

III

The Haustafel Tradition in the Pastorals

Given that much of the material in the Pastorals is concerned with problems of social structure and relations in household and church, should this material be understood to reflect the author's focused understanding of issues which his church faces and his response to these issues, or should this material be seen as reflecting an accumulation of traditions dealing with various social concerns, a number of which may not be particularly current? For instance, is the problem of widows one to which the author responds because it is a troublesome problem in his community, or is the material on widows accumulated tradition which is simply being preserved as part of the tradition. The question is then, not whether this material deals with real issues, but whether they were live issues in the author's situation and whether his was a deliberate response to these issues.

THE HAUSTAFELN AS EARLY CHRISTIAN PARAENESIS

As noted in Chapter I, the focal material of this study is presented according to the form of the early Christian *Haustafeln*. The *Haustafel* form has usually been characterized as a schema, but has recently been classified as a topos by Balch, on the basis of his identification of the topos "concerning household management" as the antecedent of the *Haustafeln*. One would expect such a schema or topos to be utilized and thus realized in different ways by different authors. The following discussion will seek to identify the basic traditional elements of the *Haustafel* schema/topos and the utilization of this schema/topos in several examples from among the *Haustafeln*. The question of what difference it makes to think of the *Haustafel* form as a schema or to think of it as a topos will be explored in the course of the discussion.

IV

The Household and the Household of God in the Church of the Pastorals

It has now been established that the author of the Pastorals characterizes the church as the household of God in 1 Tim 3:14 and that he writes with the explicitly stated intention of describing the way that church members ought habitually to behave as members of this great household. It has further been established that much of the material in 1 Timothy and Titus reflects the influence of the station code schema, which first appears in the *Haustafeln*, which represent a paraenetic adaptation of the traditional topos on household management. Thus the author of the Pastorals, who conceives of the church as the household of God, presents material concerned with behavior in the church according to a schema that is closely associated with the early church's ethical codes for household life.

The task of the present chapter is to examine this material (and some additional related material) for what can be learned about the households of the church of the Pastorals and about the church itself as a social entity capable of being understood on the model of the household. The presumption, based on the findings of chapter III, will be that the author writes purposefully and coherently in addressing the general situation of the church of the Pastorals. Only specific evidence to the contrary in particular passages will result in a different approach to the material in question.

As the investigation proceeds, a consistent attempt will be made to distinguish that which represents the author's own notions and attitudes from that which represents actual conditions in the church of the Pastorals. In this connection four categories of material will be distinguished: material indicating (1) that which the author assumes to be true and accepts without question; (2) that which the author opposes vigorously; (3) that which the author advances as his own view without explanation or defense; and (4) that which the author advances, explains and/or

defends as his own view. The first three categories will be used to identify actual conditions in the church of the Pastorals, while the second and the fourth will be used to identify the author's peculiar viewpoint.¹ The second and third categories should be useful in locating the author's place in the social structure of the church as well as in identifying the perspective from which he views social groups and addresses social tensions in the church. The material gathered in chapter II will serve as a basis for relating what is discovered about the church of the Pastorals to features of the larger society.

THE HOUSEHOLD

The author of the Pastorals never addresses the subject of the household life of church members as a topic in its own right. Rather, whenever he introduces the topic of household life, he does so in the course of discussing one aspect or another of life in the household of God. Thus to treat the household as a separate topic is to depart from the way in which he conceptualizes the Christian community. Nevertheless, such a separate treatment is offered here in the belief that it will prove helpful in penetrating the author's conceptualizations to discover the social realities.

The Householder

The only discussion of householders in the Pastorals comes in sections in which qualifications for office in the church are given. Thus direct information is available only about householders among the leadership of the church. Three passages come into consideration here, namely, 1 Tim 3:2ff., 1 Tim 3:8ff., and Titus 1:6.

1 Tim 3:2ff., which deals with the office of bishop, contains several pertinent items, beginning with the qualification that the bishop be "the husband of one wife" (μίας γυναίκος ἄνθρωπος). This qualification appears in 3:2 as the second item in a list that extends through v. 6. The same qualification is applied to deacons in 1 Tim 3:12 and to elders in Titus 1:6, and in 1 Tim 5:9 it is demanded that widows be "the wife of one husband" (ἐνός ἀνδρός γυνή) in order to be enrolled.

¹Cf. the guidelines laid down by Theissen for the sociological evaluation of ethical norms and symbols in "Die soziologische Auswertung religiöser Überlieferungen," *Kairos* 17 (1975) 290f.

The meaning of these two similarly structured expressions has been widely debated. Four main possibilities exist. Firstly, it is possible that the former is directed against the practice of polygyny, while the latter has some other meaning.² Monogamy was the only recognized form of marriage in both Greek and Roman societies, but Jewish law continued to consider polygyny as a legitimate alternative to monogamy.³ Thus it is at least theoretically possible that some Christians of Jewish background were polygynists. However, as noted in chapter II, Jews in the Hellenistic world appear for the most part to have adopted the marriage customs of the society in which they lived. It is therefore unlikely that it would have been necessary to discourage candidates for office in the church in the Hellenistic cities of Asia Minor from this practice. Furthermore, no possibility of a correspondence in meaning between *μῦς γυναικός ἀνὴρ* and *ἐνός ἀνδρός γυνή* exists if the former has the practice of polygyny in view, since polyandry was unknown in the culture.

Another possibility is that both expressions refer to sexual fidelity within a monogamous marriage.⁴ This interpretation has the advantage of being equally applicable to both expressions, but it has the disadvantage of depending upon a less than obvious rendering of the Greek. Unambiguous expressions such as *μὴ μοιχός*, "not an adulterer," were readily available⁵ and one wonders why, if this was the intended meaning, they were not used.

A third possibility is that a prohibition of remarriage after divorce was in view.⁶ Remarriage after divorce was condemned as adultery in the synoptic tradition and in *Hermas* (Mark 10:11 and pars.; *Herm. m.* 4.1.6). In addition, Paul, citing the authority of the Lord, charged women who separated from their husbands not to marry anyone else (1 Cor 7:11). Thus the presence in the Pastorals of a requirement that church officers meet such a standard would reflect the ethical atmosphere in the early church generally. This interpretation also would have the advantage of explaining *μῦς γυναικός ἀνὴρ* and *ἐνός ἀνδρός γυνή* as parallel concepts. Furthermore, it would explain the fact that in 1 Tim 5:14 the author advises younger widows to marry again. The main

²See Lock, ad loc., and Str.-B. III, 648.

³See Chapter II, p. 45.

⁴Barrett, ad loc., and P. Trummer, "Ehe nach den Pastoralbriefen," *Bib* 51 (1970) 471-84, are among the proponents of this view.

⁵See BAG, "μοιχός," for examples.

⁶Advocates of this view include Jeremias, ad loc., and W. A. Schulze, "Ein Bischof sei eines Weibes Mann," *KD* 9 (1958) 300.

difficulty with this interpretation is that, as with the second possibility, one wonders at the choice of words, if this is really what was meant. It has been pointed out that the *univira* or *μονανδρός* of the burial inscriptions was honored especially in reaction to the frequency of divorce in the period.⁷ Nevertheless, these terms essentially designate women married only once, and they do not distinguish between widows and divorcees.⁸ Thus the average Greek speaker of the period would not have gained any clue from the expressions *μίας γυναικός ἀνὴρ* and *ἑνός ἀνδρός γυνή* that a distinction was being made between divorced persons who remarried and widowed persons who did so.

These considerations lead to the fourth possibility, namely that the intention is to require that church officers and enrolled widows should have been married only once.⁹ Like the second and third possibilities, this one applies the same explanation to both expressions. In addition, it has the advantage of being based on a comparatively straightforward understanding of the Greek, namely, that "husband of one wife" and "wife of one husband" mean "once-married." Furthermore, a prohibition of second marriages for church officers and widows would be in accord with ethical trends in the second century church. The question of whether it is a sin to marry again after the death of one's spouse is answered in the negative in Herm. m. 9.4.1f., but with the additional comment that to remain single in such a case brings honor to the Lord. This advice echoes the earlier response of Paul to this question in 1 Cor 7:39f. Later in the century Athenagoras maintains that a second marriage, whether it follows divorce or the death of one's spouse, is "gilded adultery" (*εὐπρεπής . . . μοιχεύει*, Leg. 33.4-5). Then, early in the third century, Tertullian declares that, while a second marriage is not a sin, it is the practice of the church to prohibit men and women who have been married twice from becoming church officers and official widows, respectively (*Ad ux.* 1.7).¹⁰

⁷See Dibelius/Conzelmann, 52.

⁸See the discussion in Chapter II, 62ff., and also Lightman and Zeisel, "Univira," esp. 221f.

⁹Advocates of this view include Spicq, ad loc.; H. Baltensweiler, *Die Ehe im Neuen Testament* (Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1967) 239-40; J. Leiboldt, *Die Frau in der antiken Welt und im Urchristentum* (2d ed.; Leipzig: Koehler und Amelang, 1955) 224; and H. Preisker, *Christentum und Ehe in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Berlin: Trowitzsch und Sohn, 1927) 149.

¹⁰It should be noted that this treatise was among Tertullian's pre-Montanist works. The usage of the term *univira* and *μονανδρός* in pagan burial inscriptions has sometimes been cited as supporting evidence

Two difficulties also arise in connection with this interpretation. Firstly, a requirement of celibacy for widows and widowers tends toward sexual asceticism, and thus would be somewhat surprising in view of the generally anti-ascetic stance in the Pastorals. Secondly, if one accepts this interpretation, then one must draw the puzzling conclusion that in 1 Tim 5:14, the author urges younger widows to act in a way that will disqualify them from becoming enrolled.

Nevertheless, the fourth possibility represents the most likely interpretation. It involves a simpler explanation of the Greek expressions than do the second and third possibilities; and it suits the social and ethical context of urban Hellenistic Christianity far better than the first. The first possibility appears to be by far the least likely for the same reason.

If this conclusion is correct, then the author of the Pastorals may be seen to be influenced to some extent by the same ascetic tendencies which characterize his opponents.¹¹ It may also be seen that he holds husbands and wives to a single sexual standard, an ethical stance which reflects the broad movement in his day toward improvement of the wife's position in marriage.¹² His egalitarian approach here represents a striking contrast to the position he usually takes on husband-wife relationships, as will become increasingly clear below. Furthermore, since he presents *μηδὲ γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ* and *ἐνδὸς ἀνδρὸς γυνή* in the lists of qualifications, without special explanation or defense, it is highly probable that he expects his audience both to be familiar with the terminology and, for the most part at least, to agree with his position. Thus it is most likely that he is reflecting the generally, although not universally, accepted view in his church.

for this interpretation as well. However, this argument is based on an interpretation of the data that receives a decisive refutation in the article of Lightman and Zeisel, 25-27. They show that prior to the specifically Christian usage, "ἡμίθερα" invariably designated a woman who had pre-deceased her husband. Thus the issue of remarriage for widows could hardly have been in view. Lightman and Zeisel thus reaffirm the interpretation of J. B. Frey and call into question that of H. J. Leon. See chapter II, 62f.

¹¹See pp. 175ff. below on the adherents of the false teaching.

¹²This observation would hold true for the second and third possibilities as well. Cf. Baltensweiler, 240. This single sexual standard was broadly characteristic of the church from its beginnings. Cf. Matt 15:18-20; 1 Cor 6:12-20; F. Hauck and S. Schulz, "ἡμίθερα," in *TDNT* V.

The second item of interest occurs in 3:4, where the reader learns that, in addition to being *μῆς γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ*, the bishop must be *τοῦ οἴκου καλῶς προϊστάμενον, τέκνα ἔχοντα ἐν ὑποταγῇ μετὰ πάσης σεμνότητος*. This item stands out because of its length in comparison with the previous items in the list. *προϊστάναι*, which refers in general to the activity of governing,¹³ is also used in 3:5 and in 5:17 to describe what the bishop and elders do.¹⁴ The issue here is not whether the prospective bishop governs his household, but how successfully he does so, as v. 5 makes clear (*εἰ δὲ τις τοῦ οἴκου οὐκ οἴδεν. . .*). Thus the author assumes the supreme authority of the householder in the affairs of the household without stopping to argue for this view. In particular, the way in which the bishop governs his children receives attention. He must keep them "in subjection" (*ἐν ὑποταγῇ*), that is, it is his responsibility to see that their behavior properly reflects their station in the household.¹⁵ It is not entirely clear whether *μετὰ . . . σεμνότητος* refers to the father or the children. *σεμνότης* sometimes appears to mean "respectfulness," in which case the phrase here would specify the attitude of the children *ἐν ὑποταγῇ*. More often, *σεμνότης* means "dignity." If this is the case here, then the phrase refers to the father's deportment in governing his children.¹⁶ Since the latter meaning of the word is the more common, the second alternative is the more likely. The requirement would thus be that the bishop be a man who governs his household well, and who in particular, is able to keep his children properly subordinate, while maintaining the dignity appropriate to his own position.

The section on deacons in 1 Tim 3:8ff. contains some additional information on the subject of householders. If, as is argued in chapter III, 3:11 refers to deacons' wives, then deacons are being made specifically accountable for the behavior of their wives here, just as the bishop is

¹³See BAG, s.v.

¹⁴See the discussion below, p. 152, in the section on the leadership of the church.

¹⁵See G. Dellling, "τέκνω" in TDNT, VIII, esp. pp. 31-32 on *τάγμα* and pp. 39ff. on *ὑποτάσσω* and its cognates; and the discussion of 1 Tim 2:11 below, pp. 169f.

¹⁶On *σεμνότης*, see BAG, s.v. The meaning "respectfulness" or "reverence" suits the context well in 1 Tim 2:2 and in 1 Clem. 41:1, e.g., but not in most other references given in BAG. Most commentators prefer "dignity," e.g., Kelly, ad loc., Dornier, ad loc., Barrett, ad loc., Holtz, ad loc.

made accountable for that of his children in 3:4. The dignified and upright women of 3:11 would, in any case, have been a credit to their husbands' reputations.¹⁷

An interesting variation on the qualification in 3:4 is contained in 3:12, which requires that deacons be men who govern their children and their own households well (τέκνων καλῶς προϊστάμενοι καὶ τῶν ἰδίων οἰκῶν). The phrasing here indicates more clearly than that in 3:4 that the author is thinking of households that include not only wives and children, but also slaves. Otherwise, the addition of καὶ τῶν ἰδίων οἰκῶν would be totally superfluous.¹⁸ Thus here the author betrays his assumption that prospective church officers will be householders with sufficient means to own household slaves. This fact in itself locates these householders in the higher social strata of the Asian cities.¹⁹ It is most important to recognize that relatively high social standing does not appear here as a requirement which the author is intent on imposing on would-be office holders, but as a casual assumption that he makes about them. Thus it is not the author's special program or prejudices that are reflected here, but the actual situation in the churches. He apparently accepts this situation without question and pursues his own aims within it.

Finally, in Titus 1:6, a variation on the requirement of having properly subordinate children is given. Here elders are required to have τέκνα . . . πιστά, μὴ ἐν κατηγορίᾳ ἀσωτίας ἢ ἀνυπότακτα. The τέκνα πιστά here are probably "believing children," that is,

¹⁷The majority of interpreters prefer to take this verse as referring to deaconesses, e.g., Spicq, ad loc., Barrett, ad loc., Brox, ad loc., on the grounds that (1) the subject matter in 3:1-13 is offices in the church and (2) that one would expect the definite article before γυναῖκας if the reference was to deacons' wives. Neither of these arguments is decisive, however. In the interpretation given above, 3:11 still involves a requirement for the office of deacon, namely, that deacons should have properly upright wives; and the absence of the definite article may simply reflect the influence of the station code schema as the author knows it. Cf. 2:9. No other indication of an office of deaconess is found in the Pastorals. (See the discussion below, pp. 161ff.) Furthermore there is no equivocal evidence of the existence of deaconesses in the church before the middle of the third century, despite the reference to Phoebe as a διακονοῦσα in Romans 16:1 and the reference in Pliny, Ep. 10:96 to "ministrae." (See Leipholdt, 201ff.)

¹⁸Cf. Theissen, "Soziale Schichtung," 298.

¹⁹See chapter II, 59ff.

children who are Christians. Such children would have adopted their father's religion as children in classical antiquity were expected to do.²⁰ The fact that the fathers are held accountable suggests that they were expected to supervise the religious training of their children, as was the practice in Judaism. ἀσωτία, literally, "the inability to save," is the vice not of a child but of a young adult. Its cognate ἀσώτως is the adverb used to characterize the lifestyle of the prodigal son in Luke 15:13. Thus prospective elders are apparently being held accountable for the behavior even of their adult children.²¹

In this material, then, one finds an emphasis on propriety and proper order in the household. The householder, who is incidentally assumed to be well-to-do enough to have household servants, governs his household and must account for the behavior of its subordinate members, especially his children. While it is nowhere stated that he "governs" his wife, this idea is clearly implied. Only the insistence of a single sexual standard for husbands and wives bears any hint of an egalitarian approach to household management. Householders who fulfill the obligations of their position poorly are unworthy to hold office in the church. Most important, the author does not present such notions as if they were new or controversial. Rather he presents them as familiar ideas which he expects to be received with general assent.

Women in the Household

The author presents his views on the matronly duties of women in straightforward and terse fashion in Titus 2:4-5 and 1 Tim 5:14. 1 Tim 5:10 and 2 Tim 1:5 provide supplementary material on the subject. In Titus 2:4 the older women are given the responsibility of instructing²² the younger women in their proper role. It is assumed without further ado that the younger women are married. As married women they are to be φιλόνηδες and φιλοτέκνους. These virtues appear in the inscriptions as well as in the literature of the period as virtues of the ideal matron, the loving wife and mother. For example, in a Pergamone inscription from the reign of Hadrian a husband pays tribute to his deceased

²⁰See Spicq, ad loc. and chapter II above, p. 28.

²¹Cf. Lock, ad loc.; Holtz, ad loc.

²²The verb used in σαπρονίζειν, which means to advise, admonish or instruct. Synonyms include παιδεύειν and νοθεύειν. See Dibelius/Conzelmann, ad loc.; Spicq, ad loc. Note also the discussion below of σαπρονίζω.

wife as τῆ γλυκυτάτῃ γυναικί φιλόνηφο καὶ αἰοτέκνω. . . .²³
This description recalls the picture given in Attalid propaganda of
Apollonis and Stratonice.²⁴

The younger women are also to be σώφρονες and ἄγνας. σωφροσύνη, one of the cardinal Greek virtues, involves the self-control and self-discipline to conduct one's life within the established order in a way appropriate to one's place within that order.²⁵ When it is applied to women, it is often linked with αἰδέως, "modesty," and connotes self-control in sexual matters.²⁶ ἄγνεσία, "purity," also refers to sexual continence.²⁷ Thus together these two terms emphasize uprightness and self-control in the area of sexual morality. In v. 5 οἰκουροῦς probably means "busy with household duties." A cognate form, οἰκουροῦν,²⁸ which occurs in 1 Clem. 1:1, means "to keep house." Baltensweiler takes ἀγαθός with οἰκουροῦς and suggests the translation "capable in household management."²⁹ At any rate the idea is that the proper sphere of activity for young women is the household. The final item in the list, υποτασσόμενας τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν, repeats the familiar notion found in the *Haustafeln* and in treatments of the topic of household management generally that wives should be subject to their husbands, who rule the household.

The resulting picture of the matron looks very much like that seen in the Egyptian marriage contracts and in Plutarch's "Advice to the Bride and Groom." She is expected to be a loving wife and mother, chaste in her attitudes and behavior. She is expected to live within the sphere of the household insofar as possible, and to accept her subordinate role as the wife of the householder.

²³*Ins. Per.* II 604ff. See Dibelius/Conzelmann, ad loc.; Baltensweiler, 241. Cf. 4 Macc 15:4.

²⁴See chapter II, 65ff.

²⁵Thus the antonym of σωφροσύνη is ὄβρις. See U. Luck, "σώφρων," *TDNT* VII, 1100.

²⁶See Baltensweiler, 241. σωφροσύνη and αἰδέως are found in close connection in 1 Tim 2:9. Another example is found in Plutarch's "Advice to the Bride and Groom," where it is observed that "the virtuous woman" (ἡ σώφρων) puts on "modesty" (τὴν αἰδέω) instead of her undergarment in the marital bed (*Mor.* 139C).

²⁷See Guthrie, ad loc.; Baltensweiler, 242.

²⁸The Koine text contains the textual variant οἰκουροῦς, a more common word which would be translated "staying at home."

²⁹P. 242. Cf. Dibelius/Conzelmann, ad loc.; A. T. Hanson, *The Pastoral Letters*, ad loc.

This picture is reinforced in 1 Tim 5:14, where the author gives advice to younger widows. This advice should be viewed in the context of his condemnation of the behavior of young widows in the community in v. 13. Unmarried, they have been going about from house to house "saying what they should not" (λαλοῦσαι τὰ ἣ δέοντα). He therefore (οὖν) wants them to marry (γαμεῖν), to bear children (τεκνογονεῖν),³⁰ and to "rule the household (οἰκοδεσποτεῖν)." The author is not inviting such women to become οἰκοδεσπότηαι, like, for example, the well-to-do householder of Luke 12:39, but οἰκοδέσποινα, that is, wives of οἰκοδεσπότηαι and mistresses of the household. The οἰκοδέσποινα holds a place of honor as the wife of the master but is still definitely subordinate to him. She is in other words the traditional matron of a well-to-do household.³¹ It is the possibility of attaining such a traditionally respected and secure position that the author apparently wants to suggest to young widows.

In 1 Tim 5:10 and 2 Tim 1:5 it is hinted that mothers have a role in the training of their children. In 1 Tim 5:10, in addition to the requirement that a widow be a ἐνός ἀνδρός γυνή, there is the requirement that she shall have raised children (τεκνοτροφεῖν). τεκνοτροφεῖν normally implies the activity of nurturing in a broad sense,³² although it sometimes means no more than making the decision not to expose one's children.³³ This decision was not, however, the mother's to make. It thus appears that the reference is to a mother's role in the care and training of her children.³⁴ In 2 Tim 1:5, the line of faith is traced from Lois and

³⁰Cf. 1 Tim 2:15, where the woman's salvation is said to come about through child-bearing (τεκνογονία).

³¹Plutarch makes clear the subordinate role of the οἰκοδέσποινα when he describes her as always allowing her husband to take the lead in their love-making (*Mor.* 140C). In a marble inscription from Apameia in Phrygia a husband praises his deceased wife for the virtues of φιλανδρία and οἰκοδεσποσύνη. *MAMA VI*, 194. Cf. *MAMA VIII*, 193, a decorated inscription dedicated to Zoe who is described as ἡ σεμνή οἰκοδέσποινα. For further discussion, see Spicq, *ad loc.*; Rengstorf, *Mann und Frau im Urchristentum* (Köln: Westdeutsche Verlag, 1954) 41.

³²See BAG, s.v.; Rengstorf, *Mann und Frau*, 40.

³³As in Epictetus 1.23.3.

³⁴J. N. D. Kelly, *A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles* (HNTC; New York: Harper & Row, 1963) *ad loc.*; G. Holtz, *Die Pastoralbriefe* (Theol. Hk. NT 13, 1965) *ad loc.*; and Spicq, among others, suggest that the care of orphans by widows in the community is also in view. Cf. *Herm. m.* 8.10.

Eunice, Timothy's grandmother and mother, to Timothy himself. While there is no mention of the nurturing process here, the reader is invited to conclude that Lois and Eunice have nurtured Timothy in faith.³⁵ It thus appears that, although fathers were regarded as having the main responsibility for the education of their children as in the traditional Jewish family, mothers were accorded some part in the process, as in Greek and Roman households.

The Pastorals contain indications of other roles that women played in households as well. 1 Tim 5:11ff. suggests that a considerable number of younger widows in the church were remaining unmarried. Whether they tended to head their own households or what other living arrangements they made cannot be determined. That the author perceived them as not properly domestic is clear from his portrayal of them as "going from house to house" (περιερχόμεναι τὰς οἰκίας), unlike their married sisters who are occupied with their own households (οἰκουργοῦς [Titus 2:4]).

1 Tim 5:4 and 5:8 present a picture of women in still different household situations. V. 4 urges that the children and grandchildren of widows shoulder the responsibilities of supporting them. Despite the fact that the widows in question belong to τὸν ἰδίον οἶκον, it is not clear whether they are envisioned as actually living with their children and/or grandchildren, since οἶκος appears to be used here in the sense of "family line" rather than "household."³⁶ V. 8 appears to repeat the instruction of v. 4, this time raising the negative possibility that some people may not take proper responsibility for "their own" (τῶν ἰδίων) widows. The negative formulation, together with the emphatic condemnation of any such person as "worse than an unbeliever" (ἁλιστοῦ χεῖρον) strongly suggests that the author was addressing a real problem in the church of the Pastorals.

³⁵Lock observes that the faith mentioned here is not specifically designated as Christian (ad loc.). Unless one assumes that the author was interested in a strict chronology here, however, there is no reason to assume that he was thinking of Judaism.

³⁶See BAG, "οἶκος," 3, and the discussion of v. 8 below. It should be noted that the interpretation given here assumes that τέκνα and εἰκόνα are the subjects of μανθανέτωσαν. The understood subject could also be χήραι, in which case the author would be urging widows to care for their own households. Either choice involves a rather awkward construction, but the resulting sense of the former appears better in the context.

There is a special interpretative problem here in connection with the meaning of *ἰδοὺν καὶ μάλιστα οἰκεῖων*. Both *ἰδοὺν* and *οἰκεῖος* are capable of a wide range of meanings, depending on the context. *ἰδοὺν* can refer to comrades in battle (2 Macc 12:22), one's family (Sir 11:30) and fellow Christians (Acts 4:23), among other groups. The context defines the group envisioned. *οἰκεῖος* in its basic meaning designates a member of a household, whether a family member, slave or other servant. However, it can also be used to refer to blood relatives, as in Barnabas 3:3.³⁷ O. Michel translates the phrase in question in v. 3 as "his own and especially those of his own house," a translation which conveys the vagueness of the original.³⁸ Spicq understands *οἱ ἰδοὺν* here as including slaves and freedpersons of the household, and *οἰκεῖοι* as referring only to blood relatives. Kelly understands the distinction to be between one's relatives in general and the members of one's immediate family. This interpretation has to commend it a passage in the Testament of Reuben in which *οἰκεῖοι* is set alongside *γένος* as a closer degree of kinship (3:5). The solutions of both Spicq and Kelly would considerably broaden the circle of a householder's responsibility in comparison with v. 4. A third possibility is that the distinction in view has to do with family members who live in the household and those who do not. Thus *ἰδοὺν* here would include widows living apart from their relatives, while *οἰκεῖοι* would designate widows living with them. This solution encounters the difficulty of explaining why the duty of caring for widows who live in one's household should be especially emphasized in distinction from widows in one's family who live outside the household. It would seem that the latter would be in greatest danger of neglect.³⁹ On balance, it seems most likely that the distinction is between degrees of relationship. One's greatest responsibility would thus be toward one's closest kin.

In any event, a situation is envisioned in which a woman has been left without adequate financial resources at her husband's death. Since by this time Greek law made provision for ownership of property and inheritance by women, the problem should not be viewed as a legal one. Rather such women must have come from families that possessed only modest means and married men in the same circumstances, so that support from inheritance, dowry or other property holdings would have never been a serious possibility.

³⁷See BAG, s.v.; Spicq, ad loc.

³⁸*οἰκεῖος*, TDNT V.

³⁹The third solution is set forth by Dornier, ad loc., among others.

1 Tim 5:16 apparently speaks about women from a higher social stratum. Here the author directs attention to the *πιστῆ*⁴⁰ who "has" (*ἔχει*) widows. Although one cannot be certain what was involved in "having" widows, the portrayal of Tabitha in Acts 9:36ff. probably reflects the type of circumstances that are presupposed. Tabitha, a woman noted for works of charity, has died. Widows gather at Tabitha's deathbed mourning and displaying clothes which she made, probably for them. When Tabitha is revived the widows are singled out as a group to be notified. It thus appears that Tabitha has been their special benefactor.⁴¹ The *πισταί* of the church of the Pastorals are, in all probability, women like Tabitha, who have taken poor widows under their protection. Whether or not the *πισταί* were themselves widows is unclear. At any rate, the author urges them to take full responsibility for the support of widows in their care so that the church will not have to shoulder this burden. He thus regards them as women of means who have the power to take actions that can affect the financial health of the church.

The Pastorals thus present a picture of women in a variety of domestic situations. Some are the wives of prosperous householders. Others are probably married to men of much more modest means. Still others are widows, whose living arrangements and relations with their families are not clear. Some widows probably live with their children and/or grandchildren, while others perhaps find shelter in the home of a *πιστή*. In the author's view, the *οἰκοδόμοισιν* who displays the proper matronly virtues has reached the pinnacle of achievements possible for a woman; but widows are a social burden.⁴² He is suspicious of younger widows who do not remarry, yet at the same time has high regard for the *ἐνός ἀνδρός γυνή*, apparently, especially if she is an older woman. In all these respects he appears to reflect common attitudes in the church for which he writes.

⁴⁰The reading *πιστός ἢ πιστή* represents an attempt to improve upon the text.

⁴¹See E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (trans. B. Noble & G. Shinn; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971). The presence of well-to-do women in the first Christian communities has often been noted, e.g., by Meeks, "Image," 1971; Judge, "Early Christians." Cf. the story of Lydia, Acts 16:13ff.; Paul's description of Phoebe as his *προστάτις*, i.e., his patroness, in Romans 16:2.

⁴²See also the discussion below of widows as a group in the church, pp. 161ff.

Children

Children are given no duties in the Pastorals. They are important only as the object of discipline and nurture, as noted above. When they reached adulthood, they have the responsibility of caring for their parents and/or grandparents (1 Tim 5:4).

Slaves

In their content the exhortations to slaves in the Pastorals (Titus 2:9f.; 1 Tim 6:1f.) are similar to those in the other station codes or *Haustafeln* in two principal respects. Firstly, they urge slaves to give faithful, obedient service to their masters. In Titus 2:9 the slaves are urged to "be subject in everything" (ὑποτάσσεσθαι ἐν κυρίῳ) to their masters, while in 1 Tim 6:1, they are exhorted to view their masters as "worthy of all honor" (πάνσης τιμῆς ἀξιούσας). The exhortations are comparable, for example, to those in Col 3:22 (ὑπακούετε κατὰ πάντα) and 1 Pet 2:18 (ὑποτασσόμενοι ἐν κυρίῳ φόβῳ). Secondly, they interpret such service as Christian service. In 1 Tim 6:1, it is maintained that slaves should be good servants, "in order that the name of God and the teaching (ἡ διδασκαλία) not be blasphemed (μὴ βλασφημηταί)." In Titus 2:10, the same rationale is given, except that this time it is stated positively rather than negatively: "... in order that they may adorn (κοσμήσιν) . . . the teaching of God our Savior." Thus obedient servanthood is portrayed here as Christian witness. Other codes take different approaches. Thus in Col 3:23-24, slaves are told, "Whatever your task, work heartily (ἐκ ψυχῆς ἐργάζεσθε) as serving the Lord . . . ; you are serving the Lord Christ (τῷ κυρίῳ Χριστῷ δουλεύετε)." A still different rationale is given in Ign. Pol. 4:3, where slaves are "to endure slavery (πλέον δουλευέτωσαν) to the glory of God." Yet despite the varying approaches, the thrust in each case is the same, namely, to portray the slave's service as Christian service.⁴³

The slave exhortations of the Pastorals also contain a number of special features. First, while most of the other codes that have exhortations to slaves also contain reciprocal exhortations to masters, no such reciprocal exhortations are to be found in the Pastorals. In fact, of the

⁴³Cf. Bartsch, 147, for another listing of similarities among the slave regulations. Bartsch attempts to locate many common features and in the process includes in his list features that appear in only a few of the codes.

other codes containing exhortations to slaves, reference to the duties of masters is missing only in 1 Peter. H. Gölzow argues that the failure of 1 Peter and the Pastorals to contain exhortations to masters indicates the worsening of the slaves' position in the communities involved as compared with their position in the communities of, for example, Colossians and Ephesians.⁴⁴ At the very least, the absence of exhortations to masters in the Pastorals suggests the author's lack of interest in viewing matters from the standpoint of the slave. This impression is strengthened and clarified by other special features of the exhortations to slaves.⁴⁵

A second special feature occurs in Titus 2:9f., where Titus is urged to warn slaves not to be backtalkers (μη ἀντιλέγοντας), or pilferers (μη νοσφιζομένους). What is particularly interesting about these admonitions is the attitude toward slaves that they reveal. The slave exhortations of Colossians and Ephesians urge slaves toward development of noble character. Thus the slaves of Ephesians are to serve "in singleness of heart" (ἐν ἀπλότητι καρδίας) and not as "men-pleasers" (ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι), but as "slaves of Christ" (δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ) (Eph 6:5f.). The slaves of Titus 2 are, by contrast, warned against petty vices attributed to slaves according to the popular stereotype.⁴⁶ These warnings convey a sense of great social distance from slaves and underlying contempt for them as a class.

Thirdly, following the general exhortation in 1 Tim 6:1 is a special exhortation addressed to slaves with Christian masters.⁴⁷ This special exhortation, unparalleled in other station codes, confirms what was intimated in 1 Tim 3:12, namely, that there were slave owners among the Christians addressed by the author. In addition, since slaves of Christians are addressed as a sub-group among slaves in the church, there is also an

⁴⁴Christentum und Sklaverei, 74.

⁴⁵Holtz, assuming authenticity, suggests that the absence of exhortations to masters in Titus is evidence that there were no slave holders among the Christians on Crete (p. 222). This suggestion would not, however, answer the question of why there are no such exhortations in 1 Timothy, where in 6:2 the presence of Christian slave-owners is assumed.

⁴⁶On νοσφιζομαι see Spicq, ad loc.; Aboth 2:8; 2 Macc 4:32.

⁴⁷Lock and Guthrie suggest that 6:1 refers to slaves of pagan masters alone, arguing that the expression ὑπὸ ζυγὸν δοῦλοι describes the harshness of life under a pagan master. However, the yoke was a common symbol of slavery. Cf. Gölzow, 74.

indication here that a considerable number of slaves who had pagan masters were also members of the church.⁴⁸

The particular problem which comes to light in connection with the slaves of Christian masters is also unique to this exhortation. These slaves are warned not to be guilty of disrespect for their masters (δεσπότας μὴ καταφρονεῖτωσαν)⁴⁹ on the grounds that their masters are brothers (ὅτι ἀδελφοὶ εἰσιν).⁵⁰ The negative formulation suggests that the author perceived such attitudes as a real problem in the Christian community. Such attitudes would have been grounded in thinking similar to that evidenced in the tradition preserved in Gal 3:28, that is, in an outlook that minimized the importance of worldly social distinctions within the Christian community.⁵¹

The next clause, which gives the positive exhortation, has caused considerable uncertainty and confusion among interpreters. Slaves of Christian masters are to serve diligently, ὅτι πιστοὶ εἰσιν καὶ ἀγαπητοὶ οὗ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι. There is, again, general agreement that the ὅτι clause here, like the preceding one, refers to the masters. This time, however, it presents the grounds for the author's position. The masters are described as πιστοὶ καὶ ἀγαπητοί. There has been some debate over whether the author is suggesting that the masters are beloved by their slaves or by God.⁵² Neither of these alternatives quite captures the author's point. Slaves

⁴⁸Gülzow, 115, argues that slaves in the first Christian communities almost always came into the church as a part of Christian households. Beginning with 1 Clement, there is evidence that more slaves outside Christian households were joining the church.

⁴⁹On καταφρονεῖν, see Kelly's discussion, ad loc. He defines it as "to treat without full consideration due to the other person's station."

⁵⁰There is general agreement that the ὅτι clause here gives the reason for καταφρονεῖν, not for μὴ καταφρονεῖν, and that it is the slaves who are thinking of their masters as ἀδελφοί. See, e.g., Dibelius/Conzelmann, Kelly, Spicq, ad loc.

⁵¹See Meeks, "Image," 181. Meeks argues that in Gal 3:28 Paul is quoting a baptismal formula to his readers. Thus the notion that the distinction between slave and free and male and female are abolished in Christ would not have been Paul's idiosyncratic notion, but a widely accepted idea in his churches. R. Gayer, *Die Stellung des Sklaven in den paulinischen Gemeinden und bei Paulus* (Bern: Herbert Lang, 1976) 135ff., comes to similar conclusions.

⁵²E.g., Lock takes the former, Dibelius/Conzelmann the latter position.

have apparently been making use of the fact that Christians commonly call themselves ἀδελφοί, in order to justify insubordination against their masters. The author counters this argument by making his own appeal to other widely used designations for Christians, namely, πιστοί and ἀγαπητοί. In other words, he urges slaves not to lose respect for their masters on the grounds that the latter are "brethren," but to serve them even more diligently, because they are "faithful" and "beloved." It is the last phrase, οἱ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι, that has caused the greatest problems. The following translations represent the basic alternatives:

1. "(masters), who receive the benefit of your (the slaves') service." (NEB)
2. "(masters), who devote themselves to good works." (Dibelius/Conzelmann)

The NEB reading understands εὐεργεσία here as the good service that slaves render to their masters. If this is its meaning, then, in the context, ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι must mean something like "benefit from," or "enjoy," as an expansion of "perceive," which is one of the basic meanings of the verb. In this way the entire clause can be translated, "because they (the masters) who enjoy your good service are 'faithful' and 'beloved.'" ⁵³ However, there is a major difficulty in understanding εὐεργεσία as the "good service" of the slaves, because it usually refers to the beneficence of a superior in relation to an inferior. Thus Hellenistic kings, in taking the title "Euergetes," were claiming to be benefactors of their subjects. Spicq, taking note of this fact, concludes that the author is making a subtle suggestion that slaves, by their good service, actually reverse the accepted order of superior and subordinate, becoming benefactors by their service. ⁵⁴ However, the author of the Pastorals nowhere else shows any inclination toward the ironic perspective on prevailing social values that is implied in Spicq's explanation.

The translation of Dibelius/Conzelmann, by contrast, reflects the usual meaning of εὐεργεσία, and also that of ἀντιλαμβάνειν, which in the active or middle voice generally means "take part in" or "devote oneself to," when the object of the action is inanimate as in 1 Tim 6:2. ⁵⁵ The major problem with this translation involves the resulting

⁵³ Cf. Barrett, Dornier, Spicq, ad loc.

⁵⁴ Spicq, ad loc. Seneca makes use of such a concept in *Ben.* 3. 18-20.

⁵⁵ BAG, s.v.

sense of the clause. The author would be arguing that masters should be served diligently, "because they are 'faithful' and 'beloved,' (people) who devote themselves to works of beneficence." However, that all Christian masters are devoted to beneficent works is a questionable assumption that surely would not have strengthened the author's case from the slave's perspective.

Nevertheless, this probably was the author's argument. Its weakness from the standpoint of the slaves is explained by the fact that the author is speaking totally from the perspective of the slave owners. The problem that concerns him here is not the behavior of the masters, but that of the slaves. Of course in other places (1 Tim 3:1ff., 3:8ff., etc.) he is concerned with the behavior of Christians who are slave owners and there he shows his awareness of the human failings to which they are subject; but in the present context he can afford to portray Christian masters as model Christians. Thus the great social distance that existed between the author and slaves in the church is again emphasized.⁵⁶

The fourth special feature of the slave exhortations in the Pastorals has to do with their approach to characterizing the slave's service as Christian service. Slaves are to be obedient, "in order that they may adorn the teaching of God our Savior in everything," (Titus 2:10) or alternatively, "in order that the name of God and the teaching may not be blasphemed" (1 Tim 6:1). Güllow argues that, just as so-called foreign religions were reputed to have a bad effect on women, so also they were supposed to contribute to the unruliness of slaves.⁵⁷ Thus, slaves, especially those with pagan masters, risked damaging the public image of the church, if they expressed their Christian freedom by attempting to loosen or break the yoke of slavery. Conversely, by obeying their masters, they could "adorn the teaching," that is, they could enhance the reputation of the church and its teaching.⁵⁸

One finds, then, that the slaves of the church of the Pastorals belonged both to pagan and to Christian households. There was a tendency among the slaves of Christian masters to overstep the traditional boundaries of slave-master relationships on the grounds that Christians

⁵⁶Cf. the second-class citizenship of slaves in the church in Hippolytus, *Apostolic Tradition*, 16:4-5, where the slave of a Christian needs his master's permission and character attestation in order to be admitted to the church.

⁵⁷*Christentum*, 74.

⁵⁸On the concept of "the teaching" in the Pastorals, see the discussion below, p. 158.

were "brothers." The author of the Pastorals views the slaves among the membership of the church from the perspective of the slave owner. He is concerned that Christian slaves in general not damage the church's public image by insubordination. Of course, insubordination among slaves would damage the church's image primarily, if not exclusively, among the slave-owning class.

Summary and Assessment

The author of the Pastorals presents an ideal of domestic life that reflects the prevailing view in his church. According to this ideal, the model domestic situation is a prosperous household managed skillfully and prudently by the householder. The householder exercises authority over his wife, children and slaves and ultimately must account for their behavior. The subordinate members of the household recognize their proper roles and behave in such a way as to reflect credit upon the household. Young men in the community look to the day when they will become successful householders in their own right. Young women are encouraged to aspire to become οἰκοδεσποίναι, the respected matrons of established households. One recognizes in the ideal household of this community the traditional patriarchal household of Hellenistic-Roman society and of the *Haustafeln*, and one concludes that the prevailing social values of the church of the Pastorals in this area directly and uncritically reflect the dominant social values of the larger society.

In one respect the prevailing domestic ideal in the church of the Pastorals does depart from that of the larger society, namely, in its strict sexual ethic, which, departing from the traditional model of the patriarchal household, holds up a single standard of behavior for husbands and wives. This sexual ethic also has a certain ascetic element that runs counter to traditional values. Thus, whereas the traditional ethic stresses the value of having and raising children in order to strengthen the πόλις and assure its future,⁵⁹ in the Pastorals women and men who have chosen not to remarry after the death of their spouses hold a special place of honor. While the egalitarian tendencies here reflect a trend in the larger society, the ascetic tendencies reflect a special development in the second century church.

The actual domestic situations in the Christian community present a more varied picture. Some Christian households no doubt approximated

⁵⁹See chapter II, p. 78.

the prevailing ideal. Otherwise the qualifications for church officers in 1 Tim 3:2ff., 3:8ff. and Titus 1:6ff. could not have been seriously offered. However, many Christians lived in quite different circumstances. There were prosperous households in which πιστοί exercised considerable independence of action. Such prominent women, who must have been either widows or the wives of well-to-do pagans, occupied important roles in the churches from the beginning, as, for example, the stories of Lydia and Tabitha in Acts illustrate. The πιστοί probably took in poor Christian widows to live in their households. In addition there were families of very modest means, some of whom may have suffered severe economic strain in the attempt to care for widowed relatives. In some cases widows must have lived with relatives. In other cases they probably lived alone. Finally, the church included not only the slaves of prosperous Christian householders, but also slaves living in pagan households. The latter, it appears, were considered to be something of a public relations problem for the church.

Social tensions arising from value conflicts existed in connection both with the role of slaves and the role of women in Christian households. On the one hand, there was a conflict of values involving slaves who thought of their Christian masters as ἀδελφοί, and in so doing overstepped the boundaries of their subordinate station in the household, according to the prevailing domestic ideal in the church. This value conflict apparently belonged in a special way to the Christian community and was not characteristic of society in general. On the other hand, social tension in connection with the role of women in the household was characteristic of the whole society. However, this tension came to expression in a special form in the households of the church of the Pastorals in connection with the peculiar Christian attitude toward widowhood. While every young woman was encouraged to want to become an οἰκοδόμοισιν, she also learned that the highest standard of behavior demanded that she should not remarry if her husband should die before her. For an older woman who had already fulfilled the role of the οἰκοδόμοισιν in raising a family, and who then became a widow, no contradiction in values was felt. However, the young widow was regarded as a threat to the households of the community and was urged to relinquish the ideal of celibate widowhood in order to realize her as yet unfulfilled role as an οἰκοδόμοισιν.

Perhaps the most significant result so far is the identification of the prevailing domestic ideal in the church of the Pastorals. It is an ideal which valued prosperity and propriety as they were valued in the larger

society. It is not clear as yet to what extent these social values characterized the social and religious life of the church as a whole. This issue will be explored in the next section.

THE HOUSEHOLD OF GOD

The investigation now returns to the social structure of the church. The author of the Pastorals conceptualizes the church as the household of God. He thus conceptualizes the social structure of the church on the model of the household.

The Leadership of the Church

In this section passages dealing with the offices of bishop, deacon and elder and passages which picture Timothy and Titus in leadership roles will be investigated. Study of these passages often focuses on the question of the church's official structure according to the Pastorals, for example, the background, character, and relationships of the respective offices. The present investigation, by contrast, is interested in what these passages reveal about the social characteristics of the leadership, for example, the social strata from which they come, the social rewards of office, and social control of access to office. Of course the two sets of questions cannot be entirely separated. Thus the official structure will come into consideration to some extent as well.

Offices and Official Structure

In the view of most interpreters the Pastorals assume an official structure which includes the offices of bishop, elder, and deacon.⁶⁰ However, attempts to delineate a hierarchical structure of office and to describe relationships between offices have met with, at best, limited success, because the Pastorals nowhere describe the relationships between the offices nor do they expressly set forth a hierarchy of office.

The most prominent problem that has occupied scholars in connection with the office of bishop is whether or not the Pastorals assume the institution of a monarchical episcopate. On the one hand, in both passages where ἐπίσκοπος occurs (1 Tim 3:2; Titus 1:7), it occurs in the

⁶⁰Jeremias, *ad loc.*, and Holtz, 124-25, are among a minority that view προσηύτερος in the Pastorals as simply an age designation.

singular, while in the passages dealing with deacons (1 Tim 3:8ff.) and elders (1 Tim 5:15ff.; Titus 1:6), these officials are spoken of in the plural. In addition, the Pastorals are addressed to single individuals, Timothy and Titus, who are portrayed as church leaders. It is possible that they are intended as prototypes of the monarchical bishop.⁶¹ On the other hand, in Titus 1:5ff., ἐπίσκοπος appears to be used interchangeably with πρεσβύτερος. Titus is instructed to appoint πρεσβύτεροι from among the men who meet a list of specified qualifications. The list begins, εἰ τίς ἐστὶν ἀνέγκλητος. . . . This list is apparently supplemented in 1:7ff., which begins, δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνέγκλητον εἶναι. . . .

None of this evidence is unequivocal. Thus, with respect to the occurrence of ἐπίσκοπος in the singular in 1 Tim 3:2 and Titus 1:7, it has been pointed out that this usage need not imply the monarchical episcopate, but may be a generic usage.⁶² With respect to the argument that Timothy and Titus serve as implied models of the monarchical bishop, convincing evidence has been brought to bear by P. Burke to show that they do not serve as models of a particular office in the church of the author's time.⁶³ Rather they are portrayed, as in Acts and in Paul's letters, as Paul's assistants who visit churches as his personal representatives, commissioned with specific instructions. Thus in 1 Tim 1:3, Paul urges Timothy to remain in Ephesus in order to charge certain persons to lay aside false teachings, and in Titus 1:5 Titus is left in Crete in order to attend to unfinished business, including the appointing of elders in every town. They are not pictured as remaining in these positions indefinitely, but are envisioned as returning to Paul after a brief interval (2 Tim 4:9; Titus 3:12). W. Stenger comes to similar conclusions, using the Pauline topos of the apostolic parousia to explicate the function of Timothy and

⁶¹Cf. E. Käsemann, "Ministry and Community in the New Testament," in *Essays on New Testament Themes* (trans. J. W. Montague; London: SCM, 1964) 87; H. von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power*, 107-8. The author would thus be addressing monarchical bishops in the church as if he were Paul addressing Timothy and Titus. However, H. Schlier, "Die Ordnung der Kirche nach den Pastoralbriefen," in *Die Zeit der Kirche* (4th ed.; Freiburg: Herder, 1966) 137, assuming Pauline authorship, also views Timothy and Titus as models of church officials—in this case, the metropolitan. Cf. Spicq, 591f.

⁶²Cf. P. Burke, "The Monarchical Episcopate at the End of the First Century," *JES* 8 (1970) 510; Dibelius/Conzelmann, ad loc.

⁶³*Ibid.*, 513-14.

Titus in the Pastorals.⁶⁴ In his letters Paul endeavors to make himself present to his congregations in three ways: (1) through the letters themselves; (2) through the apostolic delegates who deliver the letters and reinforce their content; and (3) through the promise of his personal presence in the near future. All these elements are also present in the Pastorals. The apostolic delegates play the same role that they play in Paul's letters, except that now that role receives greater emphasis. Their function is to represent Paul to the churches in his physical absence. Thus the letters do not intend to picture Timothy and Titus as models of a particular office. Rather they are vehicles of Paul's presence and power, and, as such, of the apostolic gospel/teaching.⁶⁵

Similarly, the contention that the offices of elder and bishop are equated in Titus 1:5ff. is also problematic. γάρ in 1:7 indicates that the reader should expect a further elaboration of the subject matter of the preceding material, namely, qualifications for the office of elder. However, the term ἐπίσκοπος appears where the reader expects to find πρεσβύτερος. The identification of the two terms is thus made on this basis. Yet the text itself makes no such equation explicit. Another suggestion is that the bishops are a smaller group within the elders, the former having special leadership responsibilities, and that it is being urged that all elders meet the standards required of bishops.⁶⁶ In fact, the relation between the two sections is so puzzling that it has been suggested that 1:7-9 is an interpolation, the intention of which is to make the text seem to reflect the monarchical episcopate.⁶⁷ This text, then, cannot be used with assurance as an argument either for or against the presence of the concept of the monarchical episcopate in the Pastorals.

The Pastorals assume the existence of a council of elders (πρεσβύτεριον) in the congregation (1 Tim 4:14). However, it is not clear what their leadership role was. It is possible that the author envisions

⁶⁴"Timotheus und Titus als literarischen Gestalten. Beobachtungen zur Form und Funktion der Pastoralbriefe," *Kairos* 16 (1974) 252-67.

⁶⁵Stenger, especially pp. 257-58; 259ff.; 265-66. This is not to say that Timothy and Titus are never pictured functioning as officials of the church in the author's day.

⁶⁶Cf. Dibelius/Conzelmann, ad loc., and the discussion of 1 Tim 5:17 below.

⁶⁷This evidence is now almost universally rejected. There is no textual evidence for it and it would suggest that 1 Tim 3:1ff. is also a late interpolation, an extremely unlikely theory. For a discussion, see Kelly, ad loc.; Bartsch, 83-84; Dibelius/Conzelmann, ad loc.

congregations with a single bishop presiding over a council of elders. It is also possible that "elder" and "bishop" designate the same office and that congregations are governed by elder councils. 1 Tim 5:17 provides additional data to complicate the picture still more. Here mention is made of "the elders who govern well" (οἱ καλῶς προεσιῶντες πρεσβύτεροι), as well as of those among this group who teach and preach (οἱ κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ). It is possible to derive from these two brief phrases as many as four categories of elders: (1) elders who govern well, (2) elders who govern poorly, (3) elders who govern well and who include preaching and teaching among their activities, and (4) elders who do not govern. Thus it is possible that among the elders was a smaller group with particular leadership responsibilities that included in some cases preaching and teaching. These "governing elders" would perhaps be the equivalent of bishops.⁶⁸ However, it is not necessary to understand οἱ καλῶς προεσιῶντες πρεσβύτεροι as implying that some elders are προεσιῶντες πρεσβύτεροι (= ἐπίσκοποι), while others are not.⁶⁹

It is generally assumed on the basis of other evidence from the early church⁷⁰ that the deacon's office was subordinate to that of the bishop. In the Pastorals, however, no mention is made of the deacons' relationship to bishops or elders, and no clear evidence of the functions of deacons is present.⁷¹ It thus appears that the Pastorals' author is not interested in describing and defending a particular ecclesiastical structure.⁷²

⁶⁸Cf. Barrett, ad loc.; Kelly, ad loc.; Dibelius/Conzelmann, ad loc.; N. Brox, *Die Pastoralbriefe* (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1969) ad loc.

⁶⁹Thus Lock, ad loc.; Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority*, 113.

⁷⁰Among the earliest clear evidence is that of the letters of Ignatius, in which the bishop is the supreme officer of the church.

⁷¹Interpreters have sometimes attempted to derive deacons' duties from the ethical list in 1 Tim 3:8ff. Thus from μὴ διλόγους, μὴ αἰσχροκερδεις, Brox and Kelly, ad loc., suggest that deacons were responsible for administering charity. Holtz, ad loc., suggests that the office of deacon may have been the most important office connected with the liturgy, based on the association with Jesus' role as servant at the last supper (pp. 82, 86). On the whole these suggestions are only speculations.

⁷²On this question see the excellent article of G. Lohfink, "Normativität der Amtsvorstellungen in den Pastoralbriefen," *TQ* 157 (1977) 93-106. Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Office*, argues that government by

General Features of the Leadership

Although the Pastorals offer no clear picture of the official ecclesiastical structure which they presuppose, they nevertheless contain a considerable amount of other kinds of information about the leadership of the churches addressed and about the author's attitude toward this leadership. The passage on the bishop in 1 Tim 3:1ff. opens with a "faithful saying" which has been often regarded as a rather peculiar example of its class.⁷³ "If someone aspires to the office of bishop (ἐπισκοπή) he desires a good work (καλοῦ ἔργου), καλὸν ἔργον has a connotation of a charitable deed performed on behalf of someone less fortunate than oneself.⁷⁴ To hold the office of bishop, then, is to involve oneself in such a benevolent undertaking. It has been suggested that the saying originated in a secular context as encouragement for potential municipal office seekers at a time when the popularity of municipal office was waning because of the increasingly heavy financial burdens that were involved.⁷⁵ Whether or not this is in fact the case, the saying would fit very well into that context, because it reflects the general concept of public office that one commonly finds in the Hellenistic municipalities, namely, that office holding is a public service to be undertaken by the (comparatively) well-to-do.⁷⁶ This saying also indicates that office in the church has become something to which one aspires, as one aspires to office in the secular world.⁷⁷

elders and government by bishops and deacons originally represented two distinct forms of ecclesiastical organization that only gradually merged. The Pastorals would reflect the period in which the two systems were merging. See especially pp. 68, 77-78, 107. Cf. Brox, 151; Dibelius/Conzelmann, 47.

⁷³Thus the textual variant ἀνθρώπινος ὁ λόγος is explained. πιστός ὁ λόγος has sometimes been taken as referring to v. 15 of the previous chapter. For a discussion, see Lock, ad loc.

⁷⁴Jeremias has gathered the pertinent material to demonstrate this point in his commentary on the Pastorals, pp. 33-34. He identifies a cluster of words and expressions that refer to "das Liebeswerk," including ἐπαρκεῖν, ἀγαθοεργεῖν and ἀγαθὰ ἔργα. Cf. 1 Tim 2:10, 5:10, 16; 6:18; Titus 3:14; Matt 25:35; Jas 2:15.

⁷⁵See chapter II, 51; Cf. Spicq, ad loc.; Barrett, ad loc.

⁷⁶See chapter II, 50ff.

⁷⁷See Brox, ad loc.

Among the list of qualifications that follow, most are general virtues of the kind found in a wide variety of ethical lists.⁷⁸ Several of the qualifications do, however, apply more specifically to the office of bishop. In 3:2 one of the qualifications is that the bishop be διδασκαλικός, "skillful in teaching." The importance of teaching as a function of the church's leadership is emphasized repeatedly in the Pastorals, as will be seen below. In 3:4ff. it is emphasized that the bishop must be a man who governs (προΐσταναι) his own household well, since he is to be charged with governing (ἐπιμελεῖσθαι) the church. It was shown above, pp. 133f., that this passage in conjunction with 3:12 probably is envisioning rather prosperous households that included slaves. It is significant here that the author stresses, not the mere fact of the social position and status of the householder, but how well the candidate for office handles this position. Relatively high social standing is thus not the author's qualification for office, but his assumption about office holders. Thus one concludes that office holders in the church of the Pastorals must routinely have come from this level of society.

As noted in chapter II, the analogy between government of a household and government of the larger society was a traditional one in the Hellenistic-Roman world. Two implications of the analogy as it is drawn here are of particular interest. The first has to do with the range of authority implied in the analogy. Both προΐσταναι and ἐπιμελεῖσθαι can refer to authority of various kinds and at different levels, including the wide ranging authority that one associates with a householder in Hellenistic-Roman society.⁷⁹ One would thus suppose that, on this analogy, the office holder in question would be invested with such wide ranging authority not limited to one area such as worship, teaching or discipline. This supposition will be tested below. The second implication has to do with the householder's position as an individual invested with supreme authority in the household. The analogy would be particularly apt if the office of bishop is envisioned as the supreme office of the church and an office that is held by a single individual. In this

⁷⁸The similarity of this list to secular lists describing, e.g., the good general or the good physician has often been noted. The appendix of Dibelius/Conzelmann includes such a list describing the good general from Onosander's *Strategikos*, pp. 158ff.

⁷⁹BAG, s.v.; Dibelius/Conzelmann, *ad loc.* Both can also refer to service that one performs for another, as in Titus 3:8. But the emphasis here is on keeping proper order, as keeping one's children ἐν ὑποταγῇ. See Spicq, 445f. for secular examples of this use of ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, as in the case of the master of *ephebes*.

connection it is interesting that although deacons are required to govern their households well (3:12), no explicit analogy is made here between their position in the household and in the church. Similar expectations are present in the case of elders in Titus 1:6, but, again, no analogy to their position in the church is drawn. By contrast, in Titus 1:7 an analogy is again drawn from the household to the bishop's position as a church officer, except that here he is envisioned as the chief household servant, the οἰκονόμος, again, a position of pre-eminence held by one individual.⁸⁰ These observations do not prove the existence of the concept of the monarchical bishop in the Pastorals, but they do bring to light an additional supporting argument in favor of this view.

In 3:6 it is urged that the bishop be "no new convert" (μὴ νεόφυτος). The danger, as the author sees it, is that a new convert in the position of bishop may become "puffed up" (τυφθεῖς) and "fall into" (ἐμπίσῃ) the judgment of the devil. False teachers are described as "puffed up" in 1 Tim 6:4 (τετύφωται) and 2 Tim 3:9 (τετυφόμενοι). Thus the author may fear the susceptibility of a new convert in a leadership position to false teaching. Nothing specific can be gleaned from the expression ἐμπίσεν εἰς κρίμα τοῦ διαβόλου. Similar expressions indicating unspecified dire consequences are to be found in 1 Tim 3:7 and 6:9. At any rate, the author is expressing the skepticism of an established leader at the induction of "new" people into the ranks of the leadership. This is an attitude reminiscent of that found in the municipal councils of the period.⁸¹

Finally, in 3:7 the author stresses the importance of the bishop's reputation with outsiders. One concludes that a bishop is viewed by the author as being in a position to improve or damage the church's standing in the eyes of the general public, based on his personal standing. The author did not stop to argue or to expand at length on any of these points. He probably therefore expected that his list of qualifications would meet with a large measure of agreement among his readers.

Titus 1:5-9 contains many similarities to the passage just discussed, but also a few differences that shed additional light on features of the leadership in the Pastorals. In 1:5 the reader learns that Titus has been commissioned to appoint (καθίσταται) elders. Lock points out that the meaning of καθίσταται does not necessarily rule out participation in

⁸⁰In Luke 16:1ff. the οἰκονόμος is a free servant in charge of his master's accounts. For a discussion see "οἰκονόμος," TDNT V, 149ff.; Kelly, Dornier, ad loc.

⁸¹See chapter II, 51.

the selection process by the local congregations;⁸² however, it usually indicates the action of a superior in selecting persons to fill offices under his authority.⁸³ In the present case the author portrays Titus acting as Paul's representative in selecting officers for the churches under Paul's authority.⁸⁴ While no more conclusions can be drawn from this portrayal about the process by which the leadership of the churches was regularly selected in the author's day, it does at least indicate that he assumed a selection process that operated from the top downward in the initial stages of the organization of a church.⁸⁵

It is also interesting here that the elders are described as being appointed "in each city" (κατὰ πόλιν). Thus, in the author's conception, local congregations were in the beginning governed as city-wide entities. There are no indications in the Pastorals that the situation was different in the author's day, although there is a reasonably good possibility that, at least in the larger cities, Christians would normally have assembled for worship and instruction in several smaller groups.⁸⁶

The requirement in 1:6 on the subject of the church officer's control of his children was discussed above, p. 132. It will be recalled that ἀκούει is a stereotypical vice of young men rather than of children. It thus appears that the elders are envisioned as older men who have adult children. The image of the οἰκονόμος in 1:7 was also discussed above, p. 153.

⁸²Ad loc. Cf. Barrett, ad loc. Thus in Acts 6:3 the apostles "appoint" leaders chosen by the Hellenists.

⁸³Cf. Gen 41:41 (LXX), Pharaoh's appointment of Joseph; Matt 24:45, the master's appointment of a servant to be in charge of his household.

⁸⁴In 1 Clement a similar process is envisioned in chaps. 42-43, except that here bishops and deacons are appointed by "the apostles."

⁸⁵Käsemann sees in this text an indication that in the author's day the presbytery system of government was being instituted in the churches as a response to the gnostic threat. ("Ministry and Community," 36f.) However, the activity of Titus in this regard is probably better explained by reference to the fictitious situation of the letter, in which Titus is portrayed as a missionary to newly formed churches. This fictitious situation sets the stage for the introduction of the list of qualifications for church officers in 1:6-9. Furthermore, as noted above, pp. 149f., the Pastorals themselves do not appear to be concerned with introducing or promoting this system of government. Rather, assuming such a system, they emphasize the importance of the character and commitments of the people who fill leadership positions.

⁸⁶See the discussion of 1 Tim 2:8, below, 166ff.

In 1:9 the teaching function of the bishop is highlighted. While in 1 Tim 3:2 the bishop's skill as a teacher is the focus (διδασκτικός), here it is the content of the teaching which he follows that is emphasized. Thus it is of crucial importance that he be grounded in "the teaching" (τὴν διδασχὴν), in order to be able to do the work of exhortation (παρακαλεῖν) in the sound teaching (τῆς διδασκαλίας τῆς ὑγιαίνουσας), and to confute (ἐλέγχειν) those who contradict it (τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας). The bishop is thus viewed as a champion and a promulgator of the apostolic teaching.⁸⁷

The section on 1 Tim 3:8ff. on qualifications for deacons contains several features that are of interest here. 3:9 indicates that deacons, like the bishop in Titus 1:9, are to be grounded thoroughly in the apostolic faith (ἔχοντες τὸ μυστήριον τῆς πίστεως ἐν καθαροῖς συνειδήσεσι).⁸⁸ 3:10 specifies that deacons be tested (δοκιμαζέσθωσαν) and found blameless (ἀνέγκλητοι) before they be allowed to serve. Exactly what kind of testing the author had in mind is not clear.⁸⁹ The fact of the testing, however, highlights the official nature of the deacon's position. As noted above, pp. 133f., 3:12 reveals the author's assumption that deacons come from the class of well-to-do householders. In 3:13 the author observes that the deacon who serves well will obtain a καλὸν βαθμόν, that is, a "noble rank" or "high standing."⁹⁰ It has been suggested that the author is intimating that a deacon who serves well may expect to advance to the higher rank of bishop.⁹¹ The more straightforward explanation, accepted by most commentators, is that the deacon who serves well achieves high standing for himself in the Christian community. Spicq interprets this as expressing the paradoxical notion that the διάκονος, the lowly servant, gains high status through his service.⁹² This would thus be a variation on the dominical saying, "Whoever would be great among you must be your servant" (Mark 10:43 and pars.).

⁸⁷On the concept of "the teaching" (διδασχὴ; διδασκαλία) see p. 158 below. On ἐλέγχειν see Barrett, *ad loc.*

⁸⁸For τὸ μυστήριον as the content of the faith, see Kelly, *ad loc.*; Brox, *ad loc.*; Cf. 3:16. For the opinion that μυστήριον refers to the cult, see Hanson, Holtz, *ad loc.*

⁸⁹For various suggestions, see Guthrie, Kelly, Barrett, Dibelius/Conzelmann, *ad loc.* No doubt the testing concerns their faith (3:9) and character (ἀνέγκλητοι).

⁹⁰Lock, *ad loc.*, notes that βαθμός is used to designate ranks in the military.

⁹¹Cf. Barrett, *ad loc.*

⁹²*Ad loc.*

No such sense of paradox is evident, however, in the present passage. Rather the same outlook is revealed here as in 3:1,⁹³ namely, an outlook in which office is viewed as community service undertaken by the well-to-do, whose prestige is thereby enhanced.

In 1 Tim 5:17-18 elders are described as engaging in the same activities ascribed to the bishop in 3:1ff. and Titus 1:7ff., namely governing (προσπιθῶτες) and preaching and teaching (κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ). The point of this passage, as v. 18 makes clear, is that elders who govern well and especially those who teach are worthy of the community's financial support. The exact meaning of διπλῆ τιμῆ in v. 17 is, however, in doubt. Some interpreters understand it to be a technical term designating an exact amount which is precisely double that of compensation received by another group.⁹⁴ Others understand it as a less precise expression that means something like "especially generous support."⁹⁵ At any rate, the important point to be recognized here is that the author is calling for the financial support of regular church officers in language reminiscent of that used from the earliest period in connection with support of travelling apostles and prophets.⁹⁶ Again, one cannot be certain to what extent the church of the Pastorals engaged in this practice. The author may have anticipated some resistance, since he bolsters his exhortation with a scriptural quotation also used by Paul (Deut 25:4; 1 Cor 9:9ff.) in a similar situation, and another saying found in the synoptic tradition (Matt 10:10 and pars.). Nevertheless, there is no indication that he is introducing this as an entirely new practice.

5:19 lays down a rule for judicial process when an accusation is brought against an elder. 5:20 envisions either guilty elders being convicted in the presence of the presbytery or sinners in general being convicted in the presence of the congregation.⁹⁷ In any case vv. 19-20 indicate that the church leadership did exercise a judicial function in addition to other functions.

⁹³Spicq, ad loc. also notes this connection.

⁹⁴E.g., elders who govern but do not teach (Dibelius/Conzelmann, ad loc.) or widows (Schweizer, 6h).

⁹⁵E.g., Lock, Kelly, Brox, ad loc.

⁹⁶See 1 Cor 9:9; Did. 13:1ff.

⁹⁷5:17-25 consists of a series of brief exhortations that for the most part follow one on another without connectives. Thus attempts to relate one exhortation to another in this section are guesswork. This section resembles in style the section in Isocrates, "To Demonicus," often cited to illustrate the disconnectedness of paraenetic discourse (29ff.).

In 5:22 Timothy is cautioned not to lay hands (χεῖρας ἐπιθεῖναι) on anyone in haste. In Judaism laying on of hands was traditionally understood to convey the Holy Spirit.⁹⁸ It was performed in connection with a variety of cultic acts in the early church, including baptism, the restoration of sinners to fellowship in the church, and ordination, as in 1 Tim 4:14. If ordination of elders is in view,⁹⁹ then this exhortation reflects the same attitude as the caution against choosing a new convert as bishop in 1 Tim 3:6.

Timothy and Titus

It was noted above that Timothy and Titus are portrayed in the Pastorals as Paul's special assistants rather than as prototypes of the monarchical bishop. Thus their portrayal in the Pastorals does not provide direct information about the characteristics of any particular office in the church. Yet they are definitely pictured as having a leadership role in the church.

In 1 Tim 4:14 Timothy is described as possessing a charisma which he has received through prophecy (διὰ προφητείας)¹⁰⁰ with the laying on of hands of the presbytery, that is, ordination. In 2 Tim 1:6 he is again described as having a charisma which he has received through the laying on of (Paul's) hands.¹⁰¹ Charisma and prophecy are features usually associated with charismatic leadership rather than with office. Thus, if the description of Timothy's ordination reflects the practice in the church of the Pastorals in ordaining officers, then the official leadership of the

⁹⁸See Kelly, ad loc.; Dibelius/Conzelmann, excursus, pp. 70f.; Käsemann, "Ministry and Community," 86f.

⁹⁹Proponents of this view include Dornier, Lock, Kelly, Dibelius/Conzelmann, ad loc. Hanson, *The Pastoral Letters*, ad loc., is among the dissenters. As noted above, the immediate context is of no help in deciding this question. Since laying on of hands is associated with ordination in 1 Tim 4:14 and also apparently in 2 Tim 1:6, it seems likely that ordination is also in view here. Under the circumstances, however, any conclusions drawn about the meaning of this passage must remain highly tentative.

¹⁰⁰Or "on account of prophecies."

¹⁰¹Cf. 1 Tim 1:18. The discrepancy between 1 Tim 4:14 and 2 Tim 1:6 on the question of who ordained Timothy is not of primary concern here. For a discussion, see Kelly, 107f.; D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (London: University of London, Athlone Press, 1956) 44ff.

church has accomplished a synthesis of charisma and office that, no doubt, will have weakened the position of charismatic leaders outside the official structure.¹⁰²

The importance of the teaching function of the leadership, emphasized in the section on the bishop in Titus 1:9, is highlighted to an even greater degree in various exhortations to Timothy and Titus. 1 Tim 4:13, in which reading aloud of scripture (ἡ ἀνάγνωσις), exhortation (ἡ παράκλησις), and teaching (ἡ διδασκαλία) are linked, suggests that the regular setting for teaching activity was the worship assembly of the church. The content of the teaching which they are urged to impart most often emerges as practical and ethical instruction of the type that dominates the Pastorals themselves, much of this instruction having to do with behavior and relationships in the household of God. Thus in Titus 2:1, Titus is urged to teach "that which befits sound teaching" (ἃ πρέπει τῆ ὑγιαινούσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ). In this case the content of the teaching turns out to be the station code of 2:2-10. Similarly, the exhortation "teach and urge these things" (ταῦτα δίδασκε καὶ παρακάλει), in 1 Tim 6:2b follows the instructions regarding various groups in the church in 5:3-6:2a.¹⁰³ In this connection Timothy and Titus are also expected to be moral examples for the community (1 Tim 4:11; Titus 2:7). Furthermore, they have the responsibility of being the first line of defense against false teaching (1 Tim 1:3f., 6:20; Titus 3:9f.).¹⁰⁴ Thus the transmission and defense of the teaching, especially its ethical and practical aspects, is presented as their central task.

However, the wide ranging pastoral authority attributed to Timothy should also be noted. In 1 Tim 5:1-2, Timothy is pictured as exhorting the members of different age groups in the church as if they were members of his family.¹⁰⁵ The point of the passage is that in exercising his authority, he should be careful to treat the members of these different groups in a way appropriate to their station. The author's assumption is thus that Timothy has pastoral authority over every member of the church regardless of his or her social station, in the way that a householder has authority over the members of his family.

¹⁰²See Schlier, 135; Käsemann, "Ministry and Community," 87. Cf. Acts 13:2.

¹⁰³K. H. Rengstorf notes the ethical and practical emphasis in the concept of "teaching" in the Pastorals in his article "διδάσκω," *TDNT* II, especially p. 147. Cf. 1 Tim 4:11; 2 Tim 2:2; Tit 1:11. Cf. Lohfink, 97f.

¹⁰⁴Cf. Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority*, 109ff.

¹⁰⁵For parallels in the secular literature, see Dibelius/Conzelmann, *ad loc.*

Summary

The leadership of the church of the Pastorals was official in character. Prospective leaders were expected to meet certain qualifications (1 Tim 3:1ff., 3:8ff., Titus 1:6ff.). They were tested before being admitted to office (1 Tim 3:10). Some of them, at least, received financial support from the Christian community.

Not everyone in the church had realistic prospects of entering the leadership circle. Access to leadership positions appears to have been controlled to a great extent by the already established leadership. This is the author's assumption in the case of the churches which he portrays as being organized on Crete. If 1 Tim 5:22 concerns the ordination of elders, then this passage too indicates that one was admitted to the ranks of the leadership by the leadership itself. The assumption in the Pastorals is that the official leaders came from among the well-to-do householders of the church (1 Tim 3:12). Thus, in all probability poor men and unmarried men must usually have been excluded. Elders are presumed to be old enough to have adult children. Thus young men would ordinarily have been excluded from this group. No women, whatever their age or socio-economic status, had any part in the official leadership, although the church probably recognized a minor role for widows and possibly deaconesses as official workers.¹⁰⁶ The author of the Pastorals is concerned that the leaders conduct their lives in morally exemplary fashion. He also urges that they not be new converts (1 Tim 3:6). In both respects he probably reflects the prevailing attitudes among the leadership, since he expends no great effort to explain or defend his position.

It thus appears that the governing group in the church of the Pastorals was something of an aristocracy in relation to the general membership. In this respect this church exhibits the same social structure which Judge and Theissen have found in the first generation Pauline churches, where the leading figures in the churches appear to have been well-to-do householders who brought their dependents into the church with them. Of course in Paul's churches this leadership is still largely if not entirely

¹⁰⁶See p. 133, n. 17 above and the section on widows in the community below, pp. 161ff.

unofficial,¹⁰⁷ and church order is an order according to charismata in the congregation.¹⁰⁸

The officers of the church of the Pastorals, or perhaps a small group among them, had broad ranging authority that extended to all areas of the life of the Christian community. Such authority appears to have been associated in particular with the bishop(s), whose governing of the church was viewed as analogous to the householder's governing of his household (1 Tim 3:4-5). Timothy's authority is pictured in similar terms in 1 Tim 5:1-2. This broad range of authority is reflected in the variety of leadership functions that come into play in the Pastorals. Church officers had pastoral responsibility for the membership (1 Tim 5:1-2), they exercised disciplinary authority in the community (1 Tim 5:19-20), and they represented the church to the outside world (1 Tim 3:7). Their most important functions involved the preservation, transmission and defense of the teaching, which, if the content of the Pastorals themselves is any indication, consisted in large part of rules for the ordering of the social life of the church. This strong emphasis on the official leadership as the first line of defense against opposition to the teaching leads one to suspect that the teaching was in fact encountering significant opposition in the church. This suspicion will be tested below.

Finally, there is evidence here that, as in the domestic ideal which prevailed in the church, so also in the prevailing concept of the leader's role, the social values of the larger society held sway. 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). One undertook office as a socially prominent member of one's community in order to fulfill one's civic duties. The social rewards were increased recognition and further enhanced social standing. 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. As we turn to an examination of the subordinate groups in the church, the consequences of these social values should become increasingly apparent.

¹⁰⁷See chapter 1, pp. 5f. On the beginnings of office in the Pauline churches, see Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority*, 68f., where, in particular, Phil 1:1 is discussed.

¹⁰⁸See Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority*, 55ff. and Käsemann, "Ministry and Community."

Widows (I Tim 5:3-16)

Most of the particular interpretive problems connected with this passage are related to the problem of the structure of the passage as a whole. In one view the passage is made up of a series of loosely connected sections. Vv. 3-8 are seen as comprising a section which addresses the question of care for widows. V. 9 begins a new section which deals with requirements for the office of widows. There is no connection between the two sections except for the catchword "widows" (χήρας). V. 16 constitutes a third distinct section.¹⁰⁹ In the other view vv. 3-16 form a unified whole, in which the central problem is to determine as exactly as possible who qualifies as a "real widow" (ὄντως χήρα). In this view no distinction is being made between real widows and official widows.¹¹⁰

The first view is supported by the fact that there are no connectives between vv. 8-9 and vv. 15-16, while elsewhere in the section connectives are consistently employed. According to this view, all truly needy widows (ὄντως χήραι) would be entitled to the support (τίμη)¹¹¹ of the community, regardless of their age or past behavior. In order to become enrolled as an official widow, however, one would have to meet the stringent requirements outlined in vv. 9f. Thus younger widows who remarried according to the author's advice in v. 14 would be excluding themselves from becoming official widows, but not from receiving the support of the church in the event that their second husbands also died. A similar distinction between support of widows and enrollment of them in an order of widows is made in the Syrian *Didascalia*, which urges that young widows be helped financially even though they should not be appointed to the widow's order (chap. 14).¹¹²

The second view finds support in the following considerations. 5:3 initiates the instructions concerning widows with the imperative, χήρας τίμα τὰς ὄντως χήρας. The dual thrust of this imperative is at

¹⁰⁹See Dornier, *Jeremias*, ad loc.; H. Preisker, *Christentum*, 149. Cf. the similar views of G. Dellling, *Stellung*, 133; Bartsch, 137-38.

¹¹⁰See A. Sand, "Witwenstand und Ämterstrukturen in den urchristlichen Gemeinden," *Bibleb* 12 (1971) 186-97; J. Müller-Bardorff, "Zur Exegese von I Tim. 5:3-16," in *Gott und die Götter. Festgabe für Erich Fascher* (Berlin: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1958) 113-33; Dibelius/Conzelmann, ad loc.

¹¹¹See discussion below, pp. 162f. and cf. 5:17-18.

¹¹²See especially Dornier, *Spicq*, ad loc.

once apparent. On the one hand it requires the support of widows. On the other hand it restricts support to those who are "real widows" (ὄντως χήραι). Care and protection of widows and orphans had long been recognized as an ethical obligation in Judaism and the same view had been adopted by the church from the beginning.¹¹³ Restrictions on such care are, however, a non-traditional feature.¹¹⁴ Thus the remainder of vv. 3-16 can be read as an explication of the phrase "real widows." In vv. 4, 8 the "real widow" is distinguished from those who have families to support them, and in vv. 11ff., she is distinguished from younger widows. The worldly (σκαταλώσα ζῶσα) is also excluded (v. 6). In vv. 5 and 9f., the "real widow" is described in positive terms.¹¹⁵ The consistent effect of the instructions is to reduce the circle of widows for whom the church has responsibility. V. 16 represents a variation on the thought expressed in v. 3: The church should be spared the care of widows who have other resources, "in order that it may be able to care for (ζῆνα . . . ἐπαρκέσει) the real widows."¹¹⁶

A decision between these two views will be temporarily avoided, pending investigation of a related question, namely, whether there is evidence in this passage for an office of widows and, if so, what kind of office. A number of features of the passage come into consideration in this connection. It has been argued that τζμα in v. 3 means "pay," and thus that the subject is payment of widows as officers of the church. In 5:17 τζμη refers to the compensation of elders, as v. 18 indicates. Thus, it is reasoned, since 5:3ff. stands in such close connection, τζμα here must have a similar meaning.¹¹⁷ This view is supported by the fact that in later church orders, τζμων is a technical term for "pay."¹¹⁸

However, good reasons exist for rejecting this view. As Sand shows, τζμη and its cognates are used in the Pastorals in a variety of contexts, in none of which, with the exception of 1 Tim 5:3 and 5:17, the reference can possibly be to a payment of any kind.¹¹⁹ The most striking example comes from 1 Tim 6:1f., which like 5:3ff. is adjacent to the passage concerning elders in 5:17ff. Here slaves are exhorted to consider

¹¹³See, e.g., Jer 7:6; Prov 23:10; Deut 24:19ff.; Mark 12:40 and pars.; Acts 6:1ff.; Pol. Phil. 6:1.

¹¹⁴Cf. Müller-Bardorff, 110; G. Stählin, "χήρα," TDNT IX, 455.

¹¹⁵Cf. Sand, 195; Müller-Bardorff, 115f.

¹¹⁶Müller-Bardorff, 116.

¹¹⁷Müller-Bardorff, 115.

¹¹⁸Bartsch, 118.

¹¹⁹p. 194; Cf. Lock, Barrett, ad loc.

their masters "worthy of all τιμή," which can only mean "worthy of all honor," and not "worthy of all payment." Thus the meaning of τίμα in 5:3 must be determined by reference to its immediate context in vv. 3-16. That some sort of practical support is involved is evident from vv. 4, 8, and 16, but the author does not appear to be thinking of this support as compensation for officers of the church, but rather as practical help for needy women. Thus, vv. 4 and 8 urge the support of widows by their relatives, and v. 16 calls for their support (ἐπαρκέτω) by πισταί, so that the church will be better able to support (ἐπαρκέσει) "real widows." "Support" (ἐπαρκέτω) here does not suggest official compensation, but help or aid.¹²⁰ In all probability, then, τίμα in v. 3 refers not to official compensation but to practical and material aid, and "real widows" here designates not a group of official widows, but widows who are alone (cf. v. 5) with no relatives or benefactors to support them.

Nevertheless, there is still the possibility that vv. 9ff., if they represent a separate section, have to do with a group of official widows. V. 9 refers to the enrollment of widows (χήρα καταλέγεσθαι) who meet certain qualifications, while v. 11 calls for the rejection (παραιτοῦ) of younger widows. The reference is not necessarily to an office of widows since καταλέγειν need not refer to anything more than the activity of writing down a list.¹²¹ Nevertheless, that the church keeps a list of widows, and that only widows who possess certain qualifications are eligible to be placed on this list is clear.¹²²

The list of requirements for enrollment on the list of widows resembles those for the offices of bishop, deacon, and elder (1 Tim 3:1-13; Titus 1:6ff.) with the exception of the age requirement, that enrolled widows be at least sixty years old. Thus, while the men who hold these offices are expected to be μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἄνδρες, enrolled widows must be ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς γυναί. In addition, the virtues of hospitality (cf. 1 Tim 5:10, ἐξενοδόχησεν; 1 Tim 3:2, Titus 1:8, φιλόξενον) and proper care of children (cf. 1 Tim 5:10, ἐτεκνοτρόφησεν; 1 Tim 3:4, Titus 1:6) are demanded of widows as well as of men who are church

¹²⁰See BAG, s.v.; Jos.

¹²¹Sand, 195. This verb is often used to refer to the enlistment of soldiers, as in Jos. Ap. 1.131. See BAG, s.v. G. Stählin, "χήρα," TDNT IX, 456, understands καταλέγεσθαι as "to be adopted into the fellowship by election." παραιτόμαι would have the corresponding meaning "vote down." While this appears to be a possible interpretation, the context in 5:9ff. does not provide means by which to confirm or disprove it.

¹²²Sand, *ibid.*

officers.¹²³ This parallelism, then, suggests that enrolled widows too are church officers.

That enrolled widows fill an office in the church is also suggested by the language of v. 12. Here younger widows who desire to marry are seen as having set aside (ἀθέτησαι) τὴν πρώτην πίστιν. It is possible that τὴν πρώτην πίστιν refers to the widow's initial inward commitment to a life of celibacy and singleminded devotion to God (v. 5) and Christ (v. 11).¹²⁴ However, ἀθετεῖν usually denotes the nullifying of a will, vow, covenant, or the like, that is, a concrete and public agreement or promise.¹²⁵ Since πίστις can mean "oath,"¹²⁶ it would appear likely that v. 12 refers to an initial oath of celibacy taken by widows on the occasion of their enrollment. Thus once again the evidence favors the view that an office of widows is presupposed.

If the church had official widows, then presumably they were given duties. Yet 5:3ff. offers little evidence of anything of the sort. In 5:5 the "real widow" is portrayed as praying night and day. It has thus been suggested that widows had a special duty to pray for the community.¹²⁷ However, in this case this duty would apply to all "real widows" and not just the enrolled widows of v. 9f. V. 10 mentions such activities as raising children, washing the feet of the saints, and supporting the afflicted; but these are qualifications referring to the widow's former life, not duties of her present position.¹²⁸ Finally, v. 13 mentions younger widows who run from house to house. The possibility has been raised on the basis of this verse that widows functioned as pastoral visitors. However, this is pure conjecture. False teachers are similarly described as entering houses (2 Tim 3:6) and disrupting households (Titus 1:11). A more likely explanation for the author's reference to the household visits of younger widows is that he perceives them, like the false teachers, as in some sense a threat to the households of the Christian community.¹²⁹ Thus one can

¹²³Cf. Müller-Bardorff, 120f.; P. Trummer, "Einehe," 473ff.

¹²⁴As Sand argues, 196.

¹²⁵See BAG, s.v. Cf. 1 Macc 11:36; Gal 3:15.

¹²⁶Müller-Bardorff, 120; Brox, ad loc. Cf. 3 Macc 3:10; Jos. Ant. 12.382.

¹²⁷Müller-Bardorff, 126; Bartsch, 136.

¹²⁸Kelly suggests, ad loc., that the qualifications indicate the kind of duties which widows would be expected to perform; i.e., what they once performed voluntarily they would continue to perform as the duties of office.

¹²⁹See above on women in the household, p. 134; below, on the false

find no clear indication of duties performed by enrolled widows. Nevertheless, this is not a particularly strong argument against the existence of an office of widows here. The Pastorals offer no real information about the duties of deacons either, although they certainly presuppose the deacon's office.

The bulk of the evidence supports the view that vv. 9ff. speak about an office of widows. At the same time, the "real widows" of vv. 3-8 and 16 can hardly be identical with the "enrolled widows" of vv. 9ff., if the latter represent an office. Rather the "real widows" are poor widows who must rely on the church for support, because they are not supported by family or by *κιστάς*. Thus one arrives at the conclusion that vv. 9ff. comprise a distinct section within the passage and that this section addresses itself to a separate issue.

Vv. 3-8 and 16, then, are concerned with the problem of the church's social responsibility for widows. The church of the Pastorals has accepted the notion that it has a duty to care for needy widows. In this respect it reflects the outlook both of the early church generally and of Judaism, from which the church derived this outlook. In the author's view, however, this duty has become a heavy burden. He attempts to lighten the burden by defining as narrowly as possible the group that is entitled to the church's support.

Vv. 9ff., by contrast, deal with the distinct problem of official widows. The question of compensation is not addressed in this section, nor is there discussion of the duties of official widows. Rather the issue is the moral and emotional fitness of candidates for the office. The author argues that only elderly women should hold this office, while vv. 11-12 indicate that the church has not always followed this practice. Official widows should have led exemplary lives, having been married only once and having been industrious in all kinds of good works. The author is so troubled about the presence of younger women among the official widows that he urges the former to remarry, and thus in the process to disqualify themselves from ever attaining the office. Younger women have powerful sex drives (v. 11) that should be channeled into marriage (v. 14). When they remain unmarried, they display an appalling lack of domesticity, "running from house to house," and "saying what they should not" (v. 13). Some, in fact, have "strayed after Satan" (*ἔξευρόνησαν ὀπίσω τοῦ Σατανᾶ*) (v. 15). Similar expressions in other passages in the Pastorals refer to Christians who have gone over to the false

teachers, pp. 175f. Kelly, Dibelius/Conzelmann, Barrett take the view rejected here.

teaching.¹³⁰ It may be, therefore, that the author views younger widows as particularly vulnerable to false teachers. On the whole, then, younger widows emerge, in the author's description, as rather dangerous and unpredictable beings who should be controlled in marriage, rather than given official status in the church. The description thus suggests that these women were the focus of real social tensions involving a conflict of values over the role of women in the household and the community.

When one views the whole of 5:3-16 together, one finds that to a certain extent it does reflect a unified perspective after all. Throughout the author views widows, official or otherwise, as a problem with which the church is forced to deal. He would like to reduce the number of widows who are dependent upon the church for support. He would also like to restrict severely entrance into the ranks of the official widows. It thus appears that he wants to minimize both the involvement of the church in the lives of widows and the involvement of widows in the official structure of the church. At the same time he gives assent both to the church's traditional practice of helping needy widows and to the continued existence of an office of widows.

Men and Women in Worship (1 Tim 2:8-15)

It was seen in chapter III that this section takes the pairing *ἄνδρες . . . γυναῖκες*, a standard feature in the station codes, and develops it in a new context, namely, the context of the church's worship. In 2:8 it is urged that the men pray "in every place (*ἐν παντί τόπῳ*), with holy hands (*ἁγίους χεῖρους*) raised,"¹³¹ "without strife and quarreling (*ὄργης καὶ διαλογισμοῦ*)." The point of the exhortation is that the men should take care not to defile the worship of the church by bringing quarrels into the assembly. A similar notion is expressed in Did. 14:2, where, in the context of instructions concerning the Eucharist, the congregation is warned, "let none who has a quarrel (*ἁμιβολίαν*) with his fellow join in your meeting (*συνελθέτω ὑμῶν*) until they be reconciled, that your sacrifice be not defiled."¹³²

¹³⁰As Bartsch notes, 134. Cf. 1 Tim 1:6; 6:20; 2 Tim 4:4.

¹³¹This was a common posture for prayer in antiquity among Romans, Greeks, and Jews. See Lock, Kelly, *ad loc.*, Deissman, *Light from the Ancient East*, 421.

¹³²Cf. E. Kähler, *Die Frau in den paulinischen Briefen* (Zurich: Gotthelf Verlag, 1960) 149; Lock; Dibelius/Conzelmann; Spicq, *ad loc.*

However, it is the phrase "in every place" that is of particular interest here. Since the context is the worship of the congregation, "every place" means every place where the church gathers for worship. On the assumption that this phrase is not superfluous in its present context,¹³³ two possible interpretations lie at hand: (1) The author, assuming that a number of local congregations will read this letter, is emphasizing that the church in every locality, is expected to conduct its worship in this way, and that, thus, a universal rule of worship is being presented. (2) The author has in mind the specific situation of the church in Ephesus, which he envisions as worshipping in a number of different locations in smaller groups rather than as a single body in one location. The second possibility is particularly intriguing. Until long beyond the latest possible period in which the Pastorals may have been written, the Christians were worshipping in private houses.¹³⁴ It appears that large rooms in the οἶκος or domus of well-to-do members were often used for this purpose.¹³⁵ Even so, the number of people who could gather in such rooms at one time must have been severely limited, so that it would be hard to imagine a congregation of more than several hundred persons able to assemble for worship as a single body.¹³⁶ In fact there is considerable evidence to suggest that the Christians of second century Rome were

¹³³Bartsch argues that this phrase became a watchword in the primitive church's proclamation of the possibility of pure worship in every place, not simply in one holy place, i.e., the Temple. Cf. Mal 1:11, 14; Did. 14:3; Acts 21:28; 1 Cor 1:2; 2 Cor 2:14; 1 Thess 1:8. Thus the presence of this phrase in 1 Tim 2:8 would indicate the presence of a pre-formulated rule expressing the mission orientation of the first century church order which, Bartsch hypothesizes, lies behind the Pastorals (pp. 471., 56f.). In its present context the phrase would serve no real purpose (p. 13). However, in the present study the assumption, supported by the findings in chapter III, is that the author is ordinarily a purposeful writer, whose choice of words should be explained, if possible, by reference to meanings which he intends.

¹³⁴See W. Rordorff, "Was wissen wir über die christliche Gottesdiensträume?" ZNW 55 (1964) 111; J. M. Petersen, "House-Churches in Rome," VC 23 (1969) 266.

¹³⁵Rordorff, 112ff.; Petersen, 270.

¹³⁶Rordorff mentions a passage in the *Recognitions of Clement* in which Peter is portrayed as teaching in a room that could hold five hundred people. This may be a greatly exaggerated figure. If not, it certainly represents the upper limit of the numbers one might expect to contain in the great hall of a private house.

worshiping in numerous relatively small bodies in private homes.¹³⁷ Thus it is not unreasonable to suppose that during this period Christians in a large city such as Ephesus would have faced a similar situation on a somewhat smaller scale. Whether or not the Pastorals presuppose a Christian population of the size to necessitate multiple worshiping groups will be explored below.

In 2:9 the author turns to the subject of women in worship. It is possible, though not certain, that προσεύχεσθαι should be understood here, and that the women are also being exhorted to pray.¹³⁸ The explicit exhortation, however, is that women should adorn (κοσμεῖν) themselves "in becoming dress (ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμήσιν),¹³⁹ with modesty (αἰδούσας) and prudence (σωφροσύνης). . . ." αἰδώς and σωφροσύνη are often paired as the virtues of women who exhibit proper reserve and self-control in sexual matters.¹⁴⁰ It thus appears that this is the author's emphasis here. By contrast, fashionable hairdos (πλέγμασιν),¹⁴¹ gold jewelry, pearls, and expensive (πολυτελεῖς) clothes are singled out as inappropriate adornment for women in worship. Only well-to-do women could have been the object of this exhortation since only they could have afforded such ostentation.¹⁴² The contrast of outward and inward adornment in women is a common Hellenistic topos,¹⁴³ although the

¹³⁷Peterson, 266ff. Robert Banks, *Paul's Idea of Community* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1980) 41-42, in commenting on the size of Paul's Corinthian community, suggests that no more than 40-45 people could have gathered in the entertainment room of the typical house of a moderately well-to-do family.

¹³⁸Cf. Köhler, 149; Spicq, Dibelius/Conzelmann, ad loc.

¹³⁹καταστολή can refer either to dress or to demeanor. If it means the latter here, then μετὰ . . . σωφροσύνης explicates (ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμήσιν). See Lock, Dibelius/Conzelmann, ad loc.

¹⁴⁰Cf. Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 1.102, 3.51; and p. 135 above.

¹⁴¹πλέγματα refers to a fashionable style of plaiting the hair. See Kelly, ad loc.

¹⁴²See Spicq, Kelly, ad loc. Cf. descriptions of wealthy women in Juvenal, *Sat.* 6.492; Petronius, *Sat.* 67.

¹⁴³See Spicq, ad loc. Baltensweiler, 237, identifies the prohibition of expensive and ostentatious dress as a specifically Jewish characteristic. This is not so, however, as the following quotation from Plutarch, "Advice to the Bride and Groom" (*Mor.* 141E) indicates: "For as Crates used to say, 'adornment is that which adorns,' (κόσμος . . . ἔστιν . . . κοσμοῦν) 'and that adorns or decorates a woman which makes her more decorous (τὸ κοσμιώτερον . . . ποιοῦν).' It is not gold or precious

specific application to worship is not a standard feature of the *topos*. Since the author places no special emphasis on this exhortation, it is unlikely that he viewed ostentatious dress among women in worship as a major problem.

V. 11 introduces new subject matter, although the context is still worship. Women must learn "in silence (*ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ*) in all subjection (*ἐν πάσῃ ὑποταγῇ*)." The import of this rule becomes clear in the following verse, in which the author insists, "I do not permit (*οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω*) a woman to teach (*διδάσκειν*) or to lord it over a man (*ἀρθενεῖν ἄνδρος*); rather she must remain in silence (*ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ*)." It is not completely clear whether the intent is to ban all speech by women in worship.¹⁴⁴ The main point, however, is that women be prohibited from exercising the teaching function in this setting. The author's choice of words here indicates that he regards women who teach in the public assembly as having transgressed the limits of their place as women in the order of things. Thus their activity as teachers is seen as "lording it over"¹⁴⁵ men, a posture which involves a reversal of the proper order. Women who learn in silence, by contrast, learn in subjection (*ὑποταγῇ*), a posture that reflects their subordinate station in relation to men. It should be remembered that teaching involved not only exposition of the doctrines of the Faith, but also ethical exhortation on the subject of personal conduct. The author himself is engaging in such teaching activity in the present passage, where in the guise of Paul he gives practical directives, assuming the attitude of a superior (*βούλομαι; οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω*).¹⁴⁶ If women who taught in worship employed a similar

stones or scarlet that makes her such, but whatever invests her with that something which betokens dignity, good behavior and modesty (*ἀλλ' ὅσα σεμνότητος εὐταξίας αἰδοῦς εὐφρασιν περιτρίθειν*)." ¹⁴⁴The similarities of this passage to 1 Cor 14:33bff. have often been noted. A few interpreters have detected a gentler tone in the present passage, in which *ἡσυχία* is enjoined on the woman rather than *σιγή*. It is argued that, while the latter means complete silence, the former can refer to calm, quiet behavior. Thus A. Schlatter, *Die Kirche der Griechen im Urteil des Paulus* (2d ed.; Stuttgart: Calwer, 1958) 87; Spicq, 389.

¹⁴⁵*ἀρθενης* = *δεσπότης*. Thus *ἀρθενεῖν* = *δεσποτεῖν*. See Spicq, *ad loc.*; cf. Gayer, 133, n. 59; Leipholdt, 188.

¹⁴⁶"I desire," does not really capture the force of *βούλομαι* here, which was used in this way to introduce legislative decrees in the secular world. See Spicq, Easton, Dibelius/Conzelmann, *ad loc.*; Jos. *Ant.*

style, it is not difficult to see how the author could have regarded them as "lording it over" men.

In vv. 13-15 the author adduces two reasons for the prohibition of v. 12, both of which have to do with the fundamental superiority of men over women. The first reason (v. 13) is simply that man was created before woman and thus occupies a superior place in the order of creation. Paul offers a similar argument in 1 Cor 11:8f., where he addresses the problem of proper attire for men and women in worship. The second reason (v. 14) is that it was not the man, but the woman who was "deceived" (ἐξαπατηθεῖσα). The reference is probably not simply to the account in Genesis, but to an apocryphal tradition in which Eve is seduced by the serpent.¹⁴⁷ This interpretation is suggested by the use here of ἐξαπατάω, which can refer to sexual transgression, rather than ἀπατάω, which is used in the Genesis account in the Septuagint. In addition, v. 15 states that a woman's salvation will come through child-bearing (διὰ τεκνογονίας),¹⁴⁸ which would be a form of expiation commensurate with the crime attributed to her.

Thus in vv. 11ff. the author argues as follows: women violate the fundamental order of things when they presume to become teachers in the church. Such teaching activity involves assuming a superior position in relation to the men of the congregation, but women were created to be subordinate to men, as is indicated by the fact that men were created first. Furthermore, women labor under the burden of an original sexual guilt that is to be expiated by childbearing, that is, by submitting to the proper role of a woman as a wife and mother.¹⁴⁹ A glance at the author's argumentation reveals that he has marshaled the most devastating arguments available to oppose what he regards as a serious threat to the

XII.150, where it is used by Antiochus III in a decree ordering a settlement of Jews in Phrygia.

¹⁴⁷Hanson has gathered the evidence for the currency of this tradition at the time of the writing of the Pastorals, in "Eve's Transgression," *Studies*, 64-77. The tradition is preserved in the *Prot. Jas.* 13:1 and is alluded to in *Ep. Diog.* 12:8. Cf. Baltensweiler, 237; Lock, Dibelius/Conzelmann, ad loc.

¹⁴⁸The un-Pauline and un-Christian notion expressed here has led to various other attempts to explicate διὰ τεκνογονίας. Ellicott, Lock understand it as "through the (i.e. Jesus') birth." Holtz takes διὰ as having a descriptive/temporal force here, so that the idea is that the woman is saved in her life of bearing children.

¹⁴⁹Cf. Kelly, *Jeremias*, ad loc.

church. There can be little doubt, then, that women really were teaching in public worship in the church of the Pastorals, and that serious conflict had erupted over this issue.

Age Groups in the Church (Titus 2:1ff.)

In this passage the household relationships have been replaced by relationships in the Christian community. The groups mentioned in 1 Tim 5:1-2, namely, older men, younger men, older women and younger women, are the object of somewhat more extended attention here.¹⁵⁰

The use of *πρεσβύτης*, "old man," rather than *πρεσβύτερος*, in 2:2 makes it clear that the author is dealing with an age group and not an office.¹⁵¹ The qualities urged upon old men (*νηφαλίους, σιμνοὺς, σώφρονας*) are to be found in various other lists in the Pastorals applied to different groups. Together they call for the dignified bearing and self-discipline demanded elsewhere of church officers (1 Tim 3:2, 3; Titus 1:8). In addition, old men should be "sound in faith, love, and endurance" (*τῆ πίστει, τῆ ἀγάπῃ, τῆ ὑπομονῇ*). The same triad appears together in a larger list in 1 Tim 6:11, and the same three virtues are included in a list in 2 Tim 3:10. They stand together as primary virtues of the Christian life.¹⁵² "Sound" (*ὀγιζόντων*) is repeatedly used in the Pastorals to describe the authentic Christian teaching. Thus it is likely that the author also has in mind that the old men should be adherents of the "sound" teaching.¹⁵³ It is noteworthy that there is a concern for the soundness of the old men's faith, but that this concern is not repeated in the case of the other classifications.

The exact sense of the first phrase in 2:3 describing the behavior of old women, (*εἶναι ἐν καταστάσει ἱεροπρεπειῶν*), is not clear. *κατάστημα* probably refers both to dress and more broadly to deportment.¹⁵⁴ *ἱεροπρεπειῶν* sometimes means "holy" and sometimes, "priestly." Lock suggests that the meaning is that the old women are to

¹⁵⁰The section on slaves in vv. 9f. will not be discussed again here. See above pp. 140ff.

¹⁵¹See BAG, s.v.; *TDNT* VI, 682f.

¹⁵²As Holtz notes, ad loc. Cf. the very similar if more famous triad, *πίστις, ἀγάπη, ἐλπίς* in 1 Cor 13:13.

¹⁵³Cf. 1 Tim 1:10; 6:3; Tit 1:9; Lock, Brox, Spicq, ad loc.

¹⁵⁴Cf. Ign. Trall. 3:2, on the bishop and also 3 Macc 5:45. For secular examples see Spicq, ad loc.

carry into life the demeanor of priestesses in a temple.¹⁵⁵ The warnings against slanderous talk (*διαβόλους*) and addiction to wine (*ἐν πολλῇ δεδουλωμένος*) reflect what had apparently become a popular stereotype of "the old woman."¹⁵⁶ Perhaps the most interesting feature here is the assignment to old women of the responsibility for training younger women in proper matronly behavior. Thus, although women are excluded from teaching in the assembly, the elderly among them are expected to serve the community as *καλοδιδάσκαλοι*, "teachers of good things,"¹⁵⁷ within a certain strictly circumscribed sphere. There is no reason to believe that the author is urging some new pattern of behavior in the Christian community at this point.

The older women are to teach the younger women to be exemplary matrons (vv. 4-5). The contribution of the latter to the church is the same as that of the slaves: by keeping their proper place at home, they avoid giving the Christian faith a bad name among the general public.¹⁵⁸ The author's attitude toward older and younger women here is reminiscent of his attitude toward older and younger widows in 1 Tim 5:9ff. In the present section he appears to regard older women as fully socialized members of the Christian community, whom he can rely upon to assist in the socialization of younger women.

Younger men (v. 6) should "practice self-control" (*σωφρονεῖν*). In the case of younger men as in that of the younger women there is probably a sexual connotation.¹⁵⁹

The exhortation to Titus in vv. 7f. apparently continues in this section. In this connection an important question is raised about the place of younger men in the community. V. 6, taken by itself, shows no interest in assigning any type of responsibility to the younger men. However, in vv. 7f. Titus is urged to be a model (*τύπος*) of good works whose leadership is characterized by adherence to the "sound speech" (*ῥῆγμα ὑγιῆ*)

¹⁵⁵See BAG, s.v.; Lock, ad loc.

¹⁵⁶See Spicq, ad loc., for examples from the inscriptions. Drunkenness among women was especially abhorred in Roman tradition.

¹⁵⁷BAG, s.v.

¹⁵⁸Cf. 1 Tim 6:1; Titus 2:10 on slaves; Barrett, Kelly, ad loc., and above, pp. 140f.

¹⁵⁹See the discussion of 1 Tim 2:8ff. above; Kelly, ad loc. Jerome, followed by Nestle, NEB, and several other modern editions and translations reads the first words of v. 7, *περὶ πάντων* as part of this clause rather than the next, in which case "self-control in everything" is urged. See Dibelius/Conzelmann, Jeremias, Brox, ad loc.

with which no opponent could find fault. The author has previously exhibited such expectations of community leaders, and it is as a community leader that Titus is addressed here. Furthermore, the position of this exhortation immediately after v. 6 indicates that the author intended to picture Titus as belonging to the νεώτεροι.

Brox notes two passages in which Timothy's youth is similarly emphasized in connection with his leadership functions. In 1 Tim 4:12, Timothy is encouraged, "Let no one despise (καταρρονεῖτω) your youth (νεότητος)." Again in 1 Tim 5:11, Timothy is portrayed as a younger man who addresses older men and women as parents and younger men and women as brothers and sisters. Brox concludes that the mention of the youthfulness of Timothy and Titus is probably not simply attention to biographical detail that belongs to the author's pseudepigraphical technique, but that the picture of Timothy and Titus as youthful office holders probably has current meaning for the author's situation. Brox suggests, mainly on the basis of 1 Tim 4:12, that office holders of the Pastorals must usually have been older men and that there may have been resistance to the authority of young office holders in the churches. The author would thus have been attempting to combat such resistance.¹⁶⁰

Brox's conclusion from 1 Tim 4:12 that the official leadership generally came from among the older men is probably correct. As indicated above in the section on the leadership of the church, the passages on the qualifications for officers appear to assume this fact as well. It is not as clear that the author is seeking to bolster the authority of youthful leadership in his own day. 1 Tim 4:12 closely resembles 1 Cor 16:11, in which Paul urges the Corinthians not to despise (μὴ τις ἐξουθενήσῃ) Timothy. Thus 1 Tim 4:12 may simply be giving a biographical detail intended to lend an air of authenticity to the letter.¹⁶¹ The other passages portraying Timothy and Titus as youthful may function similarly. On the whole it seems improbable that the author means through his portrait of Timothy and Titus to address or portray young leaders in his own day.

¹⁶⁰Brox, 1781-7 296.

¹⁶¹On the author's painstaking efforts in this regard, see D. N. Penny, *The Pseudo-Pauline Letters of the First Two Centuries* (Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1979), chapter III, "Personalia."

Wealth and the Wealthy (1 Tim 6:6-10; 17-19)

1 Tim 6:6-10 ostensibly continues a section in which false teachers are being attacked (6:3ff.).¹⁶² The sections are connected by means of the theme of greed. In 6:5 it is suggested that the false teachers are motivated by a desire to reap a profit (πορισμός) from religion. In vv. 6-8 the way of self-sufficiency (αὐταρκεία) through which religion becomes profitable, is described. Then in vv. 9f. the topic is those who want to become wealthy (οἱ βουλόμενοι πλουτεῖν). The author condemns such aspirations as highly dangerous, predicting that those who persist in them will ultimately reap terrible consequences, variously described as a snare (παγίς), destruction (ἀπωλεία) and a falling away from the faith (ἀποπλανᾶσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως). Such emphatic condemnation indicates that the author perceived such attitudes as a real problem in the congregations he addressed.

The passage in vv. 17-19 has a different group in view, namely, those who are already wealthy (οἱ πλούσιοι).¹⁶³ Persons in this category are to be urged "not to become haughty" (μὴ ὑψηλοφρονεῖν)¹⁶⁴ and not to place confidence in fleeting material possessions. Rather they should put their hope in God, "who endows us richly (ἐλουσίζω) with all things."

The admonition against reliance on one's worldly possessions was a familiar topos in both Jewish and pagan tradition,¹⁶⁵ and in fact is employed in the gospels as well. Thus in Matt 6:19-21 Jesus' followers are exhorted not to store up (θησαυρίζειν) treasure on earth, but in heaven; and in Luke 12:33 they are told to sell their possessions (πωλήσατε τὰ ὑπάρχοντα) and give alms, and in so doing, to provide themselves with "an unfailing treasure in the heavens" (θησαυρὸν ἀκλειπτον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς). The possibility of righteous maintenance of wealth is not envisioned in either example. The way in which the

¹⁶²Interpreters differ on how closely this section is connected with vv. 3-5. Kelly, e.g., views vv. 9f. as still descriptive of false teachers, while Hanson and Dibelius/Conzelmann, e.g., do not. Since nothing in vv. 9f. limits the description to false teachers, the latter view is probably to be preferred.

¹⁶³Brox emphasizes this distinction, *ad loc.*

¹⁶⁴Cf. Spicq, *ad loc.* ὑψηλοφροσύνη was widely viewed as an attitude to which wealthy people were susceptible, e.g., in Philo, *Mos.* 1:31; 1 Clem 59:3; Herm. m. 8:3.

¹⁶⁵Cf. Lock, Spicq, *ad loc.*

topos is developed in 1 Tim 6:18 reflects a much more moderate attitude toward wealth. Here the wealthy (οἱ πλούσιοι) are not instructed to divest themselves of their possessions, but rather "to be wealthy (πλουτεῖν) in good works, to be generous (εὐμεταδότους) and ready to share (κοινωνικούς)." In this way they will be storing up wealth for the future (ἀποθησαυρίζειν εἰς τὸ μέλλειν). This view of the social role of the wealthy in the Christian community corresponds to the author's view of the role of privileged members of the community generally, especially in the case of office holders and slave owners.¹⁶⁶

The author's moderate tone in this section stands in marked contrast to that in 6:9f. One could reasonably account for this difference on purely ethical grounds, by pointing out that the objection is not to wealth itself, but to the consuming desire for wealth. It is worthy of note, however, that this ethic encourages an essentially static social situation. Established wealth receives the tacit approval of leadership, while attempts to break into the circle of the wealthy from below meet with condemnation. Such a stance is consistent with the author's general social conservatism and with his concern that subordinate groups not overstep the bounds of their stations (τάγματα) in the social order.

The False Teaching and Its Adherents

Polemic against false teachers is interwoven among the ethical exhortations and church order material of the Pastorals.¹⁶⁷ Investigators of this material usually focus attention on the nature of the false teaching.¹⁶⁸ Here, by contrast, the following two questions hold the greatest

¹⁶⁶Seneca, *Ben.* 4.5,26,28 and Philo, *Jos.* 43 show a similar outlook on wealth in their development of the topos. For a discussion of the ethical problem of wealth and poverty in the early church and the way in which it was approached, see Hengel, *Property and Riches*.

¹⁶⁷For a summary, see Dibbell/Conzelmann, 51.

¹⁶⁸R. J. Karris, "Background," especially pp. 557-60, has shown that the polemic against false teachers reflects to a great extent the traditional polemic against sophists. He isolates the elements in the description of the false teachers that are not attributable to this traditional polemic, in order to discover what the Pastorals reveal about actual characteristics of the false teachers. The results of Karris' investigation are consistent with the widely espoused theory that the false teachers of the Pastorals were proponents of an ascetic variety of gnostic

interest: (1) To whom among the membership did the false teaching appeal? (2) What, if any, social factors contributed to this appeal?

The author sometimes places the advent of the false teachers in the future, associating their activity with the trials of the last days (e.g., in 1 Tim 4:1ff.; 2 Tim 3:1ff.).¹⁶⁹ For the most part, however, he treats them and their activity as a present reality in the community (e.g., in 1 Tim 1:3ff.; 6:3ff.; 2 Tim 3:6; Titus 1:10ff.). It is not clear from the author's presentation whether the false teachers have all come from within the Christian community, or whether they represent a movement (or movements) involving elements external to the church. Whichever the case, false teaching has certainly found a following within the church of the Pastorals, as 1 Tim 1:5ff. illustrates:

... the aim of our charge (τῆς παραγγελίας) is love that issues from a pure heart and a good conscience and sincere faith (πίστεως ἀνυποκρίτου). Certain persons (τινες) by swerving (ἀστοχῆσαντες) from these have wandered (ἔξστράπησαν) away into vain discussion. . . .

The false teaching is not just a potential threat, but under its influence, members of the Christian community have actually "wandered away" from what the author regards as "sincere faith." Thus, whatever its origins, the false teaching has become a real internal problem of the household of God, causing serious divisions among the membership.

According to 2 Tim 3:6f., women figured prominently among the adherents of the false teaching. This passage is located in the middle of a section containing an otherwise conventional characterization of the false teachers as evil men of the last days (3:1-9). In 3:6f. the false teachers are accused of "creeping into households" (ἐνδύοντες εἰς τὰς οἰκίας) and "snaring silly women" (αἰχμαλωτίζοντες γυναῖκας). Such women, the author asserts, are "always learning, but never able to arrive at knowledge of the truth." One is struck first of all by the use of ἐνδύοντες and αἰχμαλωτίζοντες to describe the activity

teaching. Cf. R. Gayer, *Stellung*, 133f.; K. Wegenast, *Tradition*, 136ff.; Dibelius/Conzelmann, 65ff.; Brox, 166ff.

¹⁶⁹On the assumption that the Pastorals were written pseudonymously a generation or more after Paul's death, the future reference in these passages would be explained as instances of pseudepigraphical prediction, in which "Paul" gives prophetic warning of difficulties with false teachers in the author's day. Cf. Barrett, Brox, Dibelius/Conzelmann, ad loc.

of the false teachers. ἐνδύειν suggests a stealthy entry, while αἰχμαλωτίζειν normally refers to the taking of captives in war.¹⁷⁰ The resulting picture is one of a sneak attack on the households of the community. The sneak attack is directed at "silly women" (γυναικάρια),¹⁷¹ who, according to the popular notion,¹⁷² were viewed as particularly susceptible to outlandish religious impulses. In addition, the sarcastic description of these women as avid learners unable to achieve real knowledge recalls Juvenal's description of woman who fancy themselves as learned (Sat. 6. 434ff.). The author's adamant rejection of women as teachers in the church (1 Tim 2:10ff.) strongly suggests that he regarded all women as incapable of "knowledge of the truth" on the same level as men.

As Brox points out,¹⁷³ the author is at pains to emphasize that the false teachers succeed in "capturing" women only because they are γυναικάρια. One thus concludes that the false teachers of the Pastorals were in fact enjoying notable success in recruiting women to their cause and that the author was intent on discrediting their success by calling into question the good sense of the women involved.¹⁷⁴ His contempt for the false teachers and their converts cannot, however, conceal his alarm at the danger which they present to the households of the Christian community.¹⁷⁵

The popularity of the false teaching among women was probably related to certain features of its content. In this connection it is of particular interest that prohibition of marriage was one of the prominent features of the false teaching (1 Tim 4:3).¹⁷⁶ This prohibition calls to

¹⁷⁰On both words, see BAG, s.v.

¹⁷¹On γυναικάρια as a scornful diminutive of γυνή see Kelly, Dibelius/Conzelmann, ad loc.; BAG, s.v.

¹⁷²See chapter II, p. 69.

¹⁷³Ad loc.

¹⁷⁴Cf. the similar conclusion of Karris on different grounds, "Background," 566.

¹⁷⁵This sense of alarm is also registered in Tit 1:11, where the false teachers are accused of "turning whole households upside down" (ἐλαύουσιν οἴκους ἀνατρέπουσιν). On ἀνατρέπω see Kelly, ad loc. Although women are not specifically mentioned here, it is probable that the author is envisioning a situation similar to that described in 2 Tim 3:6.

¹⁷⁶This is one of the three concrete doctrines of the false teaching which are mentioned in the Pastorals. See Karris, "Background," 557ff. The Christian antecedents for such a variety of teaching are indicated in Gal 3:28, which proclaims the abolition of sexual differences in Christ.

mind the sexual asceticism of the apocryphal acts, and in particular the Acts of Paul, which stems from Asia Minor and may have been written as little as a generation after the Pastorals.¹⁷⁷ The "Paul" of the Acts of Paul preaches against marriage on the grounds that one must abstain from sexual intercourse in order to participate in the resurrection (chap. 11). Thecla, in obedience to Paul's preaching, refuses to marry her betrothed and after miraculously escaping being burned alive for her behavior, she sets off to find Paul and accompany him on his travels (chap. 20). She baptizes herself during a confrontation with wild beasts in a public arena (chap. 34); and eventually Paul commissions her to be a teacher of the word (chap. 41). Thus Thecla's rejection of marriage is accompanied by a degree of rebellion against the traditionally subordinate role of women in the household and in society at large.¹⁷⁸

Considerable evidence exists to suggest that the sexual asceticism of the false teaching of the Pastorals contained similar tendencies toward female emancipation. There were women in the church of the Pastorals who were involved in public teaching (cf. 1 Tim 2:12). There were women of marriageable age who were rejecting the option of marriage, and, from the author's point of view, causing problems in the community (1 Tim 5:13f.). Furthermore, the author's vigorous advocacy of the matronly virtues of wifely subordination and motherhood strongly suggests that the women of the church were being exposed to such a variety of teaching (cf. 1 Tim 2:15; 5:14; Titus 2:4-5).

No other distinct social group in the church is identified by the author as particularly attracted to the false teaching. However, in Titus 1:10 he attributes a social characteristic to the proponents of the false teaching that provides an additional clue to their identity. V. 10 initiates a section (1:1-16) of polemic against false teachers. The previous section, which gives qualifications for the offices of elder and bishop, concludes with a reference to the bishop's role in defending the church against people who contradict sound doctrine (1:9). Vv. 10ff. emphasize that

As noted above, if this passage is quoted from a baptismal liturgy of the church, then we are dealing with an idea that was firmly rooted in the earliest Christian tradition and practice. See p. 142, n. 51 above.

¹⁷⁷J. Rhode, "Pastoralbriefe und Acta Pauli," *Studia Evangelica* V (ed. F. L. Cross; TU 103; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1968) 304, sets the earlier limit for the Acts of Paul as 160.

¹⁷⁸Meeks, "Image," 196, notes Thecla's symbolic appropriation of maleness by her wish to cut her hair and her wearing of men's clothes (Act. Pl. 25, 40).

there are "many" (πολλοί) such people and proceeds to describe them in greater detail.

Much of the description belongs to the traditional polemic against sophists as identified by Karris. However, the initial vice attributed to the false teachers in v. 10, namely that they are insubordinate (ἀνυπότακτοι), does not belong to this traditional polemic.¹⁷⁹ The same word is used in 1:6 to describe rebellious children, who by their behavior disqualify their fathers from office in the church. The author repeatedly uses ὑποτάσσεισθαι and its cognates to advance the notion that persons in subordinate groups should not challenge the authority of their superiors.¹⁸⁰ His charge against the proponents of the false teaching at this point, then, is that they are mounting an unjustifiable challenge from a subordinate position against a properly constituted authority, which in this case can only be the official leadership of the household of God.¹⁸¹ If this analysis is correct, then the author is assuming that the proponents of the false teaching come from subordinate groups in the church rather than from among the official leadership itself. There is no reason to doubt that this assumption on his part corresponded in general to the actual situation, although one cannot rule out the possibility that a few among the established leadership may have espoused the false teaching.¹⁸²

Thus the following picture emerges: The church of the Pastorals, as the author describes it, was characterized by an established leadership that ruled over subordinate groups as the οἰκοδεσπότης ruled over his wife, children, and servants. Access to leadership positions was controlled to a great degree by the established leadership. The adherents of the false teaching, insofar as they can be identified, generally belonged to subordinate groups, including men who were not among the official leaders and women, who, as a total group, were denied the opportunity to rise to leadership positions on the same level with men.

¹⁷⁹Karris does not include the charge of insubordination among the special features of the polemic of the Pastorals. However, he does not identify this charge as a feature of the traditional polemic either.

¹⁸⁰So women and men in 1 Tim 2:8ff., slaves and masters in Titus 2:9; and the community as a whole to the worldly rulers in Titus 3:1.

¹⁸¹Cl. Kelly, Brox, ad loc.

¹⁸²The author's insistence that church officers be firmly grounded in the true faith (1 Tim 3:9; Titus 1:9) as well as his cautionary remarks about making a recent convert a bishop (1 Tim 3:6) suggest this possibility.

In the case of women, the appeal of the false teaching must have consisted at least partially in the fact that it offered them both emancipation from a subordinate position in the household and recognition and leadership opportunities which they were denied as a subordinate group in the church. Thus, in this case, social tensions inherent in the social structure of the church contributed to the appeal of the false teaching among a particular social group within the membership.

The situation is not as clear in the case of the men whom the author describes as *ἀνυπότακτοι*. Probably the false teaching appealed to ambitious men in the church who were excluded from official leadership positions, in part, because it provided them with a vehicle for asserting themselves against the official leadership. However, two considerations engender a sense of caution at this point. Firstly, the Pastorals contain abundant material attesting to social tensions involving the position of women in the church, but no unequivocal additional evidence of social tensions involving men with thwarted leadership ambitions. Secondly, because of the tendencies toward female emancipation in the false teaching, its potential appeal to women kept in subordinate positions is evident; but nothing has emerged to suggest that the content of the false teaching as such would have held any special appeal for men excluded from official leadership positions. Thus the interpretation arrived at here is offered tentatively, because its evidential base is extremely narrow.

OVERALL ASSESSMENT: SOCIAL STRUCTURE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SOCIAL TENSIONS IN THE CHURCH OF THE PASTORALS

The church of the Pastorals emerges as a social entity of considerable size and diversity, and as a community with substantial personal and financial resources. The church membership covered the spectrum of urban social strata. The leaders of the church were a group that consisted in large part of prosperous householders. They tended to be older men, although young men may have occasionally entered their ranks. Some of the leaders no doubt came from among the "wealthy" of 1 Tim 6:17ff. Exactly what would have constituted wealth in the author's eyes is uncertain; however, the women of 1 Tim 2:9f., who wore elaborate hair styles, expensive jewelry and fine clothes must have belonged either to the social stratum of the municipal aristocracies, or to that of the aspirants to these aristocracies.

Below the level of the leadership the membership of the church covered a wide socio-economic range. Well-to-do πισταί, if the parallels from Acts and from Paul's letters are any indication, were probably on a socio-economic level equal or superior to that of most of the official leaders. The πισταί supported and probably housed widows who would otherwise have to have been supported by the church. Some widows were in fact being supported from the church's funds. Such widows had probably come from a level of society in which dowry, property holdings and the like would have been minimal or non-existent. The children and grandchildren of some widows apparently could have supported them but were reluctant to do so. Perhaps other families had experienced a severe strain on their finances in the attempt to provide such support and thus had discontinued it. Other widows (perhaps the πισταί) probably supported themselves. There is no mention of church members who were freedmen or freedwomen; however, slaves from both pagan and Christian households belonged to the church. In addition, there were entrepreneurs (1 Tim 6:6ff.), perhaps both free and slave, who were attempting to advance into the circle of the wealthy.

There are a number of other indications of the size and diversity of the church of the Pastorals. There were three classifications of major offices in the church. One group at least among the officers received financial compensation for their work. There was also an office of widows. Either directly or indirectly through its individual members the church was supporting what was, one gains the impression, a large group of widows.¹⁸³ Thus the financial resources of this Christian community must have been considerable. Although the leadership tended to be drawn from among older adults, both young men and young women were probably present in the church in significant numbers. At any rate there were enough young widows among the membership that the leadership was becoming uneasy about their presence and their activities, if the author's attitude may be taken as characteristic. Finally, the size of the membership is suggested by the possibility that it may have been large enough that it met for worship in several different groups in the same city.

The official leadership had succeeded in concentrating much of the authority and power in this rather large and diverse Christian community

¹⁸³In Lucian's description widows appear as a particularly prominent group among the early Christians (*Peregrinus* 12). His outsider's eye may fall on a characteristic feature of Christian groups that from the insider's viewpoint was normally not so obvious.

in its own hands, exercising teaching, pastoral and disciplinary functions. It had also been able to consolidate the authority of office and the authority of charisma, if the descriptions of Timothy's ordination may be trusted here. Furthermore, the leadership appears to have been able for the most part to control access to its own ranks.

The author of the Pastorals, who identifies with the leadership, conceptualizes the church as a great household with its many and diverse ranks of servants and its *οἰκονομία* firmly entrenched in his patriarchal authority.¹⁸⁴ This comparison is in many ways apt, since it evokes the size and complexity as well as the authority structure of the church of the Pastorals. However, the author presents the image of the household not only for descriptive, but also, and more importantly, for prescriptive purposes. In the traditional patriarchal household the householder is expected to exercise his authority in competent fashion, keeping those in subordinate stations properly subject to him and representing his household in the larger community. The other members of the household, typically, women, children and servants, are expected to acknowledge their subordinate positions and to behave accordingly. In the church, the author is suggesting, authority is properly concentrated in the hands of an official leadership that is expected to govern effectively and to represent the church to the world. As in the household, women, slaves, children and young men properly belong to subordinate stations. They should know the limits of these stations and keep within these limits.

The significance of the author's prescription of proper behavior in the household of God becomes clearer in relation to several other factors in the social life of the church. It will be recalled that the prevailing domestic ideal in the church of the Pastorals reflected the dominant social values of the larger society, namely, prosperity and propriety. The social life of the church as a whole was dominated by the same values. In the first place, the church, as represented by the author of the Pastorals, values highly the good opinion of the larger society. Thus there is concern that women and slaves not give occasion by insubordinate behavior for the Christian faith to be blasphemed by outsiders. The same concern is present in the author's advice that the office of bishop be filled by men

¹⁸⁴It is interesting that in the Ephesian *Haustafel* the reverse process has occurred, i.e., the household relationship of husband and wife has been conceptualized on the model of Christ and the church (Eph 5:22ff.). By contrast, the author of the Pastorals never uses the structure of the church as a conceptual model for the structure of the household.

who possess a good reputation in society at large. Of course, this concern in itself would not necessarily indicate that the church shared the values of the larger society. It might simply reflect the church's prudence in attempting to develop and maintain a favorable public image. No doubt this is in part the case. That something more is involved as well can be seen when the social values associated with office in the church are considered. The author, as a representative of the viewpoint of the official leadership, espouses the aristocratic social values associated with leadership circles in the municipalities of the Hellenistic-Roman world. Municipal office is undertaken by the well-to-do, who expend their own resources on behalf of the πόλις. In the process they demonstrate both their prosperity and their liberality, and in so doing enhance their own social standing. In the church of the Pastorals, office is similarly regarded by those who hold or aspire to it. It is a good work which well-to-do members undertake for the benefit of the Christian community and which enhances their social standing in the community. Thus in the church of the Pastorals one is normally rewarded socially for being male, prosperous, respectable and a competent household manager.

Persons who do not fit this description experience a corresponding social devaluation. Thus, in an earlier day well-to-do and independent women like Lydia and Tabitha had provided significant leadership to the church. The πιστάι of the Pastorals, however, who probably could have provided similar leadership, barely receive mention in the Pastorals and only in connection with their involvement in the bothersome (to the author) duty of caring for poor widows. One can easily imagine the frustration of such women at the constriction of their roles within the community. Perhaps some of them were among the teachers whom the author wanted to silence. Older widows are honored for their past life and single-minded devotion to the Lord. Younger widows, by contrast, are encouraged to forego this religious ideal in favor of the matron's role. There is an office of widows by which those who meet certain requirements are recognized, yet on the whole widows seem to be regarded as a burden to the church. The prevailing attitude toward them is one of ambivalence, a peculiar mixture of reverence and resentment, if not contempt. Slaves are viewed with suspicion and contempt according to the popular stereotype (Titus 2:9-10). The author is so incapable of reasoning from the slave's point of view that he can urge slaves of Christian masters to obedience on the grounds that the latter are paragons of Christian beneficence.

Nevertheless, there is evidence that the social values of the established leadership enjoyed wide acceptance among the general membership. In particular, the acceptance of prosperity as a social value is seen in the ostentatious dress of women in public worship and in the entrepreneurs in the community whom the author attacks in 1 Tim 6:6ff. It is interesting that in these cases, when the value of prosperity is accepted with too great an enthusiasm, the leadership disapproves. Perhaps the reason is that in both cases the espousal of the value of prosperity is not balanced sufficiently by the attendant value of propriety. The response of the leadership to the entrepreneurs also has the effect of preserving the status of the established leadership against would-be social climbers.

All this is not to say that there were no social rewards for people in subordinate roles. In fact, members of the church outside the circle of the official leadership often had opportunities for responsibility and recognition in the life of the community. Teaching in the assembly was apparently open to all men. Old men especially were expected to be exemplary in their adherence to the faith. Some women had also been teaching in worship, a development which the author, probably supported by a portion of the official leadership, strongly opposed (see p. 169). Older women were assigned a special responsibility for the training of younger women in their proper roles. Official widows must have had certain responsibilities, although what these were is not clear. *πιστάι* supported needy widows and probably engaged in other benevolent works. Even destitute widows had a special duty to engage in intercessory prayer. The groups that ordinarily had the most meager responsibilities in the life of the community were younger women (except as widows—and here their contribution was being seriously questioned), slaves, younger men and children. Slaves and younger women could contribute to the life of the community by not damaging the church's reputation with outsiders through their behavior. Younger men and children appear to have been accorded no particular responsibilities in this context. As a consolation younger women could look forward to the possibility of becoming honored *οἰκοδόμοισιναι*; and younger men could look forward to the possibility of entering leadership positions as they grew older, if they met the qualifications for office. These features of the social life of the community no doubt served to reduce social tensions and preserve the established structures.

However, although social tensions could be reduced in this way, they could not be eliminated. These tensions were based in the social structure of the community, but were fueled and shaped by certain ideas present in the church since the first generation. The position of slaves in

the church had worsened noticeably in comparison with the situations represented by the earlier *Haustafeln*.¹⁸⁵ In fact, the position of slaves in the church of the Pastorals appears to be nearly that of slaves in the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, in which slaves of Christian masters must gain their master's permission in order to join the church (16:4). At the same time slaves in the church of the Pastorals were being exposed to the teaching that all Christians were ἀδελφοί. Thus the social attitudes which they faced directly contradicted the liberating, affirmative message which they heard. It is no wonder, then, that slaves of Christian masters were in some cases rejecting the subservient role they were expected to play. Yet, slave insubordination is dealt with by the author in cursory fashion as a minor problem. Therefore, one concludes that slaves in the church were not rebelling in a major way against the existing structures.

A major conflict had developed, however, over the role of women in domestic life and in the life of the church. On the one hand, this conflict reflected pervasive tensions abroad in Hellenistic-Roman society. On the other hand, as in the case of slaves, this conflict took shape in relation to certain ideas and ideals present in Christian teaching. According to the traditional values, propriety and proper order demanded the subordination of women in the household and in society at large. At the same time feminine emancipatory tendencies were to be seen in various forms throughout the society. Such tendencies had emerged in the first generation of the church in a single sexual standard for men and women.¹⁸⁶ In the church of the Pastorals this single standard took the form of a twin ideal, foreshadowed in Paul's advice to widows in 1 Corinthians, namely the ideal of the μὲν γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ and the ἕνδε ἀνδρὸς γυνή. This ideal, with its ascetic tendencies, led to an overt social conflict in the case of younger widows. Such women, in living out the role of the ἕνδε ἀνδρὸς γυνή, were engaging in activities that appeared to the author of the Pastorals as too radical a departure from the traditional feminine role, and perhaps as a threat to the traditional households of the church. One imagines such women on the model of the energetic, emancipated Thecla of the *Acts of Paul*.

The emancipatory tendencies present here were being fueled in addition by a more thoroughgoing brand of ascetic teaching that was being championed in the church of the Pastorals by certain opponents of the

¹⁸⁵See p. 144, n. 56.

¹⁸⁶See p. 131, n. 12.

author and the established leadership. Some of these opponents may have been outsiders who were, in a sense, invading the church, as the author's imagery (2 Tim 3:6) suggests. However, at least some of them were men in the church who were not part of the established leadership. These opponents, labelled by the author as false teachers, were promulgating a gnosticizing form of Christian teaching which rejected marriage altogether, and which in this connection probably also recognized no spiritual or social differences between women and men who were believers. The latter idea was now newly imported, but had probably been expressed as a part of the church's baptismal liturgy since the first generation of the church. The rejection of marriage altogether should perhaps be understood as in part a reaction against the rigid, subordinating social structure of the church. At any rate, the appeal of this teaching to women in the church of the Pastorals is understandable. In this connection, it is reasonable to suppose that the women who were teaching in the worship assemblies of the church were proponents of this ascetic/gnostic brand of Christianity. Thus one can see why the author of the Pastorals, as a representative of the established leadership, would feel it necessary to condemn this activity in such harsh terms as he does in 1 Tim 2:12ff.

The author of the Pastorals is alarmed by the vitality of this movement within his church. He perceives it correctly as a threat to the established order, and fears, no doubt again correctly, that such radicalism will damage the public reputation of the church and thus endanger it. The purpose for which the author employs the image of the Household of God in this context is now clear. He intends to bolster a hierarchical social structure in the church that is being threatened by disruptive forces. The social structure which he is defending has in large part given rise to the disruptive forces, yet they are being fed by certain ideas already present in Christian tradition. He responds by promoting an image of the church that legitimates the established hierarchical structure. In this way he hopes to suppress the forces that threaten it and the radical social values which they represent.