted by appropriate adaptation to function.”[1092] In other Platonic texts goodness and fineness are constituted by order and proportion: “’For measure and proportion manifest themselves in all areas as beauty and virtue’ (Phlb. 64e).”[1093] In Paula Gottlieb’s response to Barney’s discussion on the fine and

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[1086] This would impinge upon Pierce’s moral-positively good category, *Conscience in the New Testament*, 23.
[1087] *Conscience in Philo and Paul*, 278.
[1088] Ibid., 278.
[1089] There is this sense in the petition P. Corn. Inv. I 43. (180–192 CE). The petitioner appeals to the Epistrategus, Claudius Xenophon, to “hold liable the man named as defendant in the accusation” (ll.6–8). The petitioner asks for aid “because of my complete consciousness of right (διὰ τὴν πε[ρι]σσὸν συνίδησιν (συνείδησιν) ἀξιῶ” (ll. 10, 11) (translation in APIS papyri.info (accessed 14th April 2016)). The petitioner is asking for help based on his own positive assessment in regard to his conscience, “my upmost worthy conscience” (my translation).
[1090] Rachel Barney, "Notes on Plato on the Kalon and the Good," *ClP* 105, (2010): 363–377 (365).
[1091] Ibid., 365.
[1092] Ibid.
[1093] Ibid.

the good, she wishes to move beyond Barney's more prosaic formulation of Plato's good to emphasize relation of the good to beauty,

> What is good, then, is not simply what is desired, but what is desirable. Similarly, what is beautiful is not simply what is admired, but what is admirable. Therefore what is good is what deserves to be the object of desire (boulêsis/epithumia/general erôs).[1094]

She takes up Barney's references to Aristotle saying,

> According to Aristotle, not all good things are beautiful. Virtue and virtuous actions are beautiful, and so is the good person who is not merely civically virtuous—doing good actions because they bring approval and wealth, as described in *Eudemian Ethics* 8.3—but properly virtuous, doing good actions for their own sake.[1095]

This is an important point in Aristotle as it relates to "the end" (τὸ τέλος). In the beginning of *Nicomachean Ethics* Aristotle asks about happiness,

> These questions being settled, whether happiness (εὐδαιμονία) is one of the things we praise or rather one of those that we honour; for it is at all events clear that it is not a mere potentiality (δυνάμεων) (12. 1–2 [Rackham, LCL]).

Aristotle here is making a distinction between praiseworthy and honoured things and "powers" (δυνάμεων). Aspasius explains in his commentary,

> Honored things (*timia*) are all those that pertain to the first principle, like rulers and gods. Other things are noble (*kala*); and they define the noble as good and praiseworthy (*epaineton*), and such are the virtues and the activities in accordance with virtue. Other things are powers (*dunameis*). Such are those good things which it is possible to use well and not well, for example wealth and health and in general bodily and external things, which are called good because they are tools (*organa*) for the virtuous person for noble activities.[1096]

Somethings are good in themselves or as Tuozzo describes them "choiceworthy,"
as Arius Didymus describes, "of things that are choiceworthy and good, some are so in themselves (*kath' hauta*), others because of other things. Honored things (*ta timia*) and praiseworthy things (*epaineta*) and powers (*dunameis*) are good and choiceworthy in

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[1094] Paula Gottlieb, "Response to Barney," *ClP* 105(2010): 378–380 (379).
[1095] Ibid.
[1096] Aspasius commentary on *Eudemian Ethics* 32, 10–19 translated by Thomas Tuozzo, "Aristotle's Theory of the Good and Its Causal Basis," *Phronesis* 40 (1995): 293-314 (299).

themselves."[1097] Arius Didymus goes on to defend his view that powers can be good and choiceworthy in themselves.[1098] In Aristotle's scheme wealth can be considered choiceworthy in itself, although it is an auxiliary thing since it is useful. Wealth thus derives its choiceworthiness from its usefulness.[1099] In *Eudemian Ethics* Aristotle says,

> Of all goods [ἀγαθῶν], those are ends [τέλη] which are themselves choiceworthy for the sake of themselves (*hautôn heneka…haireta*). And of these, those are noble (*kala*), as many as, while being choiceworthy in themselves, are praiseworthy (*epaineta*) (1248b18–25).[1100]

From this discussion we can perceive that a "good conscience" would be an end, choiceworthy for the sake of itself; indeed, just as the writer of 1 Timothy describes it is the end of Paul's command. A good conscience is a thing to be desired not as a means to an end, but as a thing desired for its own sake. In comparison we could observe that pastoral Paul's command is good, but it is good for the end that it produces. In these terms, a good conscience is perceived to be a positive attainment (Acts 23:1; 1 Peter 3:21). It is one that does not suffer from pain, but in terms of its assessment as an end it is a positive "good."

To sum up, the writer of 1 Timothy treats the conscience as a permanent component in the person. Like historical Paul, the writer understands the conscience to be an inner monitor judging the voiced interior motives to the external behavior. The deacon is to have a "clean conscience"; that is one that is not aware of anything morally bad in one's behaviour. In this sense the conscience is a neutral entity only aroused when something calls for censure.[1101] Without anything to censure it is "'clean." In 1 Timothy 1:5 and 19, however, the writer is moving from this neutral sense of the conscience to a sense in which the conscience can be a positive entity within the inner person– "a good conscience." He therefore is departing from the historical Paul's usual sense, shifting the conscience to a desired functional component within the inner person.[1102] It is something that can be praiseworthy.

[1097] "Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 135, 1–10; tr. Sharples, modified" in Tuozzo, "Aristotle's Theory of the Good and Its Causal Basis," 300.
[1098] Ibid., 301.
[1099] Ibid., 301–302.
[1100] Cited in ibid., 304.
[1101] Similarly, Philo, *Deca.* 87.
[1102] This positive aspect is used by Paul in 2 Corinthians 1:12, although rare use in the first century, Pierce, *Conscience in the New Testament*, 87.

7.7. The "certain men," a Good Conscience, and Frank Speech.

In relation to the "certain men," a "good conscience" is to be desired. The object of the writer's rhetorical digression is to produce shame within the "certain men" in regard to their treatment of pastoral Paul as their spiritual father. A good conscience would be one that does not detect any excess– all things are in harmony like a musical instrument.[1103] A good conscience would be aware that the inner claim to be a son of Paul would match the outer actions. The argument in 1 Timothy is that the "certain men" are not in harmony; they are men of excess. Pastoral Paul's plain language is used as a weapon to shock them into an awareness that they are acting shamefully in regard to him. As we saw in our earlier discussion, historical Paul links the conscience with παρρησία in Romans and Corinthians. We saw that a person cannot have παρρησία if their conscience gives a damning testimony, so that only a harmonious inner state can manifest itself with παρρησία. This connection with παρρησία is vital in grasping the writer's strategy in 1 Timothy, so we need now to briefly survey the use of this theme.

7.7.1. Frank Speech

By the first century CE, frank speech (παρρησία) was an indicator "of the openness and honest characteristic of the friend as opposed to the dissimulation that marks the toady."[1104] Παρρησία came into its own in the Hellenistic philosophical schools where,

> the concern was with frank criticism in relation to instruction. Disciples require honest and constructive correction: the problem is to administer just criticism in a temperate way, avoiding both excessive harshness that may discourage the moral improvement of the disciple and a lenient indulgence of the aspirant's lax ways.[1105]

The sage, says Philodemus, will have the proper awareness to criticize others in a balanced way (columns IV–VII). For the purpose of correction, the revelation of personal faults was required, if the disciple was to make any moral advancement.[1106] Plutarch sees the frankness of a friend like medicine– its aim is for the health of the patient. In *How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend* he says that a friend is like,

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[1103] Gottlieb, "Response to Barney," 379–380.

[1104] David Konstan, "Friendship, Frankness and Flattery," in *Friendship, Flattery, and Frankness of Speech: Studies on Friendship in the New Testament World*, ed. John T. Fitzgerald (Leiden, The Netherlands; New York: E.J. Brill, 1996), 7–19 (7).

[1105] Ibid., 12.

[1106] Ibid., 13.

> a physician, who, if it be for the good of the patient, administers saffron or spikenard, and indeed oftentimes prescribes a grateful bath or generous diet, but there are cases where he lets all these go and drops in a dose of castor… There are times, too, when he combines deeds with words, as did Menedemus, who chastened the profligate and disorderly son of his friend Asclepiades by shutting the door upon him and not speaking to him;… For one ought to hurt a friend only to help him; and ought not by hurting him to kill friendship, but to use the stinging word as a medicine which restores and preserves health in that to which it is applied. Wherefore a friend, like a skilled musician, in effecting a transition to what is noble and beneficial, now relaxes and now tightens a string (55A–55D [Babbitt, LCL]).

The true friend and father (note Menedemus) administers frankness as a physician administers medicine. It is unpleasant at the time, but brings about healing. It should be noted also that Plutarch draws on the imagery of the musician as well. The musician brings an instrument into harmony, so a friend by adjusting his friend's character makes it noble and beneficial. In a similar manner pastoral Paul, in the digression 1 Timothy 1, is speaking frankly in order to effect a healing process within the "certain men."

7.7.2. Frank Speech and the Conscience in 1 Timothy

Although the term παρρησία does not appear in 1 Timothy, it is apparent that pastoral Paul is speaking frankly to the "certain men."[1107] Or more precisely, he is instructing Timothy to speak frankly to the "certain men." We have argued in the previous chapter that the writer's purpose in this digression was to shock the "certain men" into an awareness of their sin in regard to their treatment of Paul. As Plutarch describes, such words of rebuke in 1 Timothy would be called "the stinging word as a medicine." In 1 Timothy 4 the writer makes it clear that the consciences of the "certain men" are in need of healing,

> But the Spirit explicitly says that in later times some will fall away from the faith, paying attention to deceitful spirits and doctrines of demons, by means of the hypocrisy of liars seared in their own conscience as with a branding iron(1–2).

Deceitfulness in some way damages or marks the conscience, so that the "deceitful spirits" and "demons" can, without considering the truth, continue to forbid marriage and

[1107] Abraham J. Malherbe, "Medical Imagery in the Pastoral Epistles," in *Light from the Gentiles: Hellenistic Philosophy and Early Christianity: Collected Essays, 1959–2012*, ed. John T. Fitzgerald Carl R. Holladay, James W. Thompson, Gregory E. Sterling (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014), 117–134 (125–127).

abstaining from foods (v.4). The phrase "having seared their own consciences" is metaphorical and the imagery being suggested is debated.[1108] The word καυστηριάζω is used in Strabo, *Geography* (5.1.9) in reference to horses being branded with a wolf symbol. Irenaeus uses the term in the same way, but to mean the branding of human ears (*Haer.* Bk 1. 25.6).[1109] Some scholars have suggested that medical imagery is being invoked where a wound is cauterized. The noun καυτῆρα is found in Hippocrates, "Haemorrhoids" 6, and is used in relation to the cauterizing of a wound. However, the καυτῆρα refers to the actual implement itself, which is being heated like a branding iron. The verb, which is used both in Strabo and Irenaeus, is being used to describe the action of branding of a horse or a person to denote ownership.[1110] As we have seen in relation to the heart, the inner faculty can be acted upon leaving an imprint. This suggests that the "certain men" have an imprint on their consciences that interferes with the appropriate judgement about their relation to the faith (1 Tim 4:1). Malherbe observed an important use of the image of searing in Lucian's *The Downward Journey*.[1111] In the last scene of this play the Cynic is told that wickedness leaves marks on the soul. There had once been traces of searing on the Cynic's soul due to vice but they had been removed. The Cynic explained that the marks had been there due to his ignorance and wickedness but "when he began to live the philosophic life…he had washed the sears from his soul."[1112] This strongly suggests that the imprinting or searing of the "certain men's" consciences has damaged them rendering them unfit for their purpose. In other words, they are not good consciences.

The "certain men" have had their consciences seared (or branded) "by means of the hypocrisy of liars" (v.3). The clause, ἐν ὑποκρίσει ψευδολόγων, has been taken by many scholars to be instrumental, "through hypocritical liars."[1113] In other words, it is the means by which the consciences have been seared. Yet this phrase has caused some perplexity among scholars since the writer seems to be repeating himself.[1114] The word "hypocrisy" (ὑπόκρισις) was normally used to mean to answer or reply or "to play a part in a play" (LSJ).

[1108] Kelly, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 94–95.
[1109] W.W. Harvey, *Sancti Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis libri quinque adversus haereses*, vol. 1. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1857), 1. 20.4. Retrieved from Thesaurus Linguae Graecae® Digital Library, http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/Iris/Cite?1447:001:0 (accessed 1 March 2017).
[1110] Kelly, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 94–95.
[1111] Malherbe, "Medical Imagery in the Pastoral Epistles," 130–131.
[1112] Ibid., 131.
[1113] Guthrie, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 104.
[1114] Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 291.

Another nuance is metaphorical, "playing a part, hypocrisy, outward show." The one who engages in this activity is a "hypocrite" (ὑποκριτής). This sense can be found in Polybius, *Histories*,

> The Aravacae when they presented themselves assumed (τὴν ὑπόκρισιν) in their speech a humble and submissive attitude, but made it evident that at heart they were neither disposed to make submission at all nor to accept defeat (35.1.13 [Paton, LCL]).

This same duplicity is at the fore in 1 Timothy 4:2.[1115] As with the actor, the inner state of the Aravacae does not match their outward actions. As we have seen in our discussion of Romans 9, historical Paul claims he is not a liar as the state of his heart matches his testimony as to its condition. In the context of 1 Timothy, the "certain men" claim that they are true sons of Paul, but in their hearts they wish to usurp pastoral Paul's authority and instate their own διδασκαλία. They feign loyalty to Paul and through this means they have damaged their consciences. Therefore, they are liars. Since their consciences have been damaged, they feel no shame at their treatment of their spiritual father Paul. Their consciences should be stung by guilt and shame, if they were in working order. At this point they depart from the model of pastoral Paul who had acted ignorantly in unbelief (1 Tim 1:13). Yet it is clear that both pastoral Paul and the "certain men" have available to them the grace of the Lord (1 Tim 1:14), since both Paul, before his revelation of Christ Jesus, and the "certain men" are guilty of the same crime of *hybris*. The frank speech of pastoral Paul (1 Tim 4: 1), is designed to revive the consciences of the "certain men" back to working order.[1116] The goal of Paul's command, therefore, is a reconditioned conscience, which is described as "good"; in other words, it functions appropriately.

7.7.3. Conclusion: the Strategy of Frank Speech in 1 Timothy

In conclusion, the frank speech of the writer aims at initiating a response in the "certain men" so that their consciences will be stung with an awareness of their guilt. This strategy relies on the stimulus-response scheme identified by Bosman. By utilizing concepts and themes related to the activation of this stimulus-response, the writer is hoping to persuade the "certain men" that they are guilty of blasphemy, self-promotion, and *hybris*. As we identified in the last chapter, the writer is not so much persuading as expecting his audience

[1115] Cf. Matthew 23:28.
[1116] Similarly Philo, *Det.* 146.

to persuade themselves.[1117] This thesis argues that this is done by way of the stimulus-response scheme. The writer believes that his rhetoric will bring about an awareness of sin in the "certain men," which will then lead to an inner disharmony (their consciences will be stung), and this in turn will mean an awareness that they are outwardly vulnerable (others will judge their consciences to be in operation) and this awareness will produce shame. And shame is the prime objective in the writer's strategy as he hopes it will then force the "certain men" to seek the grace of Christ Jesus and return to an appropriate service. This appropriate service is the obedience to pastoral Paul's διδασκαλία. Without the grace of Christ Jesus the "certain men" are liable to judgement for their crimes. As in Romans 13, this evokes the image of the court room. Those who oppose God by rejecting the authorities he has established are liable to God's judgement (Rom 13:1). Such people bring condemnation on themselves (Rom 13:2). In Romans 13 the authorities are those of the Roman Empire, but in 1 Timothy the authority ordained by God and Christ Jesus is pastoral Paul. But the framework is the same. As historical Paul says in Romans 13 "for rulers are not a cause of fear for good behavior, but for evil" (v.3), so the writer of 1 Timothy can say "realizing the fact that law is not made for a righteous person" (1 Tim 1:9). In Romans 13 historical Paul says that one should obey not only for fear of the authorities but because of "conscience sake" (v.5). In other words, one should fear the pain of conscience if one were to disobey the authorities and consequently disobey God. In 1 Timothy the "certain men" should fear the pain of their consciences and the judgement of God. There are, therefore, two strands to the writer's strategy in 1 Timothy to persuade the "certain men:" shame and fear. And both responses should be a concern to a fully functioning and healthy conscience.

7.8. Timothy's Conscience

In regard to pastoral Timothy, he is entrusted with Paul's command to the "certain men" (1 Tim 1:3, 18). The repetition of παραγγελία from verse 3 in verse 18 introduces the conclusion of the digression.[1118] The prophecies authorize pastoral Timothy as the successor to pastoral Paul: an heir apparent as Paul's son (1 Tim 1: 2, 18).[1119] Most scholars see pastoral Timothy's prophecies forming the basis for the subjunctive clause that follows, "so that by them you fight the good fight." This is because the dative phrase "ἐν αὐταῖς" agrees

[1117] Fiore, *The Function of Personal Example*, 64.
[1118] That ταύτην τὴν παραγγελίαν looks back to verse 5, see Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 407–408.
[1119] Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 155–157.

with the plural "prophecies" (προφητείας).[1120] However, it is proposed here that this is a distributive singular, as Nigel Turner describes "something belonging to each person in a group of people is placed in the [singular]." [1121] This is most certainly the case in verse 5 where the "the instruction (τῆς παραγγελίας)" refers back to the command with two parts "not to teach the other διδασκαλία nor to pay attention…" (1 Tim 1:3–4). Viewed in this way the command is a whole designed to stamp out one type of activity. Reiterated in verse 18, "this command (ταύτην τὴν παραγγελίαν)" reflects the distributed singular, so that the instrumental "by them" (ἐν αὐταῖς) refers to the multiple parts of the command.[1122] Further we suggest that the propositional phrase "in accordance with the prophecies previously made concerning you (κατὰ τὰς προαγούσας ἐπὶ σὲ προφητείας)" is possessive and forms the basis for pastoral Paul's entrustment of the command to Timothy.[1123] Therefore, pastoral Timothy has been called into service by the direct activity of God as has his adoptive father. The subjunctive clause so "that by them you fight the good fight," therefore, relates to pastoral Timothy fighting the "certain men" with the command of verses 3 to 4.

The phrase "fighting the good fight" was a common literary metaphor in Graeco-Roman writers.[1124] Raymond Hobbs in his study on the metaphor of warfare in the New Testament found that it was often employed when there was "a clear attempt at controlling what is on the inside [of a group]."[1125] For instance, the historical Paul in 2 Corinthians 10: 1–6 uses concepts like "obedience," "courage," "war," and "weapons" in the fight against "arguments" of those within the Corinthian church (vv. 6–11). In this passage, Paul says that he may need to be courageous in the presence of the Corinthians "against some" (ἐπί τινας). Here historical Paul utilizes the same rhetorical device as in 1 Timothy against those who are making false claims about him and his supporters (2 Cor 10:2). Historical Paul insists that he is not walking according to the flesh, and that his "weapons" of warfare are "divinely powerful for the destruction of fortresses" (2 Cor 10:3). These weapons of warfare are

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[1120] Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 155–157; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 410; Kelly, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 57.
[1121] 1 Thess 1:7; 2 Thess 3:9; Nigel Turner, *Syntax*, ed. James Hope Moulton, vol. 3 of *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1963), 23–25.
[1122] Ibid., 252–253.
[1123] For a discussion on the possessive κατά see ibid., 268.
[1124] Epictetus *Diatr.* 1.12.15–17; 3.24.34; Plutarch, *Reg. imp. apophth.* 204 A; Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 157.
[1125] Raymond Hobbs, "The Language of Warfare in the New Testament," in *Modelling Early Christianity: Social-Scientific Studies of the New Testament in Its Context*, ed. Philip Francis Esler (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), 259–273 (267).

destroying “speculations and every lofty thing raised up against the knowledge of God” (2 Cor 10:5). The correspondence of these activities with the activities of the “certain men” in 1 Timothy is quite striking. Certainly the “speculations” (λογισμοὺς) or the “arguments” (LSJ) of 2 Corinthians 10: 5 is comparable to the “fruitless discussions” (ματαιολογίαν) of 1 Timothy 1:6. In this passage, pastoral Paul warns that “we are ready to punish all disobedience” (2 Cor 10:6), although he does not say how he will implement the punishment. This then gives us a background to the pastoral Paul’s phrase “fight the good fight” at 1 Timothy 1: 19. The weapons in 2 Corinthians 10 are not explicitly stated, but must relate to historical Paul’s authority when present among the Corinthians. Here in 1 Timothy the weapon clearly is “this command” issued by pastoral Paul in his authority as an apostle. The good or noble fight (τὴν καλὴν στρατείαν) is the implementation of the command against the “certain men.”

While pastoral Timothy is at work fighting the good fight, he is to keep “faith and a good conscience” (ἔχων πίστιν καὶ ἀγαθὴν συνείδησιν) (1 Tim 1:19). Within the narrative of 1 Timothy, pastoral Timothy is portrayed as the loyal son (1 Tim 1:2). His conscience is not in need of repair as are the consciences of the “certain men.” Pastoral Timothy is to act as an example to which the “certain men” are to aspire. The good conscience is after all a goal of the command, which pastoral Timothy is to fight to implement.

7.9. The Faith of Timothy and the “certain men”

Throughout 1 Timothy faith is related to conscience (1 Tim 1: 5, 19; 4:1–2). As we saw in our discussion of the heart’s relationship with the conscience, so the conscience can be aware of inner workings of faith. In 1 Timothy, there is an interplay between faith (ἡ πίστις) with the definite article and the indefinite faith (πίστις). Timothy is a loyal child in faith (τέκνῳ ἐν πίστει) (1 Tim 1:3) and the goal of the command is a sincere faith (πίστεως ἀνυποκρίτου) (1 Tim 1:5), while the “certain men” “fall away from the faith” (τῆς πίστεως) (1 Tim 4:1).

Marshall sees that the “sincere faith” is an attitude that is “determined by trust in God and commitment to him.”[1126] He rejects Wilcken’s idea that “πίστις here denotes orthodoxy or fidelity to the tradition, so that the attribute ἀνυπόκριτος can be combined with it, and thus

[1126] Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 370.

heresy is hypocrisy."[1127] We agree with Marshall that such an idea "seems to be read into the PE."[1128] As we have been arguing, "the goal of the instruction" is related to the relationship that the "certain men" have with pastoral Paul. In these relational terms it is not a "sincere faith" in regard to the tradition, but faithfulness in regard to pastoral Paul. Faithfulness to pastoral Paul is faithfulness to God and Christ Jesus, who put pastoral Paul into service. Sincerity of faith, therefore, is "free from pretense" and "whole-hearted" so that, as Marshall describes, "one does not believe in God (or profess to do so) and behave in an inconsistent manner."[1129] As we have seen in our discussion on the conscience, to profess a sincere faith or loyalty to pastoral Paul and to God and Christ Jesus, yet promote the other διδασκαλία would be hypocritical. This implies that "the faith" (ἡ πίστις) of 1 Timothy 4:1 is equivalent to pastoral Paul's διδασκαλία. The goal of the command is to realign the "certain men's'" διδασκαλία to pastoral Paul's διδασκαλία, so that their profession of a sincere faith (πίστεως ἀνυποκρίτου) is a profession of loyalty to Paul, which then matches their inward attitude. Their functioning consciences would then be able to recognize that their inward attitude was genuine and sincere. They will thus be able to love Paul, God, and Christ Jesus, which is the goal, τὸ τέλος, of 1 Timothy 1:5. For pastoral Timothy, who is loyal already, the faith (πίστις) he is keeping is a loyalty to his father. In this way he becomes the model of what it means to fulfil the goal of his father's command.

7.10. Shipwrecked Faith

As examples of "some," Hymenaeus and Alexander have shipwrecked "their faith" (περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἐναυάγησαν) (1 Tim 1: 19, 20).[1130] The adjective πίστις here has the article and this could suggest that it is the content of the faith, "the faith."[1131] Marshall rejects this idea and argues that it makes reference to faith mentioned in relation to Timothy or to "their faith."[1132] Marshall sees this as the better option since the faith referred to is the faith in the charge to pastoral Timothy.[1133] This agrees with our analysis; the faithfulness was the loyal relationship that Hymenaeus and Alexander had with Paul, God, and Christ Jesus. But this relationship has ended in disaster through their *hybris* and blasphemy (1 Tim 1: 13, 20).

[1127] U. Wilckens, in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, 570f, in Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 371.
[1128] *Pastoral Epistles*, 371.
[1129] Ibid.
[1130] Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy*, 106.
[1131] Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 412; Kelly, *The Pastoral Epistles* , 57–58.
[1132] Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 412; Kelly, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 58.
[1133] Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 412.

Pastoral Paul has disciplined them as lawless and rebellious sons, by handing them over to Satan.[1134] This must be an allusion to their exclusion from the community.[1135] Just as Menedemus "chastened the profligate and disorderly son of his friend Asclepiades by shutting the door upon him and not speaking to him" (Plutarch, *How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend*), so pastoral Paul has closed the door on Hymenaeus and Alexander. They are now not just paying attention to "deceitful spirits" and the διδασκαλία of demons, but they are in the dominion of Satan (Acts 26:18). A similar strategy was used by historical Paul in Corinth, where the "someone" who has "his father's wife" is to be punished.[1136] Paul commands that when the community is assembled they are "to deliver such a one to Satan for the destruction of his flesh, so that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus" (1 Cor 5: 5). The same objective appears to be in mind for Hymenaeus and Alexander.[1137] The shame brought about by the humiliation of punishment in front of their peers is designed to bring about repentance. This is how they are being "taught not to blaspheme" (1 Tim 1:20).[1138] As we have seen in our discussion of pastoral Paul's testimony, it is possible for one who has committed the crimes of *hybris* and blasphemy to receive mercy. The story of Hymenaeus and Alexander is incomplete and holds out hope that even ones such as these may be reinstated into the community and put into service. The promise is that if they obey the command, then they will "love from a pure heart and good conscience and a sincere faith."

7.11. The Decision of the "certain men"

The initial command of pastoral Paul is that Timothy instructs the "certain men" not to "to teach the other instruction." In the digression that follows, he paints a picture of the consequences of following this other διδασκαλία. This is part of his persuasive strategy. The vivid image of Hymenaeus and Alexander shipwrecking their faith is designed to frighten men in similar circumstances: other "certain men." The mention of the public shaming of

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[1134] "Satan functions here as a pedagogue, putting his rod to the back not of schoolboys by adult, influential Christian teachers…The emphasis is upon the sufferings and chastisements that characterized elementary education in the ancient world," Quinn and Wacker, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy*, 158.

[1135] Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 414.

[1136] Quinn and Wacker, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy*, 155–156.

[1137] Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 69–70.

[1138] Since the goal is that Hymenaeus and Alexander are to be "taught," then the implication is that their relationship with Paul is not entirely broken. Greek fathers could banish sons or disinherit them, but this is not picture here; see Emiel Eyben, "Fathers and Sons," in *Marriage, Divorce, and Children in Ancient Rome*, ed. Beryl Rawson (Canberra; Oxford; New York: Humanities Research Center; Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1991), 114–143.

Hymenaeus and Alexander is calculated to bring that fear into view.[1139] A father or sage would inflict such a punishment in order to win compliance in their charges. However, before he brings up the possibility of punishment, pastoral Paul attempts to shock the "certain men" into an awareness of their shameful behaviour toward him. The purpose of the digression, however, is not just to leave the "certain men" in a state of shame, but to outline a course of action that leads out from that shame into a renewed state. They are to follow pastoral Paul from a state of blasphemy, self-indulgent pursuit, and *hybris* into a state of love. By obeying pastoral Paul's command they will be acting with a pure heart, a good conscience, and a sincere faith thus acquiring the end of the command. Through obedience their hearts will be pure, their consciences will be good, and since their profession will match their hearts' desire, they will indeed be faithful to Paul. In turn, faithfulness to Paul means faithfulness to God the saviour and Christ Jesus the hope. In this way they will have achieved the end of pastoral Paul's command: they will love Paul as true sons. This then is the method by which the "certain men" are to turn from "teaching the other instruction" (1 Tim 1:3) to the administration of God (1 Tim 1:4).

The "administration of God" can now be linked to the service of pastoral Paul. In chapter 4 we concluded that the "administration of God" was the activity of administering the commands of God. It is related to the manner of life to be led (ἀναστρέφεσθαι) (1 Tim 3:15). The "certain men" are to serve as their spiritual father serves, which is exemplified by his son Timothy. This service takes place in the household of God the king. All the participants, pastoral Paul, Timothy, and the "certain men," are seen to be within the confines of a royal court. Their business is the king's business. There is a hierarchical nature to their relationships.[1140] The command of pastoral Paul is not just the homey instruction of a father, who hopes his sons will obey him, but the instruction of an official with the authority of the king. The "certain men" are to spend their time in the service of the king, which is "the administration of God." It is conducted "in faithfulness." Like pastoral Timothy they are to be loyal sons and obedient to pastoral Paul's commands. The initial "command" (1 Tim 1:3–4) begins but a raft of instructions that follow in the rest of the letter. These instructions form a large complex of instructions, which should be identified as Paul's διδασκαλία. It is *the* διδασκαλία as opposed to *the other* διδασκαλία. This διδασκαλία deals with the proper

[1139] For a discussion of the relation of shame/disgrace and fear of external sanction see Cairns, *Aidōs*, 373–375.
[1140] As Verner found *The Household of God*, 182.

manner in which the various participants within the household of God are to conduct themselves. The import is not about the actual tasks of administration, but the manner in which they are conducted.[1141] The essence of this letter is summed up in pastoral Paul's encouragement to Timothy, "let no one look down on your youthfulness, but *rather* in speech, conduct, love, faith *and* purity, show yourself an example of those who believe" (1 Tim 4:12).

[1141] As we saw in chapter 3 a teacher's διδασκαλία is the passing on of both practical knowledge and a manner of life.

Conclusion

This thesis set out to demonstrate that the command opening the letter body of 1 Timothy (verses 3–4) is the key to understanding how the letter functions as a persuasive literary unit. In order to achieve this, this initial command was unpacked before turning to demonstrate its relationship to the ethical digression that was identified in verses 5 to 20 of chapter 1. The letter body opens with the command:

> As I urged you upon my departure to Macedonia to remain in Ephesus, may you command (or warn) certain men not to teach the other instruction, nor to pay attention to myths and endless genealogies, (spending time on this) results in intense investigations, rather than (producing the attention that is to be given to) God's administration, which is accompanied by appropriate faithfulness.

Since this is a command one would expect it to be heeded by those to whom it was directed, the "certain men," however, the writer feels obligated to persuade them to obey through an ethical digression.

The ethical digression (1 Tim 1:5–20) is a tightly knit unit employing a range of rhetorical devices and ideologically significant threads. These threads were found to be activated either in the salutation or the command. These important ideological and thematic threads, the significant father-son theme (or *topos*), civic ideals, educational motifs, stereotypes of young men and older men, were found to be used by the writer as a means to create emotional tension within his target audience–"the certain men." This digression was found to be related to the explication of the problem at chapter 4 verses 1 to 5; not only does it reiterate the problem, but casts it in the most disturbing of terms as the "instruction of demons." We conclude that the language of "deceitful spirits" and "demons" is being used to reinforce the emotional shock activated in the "certain men" in the digression, which is that they are ill-treating their spiritual father, Paul. Therefore, the instructions that lay between the ethical digression and the reiteration of the substance of the command (1 Tim 1:1–5) are to be read in the light of the command. The command in effect forms the purpose statement for the letter and is its raison d'être. This command consists of two elements: turning from the other instruction and the myths and endless genealogies to the

administration of God. It was argued that the "administration of God" was the οἰκονομία which implements pastoral Paul's commission as an apostle. It was also argued that this implementation is carried out through an education in the art of godly living (καλῆς διδασκαλίας) (1 Tim 4:6). And this διδασκαλία is Paul's διδασκαλία embodied in the command and the instructions that follow. This thus demonstrates that the two elements identified by Dibelius and Conzelmann, "church order and the refutation of heretics," are tightly coordinated forming two sides of the one coin: the defence of pastoral Paul and his διδασκαλία.

8.1. The Historical Implications

The above summary, it is suggested, solves the problem of the internal workings of the letter. We begin to see how the letter works as a persuasive unit. However, we did not begin this thesis by examining the internal letter workings without first building a methodological framework. This methodological framework freed us to examine the letter as it presents itself, taking seriously the narrative dimension of father Paul writing to his son Timothy, which proved so important in elucidating the persuasive elements of the letter. The framework that was built in chapter 2 allowed us to separate the author from the letter writer, in which we located the implied author. The letter writer was Paul, who we identified as "pastoral Paul." As the above summary shows, treating the letter writer, pastoral Paul, as an autonomous decision maker has paid rich dividends. There is also another aspect to this approach that could also lead to valuable insights into 1 Timothy as a pseudepigraphical work. As was suggested, the craft of pseudonymity is a kin to the theatre. Few have thought of the oral dimension of this letter. For the letter to perform its function to persuade the "certain men," it must be performed.[1142] There is an audience for 1 Timothy, or rather two audiences. There is the audience that is implied to be sitting with pastoral Timothy, hearing this letter being read. Then there is the audience that the author has in mind at the moment that they hear the letter.

[1142] Pieter J.J. Botha, "The Verbal Art of the Pauline Letters: Rhetoric, Performance and Presence," in *Rhetoric and the New Testament: Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Thomas H. Olbricht (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 409–428; Lee A. Johnson, "Paul's Letters Reheard: A Performance-Critical Examination of the Preparation, Transportation, and Delivery of Paul's Correspondence," *CBQ* 79 (2017): 60–76.

We need to be careful at this point because historically we cannot be certain if the intended audience ever heard the letter. We cannot even tell with precision who was the intended audience–a whole church or a segment of the congregation? This aside, we can still consider the theatre of the performed letter.[1143] It is proposed here that the power of the pseudonymous letter, the play, and the oration is that in all these forms the audience by their participation persuade themselves.[1144] So in Sophocles' play *Ajax*, which we have touched on, the audience is challenged and conflicted by Ajax's dilemma and his personal choices.[1145] It appears that Sophocles believed that his audience would be convinced that maintaining one's honour can lead to conflicting responses that in turn leads to shame and dishonour.[1146] By experiencing this play, the audience have revealed to them a dimension of their social life that they may not have been aware.[1147] I suggest this is Plutarch's "fruit" that is to be found "amid the poetic diction and the tales."[1148]

The very nature of 1 Timothy points to this kind of function. In chapter 1, we established that the author lived in a culturally and intellectually rich period in Asia Minor. It was a time of fervent literary activity. As we saw in chapter 2, pseudepigraphical works of various types were a part of this literary activity. Letter writing shifted from being a prosaic method of communicating by distance to a literary art in and of itself. Great volumes of letters by Caesar, Cicero, Pliny, and Seneca were collected and distributed. In the first century CE the second sophistic movement was dawning and there was a great deal of interest in the Greek philosophers, orators, and statesmen of the past. As Rosenmyer describes, there was a preoccupation with the inner lives of great men and the letter afforded insight into their private thoughts.[1149] 1 Timothy, however, does not neatly align itself to this kind of purpose,

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[1143] Ibid.

[1144] Pat Easterling, "Actors and Voices: Reading between the Lines in Aeschines and Demosthenes," in *Performance-Culture and Athenian Democracy*, ed. Simon Goldhill and Robin Osborne (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 154–166; Sanders, "'He is a liar, a bounder, and a cad,' 359–387; Johnson, "Paul's Letters Reheard ," 70–71, creating passion in the listener; actors on stage produce this effect in their audience, Quintillian, *Inst.*, 11.3.4–6; also consider our discussion in chapter 5 on Plato's warning about the danger of poetry and Plutarch's redemption of the art for the benefit of the hearer.

[1145] Elton Barker, "Fallout from Dissent: Hero and Audience in Sophocles' Ajax," *Greece & Rom*e 51 (2004): 1–20; Cairns, *Aidōs,* 228–241.

[1146] Ibid.

[1147] David Kawalko Roselli, *Theater of the People: Spectators and Society in Ancient Athens* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 195–210; Charles Segal, *Tragedy and Civilization: An Interpretation of Sophocles* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 9–10; 109–151.

[1148] *How the Young Man Should Study Poetry* 28 E.

[1149] Rosenmyer, *Ancient Epistolary Fictions*, 197–199.

rather it lays closer to the administrative genre of the pseudepigraphical letters of Brutus.[1150] We discussed the covering letter of this collection, itself a pseudonymous letter, in chapter 3. It is not so much that the letters of Brutus gave insight into the interior world of the great man, rather it gave the reader an insight to his approach to leadership.[1151] Yet, these letters do not so much persuade but command. 1 Timothy, on the other hand, with its adaptive use of rhetorical devices especially in the digression, lays closer to the orations of Isocrates and Demosthenes. This moves us into the realm of rhetoric, which featured declamation as its primary mode of training.[1152] While declamation is related to oratory, the art of speaking in character and writing in character seem to become fused in the pseudonymous letter. It is suggested that this might be the case for 1 Timothy.

Further, training in rhetoric was closely aligned with letter writing. As we saw in chapter 2, letter writing was seen as related to oratory since, as Malherbe observed, many of the types in the handbooks of letter writing correspond to genres in rhetoric.[1153] And letter writers, such as the author of 1 Timothy, used rhetoric in writing their letters. The allied activities of rhetoric, declamation, and pseudepigraphical letter writing are all located in the sphere of education.[1154] As was discussed in chapter 1, the education of the adult was of significant concern to historical Paul. And it is none the less so for pastoral Paul of 1 Timothy. We established that the overarching theme of 1 Timothy is education. But this is not the education of the Graeco-Roman world. Greek *paideia* has been transformed into the διδασκαλία of Paul. And this brings us to the heart of the problem in 1 Timothy. "Certain men" are teaching another διδασκαλία, not Paul's διδασκαλία. It is at this point that we can transition from the narrative world of the letter to the concern of the author. It is proposed here that the author is facing a similar situation in his world. Others are teaching another διδασκαλία that is leading to extreme behaviour. The letter then as a pseudonymic device, which is in effect an educational device, is inviting the "certain men" of the author's

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[1150] Hercher, *Epistolographi Graeci*, 177–191; for an account of the letters see R. E. Smith, "The Greek Letters of M. Junius Brutus." *ClQ* 30 (1936): 194–203.

[1151] "For possessing the style of a leader's mind" (14–15), "The Letter of Mithridates" in Calhoun, "The Letter of Mithridates," 299–301.

[1152] W. Martin Bloomer, "Roman Declamation: The Elder Seneca and Quintilian," in *A Companion to Roman Rhetoric*, ed. William Dominik and Jon Hall (Blackwell Publishing: Blackwell Reference Online: 2007), 297–306.

[1153] Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists*, 3—4, 6—7.

[1154] Letters as an educational exercise and linked to training in rhetoric, Stirewalt, *Studies in Ancient Greek Epistolography*, 20—24; training in rhetoric and declamation, D. R. Shackleton Bailey, ed., "Introduction." In Quintilian, *The Lesser Declamations*, vol. I. LCL (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 1.

audience into the world of pastoral Paul and Timothy without risk to their honour. The persuasion of the "certain men" in Timothy's congregation is the persuasion of the "certain men" in the author's audience. Like the audience in Sophocles' *Ajax*, who are free to identity with Ajax himself or with Odysseus, so the audience of 1 Timothy is free to identity with the "certain men" or with Timothy. As we considered in chapter 3, παραγγέλλω could be taken as "command," or it could be taken as "warn" so that pastoral Paul is reminding the "certain men" not to start teaching the other διδασκαλία or pursuing time wasting activities. However, it could be that the word παραγγέλλω was selected because it had these two nuances, so that those in the audience could hear it in terms that related to their own state in relation to the other διδασκαλία. This then would provide a way for the "certain men" to persuade themselves to avoid the *hybris* associated with the other διδασκαλία or to abandon it altogether.

For the author of 1 Timothy, the device of pseudonymity acts as an effective educational tool, giving opportunity for a forthright παρρησία while at the same time sparing the honour of the "certain men." While the fear of shame, as we saw in chapter 6, is employed in this letter, the pseudonymity of the letter acts as a social buffer, distancing the insult of the παρρησία. While the other διδασκαλία is creating arguments and factions, this pseudepigraphical letter is designed to mend those factional fissures with the least emotional turmoil. In no way is our writer a flatterer; he is a plain speaking father. As we saw in our survey of advice to the young, such people promote the very thing pastoral Paul is trying to resolve. As we argued in chapter 6, the deliberative rhetoric of the ethical digression paints a picture of reconciliation: Hymenaeus and Alexander are called back into service from their exile with Satan (1 Tim 1:20), just as pastoral Paul was called out of his *hybris* and into service. While pastoral Paul's reconciliation with Christ acts as paradigm for misbehaving "sons" like Hymenaeus and Alexander, pastoral Timothy acts as the example or *typos* for those sons who have so far avoided the other διδασκαλία, or who have returned to Paul's διδασκαλία.

On the surface 1 Timothy looks like a straightforward administrative letter, issuing commands and instructions to a delegate from a superior officer. These letters we encountered in chapter 2. The insertion of the ethical digression into this common form of letter gives the letter an enormous depth. The "certain men" are not treated as children who

must obey the command, but they are treated as those who must be persuaded.[1155] It was demonstrated that 1 Timothy 1 verse 5 operates as a statement of common ground between pastoral Paul and the "certain men." Both believe that the goal of their commands is love; they both desire a pure heart, a good conscience, and sincere faith. The aim of the letter writer is to persuade the "certain men" that they have failed to love their spiritual father Paul by shaming him through their rejection of his διδασκαλία. We saw in chapter 7, that by rejecting pastoral Paul's διδασκαλία and pursuing another that they have corrupted their hearts, their consciences, and their faithfulness. Pastoral Paul expects that through the offer of mercy, which is to be found in the grace of the Lord, that the "certain men" will return to God's service and regain faith and love (1 Tim 1:13–14). In this lies the expectation or hope that the "certain men's" consciences will be revived and they will respond as mature sons should. As we saw in the example of Odysseus and Telemachus, adult sons were expected to be obedient to their fathers, but more as collaborators rather than as subservient dependents. In the end, as we saw in our survey of literature in which the older man advises the younger, the younger man is expected to mature and become an autonomous decision maker. It is suggested here that the instructions contained chiefly in 2:1–3:13 and 4:6–6:21 are thus transformed from mere directives as one might find in administrative correspondence into ethical images of what it means to live out the good διδασκαλία. The end goal is love, which is a love not just directed to Paul through the administration of his διδασκαλία, but it is a love that is directed at all who are in the service of God the Father and Christ Jesus the Lord.

8.2. Concluding Remarks

The author of 1 Timothy has shown himself to be an adaptive and creative writer seeking to solve a significant problem in his community–the spread of another educational program. This program has led to distortions in the ethical outcomes of those who are participants. As we concluded they waste their time, engage in disputes, and command extreme behaviour. As we have worked our way through this thesis it has become apparent that the author of 1 Timothy is much like Plutarch: he is responsible for the education and training of a group of young men and women. Unlike Plutarch he is also responsible for a particular διδασκαλία in a community. His responsibility is to ensure that it is entrusted to others, who are mature and fit to implement it for the good of the community.

[1155] Just as Cicero sought to persuade Marcus rather than direct him in his course.

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