1 TIMOTHY 2:8-3:1(a) — WOMEN'S ORDINATION IN THE LIGHT OF THE CHRISTIAN SELF-DEFINITION OF WOMEN IN EPHESUS

by

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ABSTRACT

Throughout church history, traditional interpretations of 1 Timothy 2:8-3:1(a) have excluded women from ordained ministry in the church universal.

The aim of this dissertation was to propose an alternative hermeneutical framework to effect fresh understanding of this text.

A social-scientific approach utilised models from sociology and communication theory. The socio-religious climate of Asia Minor particularly Ephesus between 59 and 64 C E is described. An assessment is made of the status of women in Asia Minor as well as in Hellenism, Romanism and Judaism. A textual analysis provided pointers to the aspects under research.

Research findings strongly suggest that neither the text or the world beyond can be used to exclude women from full participation at all levels in the church.

1 TIMOTHY 2:8-3:1A — HERMENEUTIC — SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC — TEXTUAL ANALYSIS — SOCIOLOGICAL — WOMEN — EPHESUS — SELF-DEFINITION — CHRISTIANITY — ORDINATION
CHAPTER ONE: PROBLEM FORMULATION, AIMS, HYPOTHESIS AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 Introduction ..................................................................... 1
1.2 Problem formulation — the nature of the problem .......... 2
1.2.1 Hermeneutical facets and paradigms ............................. 2
1.2.2 Problems concerning the first letter to Timothy .......... 4
1.2.3 Factors that impede the process of understanding ....... 4
1.3 Aims, hypotheses and assumptions ................................. 6
1.3.1 Aims ........................................................................ 6
1.3.2 Hypotheses and assumptions .................................... 6
1.4 Methodology .............................................................. 7
1.5 Chapter division ......................................................... 7

CHAPTER TWO: AN INVESTIGATION OF THE PROBLEM — REFERENCE TO EXISTING RESEARCH

2.1 Introduction ..................................................................... 9
2.2 Divergent interpretations or ways of understanding ......... 9
2.2.1 Unresolved issues ....................................................... 9
2.2.2 The prohibition concerning: διδάσκω .......................... 10
2.2.3 The prohibition concerning: αὐθεντέω ......................... 10
2.2.4 The injunction concerning: υποτάσσω ......................... 11
2.2.5 The creation order analogy ........................................ 11
2.3 A hermeneutical problem ............................................... 11
2.4 Characteristics of certain previous interpretations .......... 12
2.4.1 Atomistic procedures ................................................ 12
2.4.2 Anachronistic interpretations .................................... 12
2.4.3 Silence on more difficult aspects ................................ 13
2.4.4 Insufficient cognisance, or lack of an assimilation of background data ............................................. 13
2.4.5 Shortcomings of historical-critical approach ................. 13
2.5 Interpretations then and now: Is there any development? ... 15
2.5.1 A brief chronological survey of some interpretations of the incumbent passage in 1 Timothy ............................. 15
2.5.2 An evaluation of progress in more recent interpretations .... 16
2.5.3 General tendency toward socio-cultural interpretations ... 19
2.6 Conclusions ............................................................... 22
CHAPTER THREE: PRESUPPOSITIONS, ASSUMPTIONS AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Underlying presuppositions</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>Some assumptions</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>Assumptions about historical data of this letter</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.1</td>
<td>Decision on authorship and the date</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.2</td>
<td>Decision on the locality of the addressees</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.3</td>
<td>The occasion and purpose of 1 Timothy</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Selected method: a two-pronged interactive approach</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.2</td>
<td>A social-scientific analysis: the world beyond the text</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.3</td>
<td>A literary-communicative approach: the world within the text</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.4</td>
<td>Models, reality and the text</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.5</td>
<td>Conclusions and summary: synthesis of a two-pronged interactive approach</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER FOUR: THE WORLD BEYOND THE TEXT: PART ONE: A SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC APPROACH WITH AN EMPHASIS ON THE SOCIO-RELIGIOUS CLIMATE OF WESTERN ASIA MINOR IN THE FIRST CENTURY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>A social-scientific approach</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.1</td>
<td>The fallacy of objective description of a social world</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2</td>
<td>Various basic social dimensions or views of life in first century Mediterranean countries</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.2</td>
<td>Social status</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.3</td>
<td>Group identity</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.4</td>
<td>Patrons and clients</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.5</td>
<td>Women’s emancipation</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.6</td>
<td>Honour and shame</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.7</td>
<td>The self-definition of groups</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.8</td>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.3</td>
<td>The nature of religion</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.4</td>
<td>The process of description</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Social groups and associations in Western Asia Minor</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.2</td>
<td>The household</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.3</td>
<td>Synagogues — Jews and Gentiles</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.4</td>
<td>Private associations</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.5</td>
<td>Philosophical schools</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.6</td>
<td>Religious, cults, shrines, deities and heroines</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.6.1</td>
<td>Aphrodite</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.6.2</td>
<td>Apollo</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.6.3</td>
<td>Dionysus</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.6.4</td>
<td>Asclepias</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.6.5</td>
<td>Demeter</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.6.6</td>
<td>Egyptian cults</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.6.7</td>
<td>Hero cults</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.6.8</td>
<td>Cult of Men</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.6.9</td>
<td>Heroine cults</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.6.10</td>
<td>Orphism</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.6.11</td>
<td>Mother goddess</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.6.12</td>
<td>Zeus</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.6.13</td>
<td>Artemis</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.6.14</td>
<td>Other deities</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.6.15</td>
<td>The Prytaneion</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.6.16</td>
<td>Mystery religions</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Summary of observations on socio-religious facets</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>Proposed hypotheses concerning the world beyond the text: to be substantiated</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5.2</td>
<td>Christian circular letters functioned as 'shapers' of a new view of life or 'cosmos'</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5.3</td>
<td>A new symbolic world of meaning, relationships and identity</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5.4</td>
<td>Boundaries were porous</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5.5</td>
<td>Group identity in terms of fictive kinship</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5.6</td>
<td>Roles within the Christian organisation were given to women</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5.7</td>
<td>Groups in Ephesus interacted with a wider network</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5.8</td>
<td>A movement towards 'emancipation' or more freedom for women was a feature in Ephesus</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5.9</td>
<td>Excursus: Further elaboration of above aspects</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER FIVE: THE WORLD BEYOND THE TEXT, PART TWO: STRUCTURES AND ANTI-STRUCTURES — ORIGINS OF CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES IN EPHESUS

5.1 The description of inter-group dynamics which resulted in the origination of Christian communities in Ephesus ................. 67
  5.1.1 Introduction ................................................................. 67
5.2 Deciding on an appropriate model to interpret the socio-cultural situation in Ephesus in the first century ................. 67
  5.2.1 Reasons for using a social-scientific model ...................... 67
  5.2.2 The theory underlying a social-scientific model .......... 68
  5.2.3 Different approaches — relational/gradational, conflict/functional networks and world-views .................. 69
  5.2.4 The movement between various religious groups ............. 70
  5.2.4.1 Jews and Christians in Ephesus ......................... 70
  5.2.4.2 Judaism, Christianity or other cults ...................... 70
5.3 The socio-cultural situation in Ephesus in the first century in the light of Turner’s theory of structures and anti-structures ........... 71
  5.3.1 Introduction ................................................................. 71
  5.3.2 Evidence of liminal or transitional status in Paul’s letters ........ 73
5.4 Structures ................................................................. 74
  5.4.1 Introduction ................................................................. 74
  5.4.2 Women in Hellenism ........................................................... 75
  5.4.2.1 The Household .............................................................. 75
  5.4.2.2 Cultic activities ......................................................... 76
  5.4.2.3 Marriage and divorce .................................................... 76
  5.4.2.4 Education ................................................................. 77
  5.4.2.5 Legal and civic status ................................................... 78
  5.4.2.6 Summary and Conclusions .............................................. 79
  5.4.3 Women and Romanization ................................................ 79
  5.4.3.1 Influence of Etruscan women ......................................... 79
  5.4.3.2 The household ............................................................. 79
  5.4.3.3 Cultic activities .......................................................... 80
  5.4.3.4 Marriage and divorce .................................................... 81
  5.4.3.5 Education ................................................................. 82
  5.4.3.6 Legal and civic status ................................................... 83
  5.4.3.7 Conclusions ............................................................... 83
  5.4.4 Women in Asia Minor ...................................................... 84
  5.4.4.1 Introduction ............................................................. 84
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.4.4.2</td>
<td>Cultic activities</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.4.3</td>
<td>Public life</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.4.4</td>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.5</td>
<td>Women and Judaism</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.5.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.5.2</td>
<td>Jews in Ephesus</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.5.3</td>
<td>Special privileges</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.5.4</td>
<td>Patrons</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.5.5</td>
<td>Synagogues</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.5.6</td>
<td>Status of women in the synagogues</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.5.7</td>
<td>Status of women with regards to Jewish Law</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.5.8</td>
<td>Attitudes towards women in Jewish literature</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.5.9</td>
<td>Attitudes of the Essenes</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.5.10</td>
<td>Everyday life for women in Judaism</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.5.11</td>
<td>Jewish women in public</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.5.12</td>
<td>Marriage and divorce</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.5.13</td>
<td>Cultic life</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.5.14</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.5.15</td>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Anti-structures — Pauline Christianity</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2</td>
<td>Anti-structures</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.1</td>
<td>Turner's theory of liminality</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.2</td>
<td>Christianity — the stage of liminality</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.3</td>
<td>Christianity in a fluid and flexible form</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.4</td>
<td>Communitas and koinonia</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.5</td>
<td>Christian definition in terms of kinship</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.6</td>
<td>The interface between structures and anti-structure</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.7</td>
<td>Boundaries were porous</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.8</td>
<td>A widening gulf between Jews and Jewish and non-Jewish Christians</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.9</td>
<td>Self-definition of Christians</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.10</td>
<td>Christian definition — Pauline metaphors</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.11</td>
<td>Pauline codes of behaviour and belief</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.12</td>
<td>Liminality status</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.13</td>
<td>A new sense of identity for women</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.14</td>
<td>The family of God</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.15</td>
<td>Public roles</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2.16</td>
<td>Cultic activities</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>Summary and conclusion</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## CONTENTS

**CHAPTER SIX: THE WORLD WITHIN THE TEXT — WHERE THE TWO WORLDS MEET**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.1 General Introduction</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Part One: Using a literary-communicative approach to construe the world within the text</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2 Generating the world within the text — theory and practice</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.1 Reading the text as interactive process</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.2 Rhetorical perspectives in the process of communication</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.3 The text as genre — letter elements and communication</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.4 The text as discourse</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.4.1 Theoretical considerations</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.4.2 Structural elements in 1 Timothy</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.4.3 Salient indications form the literary-communicative analysis</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Part Two: Where two worlds meet — viewing the world behind the text through the window of 1 Timothy 2:8-3:1(a)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3 Possible realities beyond the text</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.1 Orientation</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.2 Direct apertures or points of access to the world beyond — 1 Timothy 2:8-3:1(a)</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.3 Indirect access through perspectives of the world beyond the text</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4 The summary and conclusions</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER SEVEN: CHRISTIAN SELF-DEFINITION OF WOMEN IN EPHESUS — 1 TIMOTHY 2:8-3:1(a) AND WOMEN'S ORDINATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.1 Introduction</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2 Conclusions on 1 Timothy 2:8-3:1(a)</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3 The Christian self-definition of women in Ephesus</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4 Women's ordination</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.5 Considerations for a Propaedeutic</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ADDENDUM**                                                               | 179  |

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**                                                           | 194  |
CHAPTER ONE: PROBLEM FORMULATION, AIMS, HYPOTHESIS AND METHODOLOGY

...the history of the Bible and its interpretation has not only been a history of the silencing of women, it has also been a history of women refusing to be silenced (West 1991:76).

1.1 Introduction

At least half of the church in the twentieth century is excluded from decision-making and teaching functions on account of their gender. This situation has arisen as a result of the interpretation of several biblical texts, in particular, 1 Timothy 2:8-3:1(a); 1 Corinthians 11:3-15 and Ephesians 5:21-24. It appears all too often that women are silenced and excluded from any positions of authority, leadership and any significant role in the church. This has been the case since the church began.

Patriarchal attitudes towards women are prevalent within the church especially within evangelical and charismatic circles. In spite of protestations to the contrary, women are made to feel inferior to men.1 This attitude is discernible in the following remark by Piper and Grudem (1991:92): 'Today most Christian denominations, institutions, and congregations have long taken for granted the primary responsibility of a husband to lead his family and of spiritual men to lead the church.' Arrogant assertions such as these are based on what are regarded as fundamental biblical principles. The main objective of this dissertation is to examine their hermeneutical framework and propose an alternative.

The church began to make concessions for women in ministry only towards the latter part of the twentieth century. Opinion is very much divided. In Far Eastern countries women have begun to play a more assertive part by assuming positions of 'pastor' which by implication involves a teaching and decision-making role. In 19922 the first women were ordained in the Anglican Church in Southern Africa. In England women priests were ordained in the Anglican Church in 1994.3 However, recently the

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1 A series of essays edited by Ackermann, Draper and Mashinini (1991:xiii) articulate the pain of women's exclusion from ministry within the South African context.

2 In September 1992, in Grahamstown South Africa, the first women were ordained in the Anglican Church. In 1992 the Church in the British Isles passed the resolution to ordain women to the priesthood but it had to be ratified by parliament in 1993.

3 Novak (1993:32) points to the Anglican ordination of women priests and the consecration of women bishops which began in November 1994 and concludes that '...things will go worse in the feminist churches is a wager...with odds higher than Pascal's.'
Roman Catholic Church has made the decision not to appoint women priests on the grounds that Jesus chose only men as apostles, church tradition and church law. Some of the arguments against women's ordination in both Anglican and Catholic traditions are 'based on the "iconic" nature of the priesthood' (Baktis 1992:44). MacKinnon (1992:110) finds this practice alarming ' uncatholic' and divisive. The priest, is identified in a sense as an 'icon of Jesus'. Although no-one has suggested that all priests should be male Galilean Jews there is an insistence on the exclusion of women from this ministry on account of her gender. It is this opinion that leads the present researcher to investigate these issues, particularly as they have impacted on the interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:8-3:1(a).

1.2 Problem formulation — the nature of the problem

At closer investigation it turns out that the crux of the problem is one of understanding. It is possible to understand texts in a variety of ways, depending on factors such as paradigms, presuppositions, and methodology. Although the exegete is required to examine his or her own presuppositions honestly and openly, 'interpretive objectivity is a myth' (Scholer 1988:103 and also 1985:140); '... all biblical interpretation is socially located, individually skewed and ecclesiastically and theologically conditioned.' Scholer (1988:101-108), furthermore, suggested that 1 Timothy is an account of a particular understanding of the history of the church, and of the way it has shaped our theological convictions. In addition, when referring to women's issues, he also maintains that our theological perceptions of the nature of God will influence our thinking on biblical texts.

The historiographic, and for that matter any approach, remains selective (Fiorenza 1983:xvii). On account of this selectivity a paradigm shift in our thinking is necessary.

1.2.1 Hermeneutical facets and paradigms

The following illustrates this selectivity: A traditional fundamentalist approach will insist that Paul wrote the incumbent passage (1 Tm 2:8-3:1(a)), and that his words as they appear remain authoritative for all time. Therefore women are to remain in subjection to men and should adhere to the instruction that they are not allowed to teach. The sacra scriptura are frozen and locked into a 'world' that no longer exists in time and space. The text is superficially taken at face value, out of its contexts and is

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4 The Vatican statement of 1977 against the ordination of women functions to '...legitimise societal and ecclesiastical patriarchy and women's divinely ordered place in it' Fiorenza (1983:7).

5 Novak sums it up: the Catholic priest is a representative figure.... The selection of males alone as Catholic priests is a sign (a sacrament bearing grace) of several important revelations about God: about the Trinity, about the Incarnation about the relation of Christ to His people and the importance of gender differentiation (Novak 1993:28-29).
often mis-applied. The many contexts of the text and reader are ignored. So also, the equality that Paul speaks about in Galatians 3:28 is regarded as spiritual only and not as social, sexual or ethnic. I share the concerns of Massey (1989:1-3;124-136) that if Paul's injunctions to the early churches are generalised, an alarming number of contradictions will arise, both in the understanding of the socio-cultural milieu of the early church and in the practical application of New Testament principles. She (1989) calls for a revised thinking on the difficult questions which do not receive satisfactory answers from a traditional application of scripture.

An historical approach to 1 Timothy may conclude that Paul could not possibly have been the author of such contradictory statements and literary incongruities. A conclusion that is often drawn is that references in the text to 'offices' such as ἐπίσκοπος and διάκονος (1 Tm 3:1; 8) indicate that the early church was already well-organised in terms of structure and thus a second century setting is posited thereby eliminating the authorship of Paul. A feminist understanding of these texts will probably only view Paul as a misogynist who treated women unfairly and who was representative of an androcentric culture in which the role and importance of women in the church were underplayed.

A philological approach would merely examine controversial words and phrases and examine their perceived meanings in the light of other contemporary writings and inscriptions and in this way possibly arrive at the same conclusions as the fundamentalist interpreter.

A socio-cultural approach would highlight the features in the community at Ephesus and beyond, which might have precipitated the assertions of the author of 1 Timothy. It may corroborate the fact that women played a more authoritative role, both in society and in early Christianity as such.

An immanent reading of the text would examine the meaning of the language. A symbolic universe of the text would be created and hypotheses made regarding the author's presuppositions. The real situation may not be addressed: in this case the problem surrounding the identity of the women in the letter 1 Timothy.

6 However, a contingent approach might well decide that Paul was the author, on the basis that his prescriptions regarding the behaviour of the early Christians were contingent upon a certain situation prevailing in the church in Ephesus at that time. Paul's statements were, therefore, not meant as injunctions for all time (see Kroeger & Kroeger 1992). Circumstances were determinative of the content and style. For this reason Paul's letters may differ one from the other.

7 Scholer (1987:407-420) categorises the complexity of feminist hermeneutics into seven typologies. He defines 'feminist hermeneutics' as an understanding of the text that takes into account the 'oppressive structures of patriarchal society.' The seven typologies include: Jewish feminist hermeneutics; radical feminists; exposure of the androcentric background of the text; the hermeneutic of prophetic, liberating tradition based on Gl 3:28; a hermeneutic that retrieves previously overlooked or distorted texts; the hermeneutic of tales of terrorism 'in memoriam'; the hermeneutic of reconstruction of biblical history. Fiorenza (1995:123) also maintains that feminism has diverse forms and expressions.
Some would even advocate an eclectic approach which would use all the resources at our disposal to study the texts more intensively.

We are left with the choice regarding which paradigm will bring us closest to the truest interpretation of what Paul meant when he first uttered the words which formed the text in question. (See 1.4 below).

1.2.2 Problems concerning the first letter to Timothy
Another set of problems which beset the interpretational process is in this instance tied up with certain historical data concerning the first letter to Timothy. These are: authenticity, date, setting or locality of addressees.

A frequent choice for pseudonymity is based on the assertion that the content of the Pastoral letters reflects conditions within an organised, institutionalised church and a second century form of Gnosticism. Other critics point out that the style and vocabulary are not typically Pauline. A satisfactory reconstruction of Paul's life-history in which to place the writing of 1 Timothy is also tenuous as it is based on the information contained in Acts and the Pauline letters.

1.2.3 Factors that impede the process of understanding
- The distance between the author and the exegete: It is essential to keep in mind that vast historical, social, geographical and theological gaps exist, as well as a difference of world-views between the original author and addressee/s and those held by present-day readers/exegetes (Craffert 1995:14-37). Thus, a problem exists as to how written records from an ancient, alien world can be meaningful in terms of today's very different culture and life-experiences. Neyrey (1990:12) examined the differences between the symbolic life-world of Paul ('a first-century Eastern Mediterranean non-elite') and that of our own. The following questions may help us to probe the mind and heart of Paul, if they could be answered. Although human nature remains essentially the same, it must be recognised that the modern reader is usually an academic product of a sophisticated, scientific society which has a rational basis for most natural phenomena and is usually not surrounded by ancient people who are fearful and superstitious and, therefore, turn to images of gods for support in their fear and ignorance. Theissen (1992:1) points out that researchers belong to a "tiny exegetical subculture". However convenient it may be to relate such matters as the organisational structure of the early church to that which exists in our modern society, this remains a highly speculative and illegitimate practice. It would be more ideal, if it were possible, "...to allow the text to inform and reform his presuppositions so that it is the text that has the last say about the material" (Witherington 1988:2).

In this regard the following facet is important. Who was Paul really? How did he think and reason? It would appear that Paul was rather a radical
personality in his own time if one looks at his attitudes toward women, especially with regard to their education, the right to remain unmarried and the absolute equality in conjugal prerogatives found in 1 Corinthians 7. In order to understand how Paul used the Old Testament to corroborate his logic, it would be ideal to investigate the Jewish hermeneutic of that time.

- Lack of knowledge of intergroup relationships in antiquity: Knowledge of tensions among Jews, Christian Jews, and Christian Gentiles, pagans and other religious groups as well as the Roman government will facilitate understanding.

- Not acknowledging the unique religious nature of the Bible: Scholer (1988:106) posits that the way in which we perceive God in terms of gender or genderlessness will influence our interpretation if one is attempting to understand a text which reflects the thinking of first century Christians, since it is likely that their concept of the supreme being was different. Although the assertion remains that a Jewish conception of the godhead embodied male personality/ies, in Ephesus it was most likely coloured by the influence and "theological" pre-eminence of a proliferation of female goddesses. At this end of the spectrum, however, the influence of the female in the godhead has been usurped by male translators throughout the centuries and left us with a view of deity that compromises the feminine features of the godhead.

  The challenge to modern exegetes to do justice to the unique nature and status of the biblical text; and to thoroughly regard the dialectic relationship between God and people, both in the first century and in the present, should be kept in mind.

- The androcentrism of the world of antiquity together with a proclivity towards androcentrism in communication obscures the activity of women in the first century.

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8 Fiorenza (1983:xvii) adds to this when arguing that biblical theology is 'sexist to the core' and that because the godhead is construed in male terms this 'ignores women's experiences,...legitimizes women's subordinate positions of powerlessness, and promotes male dominance and violence against women.'
1.3 Aims, hypotheses and assumptions

1.3.1 Aims
This investigation will attempt to discover the actual problem (as encapsulated in 1 Tm 2:8-3:1(a)) which the author of 1 Timothy intended to rectify in his ancient letter to the church at Ephesus, during the first century in order to solve various problems they were experiencing.

1.3.2 Hypotheses and assumptions
The following hypotheses are to be substantiated:

- Firstly, it is assumed that the first letter to Timothy was written by the Apostle Paul, and that it reflected Pauline thinking about women within the setting of the Christian communities in Ephesus in the years between 59 and 64 C E (Chapter Three).

- Secondly, Paul was not a misogynist and, therefore, does not advocate and enjoin silence for all women for all time. His communication to Timothy at Ephesus has often been misunderstood. His action against certain women at Ephesus was merely a device aimed at protecting the embryonic church from 'outside and inside' teachers of practices, that would have brought the church into disrepute with the authorities. (Chapter Four and ensuing chapters).

- Thirdly, women were actively involved in teaching, preaching and leadership within the Pauline churches. The church was, in fact, a part of the Jewish household and thus it was easy for a woman to oversee the activity that was taking place in her home. Women played significant roles in financing the early church and the promotion of the Christian gospel. (Chapters Five and Six).

- Fourthly, the status of women within the Christian groups was significantly higher than that prevailing in the surrounding Graeco-Roman climate. Consequently, women were attracted in large numbers, to the Christian communities, which had their roots in what was essentially an androcentric, monotheistic religion — Judaism. From Judaism they were converted to Christianity by Paul's preaching (Ac 17:4). (Chapters Five and Six).

- Further, an important presupposition is that religious activity within a society cannot be separated from other social interaction as it forms an intrinsic part of the society and has to be seen as a part of the 'cultural web'. Although socio-cultural factors play a large part in precipitating women into active participation in the Christian 'cult'. A factor that should not be forgotten is the 'transforming'
experience of Christianity, which had the effect of turning the 'world upside down' (Ac 17:6). (Chapters Five and Six).

- A final assumption is that women were probably in the majority and their style of leadership and worship was a threat to men. (Chapters Four, Five and Six).

1.4 Methodology

More recent trends in New Testament research will be implemented. In an analysis of the progress made so far in the field of historical-critical approaches, Hartin and Petzer (1991:3-7) posit that in the past scholars have tended to focus on only one of three poles, which they call 'text', 'receptor' and 'sender', to the exclusion of the other. They maintain that fundamentalism, for example, still influences much of South African scholarship, allowing 'the role of the receptor' to dominate the text. Historical-criticism is not considered the only method because different scholars have evolved new and modified approaches toward understanding the text. Constant shifts in theories have allowed scholars to move beyond the all-consuming questions of authorship, dates, and life-settings.

In recent times, emphasis has also been placed on the contexts surrounding each of the three poles mentioned above (Hartin & Petzer 1991:18). 'Texts do not have meaning...' but '...meaning is attributed to texts by an active interplay between text and interpreter.' In historical interpretation, a possible meaning can be identified by investigating, as far as it is possible, the author's intention, genetic contexts, extratextual reality and the contexts of the original readers.9 In addition to the socio-cultural information, knowledge regarding the religious beliefs and practices is required. Besides the strictly social-historical-cultural investigations, there has also been the use of sociological interpretations. In this regard Craffert (1991:123-144) provides a meaningful examination of the relationship between social description and social-scientific approaches. He advocates the need for an interdisciplinary 'social-scientific' approach that would be more explanatory than descriptive and reduce anachronistic and ethnocentric interpretations.

1.5 Chapter division

The ensuing chapters will unfold as follows: A brief survey will be made of past attempts10 which interpreted the letter to Timothy and showed how certain aspects such

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9 These terms are borrowed from Hartin & Petzer (1991:18).
10 These interpretations often gave the impression that assumptions concerning institutionalisation and office were indisputable.
as the institutionalisation of church offices, were already entrenched at the time of writing. Various elements within the text (words, phrases and concepts) will be highlighted, since it is the controversy surrounding the interpretation of these elements, that has led to the problem now being investigated. It will become evident in the light of more recent scholarship how deficient and limited past interpretations have been. Chapter Three will outline the proposed methods for attempting a solution to the problem identified in this chapter. A two-pronged approach will be described and then implemented in Chapters Four, Five and Six. Features of ancient society in terms of *emic* understanding will emerge, so that both *etic and emic* features of the society will be addressed. Although the wider focus in Chapters Four and Five, concerns the development of the Christian congregation/s from Judaism within Ephesus and the impact of the surrounding cultures on their practices, a narrow focus will be: the role, function and status of women. A comparative model will introduce the different practices evident in some traditional strands of Judaism and in Pauline Christian strands of Christianity. Chapter Six will examine the nature of the world contained in the text using forms of textual analysis and undertake to relate the *World Beyond the Text* to the *world* discovered to be *within the text*. Chapter Seven will integrate the data and findings of Chapters Four, Five and Six and conclude with some recommendations on the application of the incumbent passage for modern times.

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11 Cf Craffert 1995:14-37 for an attempt to define these terms.
CHAPTER TWO: AN INVESTIGATION OF THE PROBLEM — REFERENCE TO EXISTING RESEARCH

In terms of time, consider those tremendous events that block out our vision of the first-century Mediterranean, such as the Industrial Revolution, the American Revolution, the Enlightenment, the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the like. These most significant shapers of our modern experience intervene between the modern Bible reader and the times of the biblical authors much like a set of two-thousand-year-thick lenses. With such lenses firmly in place before our eyes, it becomes quite difficult to consider the past on its own terms. Our accumulated human history always seems to get in the way (Malina 1993:xiii-xiv).

2.1 Introduction

The major problem encountered in dealing with the interpretation of the role of women in the Bible in general and more specifically in the New Testament, for example in 1 Timothy, is understanding. This is a complex problem predetermined by a number of factors, including ecclesiastical policy, paradigms in history, philosophical currents, lack of feminist hermeneutic constraints and the reciprocal nature of the imprint on society, for instance the understanding of such words as θεοσέβαιος (1 Tm 2:10) ἑνυχία (1 Tm 2:12); σωθόμομαι (1 Tm 2:15).

2.2 Divergent interpretations or ways of understanding 1 Timothy 2:8-3:1(a)

2.2.1 Unresolved issues

Factors which compound this lack of understanding include apparent inconsistencies between the Pauline and so-called deutero-Pauline texts. These apparently conflicting texts create dissident issues which are indicated by the following questions:

- may women teach men?
- what does the concept to teach mean?
- in what way do the concepts teach and prophesy overlap?
- may a woman teach?
- what may a woman teach?

1 These issues are contained in virtually all Paul's writings: Rm; 1 Cor; Gl; Eph; Phlp; Col; 1 Tm and Ti.
may women hold positions of authority?
should women submit to men and be in subjection to them?
which men should women submit to?

2.2.2 The prohibition concerning διδάσκω
In 1 Timothy 2:11 women are commanded twice to be silent and are also not permitted to teach. A similar injunction can be found in 1 Corinthians 14:34-35. Yet, in 1 Corinthians 11:5, women are encouraged not to remain silent but to pray and prophesy. Some scholars holding a traditional viewpoint would assert that it is permissible for a woman to teach children and other women, but certainly not to teach men (Knight 1992; Moo 1980:82-83). What exactly did Paul mean by this word *teach*? Certainly, teaching during the first century in the Ancient Near East cannot be equated with the concept of teaching in a Sunday morning sermon in twentieth century South Africa.

It is interesting to note that Paul encourages older women to be καλοδιδάσκαλος, and to train younger women (Tt 2:3). Similarly, Priscilla taught Apollos, ‘a man well-versed in the scriptures’ (Ac 18:24-28). In what way does prophecy differ from teaching? Furthermore, why do these texts appear to be in contradiction to the all-inclusive teaching of Jesus and with the baptismal formula which was the initiation and entry point to the early Christian community? (Gl 3:27-28).²

It was a rare phenomenon indeed to encounter a well-educated woman within Roman-Hellenistic Judaism that provided the ethos for the first century Christian church. Was Paul making a radical statement when he proposed ‘...let a woman learn....’ Or was he condoning what was already happening? This statement and other problematic phrases in 1 Timothy should be seen in the light of the socio-cultural background in the Ancient Near East. A comparison with other Scriptures in the New Testament or references to a supposed theology of the author are no longer sufficient.

2.2.3 The prohibition concerning αὐθεντέω
In many past interpretations and commentaries, the idea prevailed that women were excluded from ordination to the leadership positions within ecclesiastic structures. Texts that are used to assert the abiding sanction of male eldership include: 1 Timothy 2:11-15; 1 Corinthians 14:34-36; and 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 (Piper and Grudem 1991:61). Yet, Paul refers to women in the early church as his προστάτες and συνεργός (Rm 16:2-4; Phlp 4:3).

² Meeks (1974:169-174) points out that Gl 3:27-28 was a part of a baptismal formula reminding the Galatian Christians that they have entered into a united community. Meeks supports this on the grounds that the Nag Hammadi texts indicate that a ‘unification of opposites, especially the opposite sexes’ served in Christianity as a prime symbol of salvation. Witherington (1988:2) would dispute this on the basis that Gl 3:28 does not show ‘clear implications for social relationships’.

³ Ide (1984:117-120) postulated that ‘some’ were educated and ‘some’ became educators and a ‘few’ became accomplished writers.
At least on the surface, this chauvinism does not appear in Paul's writings. He does not leave women as nameless entities in his letters but takes great care to commend women such as Priscilla (2 Tm 4:19), Tryphena (Ac 18:2), Tryphosa (Rm 16:12), Phoebe (Rm 16:1), Euodia (2 Tm 5), Syntyche, Lois and Eunice. Phoebe and Junia also held influential and authoritative positions in the early church (Rm 16:2). A nucleus of women established a church in Philippi (Ac 16:12-15; 40) and these women gave direction to the church in their homes (Ac 12:12; Col 4:15; 1 Cor 1:11; Rm 16:2-6; 2 Jn :10). In addition to New Testament evidence, other sources indicate that women played a significant role in the church of the first century. 4

2.2.4 The injunction concerning ἀποκόπτω (1 Tm 2:11)
In what way should women be in subjection to men? The answer to this question would depend on how the word ἀποκόπτω is interpreted. This concept is used by Paul in 1 Corinthians 14:34; Ephesians 5:21 and in 1 Timothy 2:11. It is often readily assumed that this means submission of a woman's will to that of a man, especially her husband's.

2.2.5 The creation order analogy
It is sometimes maintained that the author of 1 Timothy 2:13-15 alluded to a 'creation order' to substantiate the above-mentioned submission to male authority (1 Tm 2:13-18). Adam was created first and therefore assumed the prime position. In addition Eve was deceived and not Adam. The inference is that women were created subordinate as a 'help' to man and that, as recorded in Genesis, Eve and women in general are especially susceptible to deception.

So far, scholarship has not provided a satisfactory explanation for Paul's reference to Genesis at this juncture in the letter.

2.3 A hermeneutical problem

The accumulated history of the church and the state, over a period of two thousand years since the New Testament texts were recorded, always seems to impede the process of our understanding (Malina 1993). In addition the modern exegete is a foreigner or alien in a strange culture, no longer appreciating its values or norms. The text is usually interpreted outside its own historical social context against a contemporary socio-historical-cultural backdrop. In particular passages from texts from Timothy have been used as prescriptions for ecclesiastic structures, policy and women's behaviour, dress and role. However, these injunctions were never meant as a blue-print for church management for all time, nor as a code for female behaviour either in or outside the

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social parameters of the church. Thus the question arises whether a pattern for behaviour in worship circles should continue, century after century; dictated by an ancient, Near Eastern, Jewish setting? In an age when modern women no longer wear hats in social circles, there are still subtle pressures at work to coerce some women to conform to 1 Corinthians 11:6. When asked to account for such unusual behaviour these women have only some vague notion of its supposed significance. Women have long since begun to ask questions such as: 'Why are certain tasks within the church routinely allotted to women whilst men decide on matters of policy, and preach sermons that seldom have application to the female majority in their congregations?' (Kretzschmar 1991:107).

The problem of the New Testament letters in particular, is that they only reflect half of the original conversation in which both the author and the recipients '...shared a common knowledge of the specific persons, places, and behaviours referred to in the letters, but we are often ignorant of those specifics' (Malina 1990:7).

From a feminine perspective it would appear that, thus far, exegetes have failed to take cognisance of their own particular hermeneutic and presuppositions — the traditional Western conceptual framework and historical paradigm are determined by 'androcentric presuppositions' (Fiorenza 1978:154).

In addition to the above-mentioned, it should be pointed out that the nature of first-century society was group-oriented. The documents now contained in the New Testament were products of the inter-group relationships (Meeks 1993:47-70; 89-101). Elliott (1981:5) perceives a limitation of past scholarship when he states that: '...the task yet before exegetes is the interpretation of the biblical literature as products and reflections of a dynamic social process of socioreligious movements.'

2.4 Characteristics of certain previous interpretations

2.4.1 Atomistic procedures

Despite a proliferation of methodological approaches, scholars in the past, tended to work atomistically and disintegratively, failing to take into account the holistic meaning of the text or failing to place it within its immediate and wider context (Kourie 1993:82). This tendency is particularly discernible in a survey of commentaries on the Pastoral Epistles written during the past century.

2.4.2 Anachronistic interpretations

Past approaches were not only atomistic but they were also anachronistic since they mirrored and reflected the organisation of the nineteenth and twentieth century church,
which scholars assumed to be similar to those structures which were hypothetically present in the early church.

Neyrey (1990:12) maintains that most scholars tend to be twentieth century Christians with a distinct lack of appreciation of how a Pharisee of the first century might have thought and acted. We are simply not first century 'second-temple Jews'.

2.4.3 Silence on more difficult aspects
Commentators often acknowledge the difficulty in understanding or translating certain difficult words and passages, such as those found in 1 Timothy, therefore they either gloss over anomalies or ignore them.

2.4.4 Insufficient cognisance, or lack of an assimilation of background data
There is insufficient cognisance taken of, or lack of an assimilation of background data. In addition, a lack of the construction of a wider sociological framework for the text is present: even though the historical-cultural methods focussed on these findings, they were often merely presented as an 'objective set of data'.

2.4.5 Shortcomings of the historical-critical approach
One realises now that the historical-critical method is not sufficient to address all considerations mentioned above.6 The following set of problems is inherent in the traditional historical-critical method:

- A lack of 'sources' for comparison with the New Testament;
- The growing realisation that the '...dividing line between historically oriented literature and predominantly creative narrative (fiction) is extremely obscure.' McKnight (1988:168) introduces the element of the creative involvement of the author with the text and its recipients;7

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6 McKnight (1985:xvi) also reconsiders the assumptions and practices of historical criticism. Several alternatives are posited: The historical critical method, even variations of it, are no longer satisfactory as '[w]e no longer equate meaning with what the text meant and take what the text meant as the result, pure and simple, of its historical and cultural context.' A dogmatic or precritical approach is also unsatisfactory. He suggests that it is possible to choose one particular model such as one based on linguistics, sociology, psychology, economics or alternatively a combination of a number of models.

7 McKnight (1985:168) also poses an analogy to describe how past dogmatic and historical approaches have treated the text as an object:

like the shell of a nut — the nut was extracted and the shell was discarded. The essence of the text (the nut) in such approaches is its authentic historical data or the logically deduced theological position that clarifies and is clarified by some postulated historical circumstance.
Historical approaches are limiting unless combined with other disciplines, particularly sociology, psychology and anthropology. An inter-disciplinary social approach where dialogue exists among history, literary and social sciences is the best according to Craffert (1991:139).

In addition to the benefits derived from the aforementioned social sciences, other fields of expertise can positively contribute to literary criticism within biblical hermeneutics, this includes the fields of linguistics, semantics, and rhetoric.

De Klerk & Schnell (1987:5-6) provide a cogent shortcoming which they state is not 'readily demonstrable', which is the obsession '...with history and strictly rational, inflexibly logical argument which allows little scope for intuition and creative sensitivity.'

McKnight (1988:67-114) also contends that historical-critical methods have to a large extent 'missed the mark' as they have treated the biblical texts as objects of study with the objective of establishing their cause, and not their effect upon the reader or what it is the reader has to bring to the text. He does not, however, discount the value of the historical-critical method.

Vorster (1990:111) states that letters are often merely treated as 'sources of information' from which an accumulation of data concerning the supposed historical reality, or alternatively information about the theology of the author, is obtained. Vorster, like MacKnight above, concludes that the 'communicative force' of the document is overlooked when this happens.

Lategan (1978:342) alleges that the historical approach is limited by its 'stubborn' focus on exclusively diachronic dimensions of the text.

It is therefore concluded that a model or models which assist an analysis of the 'communicative and argumentative' aspects of the text should be used.

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8 An interest in the social side of the text is not new but in the past this could be described as 'a naive description of social setting'. Historical/social/religious information was used 'to undergird and supplement historical suppositions' (Van Staden & Van Aarde 1991:56).

9 McKnight (1988:186) contended that the 'Bible can be read and interpreted in a literary context instead of explicit dogmatic and or historical contexts because the Bible shares the characteristics of all of literature.'

10 Neufeld (1994:vii) also refers to this problem of 'misplaced concreteness.'
2.5 Interpretations then and now: Is there any development?

2.5.1 A brief chronological survey of some interpretations of the incumbent passage in 1 Timothy

Kelly (1963); Reuss (1969): — Theological mirror-images
The setting for the text of 1 Timothy was construed as the 'organized church' and the purpose of the communication was identified as a type of 'earliest manual of church order' (Kelly 1963:60). This concept of church organisation (may be anachronistic modelled on twentieth century existing structures) included the establishment of a number of church offices, such as bishops, elders and deacons.

The theology of Paul is emphasised but this seems more in line with the thinking of modern, male theologians than with Ancient Near Eastern thinking. A moralising tendency is exhibited as the conclusion is unanimously reached when Paul admonishes women who 'neglected their housework' and attempted to '...throw off the yoke of submission to their husbands....' (Reuss 1969:32-33). A hierarchical creation order was interpreted as evidence for the fact that teaching is 'a masculine task' and women's only salvation lies in their accepting their motherhood role (Kelly 1963:69). These theologically-oriented interpretations are corroborated with cross-references to other parts of the New Testament, in particular, other Pauline letters. A limitation of these and similar expositions is the distinct lack of attention to the socio-cultural background apart from the cursory identification that the addressees existed in first century Ephesus.

Bernard (1899); Guthrie (1957) — atomistic, philological and etymological interpretation
After framing the question regarding the functions of bishops and other officials in the church of his day, a question that seems to have pre-occupied ecclesiastical circles for more than the past century, the text of Timothy is approached with this particular framework in mind (Bernard 1899:ivi-lxxv). The manifest intention of this interpreter was to locate a Pauline pattern for the establishment of present church structures. Then the text was analysed in an atomistic, disintegrative fashion. Semantics, philology and etymology are enlisted as aids to interpretation. An examination of the meaning of individual lexemes in 1 Timothy 2:8-15, leads these exegetes to conclude that ‘St. Paul has been deprecating the assumption by woman of duties, such as that of public teaching, which have not been assigned to her in the Providence of God....’ (Bernard 1899:49).

Scott (1936) — a lack of wider sociological framework
This interpretation is imbued with doctrinal, ecclesiastical and ethical purposes and purports that the letter to Timothy directly addresses problems in the church to-
day: 'It is surprising how many of the difficulties which arise in Church life to-day have been anticipated by this writer, and how often his dictates are still helpful.' (Scott 1936:xxxvii). There is a theological, philosophical orientation and a distinct lack of background knowledge pertaining to the first century or a sociological framework, thus resulting in a mirror-reading — '...an ancient society, which was easily shocked by any kind of publicity on the part of women.' (Scott 1936:26).

- Dibelius and Conzelmann (1972) — origination; emphasis on authorship
  They consider that the primary purpose of the letter is to transmit regulations to the early church. They deal with the questions of authenticity and the polemic against heretics.

  Their commentary on 1 Timothy 2:8-3:1(a) concludes that the regulations for women '...are somewhat artificially inserted into the pattern of rules for the household' and therefore, apply, not to the conduct of women in the worship services but rather, to the position of women in general. (Dibelius & Conzelmann 1972:2-46).

  Dibelius and Conzelman view the concepts and world view expressed in 1 Timothy, to be parallel to those found in the Gospel of Luke and the writings of the Apostolic Church Fathers. The assumption is made that a uniform pattern of church development existed throughout the Ancient Near East and that interpretations by early interpreters, such as 1 Clement, Ignatius and Polycarp made valid and relevant contributions to the evolution of the church constitution in Ephesus.

2.5.2 An evaluation of progress in more recent interpretations

- Moo (1980)\(^{11}\)
  Moo (1980:62) stated that very often exegesis of crucial texts pertaining to the debate over the role of women in Christian ministry is 'all too often a superficial and arbitrary exegesis' which only serves to 'confirm conclusions which have been arrived at on other grounds.' He considered it strange that the question regarding the role of women in the church should elicit such divergent viewpoints from exegetes who hold similar views of Scripture and follow similar hermeneutical procedures.

  He attempted a more systematic exegesis by organising the method of study into two stages, firstly to determine the 'meaning' of the text and then secondly its 'significance' for the modern church.

  In spite of his well-meaning intentions, the setting of first century Ephesus is insufficiently described to facilitate fresh understanding of the text. Unfortunately, he depended on past commentaries such as Lock (1924) and Spicq (1969) to support his philologically-oriented exegesis. In his interpretation of the significance of

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11 1 Timothy 2:11-15: Meaning and significance.
this text for women in the church to-day, he arrived at the very same conclusion held by the scholars he criticised. He felt compelled to compare 'scripture with scripture' and discovered that women may indeed 'pray and prophesy' but are not allowed 'to teach' — which means to not '...expound Scripture, cherish the tradition about Jesus and explain the fundamentals of the catechism...speak to the congregation on the basis of revelations' (Moo 1980:75). In addition, he reasoned that women are excluded from important ministries because Jesus '...stopped short of appointing them to any position of authority.' He (1980:83) finally concludes:

...women must not engage in activities which have the effect of disrupting created sexual role relationships and should never regard tasks such as raising children and managing homes as second-rate. Indeed, it is in devoting herself to such activities consonant with their created role that the Christian woman experiences the salvation to which she has been called.

- Gritz (1986)12

Gritz begins with a description of the cultural and religious context of Ephesus. She then examines the relationship of Paul to women identifying several key passages of scripture which supports her thesis that Paul was a 'consistent champion for the liberation and equality of women' (Gritz 1986:146). She perceives that there existed a syncretistic tendency, '...a gnosticizing form of Jewish Christianity which reflects affinities with the Artemis cult' (Gritz 1986:175). She correctly identifies that the problem with certain approaches to 1 Timothy 2:8-15 '...center[s] in [their] neglect of the various contexts of this passage' (Gritz 1986:201). She concludes that the environment oscillated between having 'hostile' to 'healthy family relationships', and that Paul was attempting to put women in their place and that '...Christian marriage relationships, should not reflect the post-Fall discord between women and man' (Gritz 1986:208-9).

Reference to Genesis and the 'creation order' brings her enquiry into line with that of Knight (1992), Piper and Grudem (1991). However, she concedes that the restrictions placed on women apply only to married women and therefore wives should not teach or exercise authority over their husbands. Women have the right to enter the ministry but '[a] wife's commitment and obligation to her husband should shape her public ministry' (Gritz 1986:233).

12 A study of 1 Timothy 2:9-15 in light of the religious and cultural milieu of the first century. This was a Masters thesis done in Michigan.
Meeks (1983)\textsuperscript{13} — *influences of the social-sciences*

Meeks identified that the current malaise of theological scholarship is as a result of a withdrawal from an interaction with other kinds of historical scholarship. This has led to an unhealthy isolationism (Meeks 1983:1-2). Without abandoning the 'previous accomplishments' of philology, literary analysis and theological insights, he has encouraged an approach which endeavours to discover the ordinary world of the first Christians. Such an approach can be enhanced by employing the tools used by sociologists and anthropologists.

It has to be recognised that not all biblical texts are about theological ideas. The term 'social world' has a double meaning — the environment of the early Christians and also the '...world as they perceived it and to which they gave form and significance'\textsuperscript{14} (Meeks 1983:8).

Meeks (1986)\textsuperscript{15} and (1993)\textsuperscript{16} — *the importance of Christian origins*

It is essential to understand the world and origins of early Christianity in order to understand either Christian writings or aspects of their morality and the sense of group identity (Meeks 1986:13). These important insights have significance for all further research on New Testament writings: ‘we cannot begin to understand that process of moral formation until we see that it is inextricable from the process by which distinctive communities were taking shape. Making morals means making community' (Meeks 1993:5).

Meeks outlines the nature and origins of Christianity in a cosmopolitan world taking particular cognisance of the ‘darker side’ and it is concluded that ‘[e]very map of a moral world depends heavily for its delineation upon the dark colors that are used to sketch in the enemies of virtue’ (Meeks 1993:15). It is this 'dark' side, the obscure, often secret magic and practices of the Graeco-Roman cults which *shaped* the text under discussion (Chapter Four and Five).

The Timothy letters are referred to as important instruments for the shaping of early Christian communities yet are given a late dating, ‘probably early in the second century'. Paul's letters in particular had 'extraordinary versatility and rhetorical uniqueness' and were efficacious in the rapid spread of the new movement (Meeks 1993:80).

\textsuperscript{13} *The first urban Christians.*
\textsuperscript{14} *The self-definition of Christians* (refer Chapter 5.6.2.9).
\textsuperscript{15} *The moral world of the first Christians.*
\textsuperscript{16} *The origins of Christian morality: The first two centuries.*
Knight (1992)\textsuperscript{17}Knight gives a comprehensive and thorough investigation of introductory material on Timothy and the other Pastoral epistles. After an assessment of the usual difficulties associated with authorship and dating, Knight proceeds to an interpretation of 1 Timothy which sheds no further insight on the text. When he discusses the issues of ‘salvation’ and ‘childbearing’ in 1 Timothy 2:15, after stating the conventional possibilities he concludes that the problem of being preserved through childbirth is not part of the context of 1 Timothy’ (Knight 1992:145).

He applies 1 Timothy 2:8-15 to a women’s role in the church vis-à-vis that of men. Women are reminded that the ‘creation order necessitates self-restraint’ (Knight 1992:14). Women are silenced in the church.

Kroeger and Kroeger (1992)\textsuperscript{18} — the nature of the religious climate
The background to the text, in particular the nature of the religions and culture of Asia Minor, is of primary importance in an understanding of the contingencies behind Paul’s letter to the Ephesians in 1 Timothy.

An examination of the pertinent grammatical structures in conjunction with the social setting of their origin, leads to the conclusion that the prohibition of teaching is directed at particular circumstances and is definitely not a permanent injunction.\textsuperscript{19}

The work by Kroeger and Kroeger (1992) highlights the religious atmosphere of the first century Ancient Near East, with its eclectic assimilation of gods and goddesses and the pre-eminence and importance of women in a large variety of cults. The picture that emerges is a society steeped in mystical, and often obscene, ritualistic practices — a ‘world’ far removed from Western twentieth century society.

2.5.3 General tendency toward socio-cultural interpretations
Petersen (1985)\textsuperscript{20} — literary and sociological exegesis
Petersen merges the fields of literary, sociological and anthropological study in order to ascertain ‘the social structures underlying the social relations comprised of the actions of the actors in Paul’s letters.’

\textsuperscript{17} A study of 1 Timothy.
\textsuperscript{18} I suffer not a woman. Rethinking 1 Timothy 2:11-15 in light of ancient evidence.
\textsuperscript{19} See Gritz (1986:4) for the opposite viewpoint: ‘Although a specific situation occasioned this passage, it does contain principles relevant and applicable for Christians today.’
\textsuperscript{20} Rediscovering Paul: Philemon and the sociology of Paul’s narrative world.
CHAPTER 2: INVESTIGATION OF THE PROBLEM...EXISTING RESEARCH

- **Brown (1988)** - the influence of Paul's letters on society
  Brown studies the practice of permanent sexual renunciation which developed as a result of Paul's teaching. This spans the first five centuries of the Christian era, from Paul to Saint Augustine. It was his (1988:xv) stated intention that:

  > if my book gives back to Christian men and women of the first five centuries a little of the disturbing strangeness of their most central pre-occupations, I will consider that I have achieved my purpose in writing it.

Brown interprets the preaching of Paul, especially 1 Corinthians, to show that although Paul placed a high value on his own celibacy, he was determined not to compel all to this state of unmarried sexual continence. This would both undermine his authority and conflict with Roman authorities' views on marriage and sweep away 'the structures of the pious household' (Brown 1988:54). At this time, marriage and childbirth were essential in the face of a high mortality rate and a short life expectancy. Sexual abstinence became the prerequisite of both male and female Christians. The resulting genderlessness gave way to familiar behaviour between male and female Christians which provoked polemicists to accuse them of sexual immorality.

Brown provides insights into a vital, vibrant Christianity where male and female Christians in almost equal numbers faced martyrdom with a stoicism which had developed out of a life of bodily renunciation. Physical death was nothing in comparison with the spiritual rewards of the life to come. Brown mentions the important roles played in the early church by women leading a life of sexual renunciation. Influential and wealthy women were often patronesses and protectresses. Widows also played a prominent part and enjoyed the 'enviable mobility associated with the apostolic calling' (Brown 1988:150) (1 Tm 5:13).

By the third century ascetism gave way to misogyny as women increasingly became '...a source of perpetual temptation to which the male body could be expected to respond instantly.' Around 320 CE leaders of churches in Egypt and elsewhere, reverted to ancient traditions of misogyny in an attempt '...to heighten a sense of sexual peril' (Brown 1988:242-243). Is it not perhaps here that misogyny in the present-day church began and not with the Pauline letters?

- **Kidd (1990)** - a sociological approach; patrons and benefactors
  Kidd makes the observation that the 'inner workings' of the early Christian communities have been left largely 'unexcavated' by scholarship. Notions such as

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obligation and reciprocity and the rights and responsibilities of patrons and benefactors, play a significant but underestimated part in the Pastoral epistles. In addition, the most significant motif in the social life described in Paul’s letters is the household. His method includes the comparison of the Hellenistic associations (κοινωνία) with early Christian communities (Kidd 1990:75).

A basic assumption was made that wealth was a leading index in these societies as opposed to the traditional categories usually cited such as: rank, class and status. In collaboration with Judge (1960), he challenged the long held assumption that the churches were made up of the poor. Kidd argues that the leaders in the Christian communities were already leaders of large households. The language of the pastorals, Timothy in particular, emphasised the benefactor motif. Kidd (1990:91) concludes:

The point is that the language that distinguishes the Pastorals within the New Testament is precisely that which the inscriptions and moralists employ to shape the civic virtue of urban notables. It is not unlikely that this fact is an accurate reflection of the epistles' audience (italics — H D C).

Kidd (1990:100-109) draws attention to the surfacing assertions of modern scholarship that the underlying crisis addressed by the Pastorals includes the economic dimension of gender conflicts.

Gender stratification is indeed pivotal to an understanding of the Pastorals....their (women’s) [() — H D C] legal rights were different from those of men; the Hellenistic-Roman age saw some blurring of the legal distinctions, accompanied by no small discussion over social status of women relative to men (Kidd 1990:101).

The identification of an emphasis on women’s emancipation is not to be considered anachronistic: He adds that, although women were not regarded as a separate category, they had different legal rights and the Hellenistic-Roman age ‘...saw some blurring of the legal distinction, accompanied by no small discussion over the social status of women relative to men.’ Furthermore, Jews also began to celebrate the political exploits of past female heroes like Esther and Judith. In addition the philosophical schools promoted egalitarianism.

He quotes Meeks when saying: ‘The age...brought in all places a heightened awareness of the differentiation of male and female.’ Traditional social roles no longer were taken for granted but debated and defended (Kidd 1990:31-63).
Neyrey (editor 1991) — the social-sciences
In 1986 a group of biblical scholars formed, 'the context group', in order to address the problem of applying 'the social sciences for the interpretation of biblical texts' (Neyrey 1991:iix). It was not their intention to abandon historical critical methods but to enlarge them by enlisting the social sciences in the task of understanding (Neyrey 1991:iix). It was recognised that traditional approaches to interpretation were limited to the examination of atomistic parts which left the 'wholes' unaccounted for. Consequently their aim was stated explicitly: '...to discover the meanings implicit in Luke-Acts through attention to the values, social structures and conventions' of the society in Luke's time (Neyrey 1991:xi). They take into account the historical, geographical and cultural distance between the text and its world and the modern exegete and his/her world. They include an examination of features of the society such as: economic relations, institutions, especially the kinship group and values. They conclude that as all interpretation is based on models, the best that biblical scholarship can offer is 'a set of scenarios, scenes, models, frames and domains of reference' from the first-century eastern Mediterranean world (Malina in Neyrey 1991).

2.6 Conclusions

From the brief survey above it is clear that the problem of understanding has been exacerbated by the earlier commentaries' focus on only one or two poles of the communication model (refer 6.2) namely the text and the author. This preoccupation with the identity and theology of the author and date in which he lived, has detracted from attention to the third pole, namely the receptor/s and their environment.

It would surprise earlier commentators that their linguistic approach is regarded as concentrating on one level of meaning only, which is concerned only with the translation of words and phrases from Greek, and inferring meaning from the prevailing or previous usage outside the text under scrutiny. Linguists, including Louw (1992:18), insist that '...the meaning of a sentence is not merely the sum total of the meanings of the words comprising the sentence and similarly that discourses are not a matter of sentence meaning strung together.' In addition to this, Neufeld (1994:2) points out that language is used to '...signify ideas and facts that are peculiar to the world and the time of the author' [italics — H D C]. It is essential that the interpreter would endeavour to link the language of the text to the extra-linguistic life world. The following expresses this:

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24 McKnight (1988:115-153) provides some further literary perspectives and resources.
...[t]he critic must re-establish the links between the language of the text and the referents peculiar to the extra-linguistic world of temporal events. The text’s language is firmly anchored in the extra-textual historical milieu and provides the referential context through which the original meaning and the intention of the author may be recovered....all linguistic sequences, rather than describing actions, are themselves action (Neufeld 1994:2-3; referring to Austin).25

There is also a growing awareness among scholarship of the need for careful scrutiny and clarification of the methodological foundations and principles upon which social-scientific and socio-cultural interpretations are based.

Meeks (1983:4) mentions that too often the text is considered in its theological context only and the socio-cultural context is ignored. Meeks, Malina, Petersen, Neyrey and Kidd have redirected scholarship to include and focus on the receptors and pertinent social features, using the methods of the social sciences. Features have included new insights into the very different nature of the dynamics of ancient society and the formation of an identity by the early Christians. In the past, attention was given to the Jewish nature of the author and his particular hermeneutic, however, the diverse religious nature of early Christians has largely been neglected. Early Christians were a cross-breed between two very different religious forces, Judaism and Graeco-Roman cults. Christians were in the invidious position of persecution from either side; on the side of Judaism they were not sufficiently monotheistic; having incorporated the worship of three gods: the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit (possibly the feminine part of the deity or deities) (Deist 1991:16-17), and yet they would not incorporate the worship of the Emperor. More investigation is required to ascertain the influence and interaction of the cults on the formation of the early Christian identity. Kroeger and Kroeger26 have begun this examination and in so doing have already shed more light on the otherwise inaccessible texts of 1 Timothy. Although Gritz (1986) also stressed the socio-cultural context, a different conclusion is reached.

Some interpreters do point out the different dimensions surrounding texts. In this regard West (1993:23-43) identifies three modes of reading the biblical text. The second mode emphasises the thematic and symbolic content and is referred to as what is ‘in front of the text’. The third mode concentrates on literary aspects and ‘the text itself’.

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25 Austin (1975:1-25) contrasts performative sentences with constative utterances, the former is an action while the latter is a description or a statement.

26 I am indebted for the insights regarding the socio-religious climate which were provided by this husband and wife team.
Problems arise due to scarcity of sources and non-applicability of models which are suited more to sociological conditions in the twentieth century United States than the Ancient Near East. It is not a matter of choice, but we use a model either consciously or unconsciously (Malina 1990:12; Craffert 1992:217).

Many scholars presuppose that 1 Timothy includes insights into the structure and organisation of the early church, especially with regard to: the officers such as bishops, elders, and deacons and that the most significant dynamic was the struggle against heresy.27 This pattern is assumed normative for all time. However, Kidd (1990:40) stated that when the object of the study is the ancient text '...there is the additional necessity of defining categories in such a way as to avoid projecting modern dynamics back into the alien environment'.

Van Staden and Van Aarde (1991:55-87) grapple with the problem that the renewed interest in the social world of the text tends to be descriptive rather than explanatory. Therefore a need exists for the clarification of existing terminology. A definition of sociological as opposed to social description is provided

'...sociological approach/analysis' refers to the implementation of methods of analysis and research based on epistemologies relevant to the social sciences. The term has a generic reference, but at the same time it applies to a specific discipline of the social sciences namely sociology (Van Staden & Van Aarde 1991:58-59).

Taking our cue from Elliott, Kidd, Neyrey, Malina and Brown, it is important in a socio-cultural study to ascertain the social dynamics applicable, not to the Western twentieth century but to the Ancient Near East in the first century. This should complement the study of the 'world in the text'.

Although attempts to integrate other disciplines, such as sociology, social anthropology, linguistics and others into biblical research are often regarded with suspicion a more holistic approach is regarded as essential. The availability of modern research and the recent findings of experts in the fields of archaeology,28 numismatology29 and other related scientific fields are constantly providing new clues and insights into the dynamics of the society in the Ancient Near East in the first century.

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27 There has been an obsessive pre-occupation with the problem surrounding the authorship of this letter and concomitantly the circumstances and heresy thus leading to the presuppositions concerning the structure of the churches in the Ancient Near East at the end of the first and beginning of the second centuries. An example of this pre-occupation is found in Moule (1964).

28 Cf eg Horsley (1992:106-168) and Oster (1990:1662-1728)

29 Coins provide information about the positions held by women in ancient societies (Macmullen 1980:213).
However, this identification of a three dimensional reading may also have inherent shortcomings since one may easily read 'into' and 'way beyond' the text. This needs to be obviated.

Therefore this study aims to coalesce historical-cultural social contexts and communicative facets of 1 Timothy, in an interactive way, in an attempt to solve the problem which exists concerning its interpretation: A problem which exists on account of one-sided theological, linguistic or historical approaches.
CHAPTER THREE: PRESUPPOSITIONS, ASSUMPTIONS\(^1\) AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

True historical interest is not aimed at establishing the pastness of the past, but at discovering its possibilities and finding the courage to realize them anew in the present (Lategan 1985:25).

3.1 Introduction

The goal of this investigation is two-fold: \textit{Firstly}, it is an attempt to enter into social and cultural codes which were engendered by, and contributed to, the original hearers' understanding\(^2\) of the first letter to Timothy. \textit{Secondly}, meanings, intentions, and 'aspects of conversation analysis and rhetoric'\(^3\) are to be sought within the text itself. Many past investigations and commentaries (Scott:1936; Guthrie:1957; Kelly:1963; Reuss:1969; Dibelius & Conzelmann 1972 and others) have failed to take cognisance of these aspects and this has led to a misinterpretation and deleterious application of the text in the church (cf Chapter Two). Modern conceptions of religion and religious activities have often been imposed on the early church. Then there was no 'freestanding, independent institution'; it was embedded in the social and political life (Elliott 1993:59). '[T]he extreme importance of religious beliefs and practices, for both maintenance and radical transformation of human social and psychical structures' especially in the primitive\(^4\) world of antiquity, cannot be overlooked (Turner 1969:4). Therefore the study of social relationships is vital to any study of the rituals, worship and everyday life of the congregation of Christians (Elliott 1993:59).

Before falling into the trap of believing that there only exists 'one correct way of interpreting the text', Botha's metaphor \textit{you-are-now-here-on-the-map}\(^5\) should be borne in mind (Botha 1993:31). Wherever a text is construed the interpreter brings a

\(^1\) Presuppositions describe which theoretical and philosophical positions are espoused; whereas assumptions are positions taken on certain data which cannot easily be proven.

\(^2\) Lategan & Vorster (1985:24) identify various levels of historical reference: At a 'basic' level concepts and socio-cultural background must be known; a 'final' level considers 'the entire text as a communicative entity.'

\(^3\) An analysis of structural elements is not enough, the text must be viewed as an interactional process. It is in the interaction between the situation and linguistic elements where meaning primarily resides. The question is no longer only 'what does this sentence mean or say?' but rather '...why is this utterance appropriate to the context and not any other?' or '...what does this utterance do within this context?' (Vorster 1990:107-9).

\(^4\) I use this word cautiously due to its negative connotations.

\(^5\) The interpreter remains \textit{en route}. 
particular unique frame of reference to bear on the text which elicits an interaction between the text and the exegete. Botha (1993:31) refers to this as ‘framing the text’. Therefore it should also be remembered that an analysis of the text and its ‘significations’ will lead to the discovery of a set of possible or plausible ‘worlds’ (Van Dyke Parunak 1992:209; Lategan 1985:25).

However, before we set out in an attempt to reach the above two set goals, and endeavour to reach the set of possible and plausible worlds, presuppositions need to be stated and assumptions need to be formulated. By stating these presuppositions the limitations of this dissertation will be clear and the reader will know on what bases to judge the content. Assumptions have to be made to provide both points of departure and answers to some questions which, on account of scant or undiscovered historical data, remain difficult to answer conclusively.

3.2 Underlying presuppositions

- Firstly, as a woman, I can unequivocally state, that although traversing previously male-dominated scholarship, the endeavour is to show that Paul is not the misogynist that he is often imputed to be. Paul was not condemning the activity of women but he was actually encouraging it, as women were essential and equal partners in his ministry.

- Secondly, reflecting on why we read the Bible at all, it would be possible to decide to read it merely as a historical document addressed to an ancient community. However, one can also decide to read it as a letter to the church universal, irrespective of the era. Modern readers are obviously required to interact with the text in a similar fashion as the first century readers. And even though the outcome may not quite be the same, this can only be achieved by means of a thorough literary and sociological enquiry.

On the whole, the communications to the earliest congregations, for example, by Paul, were no doubt, meant to encourage and strengthen the communities and enable them to live at peace within their society while maintaining Christian religious beliefs that were often in direct contradiction to those held by people.

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6 In the historical sense we can also include three closely related features identified by Lategan (1985) historical, structural and theological.

7 McKnight (1985:10) formulates this very patently: ‘To read a text as history is to read it as a specific event.... To read a text as literature is to read it as a universal truth.’ Although the original use of the text must not be denied, its limited original use was exhausted the moment after it was initially read. It is thus read differently by each successive reader.

8 Theological ideas although playing an important role in the self-definition and identity of groups need to be placed in their first-century Mediterranean setting (Craffert 1993:237).
around them. Values that were upheld in Christian writings such as 1 Timothy were common in Graeco-Roman society, there was nothing novel about them. The novelty of Christianity explicitly resided in the re-interpretation of Jewish identity, beliefs and practices. In Christian circles there appeared to be an "...oscillation between extreme visions:

* should they do battle against the world
* flee from it, or
* participate in its transformation?"
(Meeks 1993:14).

If it is accepted that the motive behind the first letter to Timothy was to strengthen and encourage the believers, many of whom were women, what then can be found in this letter to strengthen and endorse the role of women in the modern church? It would appear that this letter has had the reverse effect upon the role of women within the church. Given the hermeneutic of suspicion, women need to recover the silent voices of the women in the church of the first century in order to once again take up responsible decision-making roles alongside men in the organised church.

- It is obvious that the egalitarian, inclusive stance of the early Christian movement held attraction mainly for those on the fringe — women and slaves. The Jesus movement, reflected in the gospels, reversed the usual dominant, assertive, patriarchal, societal structures and accorded those, who were without power, in the society, a place of equal kinship, within a 'discipleship of equals' (Fiorenza 1983:140-151). In order to demarcate this assumption the following questions will be addressed:

- What was the nature/composition/situation of the group of Christians at Ephesus?

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9 For Brooten (1982:83) the importance of the search for texts written by women is evident. She too is involved in reconstructing the history of women in early Christendom. Brooten attempts to discover the active participation of women within their society through inscriptional evidence.

10 An approach advocated by Fiorenza.

11 Danker (1982:27) in his epigraphic study of New Testament fields finds relatively little to report on women except this:

Hellenistic Christian communities were quick to exploit the democratization of excellence, and with the aid of their Jewish inheritance proclaimed an intimate connection between religious devotion and personal character and performance, an approach that was relatively new to traditional Roman compartmentalization of morality and of commitment to religious obligation. Now slaves and ordinary women found themselves on the same plane of evaluation with people of high station, and all possessed the potential of contributing as benefactors to the welfare of humanity.
• Was feminine liberation a topical issue in the first century?
• What input/effect did Paul hope to achieve within this group and for what purpose?
• What view did the Pauline congregation have of women?
• What was the status of women among Jewish/Roman and Greek societies as a whole? As Ephesus was in Asia Minor, what was the position of women in Western Asia?
• What role did Paul assume towards his congregations' women leaders?

A preliminary argument for seeking to bring women out of the shadows is provided: Timothy shows evidence of containing a high frequency of language within the benefactor semantic field.\(^{12}\) There are frequent references in 1 Timothy to a variety of women or groups of women in the Christian community/ies at Ephesus. Thus another important assumption is that the women referred to in 1 Timothy were probably not women with a lesser profile in the outside community, but wealthy women of considerable influence. It is highly likely that they were present in the Christian community/ies in large numbers and their good deeds were very likely in support of the wandering Christian charismatics such as Paul and his disciples. In addition they were probably financially responsible for the maintenance of the Christian cult in Ephesus. Paul is not rebuking their activities within the Ephesian congregation but encouraging those positive activities, such as the financial support of others and the hospitality to the 'saints'. These women were God-fearers, Gentile converts to Judaism, and it is very likely that the Jewish male God was adopted as an additional deity into their own existing pantheon of goddesses. They were probably decision-makers and women of authority within the synagogue/s at Ephesus, involved in teaching and proselytising activities.\(^ {13}\)

\(^{12}\) Cf Danker 1982 on this aspect. The women implied in 1 Tm 2:9-10 were wealthy women (cf Padgett 1987).

\(^{13}\) Brooten (1982:31-32) mentioned evidence of three ancient inscriptions indicating that women bore the title of 'head of the synagogue'. She posits that women were active in administration, exhortation and financial affairs.
3.3 Some assumptions

- It is understood that the letter was written via Timothy as intermediary, for a wider audience. Therefore it was directed not only to the individual, Timothy, but also to the congregation in Ephesus, whose interaction among themselves, between Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians created exigencies which are addressed in the letter.

Paul's letters which were addressed to specific communities based in households, were meant to be read to any who were present and were perhaps copied and circulated to communities in other cities or parts of Ephesus even before Paul's death. Bearing in mind the distinctions provided by Stowers, the letter to Timothy is considered a 'real letter' and not an epistle which is the equivalent of a literary masterpiece (Stowers 1986:19). In addition the term Pastoral is misleading. The letter had a variety of purposes beyond that of communicating information. The purpose of the letter to Timothy among others includes the authentication of both Timothy and Paul's position within the Christian community.

- An understanding of ancient letters requires insight into the variety of social contexts that existed. For example, Stowers posits three hierarchical sets of social relationships; first, superior-subordinate or patron-client; second, equal friendship relationships; and thirdly, the household relationships which combined both hierarchical and equal qualities. Taking a cue from Danker (1982:34-46), we can ask questions such as '...how accommodative/critical is the writer of 1 Timothy of the culture's ideas about relationships within the congregations'? How ought the rich to live? In other words instead of flaunting their wealth they should be generous. How ought women to behave?

3.4 Assumptions about historical data of this letter

3.4.1 Decision on authorship and the date

Various possibilities exist regarding the authorship of 1 Timothy:

- Paul wrote it himself as stated in the opening (1 Tm 1). Proponents of this hypothesis include Guthrie (1957); Kelly (1963); Groenewald (1977); Kroeger and

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14 It is misleading to refer to I & II Tm and Tt as Pastoral, a word based on 1 Tm 3.1 (Spain 1970:7). The problems surrounding their particular historical context will become clearer in Chapters Four, Five and Six (Spain 1970:7; Young 1994:2).

15 They were tools of persuasion and used to effect response (Young 1994:22-23; Doty 1973).

16 Kidd (1990:49) stated that: '...one of the most important social dynamics of the ancient world...the expressed need of social bodies to entice their superior members into the service of those beneath them for the sake of the common good'.

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There is a substantial amount of agreement that what is labelled Gnosticism,\textsuperscript{22} was already present in the first-century in an incipient form. For this reason the argument that 1 Timothy belongs to the second century, on account of these allusions to, and traces of Gnosticism, need not place it in that century.

An amanuensis would account for any variations in style and language usage. Alternatively, the different style and language used by Paul was due to the fact that this was not a conventional circular letter to the churches but a personal one addressed to Timothy and only indirectly to those persons causing problems for the embryonic Christian communities.

There are in any case also a large number of very typically Pauline terms used throughout the letter. Finally, it is impossible to prove Pauline authorship or non-authorship. The acceptance of Pauline authorship allows for an earlier date whereas adherents of pseudonymity generally locate it around the late second century.

3.4.2 Decision on the locality of the addressees
Scholars have often ignored the geographical location of the addressees of the letter, in their pre-occupation with authenticity, and the place from where Paul might or might not have written. It is assumed that Paul and his secretary are writing from Macedonia and addressing Timothy\textsuperscript{23} and secondary recipients in Ephesus in Asia Minor (1 Tm 1:3). It should not simply be assumed that life in first century Rome or Palestine was the same as everyday life in Ephesus (Chapters Four and Five). It should also be borne in mind that unknown questions and issues arising from particular situations in Ephesus are addressed in the text (Chapters Four, Five and Six).

3.4.3 The occasion and purpose of 1 Timothy
It is not a simple matter to indicate the occasion of 1 Timothy. From a study of this letter it is clear that the needs of both the individual, Timothy as well as that of the contingent situations of the community for which Paul was responsible were diverse and fairly complex: since these were deeply entrenched in the socio-cultural matrix of Asia Minor, and involved numerous interacting groups. What was necessary here was not merely the provision of a few simple guidelines for church order and the reprimanding of deviant and recalcitrant individuals and groups. Rather it was fundamentally and essentially to understand this diversity of interest groups with their multiplicity of social backgrounds and then on the basis of this (probably only recently

\textsuperscript{22} Pelser (1985:178) states that the false teaching should be described as 'Judaeo-gnostic syncretism'.

\textsuperscript{23} Carson et al (1992:373) emphasised the personal and private nature of this letter.
found) faith to facilitate them to discard, somehow, the ‘baggage’ they were carrying from their former backgrounds and to now shape and mould them to adopt a unified new identity, namely that of the Christian community. The Apostle Paul with his diverse backgrounds, his long association with the Ephesian situation, his understanding of human nature, his zeal for the extension and preservation of Christian identity (as he envisaged it) was eminently suited to write this letter. These contingencies that gave rise to this complex occasion will especially become clear in Chapter Four, Five and Six of this dissertation. The aim and motivation of the writing of this letter will become clear after a description of the socio-cultural background as well as the social-scientific criticism of this text (Chapters Four and Five). At first glance it may be stated that the main aim was the opposition to false teaching in order to define what was Christian and what was not Christian behavior. It is not as Pelser (1985:180) posits ‘the setting down of provisions relating to church order’?

3.5 Selected method: a two-pronged interactive approach

3.5.1 Introduction

Elliott (1993:78) defines social-scientific criticism as ‘a sub-discipline of exegesis’ during which social and cultural dimensions of the text, together with its environmental context are analysed using the perspectives, theories, models and research of the social sciences. He identifies it as a component of historical-critical exegesis by means of which the process of communication is studied in terms of ‘the social aspects of the form and content’ as well as the ‘conditioning factors and intended consequences of the communication24 process’. There is a correlation between the linguistic, literary, theological and social dimensions of the text. The text can be seen as even more than a reflection and response to its socio-cultural contexts. Therefore the meaning of a biblical text can only be determined through a comprehensive examination of these features of the text and its environments.

However, Van Staden and Van Aarde (1991:55-87) rightly suggest that more clarity is required in the use of terminology such as sociological, social and socio-cultural.25 They maintain that the questions change in the sociological approach from: ‘What did the author mean?’ — to — ‘Was there anything in the contemporary societal structure that this utterance could [reflect]?’ Social information is extracted from the texts and results in the compilation of a ‘new source’. This provides the basis for the construction of a setting which may have caused or facilitated the ‘utterance’ (Van Staden & Van Aarde 1991:58).

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24 All texts whether written or oral are considered ‘vehicles of social interaction’ (Elliott 1993:10).
25 Elliott (1981:3) also refers to the indiscriminate usage of these terms.
Nevertheless, the purpose of a social-scientific approach, as opposed to a social descriptive approach, is not to accumulate data but to analyse and explain the world behind the utterance. Van Staden and Van Aarde (1991:59) clarify thus: 'A social-scientific analysis abstracts data in the sense of unearthing, making explicit what is buried and implicit in the narrative discourse.'

The perspective of firstly endeavouring to provide a wider framework (socio-cultural and sociological descriptions in subsequent Chapters Four and Five) and then to more particularistic study of the text from a communicative-literary approach, should make it clear (theoretically at least) that the communicative elements reflected by events in the text are predisposed, shaped and determined by the world beyond the text.

3.5.2 A social-scientific analysis: the world beyond the text
In order to grasp the meaning that the letter to Timothy had in its own social context, where the communicators held a shared knowledge of their 'world' about matters referred to in the writing, it will be necessary to examine some aspects of that social system in addition to the linguistic features of the communication. Firstly, a broad picture of the setting of the letter, in terms of the cohesive groups within that society, will be described. The objective is to gain insights into the extremely alien (to our modern sensitivities) religious elements intrinsic to everyday life in antiquity. Therefore particular attention will be given to the Graeco-Roman cults and their activities. In Chapter Five a more definitive outline will be provided with particular reference to the activities of women in religious circles in first century Ephesus. A sociological model will be used to indicate the nature of the evolving group, which later came to be called Christian. The possible identity of the women addressed by Paul in 1 Timothy 2:8-3:1(a) will be construed. In Chapter Six the text will be analysed by means of linguistic devices in order to ascertain deeper meanings and motives. Particular attention will be given to the form of the letter in order to ascertain the possible motives and themes of the writer. References and particular problem words will be examined in the light of the socio-cultural data examined in Chapters Four and Five. In the past certain words could have been interpreted and translated in a stereotyped fashion. A fresh approach is necessary in order to place such references within a multi-religious ancient milieu.

An attempt will be made to define the society from within to reduce the anachronism and ethnocentrism thereby characterising the society in its own terms as far as possible (Crassart 1992:222)

Further discussion of the social-scientific method will precede a social scientific analysis in 5.2.

Elliott (1993:10) provided an anthropological term for this phenomenon — 'high context'.
3.5.3 A literary communicative approach: the world within the text

It is possible to view New Testament documents in the same way as other literature and examine themes, plot and characters, this in addition to the author's manifest and inherent intentions. The traditional literal word-by-word translation does not always provide the meaning of the verse, word or phrase. Similarly, an etymological approach which subdivides a word into root parts is not meaningful and is linguistically deficient.

Meanings which the author intended and the reasons why he selected certain words and placed them in relationships with one another to form sentences and paragraphs, are embedded in deeper structures. Meanings are determined by the relationships of words one to another and the grammatical structure of sentences and the situation in which they are used (Louw 1977:68). It is for this reason that a word-for-word commentary is inadequate and that the total document and the situation it addresses provide important clues to the realisation of meaning.

A literary approach presupposes that the same linguistic and literary principles applied to any piece of literature also applies to the biblical text. 28

A discourse analysis of the Nestle-Aland Novum Testamentum Graece text 29 provides a method of analysing the smallest coherent unit of the text, a colon. This is composed of nominal and verbal parts, which may or may not have additional elements. Although a structuralist approach to the text shows that the relationships between linguistic elements provide meaning, an interactional model involves the contexts as well. It is holistic, moving beyond the level of words and sentences (or the verse-by-verse approach which is commonly used by most commentaries). It entails a secondary reading which is a 'semantic representation of the vocabulary, the discourse structure and the pragmatics of the text' (Louw 1992:17).

Van Dijk-Hemmes (1993:33) states: It has been shown that formal semantics is not strictly about meaning but rather about reference 30. It specifies the objects denoted by sentences and thus provides conditions under which sentences are true or false. Such objects are called referents, denotata or extensions. In order to have a more coherent semantics we shall therefore assume that the extensions of sentences are facts in some possible world.

Although the text of 1 Timothy (cf 2.2) initially gave rise to the exploration of references to the 'worlds' implied 'in', 'outside' and 'beyond' the text, a selection of descriptive data is used to describe a 'possible' setting or background to the letter of Timothy. The social data is presented to accentuate the very different (from twentieth century) social and religious world that might have existed in first century Asia Minor (cf Chapter Four). Particular emphasis is placed on Ephesus and its environs. A comprehensive treatise is not intended, simply a cursory and eclectic overview.

29 Unless otherwise indicated free translations of the text are provided.
30 'Reference cannot be analyzed merely in terms of the world of the text — the world of the reader as presupposed by the text must also be taken into account' (Lategan 1985:69).
It is borne in mind that the text is both a product of this environment and itself impacted on it. This interaction between the 'world' beyond the text and the 'world within' the text is also highlighted. The assistance of a sociological model (cf 5.6.2.1) helps identify stratifications and groups whose interaction with each other form part of the occasion for this letter. A discourse analysis (cf 6.2) facilitates the identification of various strategies employed by the author and sheds light on possible motives.

The narrative world of the text is uncovered as the rhetorical devices employed reveal aspects of the 'implied' author who has an implied audience in mind. The use of the letter genre (cf 6.2.3) and its general function in the first century ancient world also forms a part of the rhetorical strategy.

Finally, a synthesis of these two interactive approaches namely social-scientific and literary communicative is undertaken in order to arrive at an alternative way of understanding 1 Timothy (cf 6.3)

### 3.5.4 Models, reality and the text

In attempting to describe the nature of the reality 'beyond' the text, it is acknowledged that this is a very complex issue. Lategan and Vorster (1985:1) examine the relationship between what 'actually happened' and the 'textual presentation' of the contingency. They also attempt to define what is meant by 'historical' and make the following assertions: firstly, that the text itself is a 'historical phenomenon' and secondly, that it attests to be a witness to certain historical events. Therefore history 'implies a structuring activity of some kind' (Lategan 1985:9). The scope of this dissertation focusses on the referential aspects (Chapters Four and Five) but also pays attention to the internal structural aspects (Chapter Six). It is concluded by Lategan (1985:19-20) that in the new community there was neither hierarchy nor paternalism but a society based on humility and service31 (Chapter Six). Lategan (1985:24-25) emphasises that we are dealing with a 'world' created by the text for the purpose of communicating a message not merely as a description of social conditions or circumstances. Although there are various levels of reference, the final level is that in which the entire text operates as a 'communicative entity.'

Strategies that are used by the author 'aim to provide the reader with a new perspective on extratextual reality' (Lategan 1985:74). In a similar way, the New Testament authors, such as Paul employ letters to set in motion the Wirkungsgeschichte of the Christian message and to reinterpret and describe situations in the congregation in Ephesus.

In terms of the 'implied' readers the letter to Timothy addresses the wider congregation or congregations in Ephesus. The strategies of the 'implied author can be

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31 Mt 23:8-12 indicates that Jesus addressed the crowds and his disciples and provided them with a re-definition of their identity and status in terms of a 'spiritual kinship'.
discerned as those which are utilised to persuade the converts from Judaism and paganism to conform to another ideology. (Cf Chapter Six for examples of such strategies). It is continually borne in mind that the construction remains only 'a model' of reality. In this form it is possible to treat it as 'a self-contained entity' which can be analysed and synthesised as outlined above (Lategan 1985:78).

3.5.5 Conclusions and summary: synthesis of a two-pronged interactive approach

Thus the proposed method comprises both a literary and social-scientific component. The method used is similar to that which is proposed by Van Staden and Van Aarde (1991:55-87) and comprises the following stages: First, a thorough literary analysis is made. By means of a discourse analysis, structural relationships between textual elements within the letter will be examined (6.2).

Secondly, on the macro-social level, the relationship between the ideas in the text and the possible social world will be analysed in terms of a sociological/anthropological theoretical model. An essential tool in this aspect of the research includes the use of a model\footnote{Models are the cognitive maps or lenses through which we perceive, filter, and organize the mass of raw material available to our senses.} which will dictate the selection and analysis of social data and provide the means for comparisons and relationships (5.2 and 5.3).

Then the text and the relationship between author and reader will be analysed in terms of communication theory taken from the field of sociology (6.2). Elliott (1993:51) affirms that the 'content' and 'intended effect' of such a text as 1 Timothy was '...shaped by the socially rooted self-interests of their producers.' Therefore the aim of social-scientific criticism is concerned with the examination of the 'correlation of beliefs and social behavior, of world and worldview, of experience, ideas, interests, and ideology'. The results of each of these analyses will be used to explain the possible referential world of the text (Chapters Four and Five). In the last instance the accumulated information regarding social data will be compared with the results of these analyses — the narrative world created by the text is then compared to the everyday historical world to which the text belongs in order that those elements in the narrative world that are new/strange/different may be discerned or identified (Van Staden and Van Aarde 1991:55-87).

This engagement will lead to an encounter with concepts which can only be more clearly understood in the light of a plausible reconstruction of the theological and sociological climate which produced the text.

In both the major approaches, literary and social-scientific, more theoretical methodology of each perspective will be provided (6.2.4 and 5.2.2).

The text is not merely a duplication or preservation of circumstances and events but a dynamic reinterpretation in the light of formative exigencies. Such an expectation of frozen circumstances and events is '...to misunderstand the communicative nature of
the text.' By means of historical research it is possible ‘...to keep the future open’ (Lategan 1985:92-3). Social-scientific criticism is also concerned with modern readers and the interpretation of 1 Timothy may be considered relevant to-day in the light of the possible original meanings. A new framework for understanding the text is presented by emphasising the environmental factors and the loose fluid nature of Christian originations in Ephesus (cf 7.2).
CHAPTER FOUR: THE WORLD BEYOND THE TEXT: PART ONE, A SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC APPROACH WITH AN EMPHASIS ON THE SOCIO-RELIGIOUS CLIMATE

Unless the environs of Ephesus and the Temple of Artemis were hermetically sealed from the normal influences of time and history, with their only door leading to the past or the hinterland of Phrygia, then one must recognize that the processes of Hellenization and Romanization affected the cult of the goddess and her multiform influence in the city of Ephesus (Oster 1990:1728).

4.1 Introduction

It will become clear from the examination of the 'world within the text' in Chapter Six, that certain key-words and phrases cannot be understood, unless reference is made to the social conditions outside and beyond the text. In order to understand and to analyse the social relationships, especially those with a bearing on what will be identified as major themes in Chapter Six, a possible social-scientific model is suggested. However, when choosing such a model, it should be remembered that neither an out-and-out phenomenological approach nor a reductionist approach is sufficient to understand the motivation of Christians, such as Paul, and the social world within which they moved.

Mehl (1970:1) argues that religion is 'incontestably a social phenomenon' because it takes place within a community. However, a sociological enquiry can also prove to be limited since the church as the 'Body of Christ' is '...an invisible reality which rests on the invisible bonds of faith' (Mehl 1970:7).

When considering various influences and forces that work in societies, Theissen (1992:254-256) maintains that '...conflicts have an innovatory function....' and that their function in society should be seen, not as 'stabilisation' or 'destabilisation', but rather as 'a search for a new equilibrium pointing beyond the present social order.' There is probably not so much evidence of 'conflict', as there are differences of behavior and expectations which create tension rather than conflict in ancient societies.

Meeks (1986:12) agrees that New Testament writings as well as other Christian writings '...had as their primary aim the shaping of life (and behaviour and expectations [H D C]) of the Christian communities.' We are unable to understand the force of the arguments and the nature of the communication in a letter such as 1

1 In fact, from a communicative point of view, one may have a distorted and one-sided view if one reads the codes and signs in the text as if they only refer to themselves.

2 Malina (1960:231) defines a model as: '...an abstract, simplified representation of some real world object, event, or interaction constructed for the purpose of understanding, control, or prediction.'
Timothy if it is taken out of its social context. Christians in Ephesus as well as in other parts of the Roman Empire were discovering a new identity which involved a group self-perception as the ‘children of God’; ‘brother and sisters’; ‘slaves of Christ’. Meeks (1986:12) goes on to affirm that ‘[i]dentity was a matter of family and clan, and family honor was a powerful sanction....To act in a way that brought shame on one’s family...was dreadful.’ Christians were resocialized and belonged to a new family, one they referred to as ‘in Christ’.

The dissonances between interest groups that are indicated in 1 Timothy and other contemporary texts reveal social tensions. It is my contention that the question regarding the status of women formed a part of this tension. Therefore, the emancipation of women is not anachronistically confined to the twentieth century but was a very real issue in the Roman Empire in the first century.³

Moxnes (1980:7) maintains that Christian groups ‘...did not suddenly emerge as a totally new entity with a structure of [their] own.’ Rather, the process was gradual and new groups were separated from the Jewish mainstream and established and developed a new set of group commitments.

However, Christianity did not emerge as a uniform phenomenon. Meeks (1986:120) reminds us that ‘...later Christian documents are filled with evidence of collusions between different groups and different ways of construing what Christianity was.’ In many ways Paul was striving to obtain a measure of uniformity by means of his regular visits and letters. This desire for a measure of conformity to his understanding of Christianity would lead to fossilized structures. In the second century of more organized structures where an ‘overseer’ or ‘bishop’ (1 Tm 3:1) in each city replaced an ‘older, looser organization’.

### 4.2 A social-scientific approach

The historical/geographical/socio-cultural gap opens up a plurality of readings of the target text, 1 Timothy 2:8-3:1(a). A structural approach (6.2.3 and 6.2.4) has limitations and is functional in drawing attention to particular significant features and themes. However, it is essential to realize that the social setting is ‘part of a wider process of communication’ (Lategan 1985:11). ‘Indeed what speaking is, and what meaning is, depends on the surroundings in which language is being spoken’ (Thiselton 1980:375). The question then on validity of the assessment of the meaning and significance of the communication to the Ephesian congregation/s through Timothy, requires the demarcation of social boundaries, which can supply such a framework. In order to achieve this, one needs to decide on a social-scientific model by means of

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³ Refer to 5.5.2.13 for further implications of women’s sense of liberation in 1 Timothy 2:1-3:1(a).
which socio-cultural data can be interpreted within its historical setting and within which an attempted understanding can take place.

Some cautions need to be expounded regarding possible pitfalls of a social-scientific study on antiquity.

4.2.1 The fallacy of objective description of a social world

Berger (1967:8) warns that there is a danger in sociology of divorcing the institutions — the ‘great societal hypotheses’ — the family, state, economy and others from the individuals who created them and constitute them. When they become objectified they also set standards and rules for behaviour. In a sense the individual becomes dependent and is controlled by these institutions. However, it is easy to lose sight of the fact that they are not entities in themselves but they are merely an externalisation of man’s activities. Objectivation pertains to both the material and non-material world. Objects of culture such as social groups or collectivities to which individuals belong, both sanction and control behaviour and norms. The procedures of social control in order to bring into line the recalcitrant, are what Berger calls the ‘coercive objectivity of society.’

The danger of ‘objectivation’ has not been accorded sufficient recognition. One is forced, therefore, to concur with Judge (1980:216) who avers that scholarship has failed so far to give a realistic account of what life was really like, ‘city by city’ and ‘institution by institution’. Bearing in mind the cautions outlined in earlier chapters regarding the pitfalls of such research it is, nevertheless, concluded that there is a need for systematic study of new data, particularly of inscriptions and papyri. In addition anthropological insights may provide further clues towards a possible emic understanding of everyday life in antiquity.

With these considerations in mind, one possible reconstruction will be made of the world beyond the text, or the world that shaped the text and the world that was in turn impacted on by it. The model will be a possible descriptive comparison of Pauline Christian communities as they existed alongside other social groups or ‘collectivities’ in Ephesus in Asia Minor during the first century C E. The religious nature of these communities will be compared with that of non-Christian communities in the same environs. This necessitates some observations on the nature of religion and also the nature of society.

4.2.2 Various basic social dimensions or views of life in first century Mediterranean countries

4.2.2.1 Introduction

The following basic features of society were evident in first century Western Asia Minor. These were the pivotal points in ancient society which were determinative for both the functioning as well as the structuring of societies in antiquity.
4.2.2.2 Social status

Meeks (1986:32-34) maintains that Roman society was highly stratified and people identified ‘themselves and others by their social locations’. Even inscriptions on tombstones ‘routinely boasted’ of status and important deeds and offices held. Within a household, slaves ranked themselves according to those who held the more desirable jobs. In the cities of the Roman Empire people were conscious of their position on the ‘social pyramid’.

The key to understanding early Christian behaviour lies in analysing ‘social status’ or rather ‘social inconsistencies’ which Rohrbaugh (1983:526) considered to be the ‘thwarted aspirations’ (not lack of money or high class standing). In the instance of this study it appears as follows: that 1 Timothy 2:8-15 and 6:17 make reference on the surface to the ‘rich’ and in particular ‘rich women’ (if extravagant dress is considered synonymous with economic wealth). Yet the issue is not economic but rather ‘disenfranchisement’ due to the fact that they are ‘women’ and likely ‘to feel themselves disenfranchised in spite of their money’. I do not feel this is anachronistic in terms of Rohrbaugh’s emphasis on the differences between an ancient pre-industrial city and modern city life. The emphasis is on anthropological similarities and the evidence of literature from this period, which reveals that women were feeling ‘marginalised’ and were responding in ways which made some male writers uncomfortable.

Some of the problems encountered in a social-scientific study of an ancient society include the difficulty in using terminology; this should be adequately defined. A debate ensued in the past among scholars, such as Judge (1980), Theissen (1992) and others regarding the identification within early Christianity of ‘social classes’. Many either reject this term or consider that it is in need of review.

4.2.2.3 Group identity

Another feature in ancient society was the emphasis on group-identity, rather than individualistic identities such as that found in contemporary Western society. Malina (1993:47) identifies ‘in-group-out-group distinction’ as one of the most important features of Mediterranean culture. In addition, he points out that the ‘in-group’ is rooted in ‘kinship’ and that ‘boundaries’ between such groups were ‘forever shifting’.

Therefore, the ‘social universe’ of a society should be defined whether the application of the analysis is taken on the basis of a group or an individual in that

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4 Rohrbaugh (1991:128) states that ‘status inconsistency’ is a modern concept which has been designed to study the social tensions in modern society.

5 Malina (1993:21) affirms that the ancient Mediterranean ‘...was an extremely interpersonally intensive society.’ There was very little isolation of individuals. People also interacted in an emotional and intimate way.
group. In the case of this study, the focus is on groups and the roles and responsibilities of women in Asia Minor belonging to the Pauline Christian group in Ephesus. This group is compared to women belonging to other social groups namely, Jews, Greeks, Romans (obviously distinctions are in reality not so clear-cut).

4.2.2.4 Patrons and clients
It must be recognised that many aspects of social life and world-view differ dramatically from our own. A most important social dynamic of the ancient world was the need to entice superior members of a particular social body into the service of these beneath them for the sake of the 'common good'. Judge (1980:211) stated that in Graeco-Roman society money was continually given by the powerful to their dependents, and this transfer of cash downwards in the social scale is the main instrument by which the status of the powerful is asserted. An analysis of patronage and clientism has demonstrated that this institution shaped the network of social relations and obligations between Jews and Gentiles and contributed to their 'conception of God as the ultimate benefactor' (1 Tm 2:6) (Elliott 1993:35; Moxnes 1991:257).

4.2.2.5 Women’s emancipation
Malina (1993:71) posits that first century Mediterranean family structures, whether Roman, Greek or Jewish identified and defined persons in terms of their 'gender and gender roles'. Women were treated, in many cases, as inferior even to male children.

It is possible to make the distinction between domestic — female spheres and public - male spheres of influence. All female spaces and things point to the family dwelling and the wife usually becomes ‘financial administrator with the key to the family chest’ (Malina & Neyrey 1991:43).

A significant feature of society within Asia Minor during the first century was the emergence of a movement of women's emancipation, away from traditionally male cultic and civic responsibilities. Christianity had porous boundaries and women from all walks of society were free to enter and depart from it. This will be substantiated later in this chapter (cf 4.5.8 and 4.5.9).

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6 Berger (1967:8) warns that there is a danger in sociology of divorcing the institutions of family, state, economy and others from the individuals who create and constitute them (cf 4.2.1).
7 Malina (1993:xv) points out that in the first century there were neither Christians nor Jews, but rather various strands of Yahwism and 'Judeans'.
8 Kidd (1990:70) maintains that any conflict addressed by Paul in 1 Timothy might have been the result of 'competing understandings of social reality'. He states that it had to do with the rights and responsibilities of the patrons and benefactors of the Pauline movement.
9 Moxnes (1991:242) defines patron-client relations as '...social relationships between individuals based on a strong element of inequality and difference in power. The basic structure of the relationship is an exchange of different and very unequal resources.'
10 See also Moxnes (1991:244).
4.2.2.6 Honour and shame

Modern Western society has little understanding of the importance of the values of honour and shame in the Mediterranean (cf Malina 1993). Meeks (1986:37) reminds us that this comprised an exchange of goods, services or prestige which assigned worth to each participant and undergirded the functioning of ancient society. Honour\(^{11}\) and shame were reciprocal sentiments. Honour is either 'ascribed' or 'acquired'. Honour that is 'ascribed', is derived from birth from a family, while 'acquired' honour is that which a person achieves or earns through social interaction. Collective honour was either enhanced or detracted from the honour of a social group or family. Persons who held posts or status positions within the group, such as Paul, were responsible for the definition and maintenance of 'unconditional allegiance of the members'.\(^{12}\) Another significant feature of honour is that it was gender based. The controlling principle for males was the attaining of honour whereas for the female it was the avoidance of shame\(^{13}\) (Malina & Neyrey 1991:40). Widows and divorced women '...are viewed as stripped of female honor....'. They were regarded more like males than like females and therefore 'sexually predatory, aggressive, hence dangerous'.\(^{14}\) According to Malina (1993:1) Mediterranean families were organised and maintained by the 'traditional rules of order' which were contained in the 'complementary codes of honor and shame' (Malina 1993:1). Honour was lost through interaction with others and if a person was considered '...to have been bested by another, that person is said to be shamed'. An example cited by Malina (1993:11) is the assertion that in the ancient Mediterranean world '...women can commit adultery but adultery cannot be committed against women.' The reason for this is the view that '...women are embedded in males, that males symbolize honor and have as their task defending the family against dishonor.'

Another example of honour and dishonour is provided within the context of teaching, where if a teacher's pupils walked away from him\(^{15}\) while he was teaching, this would be a cause for distrust and dishonour (Malina 1993:17).

In terms of 'morality' and 'deviance' the rights and duties were given in accordance with roles and statuses within the group. Obedience, respect for authority and subordination to superiors, both in and outside the boundaries of the family were expected and considered a 'premier virtue' (Malina & Neyrey 1991:91-93).

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11 Malina & Neyrey (1991:25) defines 'honour' as: 'the positive value of a person in his or her own eyes plus the positive appreciation of that person in the eyes of his or her social groups.'

12 Malina & Neyrey (1991:102) refer to Paul as a 'rule creator' and 'moral entrepreneur' since by means of redefinition he draws and redraws the social boundaries.

13 'Shame' is a negative experience for a man because it implied loss, [reinforcing the suggestion that a woman was a man's possession] while for a woman it was a 'positive' value and a woman should do her best to avoid 'shamelessness' (Malina & Neyrey 1991:102). The 'loss' occurred through sexual infidelity.

14 Malina & Neyrey (1991:44) maintain that 1 Tm contains references to such women.

15 Malina (1993:17) is convinced that all teachers in the first century Judaea were males.
4.2.2.7 The self-definition of groups
The importance of rituals are emphasised because they played an important part in the
demarcation of group boundaries\(^{16}\) and provided a sense of belonging and acceptance
for women and slaves, in particular, on their initiation into the Pauline Christian faith.
A penchant for purity and order was the norm for most social groups.

The labelling of something as "dirty" or "polluted", then, implies that people are socialized to know a group's symbolic
universe whereby they appropriately classify, situate, and organize persons, objects, places, and times in their world
(Neyrey 1990:23-24).\(^{17}\)

4.2.2.8 Conclusions
In view of the above attention to the nature of society in antiquity, it is now evident
that past studies and views of history have been more interested in the 'chief figures of
the New Testament rather than in the communities they represented or on whose
support they were dependent'. It is also:

...a typically modern assumption that it was the individual geniuses (mostly male) who were the producers of texts and the
motors of change has undermined consideration of the circles and groups responsible for the transmission of traditions and
production of texts and the several circles of females who figured prominently. (Elliott 1993:12).

Women were definitely 'shapers' of the Christian communities in Ephesus and
elsewhere since they were shapers of the text\(^{18}\). They received, interpreted and utilised
the text for the purposes of defining the community and their own sense of identity.

By comparing the attitudes to, and status of, women in Roman, Hellenistic and
Asian circles, we may be able to assess whether and if so, and in what measure, Paul's
attitudes differed from those in wider society. In addition, a comparison with the
attitudes found in non-canonical writings, pseudepigrapha and other Judaistic and
Pharisaic literature will be made in comparison with the letter to Timothy.

\(^{16}\) Neyrey (1990:15) explains that rites were either rituals or ceremonies used for 'making' and
'maintaining boundaries'. In addition 'purity' referred to '...patterns of order and classification'.

\(^{17}\) Cf Neyrey (1990) who gives extensive attention to this matter in terms of 'purity' and
'pollution'.

\(^{18}\) It was pointed out in 5.1.1, that women, on account of being part of the implied readers,
shaped the text of 1 Timothy, being also recipients thereof.
A relational approach suits this particular investigation. Within each particular ethnic group, a woman stands in a particular social relationship in respect to males in the environment. Essentially the relationship involves authority relations — dominance/subordination. Aspects to be taken into consideration include educational opportunities, marriage obligations in relationship to her husband, household responsibilities, and also the social positions open to women outside the household. The active roles they play in the cults referred to earlier in this chapter will also have to be assimilated in this analysis. Did they play an active role in the cults? Early Christianity was influenced by, or was a response to 'status inconsistencies' within the social system, in particular sections of Judaism. Hence the popularity of Christianity for women and slaves.

Hopefully the inevitable bias of most sociological approaches, which tend towards description rather than analysis or interpretation, will be avoided. Such an interpretation becomes 'a view from the outside' (Meyer 1986:31). It is hoped that this interpretation will include both a view from the outside and a view from the inside of Christian symbolism.

Social stratification of the groups and their interactions seems anachronistic, ethnocentric and inadequate to investigate the nature of an ancient community. Nevertheless, in spite of the pitfalls of reductionism, it serves the purpose of this analysis. In addition the danger exists that people from the past will be recreated in our own image using laws of behaviour observed in our own contemporary cultures (Meeks 1983:2-5).

4.2.3 The nature of religion
Berger (1967:3-28) introduces his sociological theory of religion with these words: 'Every human society is an enterprise of world-building'. He states that religion has a

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19 Malina (1993:39-40) states that female slaves or maids had a relatively low status within the social pyramid. 'By treating the maid like a friend and thus not maintaining the needed gap or distance between her and the maid,' gives the impression that a person is of the same status as the servant. In addition, people who had a superior status and who failed to act appropriately would be resented. For this reason Malina infers that Christian supervisors or ‘bishops’ (1 Tm 3:4) must act appropriately. However, Paul states that their behavior should be a model or example to others and does not suggest any distinction in status within the Pauline community. This radically different behavior towards women and servants must have created problems.

20 Craffert (1995:14-35) defines the terms etic and emic.

21 Petersen (1985:x) distinguishes between what he refers to as ‘social arrangements’, the social structures which undergird relations between role-players and the ‘symbolic forms’, which he defines as the ‘overarching cognitive systems, systems of knowledge, belief and value’. These symbolisms define identities and motivate actions.

22 Berger (1967:51) provides the following definition of religion: ...the establishment, through human activity, of an all-embracing sacred order, that is, of a sacred cosmos that will be capable of maintaining itself in the ever-present face of chaos.
distinctive character and dialectic function within this process. The human being who produces this *world* is also himself influenced by it.23 People are 'curiously unfinished' at birth and must adapt and learn how to behave in the culture within which they find themselves. *Culture consists of the totality of people's products* and one of these products, language24, becomes a tool. The language used by Paul in his letter to Timothy is a product of the culture in which he lived and shared with Timothy and others. A most important feature of this *world* is that it is a *collective building exercise*. Once produced this world cannot be absorbed again into a person's will as though nothing ever happened; it stands independently as a 'world'.

Boardman (1991:259) postulates that it is impossible to separate any social grouping from religious activity since '...every formal social grouping was also a religious grouping.' A concept of 'embedded religion' which weaves together the social and practical realities of everyday life is required in order to render a sound and complete description.

Kraft (1975:176) warns that what is today called 'Christianity' and 'Judaism' is that which ';...has survived in one's own tradition.' Anachronistic notions of Christianity and Judaism can be misleading since the state religion of the fourth century — Catholicism — should not be used as a yardstick whereby to make deductions about the first century religious culture of the Ancient Near East. Another factor to bear in mind is that it is not possible to *divorce religion* from the totality of ancient society, or from the fabric of everyday life.25 Societal institutions were widely integrated and therefore should not be compartmentalised. In this regard, Meeks (1983:6) supports this when observing '...religion is an integral part of the cultural web'.

4.2.4 The process of description

In the light of the above authoritative and apropos observations by others, when considering a method of description of religious groups, clubs and communities one realises that caution is required. Furthermore, it is obvious that only a biased profile of these and the general religious climate in Asia Minor can be presented. Nevertheless, this introduction to the religious climate in Ephesus will adjust some of the misapprehensions and false presuppositions concerning the social background underlying the text of 1 Timothy. In the past the tendency had been to look at the text from the perspective of the Western, twentieth century, academic viewpoint. Some of the following insights into the *totally different milieu* will hopefully encourage a completely different perspective of that milieu. This in turn could lead to a justifiable understanding of the dynamics which were operative beyond the texts.

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23 Elliott (1993) remarks that social-scientific criticism '...studies the text as both a reflection of and a response to the social and cultural settings in which the text was produced.'

24 Meeks (1986:15) shares this insight which is also held by anthropologists and philosophers, that *culture* is not *identical to language*.

25 This observation is made by Berger (1967:41).
CHAPTER 4: WORLD BEYOND THE TEXT...RELIGIOUS CLIMATE

This socio-cultural description will examine sources that point to an understanding of the nature of the various social groups, or associations, within the society including contemporary attitudes towards women and their activities within social groups. An attempt will be made to discover the self-definition of the group. Special importance will be given to the emergence of Christian communities. How did the group identify and deal with deviants from its ranks? How did individuals, such as Paul, understand certain significant concepts that we find in 1 Timothy? What are the rules, rituals, admonitions and formulated beliefs hinted at in the text? The geographical parameters will be limited to Ephesus and the immediate environs. The historical time setting will be around 59-64 CE as was suggested above. It is assumed that practices prevalent within the wider society of Asia Minor impacted on the religious activities of the Jewish communities in Ephesus.

4.3 Social groups and associations in Western Asia Minor

4.3.1 Introduction
Paul and Timothy (Ac 16:1) were Jews and they preached in Jewish synagogues (Ac 17:10). 1 Timothy was addressed to people within Christian communities which were located predominantly within Jewish settlements. The early Christians met in homes and were encouraged to show hospitality towards travelling Christians such as Paul and his co-workers. Meeks (1986:110) concurs that '...it is likely that the Christians made their appearance in Greek cities as a sect within the Jewish communities....'. No doubt, there was considerable adaptation of Christian and Jewish communities to the 'pluralistic culture' around them. Whereas Meeks maintains that '...they very early became independent in identity and organization....'; it is here assumed that at an early stage there was very little distinction by Gentile neighbours between the different synagogues whether Jewish or Nazorean. In spite of references by Josephus in Antiquities (12.125, 126, 166-68, 172-3), and by Luke in Acts 18 and 19, which explicitly refer to a large Jewish presence in Ephesus, archaeologists and epigraphists are disappointed about the paucity of Jewish material that emerges from 3750 inscriptions and the fact that no synagogue has as yet been discovered. The fact that no synagogal remains have been discovered is probably

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26 There could obviously have been Christian communities situated in Roman and Greek households.
27 Or politieuma — a community for resident aliens (Meeks 1986:28) specifically refers to groups of Jews who became resident in places such as Ephesus.
28 A name often used for Christians in early sources (Meeks 1986:110).
29 Cf Horsley (1992:121). Kee (1973:58) informs that the origin, time and circumstances around this institution are not known, however scholars generally agree that the practice of meeting together for the reading and study of the Law of Moses, already occurred during the exile of Jews in Babylon.
due to the fact that there were no purpose-built buildings at this stage and Jews
gathered for worship and other communal activities either in large homes or at places
such as the river-side (cf 5.5.5.5).

The question of the economic nature and rural or urban origins of early Christians
has pre-occupied past researchers. However, it is not the intention to make any claims
other than to draw attention to the fact that Christianity in Ephesus was of an urban30
nature and appealed to wealthy women (more about this in Chapters Five and Six) as
well as ordinary and unprivileged sections of the population. Concerning the difference
between rich and poor, within the Jewish communities, Tcherikover (1974:247)
indicates that the continual emigration of Jews from Palestine caused problems and
differences with regard to status. Those who settled first were financially established
and usually enjoyed certain civic rights. These existing communities of the diaspora
Jews probably became the upper stratum of society. It would appear that there were
communities within communities (katoika). 1 Timothy 6:17-19 appears to reflect some
of these economic tensions.

Ephesus, like any other city of the Roman Empire, abounded with associations,
schools, clubs, guilds or cults, to which its citizens could belong. There was a
multiplicity of teachers, preachers and spiritual entrepreneurs.

It has been necessary to compartmentalize the various social groups as if they
existed as entities in isolation one from the other. This is unnatural and provides a
anachronistic picture (cf 4.2.1). Social and religious history are virtually inseparable as
the religious world was an integral part of daily life in the first century (cf 4.2.3). An
examination of the various associations leads one to concur that this was an age when
people were extremely hungry for religious diversity: The old deities no longer held
sufficient attraction and the worship of the emperor and other human and non-human
totems became increasingly popular. The mystery religions also came into vogue and
the gods and associated beliefs from other countries became intermingled. All these
religions had sacred meals, certain abstinences and purification rites often associated
with occultism and magic.31

4.3.2 The household
The household was another social group to which everyone belonged, and in which
everyone fulfilled some role or another. Data concerning the following facets are
important for this study.

30 The 'expansionist form' of Christianity took place in cities (Meeks 1986:38).
31 Even Judaism was associated with magic. Arnold (1989:231) points out there is a great deal
of evidence to support the theory that Judaism was at this time, '...heavily pervaded by contemporary
magical beliefs.'
Members
The Graeco-Roman household included not only the members of the immediate family, slaves and unmarried female relatives, but also freed persons, labourers, tenants, business associates and clients. Paul's letter to Timothy provides instructions for husbands, wives, children, slaves and widows. These were probably the usual inhabitants of a household. In 1 Timothy Paul refers to the following categories of inhabitants in the home: κόριος (1:2); τέκνον (1:2); πατήρ (5:1); ἀδελφοί (4:6); δόολοι (6:1) and widows χήρας (5:3), as well as πρεσβυτέρως πρεσβυτέρας (5:1). Brooten (1982) provides ample inscriptive evidence for the fact that women were honoured for their position in society (cf 5.5.5.6).

Religious activities
Banks (1980:41) points out that it was not until the third century that special buildings were constructed for Christian gatherings. Therefore, it was very likely that the gatherings of the early Christians were in private homes which put a limit on the number of people present in the congregation. The number based on the size of the houses was unlikely to have exceeded forty-five.

Women in leadership roles
Women were honoured in tomb inscriptions with the titles mater synagogae, presbyterissa, and archisynagogissa. If most of the religious activities took place in the home then such inscriptions referred to positions of honour conferred upon women by the society for functions performed within the home.

4.3.3 Synagogues — Jews and Gentiles
In spite of the diversity of the religious climate it might appear that there was also a growing attraction from the educated section of the population for monotheism and the many gods in the pantheon came to be regarded as attributes of only one god. Bauer (1971:89) posited that the communities established by Paul in Asia Minor were mostly Gentile. It is very likely that large numbers of Gentiles either adopted a monotheistic faith or incorporated Jahweh into their own pantheon of gods. The Christian groupings were Judaistic in structure, content and liturgy. It is possible that the Judaistic nature of Christianity was adapted in order to increase its appeal to Gentiles. Many Christians in Ephesus were probably Jews, who like the Nazarenes in Jerusalem believed in the Messiah. They would have met in a large house which would have become equivalent

32 Verner (1983:27-94) conducted considerable research into the household as a part of the social structure in ancient urban society.
33 Though not in the same light as Judaism is viewed to-day.
CHAPTER 4: WORLD BEYOND THE TEXT...RELIGIOUS CLIMATE

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to a synagogue in function (Safrai & Stern 1974:54). More than likely there were other synagogues in Ephesus which had different beliefs and stronger ties with Jerusalem. Converts from the pagan cults most notably that of Artemis — as this was the most pervasive of them all — would have been welcomed into the ‘family of God’. Influences from these converts no doubt brought different codes of behaviour and beliefs. Paul had to remind them that there is but ‘one God’ and ‘one mediator between God and men’ (1 Tm 2:5-6). He is Jesus Christ, the ‘king of kings’ (1 Tm 6:15).

It is, therefore, assumed that Jewish forms, liturgy, beliefs and conduct within the Christian synagogue were influenced by Hellenisation, Romanisation and the Artemis cult in Ephesus.

Judaism was inclusive by nature and encouraged proselytes from the Graeco-Roman cults, both men and women, to became adherents or more. Converts from heathendom entered Christianity either directly, or after their conversion to Judaism.

Activities at meetings were similar to those traditionally found in the Jewish synagogues34, which included scripture reading and interpretation, teaching, prayers as well as common meals. Pauline Christianity took over the scripture and beliefs, norms and traditions from the Greek-speaking synagogue. It is, therefore surprising, in view of this assimilation, how little evidence there is in the Pauline letters concerning the specific organization of the synagogue (Meeks 1983:80-91). This researcher points out that the information and the terminology are already contained in the Pauline letters but it has been misinterpreted. Since the Christian group met in domestic surroundings, it is, therefore, not surprising that Timothy abounds with domestic or household terminology (cf 5.5.2.14).

Paul frequently preached in the synagogues as is evident from Acts 13-28. It is likely that the congregation mainly consisted of Gentile (1 Tm 2:10) converts to Judaism.

The synagogue incorporated features of both the household and the voluntary associations. The Jewry of the diaspora were able to maintain a separate identity from the world around them and provided their members and proselytes with the sense of belonging to ‘a larger entity’ — Israel.

4.3.4 Private associations
Meeks (1983:15) refers to two types of community to which people belonged, the politeia and the oikonomia. He suggests that the ‘more thoughtful and devout, members of society’ looked to a brotherhood beyond the confines of the polis which would have encompassed all men and women. Members of society joined a ‘voluntary society’35

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34 Safrai & Stern (1974:54) concurs with the view that synagogues in Asia Minor were originally built as private houses and then remodelled to accommodate Jewish or Christian cult practices.

35 Meeks (1986:114) agrees that Christian meetings resembled voluntary associations or clubs which were a little unusual due to the initiation ritual that was involved. Every contemporary club was religious in the sense that it was dedicated to a god or gods.
which fulfilled the need for *koinonia*, a partnership that united people from various backgrounds. There was a proliferation of such associations all over the ancient world. These were established around a variety of interests: political; military and sporting; as well as professional; commercial; philosophical, and religious. In many respects the Christian home groups could have been mistaken for associations or synagogues.

Paul's association with the wider community of believers provided for exactly the need for belonging to a 'wider brotherhood'. The beliefs and conduct nurtured by Paul and his co-workers involved a large amount of caring for one another and the sharing of possessions.

4.3.5 Philosophical schools

Meeks (1983:82) and others (e.g. Judge 1980; Dibelius and Conzelman 1972) propose that a similarity exists between the Pauline missionary activity and the communities of disciples that gathered around a noted teacher. Leaders, co-workers and other followers, many of whom were women, were considered 'the school of Paul'. Meeks maintains that Paul and his co-workers would have been regarded in the same light as philosophers, rhetoricians or 'sophists' by their contemporaries. Therefore, in comparison with other cultic groups, Paul's group would have resembled a 'scholastic intellectual debating society'. Judge (1980:201-217) has revised his notions of a scholastic community to some extent. However, he argues convincingly that Paul's communities were participants in a process which started from the educated classes and the highly articulate, and then moved down the social spiral towards an all-inclusive movement which embraced the total spectrum of people including those who were traditionally outcast and economically deprived.

Converts to the Pauline school or Christian voluntary association were initiated into the circle through baptism and instructed in the beliefs and norms of the followers. Beliefs and norms were handed down in the form of specific traditions and it is this material that is interpreted, discussed, debated and reinterpreted in the light of *Kyrios Iesous Christos*.

Horsley (1992:151-152) refers to the fact that cities in the early Imperial period sought actively to attract highly educated people, doctors, teachers and rhetors to take up permanent residence. Acts 17 corroborates what is known about the Areopagos in other contexts. It illustrates the supervisory role, both concerning the introduction of new gods and also the testing of the credentials of 'a lately arrived Sophist from the

36 *Ac* 19:25 describes an association of people who all belonged to the same trade.
37 This is evident from many of Paul's letters, and so also from 1 Tm. In 1 Tm 5:1-2, the believers are commanded to treat older men and women and widows with respect and honour and widows are expected to be famous for their 'good deeds' as well as their hospitality and 'washing the feet of the saints' (1 Tm 5:10).
38 Gl 3:27-28 is considered a formula spoken at baptism (Meeks 1974:166).
East' (Horsley 1992:151). By the end of the second century it is possible, as Kelly (1973:14) points out, that the philosophical schools of Stoicism and Plato could be described as either a ‘Platonizing Stoicism’ or a ‘Stoicizing Platonism’. Both schools had influenced each other to such an extent. Yet they retained their independence from each other and engaged in polemic. Stoicism placed its emphasis on conduct. Traces of this emphasis and pre-occupation with behaviour and conventional societal norms can be found in 1 Timothy 2:8-15 (cf 5.6.2.11). Meeks (1983:29) concludes that in both Pauline and Stoic writings there exists ‘preoccupation with the question at personal rather than legal or political level.’

There can be little doubt that some form of Gnosticism or pre-Gnosticism had emerged at the time under discussion. It became particularly defined in the second and third centuries when theologians such as Irenaeus, Tertullian and Hippolytus treated it as a Christian heresy. These teachings were considered contrary to sound Christian doctrine. Kelly (1973:22) points out that the name ‘...can be applied to an amorphous group of sects or schools of thought.’ There also appears to have been a Jewish-Gnosticism39 which antecedes a Christian-Gnosticism. He cites references in the Pastoral epistles which may allude to this early Gnostic influence. Kelly (1973:22) postulates:

[Gnosticism was] [t]he product of syncretism it drew upon Jewish, pagan and Oriental sources of inspiration and the product brought a distinctive attitude and certain characteristic ideas to the solution of the problem of evil and human destiny.

This reasoning indicates that there was a movement towards syncretism and amalgamation of ideas: Jewish, Christian and pagan.

Christian communities may have resembled philosophical schools rather than a new religious cult due to the fact that cults did not attempt to reform or establish moral rules or ethical principles. On the other hand, these groups were more pre-occupied with the behaviour of their members (Meeks 1986:114).

4.3.6 Religious cults, shrines, deities and heroines40
Ephesus was ‘the leading magical center for Asia Minor’ and was home to Artemis, the most important deity (Arnold 1989:14). In this highly religious and ‘daemon-ridden climate’, gods and goddesses proliferated. Appeasement of the gods represented an attempt to control the unseen forces and keep in abeyance the demonic powers which

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39 Cf Arnold (1989:7-12) for possible beginnings of Gnosticism in the first century in Ephesus.
40 This section largely relies on the very complete and well-researched and documented essay by Oster: (1990:1667-1706). Ephesus as a religious centre under the Principate, Paganism before Constantine.
held people in abject fear. Boardman (1991:261-264) reminds us that the gods had practical appeal and individuals could consult them on social, judicial, medical and personal matters. At times of birth, puberty, marriage and death the gods or goddesses were consulted. Paul’s reference to salvation in 1 Timothy 2:15 should be seen against this background and the high mortality rate during childbirth. It should be kept in mind that there is no doubt that converts from other religious cults were reluctant to give up the benefits provided by these gods and goddesses and they simply accommodated the Christian God into their existing pantheon without relinquishing the protection offered by these gods during childbirth. More attention will need to be given to the cult of Artemis in this regard since she is the most significant ‘power’ in Ephesus at this time. The listing and brief discussion of gods, goddesses and the pervasiveness of religiosity in the Ephesus of 1 Timothy is as follows:

4.3.6.1 Aphrodite
This goddess had a long-held association with Ephesus. She was also identified with the Julia family. Aphrodite was the goddess of sexual power and like Cybele a mountain goddess. She was associated with birds especially the dove (Ferguson 1989:18-19). The evidence and information regarding this cult is sparse. Polyaenus refers to the construction of a temple in her honour.

4.3.6.2 Apollo
Apollo (or a variety of manifestations of this god) was worshipped at Ephesus. In fact appellations on coins link Apollo to the ‘brother of Artemis’. It would appear that this deity was closely associated with ‘the launching and sailing of ships’ (Oster 1990:1669). There was a sanctuary for Apollo at Ephesus. This cult may have formed part of the Mother Goddess worship.

4.3.6.3 Dionysus
Oster (1990:1671) illustrated how the evidence concerning this cult at Ephesus included a number of legends, coins, inscriptions, monuments and also how the month, Laenaeon, was sacred and how this cult was a part of the Ephesian calendar. It is

41 This feature has significance for the interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:15 (cf 6).
42 Kroeger & Kroeger (1992:69) point out that it was possible to be a priest or priestess in several cults at once. ‘This eclecticism harbored an enormous multiplicity of deities and pathways to salvation.’
43 Oster (1990:1699-1725) refers to the significant research that has been undertaken in the field of the Artemis cult and the influence of Egyptian cults at Ephesus. I am indebted to Oster and Harrison for most of the information regarding religious activities in the cults around Ephesus.
44 The writer, Polyaenus, refers to a shrine here (Oster 1990:1667).
45 In this regard she was proclaimed as ‘...the mythological mother of Caesar who is honoured by the people and council of Ephesus’ (Oster 1990:1667).
possible that this cult was linked to a guild of ‘dramatic and musical artisans’ who both worshiped and performed at this shrine. Harrison (1962:49) concludes that the cult of Dionysus and the religion of Kouros and Kouretes are ‘substantially’ the same. They are a reflection of a group religion which, because of its matriarchal nature, emphasised the figures of Mother and Child. This cult was associated with a ‘doctrine of New Birth’ which accompanied the rites of social initiations. This cult worshipped the god of wine and madness, therefore, it was a frequent occurrence for women to dance and celebrate in worship in the mountains. The ritual obscenity and promiscuity associated with this cult drew condemnation. Cumont (1956:50-52) associates the extremes of the climate of Phrygia with the excessively wild orgiastic and exuberant behaviour exhibited by worshippers. ‘Violent ecstasis was always an endemic disease in Phrygia’ (Ferguson 1989:117-119; Meyer & Sanders 1980:158) (cf 6.3).

4.3.6.4 Asclepias
This functional deity was worshipped in conjunction with others and was associated with healing and the practice of medicine (Oster 1990:1670). Harrison (1962:382) identifies elements in this cult that show him to be a fertility daemon. The figure of Teliospores, a dwarf-like person wearing a pointed hat (in a bronze statuette of Teliospores the upper part of the hood lifted off to disclose a symbol of regeneration) appeared together with him on coins.

4.3.6.5 Demeter
The worship of this goddess was also linked to a snake as were many of the other deities including Artemis (Harrison 1962:287). The worship of this particular deity, who received great care and attention, continued in Ephesus for ‘longer than half a millennium’ (Oster 1990:1673).

4.3.6.6 Egyptian cults
The influence of the Egyptian cults began in the third century B.C.E but really started to flourish in the first century B.C.E due to significant trade links with Egypt. Literary, numismatic, inscriptional, architectural sources attest to the significance of the Isis-related deities.

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46 A differentiation is made between the initiation rites of adolescence and the initiation rites of a secret society (‘marginal fraternity’) (Harrison 1962:55). The former is public while the latter is secret. Both have comparatively similar rites which focus on the symbolism of ‘...new birth, new social relations, new soul and involve dramatic elements such as ‘real sleep’ or ‘mimic death’. The extent of the secrecy which was imposed on initiation rites can be observed on account of the fact that not one written account has been found’ (Angus 1966:78-79).
4.3.6.7 Hero cults
The veneration of both living and deceased heroes pertained to Greek cities throughout the ancient world. Heroes were associated with a city by their heroic acts and significant contributions to that city’s welfare. This along with the Cult of Men (cf 4.3.6.8 below) is a rather interesting phenomena given the situation of the proliferation of the many female goddesses and their cults. This once again underscores the datum that this was a very intricate and complex religious world.

(a) Alexander
The League of Asia which included the city of Ephesus venerated Alexander the Great and his successors well into the era of Roman domination. The earliest contact the city had was when he offered to pay for the restoration of the temple of Artemis. This offer was refused as it was decided that a god could not pay tribute to another god.

(b) Androklos
He was considered a founder of the city of Ephesus. This would make him a figure of great significance. He was accorded religious and civic honours.

(c) Appollonius of Tyana
An itinerant philosopher, Appollonius, was esteemed for his wisdom, life-style, oracular knowledge, prophetic powers and therapeutic skills. His highest acclaim came about because he reputedly saved the city from a devastating plague. He identified an evil demon disguised as an old man who was then stoned. As this was accomplished in the proximity of the statue of the Apotropaic god, it was concluded that this god had also helped him, therefore a temple was erected in gratitude.

(d) Pixodorus
Pixodorus Evangelos was venerated because he reputedly discovered the marble quarry at Ephesus. The marble was used in the construction of the temple of Artemis.

(e) P Servilius Isauricus
The worship of a Roman official in conjunction with the goddess Roma came about because of his clemency, protection and advocacy of the city’s interests. P

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47 It is probable that these cults like the ruler cults were political rather than religious. ‘They enhanced the status of the city and usually its more influential citizens’ (Arnold 1989:37).
48 Malkin (1987:253) for more on Androklos.
Servilius Isauricus was proconsul from 46-44 B.C.E (Oster 1990:1686-1687). A cult existed at Ephesus and in Pergamum.

4.3.6.8 Cult of Men
Among the prolific cults found in Western Asia Minor, in the proximity of Ephesus, was the Cult of Men. Lane (1990:2174) describes the results of many numismatic and epigraphic finds which shed light on this much neglected Cult of Men. A lunar male figure is invariably portrayed in Phrygian clothing with a crescent moon on his shoulders. Some concepts associated with this cult include the ‘...total submission of the human to the god, expressed in epithets turannos or kurios.’ It can be deduced that the term used by the early Christians to designate Jesus Christ (Kurios49) was by no means exceptional in this environment. Also noteworthy is the ‘tremendous respect for Men as a god who can be called upon to punish wrongdoers.’

4.3.6.9 Heroine cults
Kroeger and Kroeger (1992:137-139)50 emphasised the importance of heroines for women. This was particularly the case in the environs of Ephesus. Certain myths51 grew up around mortal women who had experienced some sort of dire predicament such as rape, mistreatment, slavery and compulsion to abandon newborn infants. Kroeger and Kroeger surmise that the ‘disadvantaged and disenfranchised women’ identified with these cruelties and that they ‘flocked to deities and heroines who had known afflictions, mourning, death, and doom.’ This could be the possible reason for the myth of Eve’s dominance over Adam which gained popularity in Ephesus. In gnostic texts Eve was persecuted.

The significance of women as religious mediators and conveyers of mysteries can be noted in many classic tales. Melanippe, one of the heroines immortalised by Homer and Hesiod, maintains that ‘[i]n religious matters...the role of women is dominant.’ In these circles myths about Eve flourished.

4.3.6.10 Orphism
Boardman (1991:263) maintains that both Orphism and Pythagoreanism forbade meat-eating which was considered a pollution from which the soul had to be purified. The ascetism52, preoccupation with the afterlife, rejection of profane society, the concept of

49 Other deities also bore this title Artemis, Cybele and Hekate.
50 I am indebted to Kroeger & Kroeger for this very pertinent information (cf 6.3.2).
51 Kroeger and Kroeger (1992:141) give the example of the story of Euripides whose heroine had endured a variety of tribulations with which women could identify and therefore had relevance for them in times of oppression.
52 More about ascetism in the next chapter. Those philosophers and religions which tended toward ascetism probably (in conjunction) with Jewish traditions constituted some form or another of Gnosticism (if we can call it that) which played some role in the background situation of the Ephesus of 1 Timothy.
a special religious way of life, doctrines of guilt and salvation were untypical of the Greek religions. It is possible that this teaching had an influence in Ephesus which extended to the false teachers mentioned in 1 Timothy 4:3, but then possibly in the conflated way of Jewish Gnostic tendencies.

4.3.6.11 Mother goddess
Cybele was considered the mother goddess at Ephesus. She was also known as the Mountain Mother as worship took place in mountains, caves and the wilderness. A sanctuary for her existed on the slopes of the hills above Ephesus. She also shared the characteristics of Artemis (Kroeger & Kroeger 1992:106-108). This goddess was frequently depicted either standing or enthroned with two lions at her feet and flanked by two standing male deities. Little can be said concerning this cult as it became overshadowed by the cult of Artemis during the Roman era. She is sometimes depicted with a whip as a symbol of power (Ferguson 1989:24).

4.3.6.12 Zeus
The Cult of Zeus which began in 5 B.C.E was associated with the cult of the mother goddess and also the worship of emperor Hadrian.

4.3.6.13 Artemis
The events in Acts 19:27 attest to the prominent influence Artemis had on that society. In this highly religious and superstitious climate, converts from the Artemis cult would be involved in magic, astrology and various mystery religions.

1 Timothy 1:12; 17; 3:16 contains words and phrases that allude to the mystical and attest to Paul's motive in establishing the supremacy of the power of Jesus Christ over and above that of Artemis or any other deity (cf 6.3).

The main shrine of Artemis was in the mother-city, Ephesus, but other cultic centres for this deity were established in cities throughout the Graeco-Roman world.

According to the myths, Artemis and Apollo were the descendants of the gods, Leto and Zeus. An annual festival was held in the month of Artemesium (March-April). Sources mentioned by Oster (1990) include a reference to the festivals when contests, equestrian events, gymnastics and musical activities took place. Another festival was a celebration of her nativity. During this procession Artemesian adherents, both clergy and laymen, formed a religious procession through the city. Female priestesses officiated at the cult. An inscription dated in the third century mentions a

53 Horsley (1992:141) emphatically states that no mention of Artemis in respect of Ephesus would be tantamount to 'emasculation'. He points out the considerable number of '...theophoric names which reflect the focal role of Artemis in the city.'
priestess who performed her duties εὐσεβῶς καὶ κοσμίως.54 Also among the honorary
titles listed by Oster (1990:1727) is οἰκονομός (cf 1 Tm 1:4 οἰκονομίαν).55

Strabo and other writers understood that Artemis made her worshippers happy,
safe and healthy. Her worshippers were convinced that she responded compassionately
to their needs and desires (cf 6.3). The significance of the cult of Artemis in Ephesus is
summed up by Oster (1990:1727):

Artemis of Ephesus, a unique amalgam of indigenous, Persian,
and Graeco-Roman elements. The religion of the goddess did
not, as some interloper or foreign oppressor might, forcefully
impose its influence on the urban life of Ephesus. On the
contrary, her cult and its activities epitomised the cultural and
religious spirit of the city.

4.3.6.14 Other deities
Brief reference is made to a few of the deities who were worshipped during the first
century. This proliferation of deities emphasises the diversity as well as the range and
inclusivity56 of the nature of the religious climate. Angus (1966:78-79) posits that
'[s]targazers, necromancers and purveyors of magical incantations drove a thriving
trade....' People could no longer do routine chores such as taking a bath, or going to
the hairdresser or change their clothes, without consultation of the spirit world and
awaiting the 'proper moment'. Thus the mystical practices, magical incantations, rites,
rituals, festivals and myths were a normal part of the social fabric of everyday life. In
Asia Minor where the primary deities were feminine and the events surrounding the
birth process glorified, goddesses such as Artemis were in great demand and dominated
this sphere of life (Kroeger & Kroeger 1992:53). The scope of this dissertation does
not allow further treatment and it is acknowledged that many other deities, deified
humans as well as objects, existed in the environs of Ephesus. However, two other
phenomena can be pointed out, below.

4.3.6.15 The Prytaneion
The Prytaneion was an important centre for religious and political activity. It was the home to the goddess Hestia (symbolised by an eternal flame) who was the supreme

54 These two words are found in 1 Timothy many times in connection with behavior (1 Tm 2:9;
3:2, 3:16).
55 These terms belong to the semantic domain of the household service (Louw & Nida
1989:521). This refers to one who is in charge of running a household. Therefore the thesis that the other
terms such as ἐπισχοπῆ and διάκομις must be seen in the same semantic field (cf 5.6.2.14; 6.3). These
terms associated with household management were therefore not special offices or functionaries in place
at the beginning of the Christian church.
56 Reitzenstein (1978:184) maintains that nothing was given up when Christ was added to the list
of other deities.
deity at this particular shrine, however, other deities were also accommodated here. Among the other functions of the Prytaneion were meals which were associated with the political life of the city as well as religious, legal and welfare matters.

4.3.6.16 Mystery religions
The mystery religions were more individualistic by nature when compared to the Graeco-Roman cults (Willoughby 1929:30). Not only did they cater for the material welfare of a particular race, city or nation but for the individual as well. The salvation of the soul was spiritual and the individual could not attain to these results by personal efforts. This was also reminiscent of Paul’s beliefs. The mystery religions consisted of a hero-deity of the ‘dying and rising’ type who had triumphed over adversity. The initiate was guaranteed salvation. ‘Be of good cheer you of the mystery, your god is saved. For us, also there shall be salvation from ills.’ Willoughby identified this as the terminology cited by the mystery religions. The initiate participated in rituals and rites somewhat barbaric to the modern Western ear. An inscription refers to the mystery rites to have been performed by both men and women where elaborate attention was given to clothing and no gold ornaments were to have been worn (Ferguson 1989:115).

4.4 Summary of observations on socio-religious facets
Although the letter to Timothy was a personal one, it was indirectly addressed to a Christian community or communities in Ephesus. Meeks (1993:5) argues that such a document was aimed primarily at the maintenance, growth and shaping of Christianity as distinct from other religious practices which have been referred to in the above discussion. From the beginning Christians lived in a world filled with demons57 and magic58. They redefined the world dualistically — God and his angels over against Satan and his demons. The letter to the Ephesians concerning warfare against the cosmic forces ‘could be rather dramatically superimposed upon the routine admonitions about ordered life in a household’ (Meeks 1993:117). By defining the dark side, Paul was establishing a new identity for the Christian believers (cf 5.6.2.9 and 5.6.2.10).

It would be erroneous to surmise that converts to Christianity or Judaism immediately turned their backs on their ‘former means of protection from evil powers’ (Arnold 1989:123-125). The endeavour to persuade them that Jesus Christ was sufficient for their needs and held greater magical powers59 than even Artemis was indeed a constant challenge for Paul and other missionaries. Arnold argues that this is the background to the letter to the Ephesians. It is maintained that this same concern

57 The term daimon ordinarily had a neutral connotation during this period (Meeks 1993:115).
58 There is no clear distinction between religion and magic in antiquity.
59 Cf to the interpretation of the reference to child bearing in 1 Tm 2:15 which is discussed in 6.3.
occasioned the letter to Timothy. Paul desired to reaffirm the supremacy of Christ to his readers (1 Tm 6:15-16).

The above profile identifies the nature of the socio-cultural (religious) world by approximation in which the recipients of Paul's letter to Timothy lived. It is also an attempt to provide a description from an etic perspective, of the world in Ephesus especially regarding religious practices and activities.

This profile provides, in a broad sweep, the backdrop for the more specific and focussed description and discussion in Chapter Five. For it is within this socio-religious climate that various phenomena and situations emerged concerning women in particular which will now be discussed. Furthermore, it is posited that these phenomena and situations find clear echoes in 1 Timothy.

Obviously the selection of data is already indicative of the researcher's approach. Nevertheless, an appropriate model is necessary in order to analyse this socio-cultural data. Taking a cue from more recent research, a sociological model is envisaged.

4.5 Proposed hypotheses concerning the world beyond the text: to be substantiated

4.5.1 Introduction
The following features constitute the general hypothesis to be posited. These are constitutive of the world beyond the text of 1 Timothy; illustration and substantiation will take place later, these are merely referred to now.

4.5.2 Christian circular letters functioned as 'shapers' of a new view of life or 'cosmos'
The function of early Christian literature, such as 1 Timothy, probably was to establish Christian beliefs and patterns of behaviour in the light of pagan and Judaistic practices.\textsuperscript{60} An interface between two groups resulted in a redefinition and consequently the establishment of an 'anti-structure'.

Jesus, Paul and other Christians had redefined Judaism to such an extent that it deviated from the pattern of monotheism and involved a personal and intimate salvation that was appealing to the disenfranchised fringes of society especially women and slaves. The Christian gospel was all that Paul was purveying to the Gentile centres of the world. There were changes that were required, especially those involving worship of deities and rulers; and magic practices that involved divination and incantation\textsuperscript{61}. This sort of 'baggage' was carried into Christian circles by some such as Hymeneaus.

\textsuperscript{60} Moxnes (1980:7) points out that: In this first period of the church the Christians had to defend their identity vis-a-vis non-Christian Jews. Moreover, they had to express this identity in Jewish terms, that is, on the basis of common presuppositions.

\textsuperscript{61} This was an example of the 'baggage' condemned by Paul.
and Alexander and was strongly condemned by Paul. Paul is delineating what was, and what was not, acceptable in terms of the norms within Christian circles. These created tensions between Judaism and Christianity. The following examples are but a few of the issues addressed by Paul in his correspondence. Together with other issues these caused him to write and so ‘shape’, ‘create’ and ‘transform’ existing realities thus bringing about a new view of life and redefined symbolic world. Issues include polygamous marriages, food sacrificed to idols, appropriate behaviour, concepts of deity and social relationships. All these and other questions required clarification. A major question in Ephesus was whether Jesus or the Jewish deity could usurp the supreme position of Artemis in Ephesus, in other words who was in fact the greatest?

4.5.3 A new symbolic world of meaning relationships and identity
The kinships formed were fictitious, henceforth referred to as ‘fictive family.’ Thus the relationships between members of the Ephesian congregation were not necessarily ‘real’ family ties (cf 4.5.5).

A model of the entry by pagans into the ‘world’ of Ephesian Christianity via Judaism is provided, since the acquisition of a new mode of behaviour and modified, intensified values and norms, beliefs and rules, took place (cf diagram). Neyrey (1990:18-19) assesses Paul as both a ‘conserver’ of the basic tenets of Judaism, especially monotheism and also as a ‘reformer’ in terms of his view of the Scriptures in the light of Jesus Christ.

Malina (1993:76-78) emphasises that the status quo implied there was (for instance) the cultural value which dictated a separation of male and female roles as well as household tasks. However, he then goes on to affirm that:

...the world of Jesus would have been socialized to give precedence to others, to serve others, to rejoice at the successes of others, and the like? Obviously women! By asking his male disciples to take on some of these traits Jesus does indeed seek to rearrange Mediterranean values.

A thorough study of Pauline texts confirms that similar values propelled him to shape the communities under his care. These values were in many instances diametrically different from those generally shaping the world of antiquity.

4.5.4 Boundaries were porous
Entry into the Christian group/s was made either through Judaism (pagan first converted to Judaism) or directly from paganism into the ‘new’ community of faith. The ritual of initiation was important — baptism and the accompanying statement of faith (eg in Gal 3:27-28). Associated with this ritual was the imagery of ‘putting on
new clothes." It appears that certain new converts were not always conversant with Pauline requirements of monotheism and attempted to assimilate Christianity with other cults rather than relinquishing ‘old’ ways as Paul required them to do. Meeks (1993:18) also maintains that: ‘our earliest extant Christian writing wants to root the moral sensibilities of its readers in their consciousness of having turned around.’ Among converts were ‘God-fearers’ (1 Tm 2:10) who were attracted to Judaism (or the Christian expression of such a group). They simply assimilated the God of the Jews into their existing pantheon.

Similarly, thinking that the God of the Jews was like the god of the other nations, they added him to their pantheon. They observed the Sabbath...They frequented the synagogues of the Jews much as they would the temples of other foreign gods. (Cohen 1987:56).

Some also left Christianity and returned to their old ways (1 Tm 1:20).

4.5.5. Group identity in terms of fictive kinship
Unlike modern Western society, which is individualistic, the ancient Mediterraneans maintained a group identity (Malina 1993:89-101). The group/s did not name themselves except possibly as ἄνδρα (Ac 9:2; 18:25; 19:9;) but identified each other in terms of kinship references.

4.5.6 Roles within the Christian organisation were given to women
The early church met in households and as the sphere of influence, the preparation of food and similar household chores belonged to the wife and many servants, it is likely that women played a significant part in the administration of the household and consequently the synagogue on a daily basis. In addition serving roles were accorded high esteem in Christian circles.

62 Neyrey (1991:283) points out the importance of the ‘map’ of the body and its boundaries. Clothing constituted such a boundary and conveys gender classification (women should wear women’s clothing and men, men’s) it also identifies social locations (elite-non-elite). Refer to 1 Timothy 2:9 for Paul’s redefinition and reminder concerning not ‘showing off’ one’s status and distinctions.

63 For example the reference in 1 Tm 2:5-6 could well have been made to correct a lack of understanding.

64 ‘In antiquity, conversion as moral transformation of the individual is the business of philosophy rather than religion.’ This ‘turning’ from one way of life to another was neither easy nor instantaneous (Meeks 1993:23).

65 Malina & Neyrey (1991:92) maintain that the followers of the ‘way of Jesus’ were criticized for ‘abandoning the customs of their ancestors,’ thereby changing the halakah.
4.5.7 Groups in Ephesus interacted with a wider network
Jewish diasporic communities (Christianity included) '...provided a sense of belonging to a larger entity: Israel, the People of God, concretely represented by the land of Israel and the Temple in Jerusalem' (Meeks 1983:80). This was an attractive feature of both Judaism and Christianity and provided a sense of identity which extended beyond local confines of Asia Minor.

4.5.8 A movement towards 'emancipation' or more freedom for women was a feature in Ephesus
It was a notable feature of Asian society that women, especially on the west coast, appeared to have more freedom and adopted a more active role in public life. A comparison (from an etic perspective) of attitudes towards women and their activities in various Mediterranean first century ethnic groups, will show that restrictive, oppressive, misogynistic features of Judaism were in the process of being eroded in Ephesus.

4.5.9 Excursus: Further elaboration of above aspects
Women were actively involved in serving, teaching and leadership roles in Christian circles.

- Some groups of women with a background of the Artemis cult had not become sufficiently re-socialised or accepting of the exclusivity of Christianity (regarding the worship of the Jewish god) as opposed to the inclusivity practised among pagans. Therefore, they brought from this background, ideas, beliefs, practices as well as certain myths (which they also taught to other women, perhaps with a more Jewish background) into the Christian 'family'. However, Paul decided that these beliefs were not part of Christian beliefs. It is presumed that the teachings in question had something to do with Eve as the primal source or the originator of man, and the debate as to whether a woman (or female deity) had more importance than a man (or male deity).

- The constant asseveration of supremacy that is vehemently stated by certain partners referred to in Acts and the question of salvation during childbirth (1 Tm 2:12-15) must be borne in mind.

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66 In the past many scholars have emphasised the creation of an identity 'vis-à-vis' the Jews. However, scant attention has been given to the shaping of this new identity with reference to pagan cults. Moxnes (1980:7):
The rise of the Christians as a group with their own identity, separate from the synagogue, produced in the New Testament writings a re-examination of the relationship between God and Israel. We must understand this process in terms of a struggle for identity in a period of crisis, first of all for Christian Jews, but to some extent also for non-Christian ones.
There are also undertones particularly with respect to references ἱσυχία and αἰδούς (1 Tm 2:9-12) that certain women were introducing noisy, perhaps even orgiastic elements into the Judaistic cult.

In the light of this, Paul in his authority and through the stamp of approval of his designate, young Timothy, establishes a model of how Christians, especially women, and rich women in particular, ought to behave.

The injunctions to silence (however, not to an abstinence from all teaching activity) should be regarded in this light.

The organisation of the community/ies was founded on kinship patterns based on the inverse of the established hierarchical patriarchal structure.
5.1 The description of inter-group dynamics which resulted in the origination of the Christian communities in Ephesus

5.1.1 Introduction
The aim of this chapter is to show how within the newly defined Christian communities there was a change in the relative position of women in their relationship to men, which differed from the status of women prevailing in the rest of Ephesian society. Asia Minor was cosmopolitan and women from a variety of different cultures lived side by side. Residents of longer standing in Asia Minor would have become Hellenised, then Romanised and often Judaised and then Christianised. Obviously, there were those who moved straight from a non-Jewish background into Christianity. This culture was thus the product of successive influences from Judaism, Hellenisation and Romanisation.

5.2 Deciding on an appropriate model to interpret the socio-cultural situation in Ephesus in the first century

5.2.1 Reasons for using a social-scientific model
The most important reasons for selecting a social scientific model in conjunction with the literary-communicative model are due to the following:

- other scientific disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, archaeology can be utilised;
- the text of 1 Timothy refers to social relations between groups of Jews/Gentiles; males/females; slaves/masters with a special emphasis on kinship relations;
- the text is used as a vehicle for transmitting codes of conduct and functions as a mechanism for shaping society;
- knowledge about the social system is required to determine 'the meaning communicated by these alien texts.' (Elliott 1993:11)

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1 Meeks (1983:6) concurs that 'society is viewed as a process, in which personal identity and social forms are mutually and continuously created by interactions that occur by means of symbols.'
it could facilitate avoiding the risk of anachronistic and ethnocentric readings;

- Elliott (1993:11) maintains that the conventional historical critical method is insufficient used by itself (cf 2.4.5) and must be 'outfitted with a social-analytic capacity';

- by using such a model an attempt is made to answer the question about how Pauline attitudes, expectations, values and beliefs contributed to the redefinition of a Jewish group (namely Christianity);

- it is also possible that the '...self-understandings, strategies, and commitments of the early Christians (particularly women) in their social contexts provide models and motivation for believers today....' (Elliott 1993:13).

5.2.2 The theory underlying a social-scientific model

Social-scientific criticism studies not only the social aspects of form and content but also the 'conditioning factors' and 'intended consequences' of the 'communication process'. An integration of the text's linguistic, literary, theological and social dimensions are both a 'response' and a 'reflection' of the socio-cultural context (Elliott 1993:7). Therefore the term social-scientific analysis (used by Van Staden & Van Aarde 1991) is preferred. The sociological approach selected by Elliott (1981:1-5) undertakes 'a fresh interdisciplinary approach in order to articulate some unresolved issues'. In addition to the usual introductory matters he focuses on the 'socioreligious [italics- H D C] strategy and its contribution to the consolidation, theology and ideology' of the Christian movements reflected in 1 Peter. The task as he sees it is: '[T]he interpretation of the biblical literature as products and reflections of a dynamic social process, of socioreligious movements.'

Major presuppositions include the following: 'All knowledge is socially conditioned and perspectival....' (Elliott 1993:36). There is no such thing as 'complete objectivity'. This method also takes cognisance of the differences between the interpreter and the author and text and involves all factors which might influence the group in terms of their socialisation, experiences, frameworks and view of reality including factors of gender, age, ethnic roots, class roles, status, education, occupation, group membership and other social features. The text2 provides 'emic' data which is interpreted according to 'etic' terminology and philosophy. It is acknowledged that, although we are working with 'emic' data, the explanations will adopt 'etic' categories. For the actual choice of theory and development for this dissertation, refer to Chapter Four.

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2 Although there remains no substantial literary corpus from Jews in Asia Minor, Jewish inscriptions and archaeological evidence provide us with:

...direct access to people in their contexts, to the language they used and to what they did, thought and valued, which is often information we cannot get from any other source (Trebilco 1991:2).
5.2.3 Different approaches\(^3\) — relational/gradational; conflict/functional networks and world-views

Some difficulty exists in finding an appropriate model. Scholars (such as Kidd 1990:45-49) advocate the use of a *relational approach* to class analysis rather than the division of society into ‘...horizontal boundaries which separate one class from another’.

Meeks (1983:7) ‘...assumes the position of a "moderate functionalist."' He also opts for a *'gradational model'* of social status, which in antiquity would have been multi-dimensional and interactive and would have included such aspects as ‘power, occupational prestige, income or wealth, education and knowledge, religious and ritual purity, family and ethnic group position and local community status’.

It is doubted whether a comprehensive theory incorporating all the relevant factors will be found (Theissen 1992:257-278). The latter suggests the use of three different perspectives: phenomenological, integration and conflict. Many scholars opt for a conflict theory, both manifest and latent, and they endeavour to show that society is about the distribution of resources, for example the distribution of power, property and education. This could also be labelled a ‘*conflict and functional theory*’ which also focuses on the competing groups, interests and discontents (Neyrey 1991:153).

There is also the possibility of a *network* theory proposed by White (1992:30-33). As an example, he uses the social transformation of Jews and Christians into a Roman urban environment. He concludes that when ‘interlinkages’ occur it necessitates the discarding of ‘certain cultural symbols’ and the acquisition or ‘synthesis of new ones out of the existing stock’. The result of this may proceed to the level of a ‘cultural world-view shift’. This shift can be seen in the difference between the traditional attitudes of Jews\(^4\) towards women and the modified Ephesian/Christian views of women.

The social scientific model selected for the purpose of the present analysis dissertation bears a resemblance to the aforesaid, in that the different *world-views* within Pauline Christianity, are seen as the symbolic world which created ‘anti-structures’. These ‘anti-structures’ are the inverse of existing ‘structures’ within certain segments of society, for example, within Judaism in Ephesus in the first century. In this case vertical boundaries are used to indicate that women within different cultural milieu may have experienced life in a different way from their counterparts from other cultural backgrounds (cf 5.4 for more extensive treatment).

\(^3\) The following social-scientific theoretical approaches indicate some of the possibilities that one could opt for. These are used and understood by different theorists. Brief reference is made to some of the main proponents of these approaches.

5.2.4 The movement between various religious groups

5.2.4.1 Jews and Christians in Ephesus

By the middle of the third century, Rabbinic Judaism and Catholic Christianity had emerged with more or less separate identities from a common source. How and why did these developments occur and at what stage did the rupture between Jews and Christians take place? In the light of the socio-cultural evidence presented, it is suggested that towards the end of the first century CE Christianity in Ephesus, was hardly recognisable as distinct from Judaism. Moxnes (1980:7) observed this by stating:

We are becoming more aware of how slow and gradual was the process in which small Christian groups were cut off from the mainstream of Jewish communities and developed a new set of group-commitments.

According to Evans (1992:169), several Graeco-Roman authors provide insight into how those outside the church viewed Christianity. In the search for an understanding of Christian self-definition, Horsley (1992:122) is of the opinion that Christians could not have been ‘visible to non-Jewish outsiders as anything other than a charismatic Jewish group.’

A study of Christianity in its Pauline form amid a diversity of other forms, is possible due to the preservation of Acts and many of Paul’s letters to the churches in Western Asia Minor and beyond. These letters contain references to rituals, rules, admonitions and common beliefs and address specific issues pertaining to the congregation in Ephesus (Meeks 1983:7).

5.2.4.2 Judaism, Christianity and other cults

Taking into account the variety of influences from the surrounding cultures, an important question concerns the predominant nature of Christianity prevalent in Ephesus. Horsley (1992:158) provides a ‘systematic treatment’ of the background to Ephesus which should aid reconsideration of the question of whether it was a Gentile expression of Christianity or a Jewish one which predominated?

Paul’s reference to ‘God-fearing’ women (1 Tm 2:10) indicates the presence of Gentile women in the congregation/s in Ephesus. Whether Jews or Gentiles pre-

5 Evans refers to the following examples: Tacitus who alluded to ‘the active opposition and persecution of the Jewish religious authorities’; Suetonius who referred to Christians who were expelled from Rome as ‘Jews’ and Pliny who described various Christian beliefs and the practice of meeting together at dawn.

6 Meeks (1983) states that the identification of the Pauline form of Christianity is easier due to the New Testament writings. Fiorenza (1990:104-157) perceives Christianity (the Jesus movement) as a renewal within Judaism.
dominated is not really the issue here; what is important is that both groups significantly contributed to the shaping of a new identity.

5.3 The socio-cultural situation in Ephesus in the first century in the light of Turner’s theory of structures and anti-structures

5.3.1 Introduction
Turner (1969:94) observes that some religions, including Christianity, seem to assume the appearance of permanent states of transition. Scholarship has generally not taken cognisance of this ‘liminal and marginal phenomena’ of social processes and the cultural dynamics associated with it (Turner 1978:2). Turner cites the French folklorist and ethnographer, Van Gennep, as the pioneer in this field of sociology.

Three stages or phases mark the social progress of an individual or group from a fixed state\structure, which is relatively stable, through a mediatory phase (the liminal phase) to a third phase which marks a culmination of the process. The middle phase or liminal state is identified with the state of first century Christianity in this dissertation. The liminal state has very few attributes of either the past or coming state. Turner (1978:2) identifies liminality as a feature of all ‘decisive cultural change’. In Turner’s studies of African tribes, particularly the Ndembu, he is convinced that symbolic inversion of social roles, the mirror-imaging of normative secular paradigms, occurs. It is not unusual that when a root paradigm which has prevailed for considerable period of time is challenged then ‘we tend to find the prolific generation of new experimental models — utopias, new philosophical systems’ and similar radical innovative patterns of behavior [footnote — H D C].

The root paradigm in this case could be seen to be the system of Judaism/s prevailing in the Ancient Near East in the first century.

In comparing the ‘rites of passage’ from one stage to another, Turner identifies certain similarities between tribal societies in terms of rituals such as baptisms, but notes that an ‘obvious difference’ between tribal religions and ‘historical’ religions was the pattern of seclusion from society. In early Christianity, for example, instead of total physical seclusion, a comparative seclusion in terms of the neophyte’s total life-

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7 His work may be considered outdated as he bases his work on Arnold van Gennep (1909) and Lévi-Strauss (1964; 1967). His definition of societal groups nevertheless remains useful.

8 Turner (1979:148) defines this as a ‘...consciously recognised (though not consciously grasped) cultural model for behavior that exists in the heads of the main actors....’ Therefore Paul is shaping a new root paradigm contrary to that which previously existed.
style was involved. Turner (1978:4) reflects that monastic orders also showed a pattern of seclusion during their liminal period. The hypothesis under discussion is that Christians in Ephesus were told by Paul that they were in a spatially distinct place which was separate from the world — 'in Christ' or the 'household of God'. Though physically located in a house, there was also the implication that there was, or would be, a supra-temporal supra-spatial existence as a group.

The entry into this liminal state was marked by a 'rite of passage' through rituals such as baptism. A feature of this state which is clear in a reaction to strong patriarchal societies such as Judaism, is that in the liminal period '...neophytes are treated as being neither male nor female'. In this state there is a distinct lack of status, property, rank, distinctions in clothing, kinship ranking or anything which might cause them to distinguish between their fellow neophytes (Turner 1967:99). Paul's reference to women's gaudy clothing may be seen in these terms. He requires that no 'badges' of wealth or status such as expensive clothes or elaborate hairstyles may be worn.

In Roman Asia Minor many different levels of 'superordination' and 'subordination', privileges and obligations existed. The features of such ranks can be discerned in the characteristics of structures referred to in 5.4.

Although the liminal community was presided over by 'ritual elders' who represented in their persons the 'total community' and whose authority could not be questioned, equality existed among the members (Turner 1967: 100). This situation (of authority figures) may be compared to the type of relationship that existed between Paul (and perhaps Timothy) and the congregation in Ephesus. It consisted of an 'elder' group and ordinary neophytes who were not always obedient (Hymeneus and Alexander).

The relationships between the neophytes themselves were equal. Their status transcended distinctions of rank, age, kinship position and sex.

In his use of the term 'anti-structure', Turner (1979:40) includes aspects of both liminality and communitas. Another feature of this state was liberation and freedom from normative constraints of society. This lack of restraint may have been a part of the contingency addressed by Paul as women in particular began to exercise their newly found freedom.

Turner (1979:4) indicates that in this state the group was acutely aware of its identity. In fact a 'moment' existed when the neophyte recognised the interface between the new status and the old and consequently negated, suspended or abrogated it. Turner (1979:76) expands on Dilthey's reference to Weltanschauung, a dynamic model which consists of three aspects: firstly, a body of knowledge concerning group beliefs about their world and secondly, 'a set of value judgements' which expresses the

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9 This was a mechanism or a phase in the social process whereby groups adjusted to internal change and adapted to their external environment. It is associated with social transition (Turner 1979:13).
way the adherents must conform to their world. Is this perhaps what Paul sets out to achieve in his letter to Timothy? These two previous aspects culminate in the third which is the development of new social codes of behaviour and ideals. It is this Weltanschauung which provides meaning for life (Turner 1979:78).

Turner (1979:106-107) has listed characteristics of the structure (state) and anti-structure (transition). Those characteristics pertinent to the Christian-Judaic society in Ephesus in the first century are identified as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRANSITION</th>
<th>STATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>communitas</td>
<td>structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>equality</td>
<td>inequality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absence of property</td>
<td>property</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absence of status</td>
<td>status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uniform clothing</td>
<td>distinction in clothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minimization of sex differences</td>
<td>maximization of sex difference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absence of rank</td>
<td>distinctions in rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no distinctions in wealth</td>
<td>distinctions of wealth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silence</td>
<td>speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suspension of kinship rights and obligations</td>
<td>kinship rights and obligations continue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Petersen (1985) based his model of 'anti-structures' on that of Turner (1969) whose study of social anthropology with its focus on African tribes, highlights this transition phase of departure from one world into another or from one phase of development into another. He refers to a 'liminal state' in which it would appear that religions such as Christianity, Hinduism and others are transfixed in a permanent state of liminism or transition.

5.3.2 Evidence of liminal or transitional status in Paul’s letters
Evidence of a dissolution of distinctions can be found in Paul's letters to the Galatians 3:28 and 1 Corinthians 12:12-13. Both these references occur in conjunction with the baptismal ritual which is the 'initiatory rite' of entry into the Christian world — the Church. All believers were considered 'sons' or the 'children' of God after baptism 'into Christ'.

Turner (1969:167) identifies two main types of liminality: Firstly, rituals of status elevation '...in which the ritual subject or novice is being conveyed irreversibly from a lower to a higher position in an institutionalised system of such positions'.

10 Groups or persons occupying low status positions are encouraged to exercise 'ritual authority' over their superiors: and they, in turn, must accept the degradation (Turner 1969:167).
rituals of status reversal which are often associated with '....robust verbal and nonverbal behavior, in which inferiors revile and even physically maltreat superiors....' He (1969:183) elaborates further by noting that '[o]ther rituals of status reversals involve the supersession by women of masculine authority and roles.' (Refer to 6.3.2 for possible indications of this in 1 Timothy).

Turner (1969:188-189) also claims that such rites may be found '...in religions of wider than tribal scope, especially during periods of rapid and unprecedented social change....' Christianity was a religion which, in its interface with existing structures, groups of individuals underwent status elevation. Life 'in Christ' may be regarded as a 'liminal' phase which was a preparation for a higher level of existence, for example, awaiting the return of Christ.

Turner's empirical anthropological investigation into properties of African ritual, in particular the Ndembu tribe, demonstrates that the modern anthropologist can probably shed light on some of the more cryptic phenomena of religion in a pre-literate or ancient society such as Ephesus.

5.4 Structures

5.4.1 Introduction

Using Turner's theory of structures and anti-structures as a model for viewing society in the first century, an examination of particular structures of the society with particular reference to women will be attempted.

It is borne in mind that the geographical focus is Asia Minor. Unfortunately, the researchers which are used as a source of data either focus on communities in Rome, Athens or Jerusalem. It is construed that these influences pervaded the society, particularly Ephesus, in Asia Minor. Asia Minor was a thriving cosmopolitan centre where travellers from East, West, North and South converged. Travelling teachers, philosophers, merchants and other itinerents would have contributed to this enculturation process. In addition, although the level of literacy was not high, there is no doubt that literature also shaped the views, ideas and way of life of individuals and groups.

Chronologically it might appear that Jewish influences would have occurred first, due to early Jewish dispersions. It is likely that a large and established Jewish presence existed in Ephesus. The extent of the links which Ephesian Jewish communities had with Jerusalem cannot be ascertained. Probably Jewish communities differed from one locality to another. In spite of this chronological precedence over other cultures, Judaism will be placed last in order to contrast more vividly this structure with the anti-structure which emerged from its matrix.

Sources used for the purpose of describing such structures are limited to those which shed light on certain aspects of women's lives. The purpose is to assess women's relative status (to men) and their worth or recognition by society.
It will become evident that all strands of Asia Minor society had to a greater or lesser degree the following features: inequality as women were not granted equal status in either civic affairs or domestic decisions. Negative attitudes prevailed especially in Judaism. Society was patriarchal. Polygamy, exclusion from cultic activities, misogynistic attitudes and 'chattel' status all contributed to the diminished status of women in Judaism.

It is not the intention of this dissertation to provide exhaustive background information on these cultures. These are specialised fields of study and require more attention than this limited survey and analysis.

The following description of women in Judaism, Hellenism and Romanism attempts to assess women's status in society as reflected by their degree of social mobility and prevailing societal attitudes concerning their worth. It must be recognised that these descriptions rely on a few major works only (Balsdon 1962; Oster 1990; Neusner 1975; Swidler 1976; Tcherikover 1974; Trebilco 1991). These authors assimilated their information from various first century authors. Therefore, it should be borne in mind that their interpretation of these texts and the writings themselves may reflect an etic, eclectic and often anachronistic point of view. Yet I have used this information to create an understanding of what may have constituted the nature of the structures in society which led to the creation of anti-structures.

5.4.2 Women in Hellenism
5.4.2.1 The household

The polis was composed of many individual oikoi. The oikos was the most significant social structure of Hellenism. Greeks society was and is hierarchical and the master of the oikos was the head of the family or kyrios. However, women could in the absence of their husbands, on account of either death or military service, look after men's property though they could not own anything themselves. It was exceptional that Spartan women could dispose of the husband's property in the absence of their husbands. Due to women's inability to own property, households very often supported a number of older widows.

Communities were composed of kinship groups and family honour was of vital importance.

The oikos also included outsiders, either slaves who were quickly assimilated into the family, or visitors. A 'rite' of entry into the household for both slaves and a new bride included the ceremony where the new arrival was showered with dried fruit and nuts (Lacey 1968:15-30).

Webster (1973:53) concludes that a wife's chief contact with the world outside the home came through both the duties of her sons or her husband as well as religious activities. Associated with such festivals were the symposia where songs and discussions involved the whole household. This feature provided evidence in Webster's
(1973:56-57) estimation of the spread of culture between ‘rich and poor, citizen and foreigner, male and female, free and slave’.

5.4.2.2 Cultic activities
Aspects of the religious climate were already discussed in Chapter Four. We will now look at the activities of women within the cult.

Not only were women active in the cults of women and goddesses but also in cults where male deities were worshipped. Men were often excluded from the mystery plays, agricultural and fertility rituals and women usually led the procession even if a male overseer was present. An example is the cult of Despoina where women had access to the cult all year while men could enter only once a year.

However, there were a number of activities and places from which women were barred, for example, the oracle at Delphi and the cult of Hercules. The Olympic games, for instance, was only open to maidens and not married women. Yet there were other religions particularly the mystery religions, and Eleusian, Dionysian and Andanian mysteries, where women not only took part but also performed priestly services. A woman’s primary means of contact with the outside world was through participation in the religious activities of the cult. At seven years old she could carry the mystical box; at ten she could assist with the preparation of the goddess cakes, and at fifteen carry the sacred basket (Witherington 1988:8).

5.4.2.3 Marriage and divorce
Witherington (1988:6) concludes that it is not possible to generalise about the status of women in Athens because there were three categories of women: citizens, concubines, and companions. The concubine’s position was midway between wife and companion and her position was protected by law. Her main function was to care for the male’s personal (especially sexual) needs. Companions were more than just sexual partners; they had to be well-versed in the arts and philosophy. They had few civic rights but enjoyed a great deal of social freedom and access to education.

Marriage in classical Greek times was monogamous (this was an advantage over Judaism where polygamy was frequently practised) and the husband was subject to a penalty if he committed adultery. The bride was given away by both the father and the mother. Athenian women were married at the age of fifteen or sixteen years old (Witherington 1988:6-10). Once married, the woman was confined to live in a separate

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11 Witherington (1988:11) quotes evidence that ‘...a young girl served as an official in a temple of Poseidon....’ which he considers noteworthy because women were usually administrants in the cults of goddesses only.

12 Okorie (1988:28) quotes Aristotle, Politics VII xiv 4-6, and states that the prime age for men was thirty-seven and eighteen for women. The later age for men was probably attributable to the ten year military training period.
CHAPTER 5: WORLD BEYOND THE TEXT...CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES

Guarded chamber. Witherington maintains that they were valued solely for their ability to produce heirs and shown very little love by their husbands. They exchanged the patriarchal control of the father for that of the husband and in the case of dissolution of marriage, a woman reverted back to the guardianship of her male relatives.

In Hellenism the woman retained the right over her dowry in the event of divorce. Both partners could initiate divorce. Divorce for either party was permissible on the grounds of infidelity. However a woman could be divorced on the grounds of childlessness.

5.4.2.4 Education

Inscriptions indicate that ‘...women were not as ignorant as they are often portrayed....’ (Sigountos & Shank 1983:283-295). There were ‘special magistrates concerned with the education of women’.

During the Hellenistic period, education for girls became more prevalent. Yet, Okorie (1988:29) points out that it was the responsibility of the older, more educated husband to ‘train’ or ‘teach’ his young wife. Swidler (1976:18-19) provides the following data to show that women were more educated:

* In Hellenistic Egypt there were more women who could sign their name than men.
* The Hellenistic novel was written for the female reading population.
* Plato’s writings argued in favour of equality for women with men. At least two female disciples of Plato were known.
* Theophrastus, a follower of Aristotle, also had a female disciple as well as a female opponent.
* Women played a prominent role in the school of Epicurus as disciples and as teachers (343-270 B C E). However, Aristotle (the pupil of Plato) had a more negative view about women and argued that ‘women should take a subordinate position.’

13 Lacey (1968:159) agrees that women were protected to an unreasonable degree and lived in the strictest seclusion.
14 Witherington (1988:11) quotes Pseudo-Demosthenes: ‘Mistresses (κτιατρογε) we keep for the sake of pleasure, concubines (παλλακκας) for the daily care of our person, but wives to bear us legitimate children and to be faithful guardians of our households.’ Due to the importance of children for maintenance of family structure, a son was under a strong obligation to marry and have children (Lacey 1968:15-30).
15 In view of the situation of women in Athens, Witherington (1988:7) provides the classic quote from Thales who was grateful ‘...that I was born a human being and not a beast, next a man and not a woman, thirdly, a Greek and not a barbarian.’
16 Dowries consisted of cash or real estate valued in cash (Lacey 1968:109).
The Stoic philosophers promoted the status of women. They stressed the worth of the individual woman as well as the need for her education and strict monogamy as well as the 'notion of marriage as a spiritual community of two equals.'

5.4.2.5 Legal and civic status
The polis was a male-dominated association where men made all the decisions affecting the community (Boardman 1991:201). It was characteristically composed of predominantly all-male groups, associations and clubs. Women had very little say in the affairs of Athenian society.

However, an Athenian female citizen could not be considered a valid witness in Athenian courts (Witherington 1988:9). Witherington (1988:11) postulates that:

...it is likely that most Grecian women compared favorably to Jewish women in Tannaitic times, they compared poorly in status and position to women of neighboring Macedonia, Asia Minor and Egypt.

Women in Macedonia were better off than their counterparts in Athens. They had cities named after them, and were sometimes given the honour of 'inheritable civic rights'. Evidence of this has been obtained from inscriptions. Cities were often named after wives because their husbands admired them. Some women founded clubs and participated in social organisations. Women here functioned as both 'politarchs' and 'wage-earners'. The popularity of Hellenistic queens also '...had an influence on Macedonian women who were not of royal blood,...' (Witherington 1988:13).

Swidler (1976:13-15) points out the important influence of queens, princesses and other royal women of the Hellenistic courts. An indication of the increase in status of women was the address of a woman as 'lady' (kyria). In Latin the terminology used was dominus and domina.

In Hellenistic circles, married women were quite likely to attend social gatherings and sports events. Women pursued music as a profession or a craft similar to that of their husbands, such as goldsmith. Some travelled around the country and gave recitations. Many women were poets and physicians.

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17 The sources cited include *Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae, Inscriptiones Graecae* (Witherington 1988:12)
5.4.2.6 Summary and conclusions
Undoubtedly, most Greek women continued in their traditional roles without education or mobility, yet Macedonian women were no longer restricted. This had a great effect on Asia Minor and Egypt as Hellenisation continued to spread to the East.

Boardman (1991:205) reflects a somewhat different picture from that mentioned above. He maintains that the family served as a means of protecting and enclosing a woman and that they could not own property, apart from personal jewelry and personal slaves. They were protected by males at all times. The only property a woman had access to was her dowry; then even that did not belong to her and was transferred to her male heirs on her death. She could become a ‘carrier’ or heiress but this held threats for her as she could be claimed by another male so that he could receive her inheritance. Such disputes could also lead to her being taken from her husband (Boardman 1991:206).

However, Swidler (1976:17) maintains that even as early as the third century BCE some women were able to initiate a wide range of ‘legal actions, civil, penal, and administrative — without a kyrios.’ He goes on to account for this difference in status between classical Athenian society and Hellenistic society; the former retained patriarchy while the latter had become much more individualistic.

5.4.3 Women and Romanisation

5.4.3.1 Influence of Etruscan women
Swidler (1976:22) quotes Heurgon (1964) when he proposes that behind the culture of Rome was the extraordinarily developed culture of the Etruscans which accorded women pre-eminence. The Etruscan women enjoyed male company and reclined at banquets alongside men, attended dances, concerts, sports events, and even presided at boxing matches, chariot races and acrobatic displays. He mentions that his evidence is gained not only from paintings and epitaphs where the metronymic often receives a prominent place but also from Etruscan tombs where women are buried in a pre-eminent position.

5.4.3.2 The household
The Roman woman was mistress in her own household and shared the responsibility of the religious cult with her husband. In the home matrons were solely responsible for running the household which involved assigning tasks to the servants, organising food at the market and supervising the children’s education. They were expected to spin and weave clothing for their families. It is likely that the husband was absent from the home for long periods while in the army which left his wife in sole charge (Balsdon 1962:59).

In spite of this we must remember that a woman remained under the control of her husband. In ancient Rome the authority of the Roman father exceeded that of the
Jewish father as he had power even over the life and death of the females in his family. For instance he had the right to slay or expose female infants at their birth. In the period of the Republic he made arrangements for their marriage and literally ‘...sold the daughter to the husband....’ (Witherington 1988:17-19).

5.4.3.3 Cultic activities
State supported religions included the Vestal Virgins and the oriental cults such as the Isis and Eleusinian mysteries. The different cults18 catered for the different stages of a woman’s life (Witherington 1988:19-20). These were used by Rome ‘...to promote socially desirable behavior’. In his social reforms Augustus promoted those cults which encouraged chastity, childbearing19, and fidelity. Another possible motive for the promotion of the cults was to ‘eliminate public and private situations where women were independent of men’. If this was a motive of Augustus, we can detect a counter movement in the thrusts for emancipation of women.20

It is also suggested by Witherington (1988:21) that Roman men feared the cults of Isis in particular as, unlike the traditional cults which were designed to promote the needs of the state, these cults promised healing, blessing, understanding and sympathy thereby meeting the religious and emotional needs of women. In addition, women were encouraged to participate as priestesses; previously only the cults of Vesta and Ceres had involved priestesses; in limited roles. Isis benefitted the lower classes most of all as they were given the same status as others and equal status with men as can be seen by a number of inscriptions. The following remark by Witherington (1988:22) is very pertinent:

It is certainly more than a coincidence that the rise of the cult of Isis in the later Republic period coincided with the increase in women’s liberation in Rome. It is likely that these two trends fostered and furthered each other, and it was perhaps in reaction against this that Augustus undertook his ill-fated attempts at moral and religious reform. [Italics — H D C].

Vestal Virgins presided over a number of important religious ceremonies of the State. So, for example, Balsdon (1962:235) informs us that duties of the Vestal Virgins

18 There were cults for young girls, pregnant mothers’ cults to encourage marital fidelity among women (Valerus Maximus) and cults for prostitutes who worshipped a god of sexual relations.
19 It is possible, therefore, that a low birth rate was an important cause for concern throughout the Roman Empire. 1 Tm 2:15 refers to provision of protection from the dangers of childbirth (cf 6).
20 Witherington (1988:20) cites Dio Cassius for the assertion that the attraction of the traditional cults was fading and the influx of Eastern religions such as Isis, Serapis, Cybele and Attis was providing new religious roles for women.
included ensuring that the sacred fire\textsuperscript{21} in the temple of Vesta never went out. In addition, the virginity of the Vestal Virgins was considered politically important for the welfare of the State. They were elected approximately once every five years. One out of twenty candidates was chosen by lot. They were aged between six and ten years. Both their parents had to be alive at the time of election by the Pontifex Maximus. Daughters of the noblest families alone were eligible until Augustus lowered the social qualification when he admitted the daughters of freedmen in 5 C E. The child was committed to thirty years of virginity.\textsuperscript{22}

Vestals owned property and had certain power and privileges not granted to other women, for example, they could remit the sentence of a prisoner. They were considered so trustworthy that they were entrusted with important documents for safe keeping.

There were cults from which women were excluded such as the public sacrifice to Hercules. Equally there were religious ceremonies from which men were excluded like the cult of the Bona Dea (Balsdon 1962:243).

Increased 'trade and contact with the East also introduced oriental religions, particularly the cults of the Syrian goddess of Isis and Mithras and, in due course, Christianity.\textsuperscript{23} In contrast with Roman religion, they had the attraction of mysticism and hope and a new personal and spiritual significance (Balsdon 1962:246):

The new deities were intimately concerned with the personal life of the individual, unlike the Roman gods, who were like powerful absentee landlords, from whom the best that you could hope was that they would leave you alone if you paid your rent correctly and at the proper time.

5.4.3.4 Marriage and divorce
Women did not receive the same status in Rome and Greece. But there were moves in Rome to improve the property rights of women and also to allow them to marry and

\textsuperscript{21} The fire was a symbol of the nourishment of the State and it was important that it never went out.

\textsuperscript{22} Hardy (1970:265) concludes that the virginity of the Vestals appears to have been valued as a means of preserving 'their semi-magical potency as daughters of the State rather than a form of ascetic devotion.' The Vestal Virgins were accorded a high status. He does not believe that it was necessarily a consequence that women would be granted importance simply because of the importance of female deities such as the cult of the Great Mother and Isis.

\textsuperscript{23} Prominent Roman women became converted to the Christian religion. Although Balsdon (1962:248) maintains that the earliest converts to Christianity came from the lower social classes, there were at the very least, two women of distinction who were converts not to Judaism but to Christianity. One of them, Pomponia Graecina, was the wife of Aulus Pautius, commander of the force which invaded Britain.
divorce on their own initiative. The formalities of engagement were conducted between
the future husband or if he was too young, by his father or tutor and the father or
 guardian of the girl. Arranged marriages necessary for the bearing of children were
 important for the survival of the society. In the second century BCE there was evidence
 of a falling birth-rate coupled with high infant mortality which impelled Rome to
 introduce measures to reward families producing children. A hundred years or more
 before the end of the Republic women rebelled against a marriage system in which they
 were fettered to their husbands, unable to throw off the chains. ‘They rebelled, too,
 against a senseless austerity...Women emancipated themselves’. They acquired
 liberty;... (Balsdon 1962:14) ‘[I]t is a thousand pities that there survives no woman’s
 record of her own outlook.... Few women wrote books and of the books written none
 has survived’ (Balsdon 1962:17).

 A husband who caught his wife in adultery might take ‘summary justice’ or return
 her to her father who presided over the family council which fixed her fate. When her
 husband divorced her, he kept a portion of her dowry. By Julian law, punishment
 consisted of banishment usually to separate islands for both parties. The wronged
 husband could retain only one-sixth of his wife’s dowry if there were no children and
 first had to divorce his wife before witnesses. The law did not allow the wife to initiate
 divorce even when her husband was the adulterer.

 5.4.3.5 Education
 The society of imperial Rome included many educated and capable women, who were
 knowledgeable in literature and current affairs. The matrons (not the younger women)
 were well educated. Romans saw the education of women not as an extravagance,
 but as a way to enhance a woman (Witherington 1988:18).

 The sources used did not refer frequently to the nature of education for women.
 Therefore, it is assumed that it was exceptional for women to be educated in the same
 manner as men. However, Balsdon (1962:272-273) includes the following in his
 treatment of women’s daily lives at home: many women were skilled conversationalists
 and were encouraged to talk quietly with restraint and to be well informed on the
 subject under discussion. A resonance of the injunction in 1 Tm 2:8-10 can be discerned; it was considered modest,
 appropriate behaviour for women to speak quietly.

 24 The age of marriage was twelve years for a girl and fourteen for a boy, though it was
 customary to wait for a couple of years particularly among the poorer classes in order to accumulate the
 necessary dowry. If a man was not married by twenty-five and a woman by the age of twenty, then they
could face severe penalties under Augustus.
 25 However, by the time of the Late Republic, a wife or her father (guardian) could also divorce
 her husband.
 26 Education ceased temporarily when a girl married, which was usually around the age of
 fourteen years. Boys went on to study philosophy and rhetoric for three or four additional years.
 27 A resonance of the injunction in 1 Tm 2:8-10 can be discerned; it was considered modest,
 appropriate behaviour for women to speak quietly.
encouraged to read current literature and to write their own. Sulpica was a gifted poetess from the time of Augustus. There were other female authors such as Balbilla.

5.4.3.6 Legal and civic status
Although women were not actively involved in civil and political life, they were actively involved behind the scenes and wielded power through their influence with their husbands and sons (Balsdon 1962:13).

Balsdon links the esteem or status of women to the Vestal Virgins and the participation of women as priestesses in the cults. He also, (patronisingly I consider) emphasised the importance of the civic duty in the bearing and rearing of children.

Although a woman had no legal personality, by the last fifty years of the Republic there was evidence to suggest that women wanted to move beyond the sphere of domesticity (Balsdon 1962:45). A woman was able to do this by sharing her husband or son's political career. Wives often accompanied their husbands on their imperial tours (Balsdon 1962:62).

Roman women were definitely in advance of their Greek and Egyptian counterparts, who had few political rights. We find the names of women who were running for office on the walls of Pompei. Women were involved in business and social life. 28 The women in Rome had more freedom than those of Greece who in turn had more freedom than those in the East (Swidler 1976:22-26).

Balsdon (1962:14) posits that although no woman ever ruled Rome, women were 'immensely powerful' behind the scenes. The main reason for the high profile of women in public life may be attributed to the Vestal Virgins who were an emblem of State morality and the fact that many wives of priests were priestesses in their own right. The most influential matrons appeared to be the wives of the emperors, for instance, Livia, the wife of Augustus, was renowned for her administrative abilities and her financial investments in property in Asia Minor.

5.4.3.8 Conclusions
From the above brief comparison between Roman women and women in the rest of the Roman Empire, Greece, Palestine and Asia Minor, it may be noted that Roman women had 'both more and less freedom' than women in other parts of the ancient Mediterranean. This would depend on which aspect of their life is used as a comparison. Balsdon (1962:282) concludes that women did not achieve complete equality with men as the sphere of influence of women did not extend beyond the inside of the home. Women were considered to lack the knowledge to deal with affairs beyond the home. It may be true that they had considerable power behind the scenes,

28 However, even if women were deeply involved in civic and legal affairs they were not allowed to vote or hold public office.
but they, nevertheless, did not compare favourably with their counterparts in Asia Minor who were able to hold political offices (Witherington 1988:18-23).

Although the majority were probably content to retain their roles of domesticity within the household, the society of imperial Rome included many women who were influential and educated. In fact wealthy women seem to have created problems for their husbands, as Plutarch’s comment illustrates: ‘All other men rule their wives; we rule all other men, and our wives rule us.’ Roman women wielded more political power than women in Greece or Palestine, yet the fact that they could not ‘sit on the throne’ or hold ‘elected office’, relegates their status below that of politically upper-class Macedonian or women in Asia Minor (Witherington 1988:18-23).

5.4.4 Women in Asia Minor

5.4.4.1 Introduction
The following description of women in Judaism, Hellenism and Romanism attempted to assess women’s status in society as reflected by their degree of social mobility and prevailing societal attitudes concerning the worth of women.

In a study of the status of women in Judaism, Hellenism and Romanism, the geographical focus, although not always specified, is usually the major cities and their environs (e.g. Jerusalem, Athens and Rome). The geographical focus of this study is Ephesus in Asia Minor. There is little doubt that the women of Asia Minor in the first century had firstly been influenced by Hellenism, and then to some perhaps lesser extent by Romanism. Jewish influence also played a role. The extent of such assimilation of cultures is indeterminable. It is posited that Asian women were a unique amalgam of these cosmopolitan forces — yet they remained distinctly Asian (from Asia Minor). Very little has been written about the everyday life of women in Asia Minor. The focus of most researchers has not gone beyond cultic life. Therefore this section concentrates on these two features only: cultic activities and public life.

5.4.4.2 Cultic activities
In Asia Minor women were granted more rights and prominence due to both the growth and spread of the cult of Isis into the region from Egypt and the Hellenisation of Asia Minor after Alexander the Great. This is reflected in the following: ‘I am Isis I am she whom women call goddess. I ordained that women should be loved by men; I brought wife and husband together and invented the marriage contract’ (Trebilco 1991:14).

Since this cult originated in Egypt, it was one manifestation of a general Egyptian ‘...attitude that a woman should be accepted as a man’s equal in most respects.’ Witherington (1988:13-16), Trebilco (1991:14) points out that this attitude is reflected
in the cult of Amon where women had offices and such a woman was called a 'god's wife'.

The primary deities in Asia were feminine. Maternal and fertility aspects featured prominently. Cultic statues emphasise features such as giving birth. The great mother goddess was considered supreme. She was given many different names while retaining the same characteristics. 'Ephesus stood as the bastion of feminine supremacy in religion' (Kroeger & Kroeger 1992:50-51). The cult of Artemis reigned supreme over Ephesus during the first three centuries of the Roman Empire. Oster's (1990) comprehensive study shows that even around 161 CE the Boule's legislation protected the sanctity of the Artemis cult and associated festivals. During festivals and holy days women who were usually confined to their households became actively involved in public processions and festivities. Artemis is referred to as the goddess who has 'lordship over supernatural powers' and was also acclaimed Kuria Zwteira and a heavenly goddess.

Although the Artemis religion was not forced on the people, it was the focus of everyday life. This cult and its activities epitomised the cultural and religious spirit of the city. The goddess owned land and water estates in the city's extensive territorium and the revenues were used in the upkeep of the cult. A board of management was responsible for the oversight of the temple and its sacrifices and festivals. The reason for the widespread influence of the Artemis cult throughout Asia was its 'political agenda for economic motives' rather than soliciting converts. Moxnes (1991:267) identifies similar tensions in Luke-Acts, a 'pressure' from the poor upon the wealthy and influential. The Artemis cult was sustained by the financial resources of its benefactors. Pressures upon such benefactors to contribute also to the 'Jewish cults' might have created tensions. A motive for Paul's travels included the collection of funds for the poor in Jerusalem.

Artemis' supporters were not expected to belong exclusively to their cult in the same way as Jews were. It was often politically, socially and economically expedient to align with other cults. By association with other deities those divine attributes that she

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29 He argues that evidence substantiates the hypotheses that Egyptian women were for the most part 'juridically equal to men'. In Egypt there were many cases where women were involved in buying and selling borrowing and lending, initiating divorces and paying taxes and petitioning the government for support (Witherington 1988:14).

30 Together with Artemis, Cybele and Isis, goddesses providing protection during childbirth, Paul claims similar salvation 'in Christ' (1 Tm 2:15).

31 This cult provided Ephesus with economic security, it was both a treasury and a tourist attraction (Kroeger & Kroeger 1992:54).

32 This board was called a synhedion and synagoge in the inscription.

33 In the discourse analysis it is evident that Paul also has an economic motive in writing 1 Timothy which is addressed to a group who would have had associations with this cult (cf 6.3.2).
did not possess could be borrowed and assumed. (Horsley 1992:155; Meyer & Sanders 1980:106; Rietzenstein 1978:184).

Arnold (1989:122) points out that very little attention has been paid to the impact which this cult could have had on the New Testament writings. He avers that the assumption that the Artemis cult had little influence on Christianity and its origination may be erroneous since his study on Ephesians shows how the author emphasised ‘powers’ as a reference to the domination of the Ephesian mind and spirit by the overbearing cultic activities of the city’s goddess, Artemis. The events in Acts 19:27 attest to the prominent influence she had on that society. Converts from the Artemis cult would be involved in magic and various mystery religions.

The main shrine of Artemis was in Ephesus but other cult centres were established. In her temple34 thousands of male and female persons served the goddess. On cultic statues, the front of her skirt was decorated with animals, rosettes and bees, which ‘...signified her dominion over childbirth, animal life, and fertility....’ (Kroeger & Kroeger 1992:70-72). The fertility promoting qualities of Artemis played an important part in the lives of women, ensuring their physical safety during childbirth. The falling birthrate coupled with high infant mortality compelled Rome to introduce measures that rewarded families producing children.

The emphasis on the fertility35 aspects of this cult is still debated among scholars due to the fact that the epithet ‘multi-breasted’ is found in polemical material only. It is very likely that fertility aspects played a significant role in a society where there was a low birth-rate and high incidence of infant mortality.

5.4.4.3 Public life

Asia Minor and the nearby isles resembled Macedonia more than Greece in the roles which were allowed women (Witherington 1988:13). Women were active in social, political and financial services to their cities. This is indicated by the inscriptions honouring them. Von Bremen (1983:225)36 observes that:

Women thus seem to have encroached upon the traditionally sacrosanct, male dominated sphere of public life and city politics.

Not only were they active in many spheres of public life37 in Asia Minor, they could attain the leading position of *strategos* within the city. Women were also involved in

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34 Her temple was one of the seven wonders of the ancient world.
35 This is significant in the light of Turner’s examination of the importance of fertility in the religious activities of the Ndembu tribe.
36 Witherington (1988:13-14) draws similar conclusions.
37 There is an interesting statue of a woman official in Ternossos.
the federations of cities which were responsible for the imperial cult and also discussed matters of general interest concerning the administration of the province. We also find one woman with the title of *Asiarch* which was the foremost title in Asia. Trebilco (1991:124) points out that the prominence of women was most noticeable on the West coast of Asia Minor, which would include Ephesus.

5.4.4.4 Conclusions
On the basis of Hippocrates, Philo and Gnostic literature, (Kroeger & Kroeger 1992:110-113) posit that the ancient world viewed ‘woman as the ultimate source of life’. In a first century commentary on Eve, it is related that Adam and Eve shared a divine element when they were ‘joined together as a being who is both male and female’ but only Eve retains the divine element after their separation. In addition, in the first century, not only was Eve venerated but also the serpent which became a religious symbol.

In addition, the prominence of women in Asia Minor was enhanced by the Artemis cult in Ephesus and similar cults such as that of Isis which were exclusively for women. This must have had an effect on the elevation of status for Ephesian women.

However, some women were assuming positions in society beyond their accepted domestic roles (raising children and managing a household). They also played a major part in the economy of Asia Minor. They were active in cultic associations, many of which were exclusively feminine. There was evidence of change in the social position of women especially among the more educated, elite sections of society.

Moxnes (1991:259) points out that, given the nature of the honour-shame society, it is certain that the question ‘Who is the greatest?’ would frequently have arisen (Lk 22:27; Ac 19:21-41).

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38 Although it is difficult to prove that the titles mentioned in inscriptions were more than honorary.

39 Hence Paul’s stance on the creation order and the defence of Adam’s significance (1 Tm 2:13-15).

40 Trebilco (1991:113-126) argues that the position and essential roles played by women in the ‘cults’ do not provide a basis for affecting the social position of women, since the ‘...organisation of the Jewish community was to some extent modelled on that of the Greek city or of the collegia’ rather than the cult. There appears to be ‘no necessary connection between the primacy of women in a religious cult, or the prevalence of the worship of goddesses and the actual political or social status of women’.

41 It is not surprising that Christianity with an egalitarian emphasis appealed to women who now sought equal association with men in cultic activities, which involved not only preparing meals but sharing them; and not only administration of their households but naturally administration of the Christian cult that became part of such a household. It is this egalitarian stance of Paul and Christians that Paul’s letters defend and clarify (cf 5.6.2.13).

42 Much debate could have ensued among recently converted Gentile women in Ephesus about the superiority of Artemis over Jesus Christ in the realm of salvation from dangers such as childbirth (cf 6.3).
Verner's (1983:67) conclusions are relevant here, namely that '...tensions related to the growing power and independence of women existed here as they did in Hellenistic Egypt.' He refers to Juvenal and Plutarch who, according to him, regard with 'suspicion and hostility' evidence of feminine emancipation in certain quarters.

Social tension in connection with the wife's role was a significant and widespread feature of household life in the early empire, and, in fact, had been a rather constant feature of household life since at least the middle of the Hellenistic period (Verner 1983:81).

It is concluded that among certain sections of the population women desired more active involvement in the wider society.

5.4.5 Women and Judaism

5.4.5.1 Introduction

The following facets of Jewish life are drawn from researchers who have focussed on life in Palestine. It is assumed that some of the information will apply to the distinctly Jewish communities in Ephesus.

5.4.5.2 Jews in Ephesus

Despite the paucity of material that emerges from inscriptions, references by Josephus indicate a large Jewish presence in Ephesus (Horsley 1992:122). Acts 18:19;26 and Acts 19:8 contain references to synagogues there.

There is little doubt that the temple of Artemis was the focal and dominant institution in Ephesus especially for her devotees. However, the Jewish community/ies assembled in synagogues. The possibility existed that synagogues, either in homes or elsewhere, had existed for several centuries and were responsible for controlling Jewish civic affairs as well as religious and educational functions. A diversity of forms of

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43 Ant 12.125; 126; 166-168; 172-3 cited by Horsley. Grabbe (1995:60) points out that Josephus allusions to Jewish citizenship was only propaganda as few Jews actually possessed it.

44 Rohrbaugh (1991:133) provides a model of an ancient pre-industrial city which indicates that only 5-7 percent of the population lived in cities and that two different population groups occupied it. The rich elite were in the centre while the non-elite occupied the outlying areas. He also makes the following assertion:

Few cities become prominent by virtue of religious importance alone; yet the religious, educational, and cultural systems of the city acted powerfully to integrate and legitimate the network of other functions the city performed.

45 It is not clear whether one or more synagogues are referred to.

46 Every social group was also a religious group. Associations were established around a variety of interests, political, military and sporting as well as professional, commercial activity, philosophy and religion (Meeks 1983:78-79).
Judaism, particular to the situation in Ephesus, would have developed. One of its forms was Christianity, an egalitarian, inclusive type of Judaism. It is possible that the different practices of the Christian synagogues would have caused consternation among those who were more traditionally inclined (Trebilco 1991:179).

Although Jews were classified as aliens by other compatriots, they were given special privileges and the organisation of their communities was recognised within the city. Few Jewish residents in Ephesus possessed Roman citizenship (Trebilco 1991:173). In the Ancient Near East at this time, the presence of aliens was not new, as societies were international and cosmopolitan. Tcherikover (1974:296-313) agrees that the appearance of groups of Jews did not disturb the framework of the existing society, and that it was not necessary to create novel political or religious organisations. In any case, it was normal for groups of foreigners to congregate around their own god or gods. The organisation of a politeuma was not political by nature but rather social, and posed no threat to the authorities. Nevertheless, consent for its establishment was required.

5.4.5.3 Special privileges
The Jewish community/ies in Ephesus were large and well-established. Trebilco (1991:1) refers to the decrees given in Jewish Antiquities 14 and 16. Josephus cites a number of documents which deal with Jewish rights and privileges.

Jewish communities could not exist in the Graeco-Roman world without the accordance of certain privileges. The privileges given to the Jews included the right to live in accordance with their ancestral laws. Other rights were also given, which included the right to build synagogues, to maintain independent courts of justice and to educate their youth and elect officials. In addition, Tcherikover (1974:306) ascertained that there was never an official document exempting Jews from worship of the gods. Although this was a unique privilege, it was impossible to legislate. One of the most important privileges was the permission to collect funds for distribution in Jerusalem. In a letter written by Agrippa to the citizens of Ephesus this money was to be regarded as 'sacred money' and anyone who stole it from the sanctuary would be liable to the death penalty. This lenience, on the part of the Romans, annoyed the Greeks as it involved large sums of money (Tcherikover 1974:305-308).

Trebilco (1991:8-13) adds that the Jews had the right to be organised as a community; to administer their own finances; to observe the Sabbath and had

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47 Kroeger & Kroeger (1992:55) posit that Jews in Asia Minor, and Ephesus in particular, were influenced by their environment to such an extent that many of the legends of the Old Testament were transformed. They mention, in particular, the embellishments of narratives of Genesis, Noah and Eve.

48 Differences included the recognition of Jesus Christ as messiah, the special meals, and lack of emphasis on either dietary laws or circumcision.

49 Trebilco (1991:167-172) concludes that the case for citizenship rights for Jews within cities in Asia Minor, is not proven substantially.
exemption from military service. The most important condition as mentioned above was the exemption from worship in emperor and local cults.

A 'nuanced' relationship existed between the city and the Jewish community. They were tolerated by both the city and the Roman authorities as long as they did not cause trouble. It is suggested that although an acceptable *modus vivendi* was reached during the first century CE, the cities were suspicious of the Jews and even hostile. Trebilco (1991:35) indicates that this was due to an uneasiness about the non-conformity and the strangeness of the Jewish religion. In addition, the Jews collected large sums of money for distribution to Jerusalem even in times of economic decline. It is also possible that due to the economic disadvantages mentioned above, they were reluctant to assist communities in Palestine. This may have been due to a large number of Gentile converts who might not have seen the greater need for assisting the Jews in Jerusalem (Neyrey 1990:79). Chapter Six investigates the possible underlying motivations for writing this letter to Timothy, which includes the possibility that Paul is seeking to elicit generous help from the patrons of this congregation.

5.4.5.4 Patrons
The Jewish community was well supported by non-Jewish patrons who were attracted to Judaism. Gentile women, in particular, were attracted to Judaism. The Gentile, Julia Severa, built a synagogue for the community at Acmonia. She was probably non-Jewish and 'a high priestess, ἀγγελοθήτις and ἐπονύμων magistrate' (Brooten 1982:144). The Jews welcomed this involvement of influential people who belonged to the highest echelons of society. Gentiles identified themselves with the Jews and were known as 'God-worshippers'.

5.4.5.5 Synagogues
Meeks (1983:17) postulates that among the Jews there was a widespread dissatisfaction with the priestly hierarchy in Jerusalem. Part of this dissatisfaction stemmed from their collaboration with the Roman authorities and the absorption of Greek culture, at the expense of Judaism. Associations were formed to ensure the purity of the Jewish faith. In a polytheistic environment synagogues became the

50 Evidence of the sensitivity of this situation to the authorities can be discerned in 1 Timothy 2:2. Sources of contention include: Paul's law-free gospel; the success of Christian mission among Gentiles (perhaps later); the need for some Jews to retain links with Jerusalem; the payment of Temple taxes (this was a problem during Augustus reign) Trebilco (1991:34-35).

51 He also points out that the collection for the poor in Jerusalem did not always meet with success or popularity (Rm 15:25-29).

52 'God-fearers' or 'God-worshippers' were those Gentiles who accepted certain basic tenets of Judaism, the so-called Noachide precepts (Flussner 1988:630).

53 Craffert (1993:254) informs that '...Jews were prominent amongst the magicians in their world and there were considerable Jewish elements in Graeco-Roman magic....'
instruments for preserving the Jewish heritage. They became centres for prayer, study and for meeting the needs of the people, especially after the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem (cf also Kee 1973:58). Although much of Jewish identity was maintained, it is presupposed that the Jewish communities in Ephesus did not remain unaffected by their environment. The degree to which Judaism was influenced by its polytheistic environment is a matter for debate. It is posited that this dissatisfaction was a factor in the diversification of Judaism into traditional and more liberal synagogues. Not only were the latter more relaxed in their attitudes towards Romans, women and slaves; they were accommodative of Christianity and the acknowledgement that Jesus Christ was the long-awaited Messiah.

Pharisaism was the 'normative voice of Judaism' and a prominent influence in the synagogues (Kee 1973:58-59). However, it would be incorrect to assume that Pharisaism in Judaism was uniform in beliefs and practice.

Grabbe (1995:71) concludes that it is not easy to understand the nature of Hellenistic Judaism. It should rather be understood in terms of diverse forms of 'Judaisms' ranging from 'completely Greek to completely native' and Jews could be found at 'most points' along the spectrum. A large number of Jews found it easier to conform to a more Hellenistic existence than to adhere to dietary or purity laws.

The following information provided by Maccoby (1989:59-62) appears to offer too uniform and rigid a pattern of Judaism when one considers the diversity propounded by Grabbe (1995) and Neusner (1975; 1984; 1992). An interesting feature that emerges from Maccoby's description is the involvement of ordinary people and the lack of special status accorded the priest as well as the observation that each synagogue evolved its own identity.

Synagogues were the focal points of each diasporic community especially after 70 C E, when the temple and sacrifice ceased. Jewish worship differed from other Asian cults in its lack of sacrifice and absence of mystical practices which were performed at shrines and temples. Synagogues were not presided over by priests nor were mystical rites or sacrifices performed. This distinguished Judaism from the shrines and temples that existed in the ancient world particularly in Ephesus. Sacrifices were only performed at the temple in Jerusalem before 70 C E. Priests within Judaism performed a less prominent function and more involvement of 'lay' people existed. In order for people to feel part of the Jerusalem temple cult, a group of laymen known as ma'amad

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54 Trebilico (1991:144) cites evidence to counter claims that monotheistic Judaism gave way to the syncretistic practices.

55 Judaism may also have had its fair share of mystical and magical practices. Neusner (1984:42) provides an examination of principal strands of Judaic consciousness: on one hand sanctification and the importance of priesthood and temple and inward focus, while on the other, salvation emphasising an enduring sanctification and expectation of a messiah which was more outward looking, involving affairs of state.
would accompany the priests when it was their turn to officiate at the temple. While the 'course', a priest descended from Aaron, officiated at the sacrifices at the temple, the 'post', a layman, would hold a prayer meeting in the grounds of the temple. Groups of ordinary people were encouraged to meet for prayer at their local synagogues. In this way the practice of lay worship evolved and as they became independent of the Temple, the synagogue developed an ethos of its own. The organisation of the synagogue was in the hands of lay management who were elected to office for a fixed term. The president was in charge of the day-to-day running and was a layperson. If a priest was present, he or she would worship just like any other member of the congregation but he or she, would be called first to the reading of the Law and would pronounce blessings at festivals. The archisynagogos did not have dictatorial power in the synagogue but had to consult another official called a 'minister' and the council of elders. The liturgy consisted out of a recitation of the 'Shema', the affirmation of the unity of God, and also of the Tephillah or prayer consisting of blessing and petitions. The Pharisees or rabbis, as they became known towards the end of the first century, acted as counsellors, teachers and arbitrators in disputes. In worship they were not accorded a priestly role but took part in the service like any other member of the congregation. They were, however, given a special seat facing Jerusalem (Maccoby 1989:59-62).

5.4.5.6 Status of women in the synagogues
Although an exception rather than the rule, it is certain that women functioned at all levels of Jewish society particularly in Asia Minor (Brooten 1982). It is evident that some Jewish communities in Asia Minor provided women with an unusually prominent place within synagogues. A woman archisynagogos had a say in the community's activities as the Jewish synagogues did not only embrace worship but all aspects of Jewish life. It would appear that during the first century women held offices in the synagogues and were given more equal treatment than in later centuries when synagogues separated men and women.

Trebilco (1991) and Brooten (1982) examine titles given to Jewish women. Among others the following are used in inscriptions honouring women:

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56 Hoffman (1995:247) posits that two 'alternative loci' for worship which predated the fall of the Temple included the synagogue and chavurah or chavurot which were tableship group meetings for worship around meals. See 5.6.2.10 for the importance of such rituals.

57 Paul introduces no new offices in 1 Timothy but features of a system already functioning in the Jewish household and/or synagogue, which included elders and deacons (cf 6.2.4.2).

58 Inscriptions examined by Trebilco (1991:104-111) indicate that women such as Rufina from Smyrna were called ἄρχισυναγωγῶν. This was the title for a leading official in the synagogue whose duties included the 'spiritual direction' and 'teaching' of other members. Another inscription shows that some women such as Tation were given the 'seat of honour' προεδρικός in the synagogue. Women were also known as πρεσβύτερος (Sophia-Crete). So far inscriptions reveal a total of twenty-one titles for women in the ancient synagogues.
Included in the functions of this office, which was granted to people of high standing in the community, was administration and provision of finance.

This was a position with magisterial functions sometimes eponymous.

This functionary was responsible for both physical and mental development of the residents. Other duties ranged from the maintenance of buildings to the training and management of staff. There were forty-eight female gymnasiiarchs during the first three centuries CE (Trebilco 1991:118).

Twenty-eight women held this position during the first three centuries. Some of their duties included: entertainment of guests; making sacrifices for the city; and the purchase of property and maintenance of records.

From the second to third century CE seventeen women held this title. Duties included public appearances and entertainment. This was an honourable position such as that of a queen. The title literally meant one who has the right to wear a crown (Trebilco 1991:121).

Eighteen women held this position during the first three centuries. It involved the organisation of contests in the fields of athletics, music and drama.

Several women were recorded as being part of the seventy one aristocratic elders of a city. However, Trebilco points out that only a limited number of women were honoured in this way in Asia Minor and Greece (Trebilco 1991:123). There were many other titles granted women. It is a pity that male scholars such as Trebilco (1991:114) maintain that possibly leadership was not involved in their positions. Many see these titles as honorary. When one bears in mind the nature of the first century Mediterranean, it can be argued that any functionary, male or female, would have been expected to do very little. The merit in the job was the honour bestowed upon the incumbent and he or she in turn was expected to have large financial resources and confer the necessary benefits upon citizens.
Brooten (1982:5-95) cites nineteen Latin and Greek inscriptions in which women are named as 'heads of synagogues', 'leader', 'elder', 'mother of the synagogue' and 'priestess'. Although scholarship has tended to accord these titles honorific status, Brooten asserts that they were functional. These roles were functional not only in cultic affairs but also in community affairs. She reminds her critics that scholars are limited in their assessment of the inscriptions by the paucity of Graeco-Jewish literature from the early Byzantine period from Asia Minor. Therefore, assumptions cannot be made that exclude the possibility that women fulfilled more than mere honorific or hereditary roles. Her reconstruction proposes that female synagogue leaders were active in administrative and cultic functions. We must also assume that they had knowledge of the Torah, in order to be able to teach and exhort others from it. Six ancient Greek inscriptions have been found in which women bear the title of presbytera/presbuteres/presbyterissa.

It may have occurred that once the focus of Judaism moved away from the temple, after its destruction, the focus of the cult shifted to the home, which was also the location of the synagogue, and, therefore, women played a more central role. Women prepared meals and therefore gained a central role in the correct observance of the cultic regulations. They gained equality by keeping the same cultic taboos as men. This improved status was not dependent upon their relationship to men. They did not gain it second-hand through either a husband or father who was a priest.

It would appear that the different courts emphasised various separations between man and God, Jew and Gentile, men and women, priests and people. Swidler (1976:88-93) seems to join the school of thought that concludes that certain synagogues, where no evidence of a partition or a balcony has been discovered, enforced stricter measures of separation and women were confined to a separate room thereby 'excluded from active public worship.' He maintains that although the naming of a woman as 'president of a synagogue' and a female proselyte as 'mother of two synagogues' came about on account of pressures from the Hellenist environment, they were given no real powers. These were simply honorary titles handed out to important patronesses. He also concludes that women were not only non-participants in the

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59 Brooten (1982) cites: Inscriptional evidence for women as heads of synagogues: (Smyrna, Ionia) CIL 741:IGR IV 1452; (Kastelli Kissamou, Crete) CIII 731c; (Myndos, Caria) CII 756; as leaders: (Thebes in Phthiotis (Thessaly) CII 696b; CII 681; elders: (Kastelli Kissamou, Crete) CII 731c; (Bizye, Thrace) CII 692. (Venosa, Apulia) CII 581, CIL IX 6226; CII 597; CIL IX 6209. (Oea, Tripolitania) SEG 27 (1977) no. 1201; (Rome) CII 400.

60 These titles are very difficult to define and may simply refer to 'aged women'. On the other hand if the functions of male elders are analysed from writings and inscriptions, they possibly refer to political, judicial and possibly religious functions (Brooten 1982:45-46).

61 Divergent points of view are held regarding the separation or inclusion of women in the worship service. Josephus states that a separation between men and women existed in the Temple of Jerusalem.
worship service but they were only permitted to listen. However, Brooten (1982:103-104) accuses such scholars of merely finding what they are looking for, in this case a 'women's gallery'. She (1982:104) is adamant that in no case has '...an actual gallery been found'. The remains are only able to yield a reconstruction of a possible floor plan. The function of such siderooms is unclear. It is not surprising that no undisputed remains of the synagogues from the Second Temple period exist, because these gatherings in all probability took place in people's homes. Referring to the first possible synagogal remains of the first century found at Masada, Brooten concludes that there is no evidence of a separate room or gallery for men and women.

It is clear from Acts 16:12b-14; 17:4 that women were involved in synagogues. Paul and Silas went to Philippi where as usual they looked for a synagogue, the term used here is προσευχή (Ac 16:13; 16). They knew where to find a gathering of female believers, at a place near the river which was convenient for baptisms. Men were obviously not excluded, as some of the households would have undoubtedly included males (Ac 16:15). Brooten also suggests that in the light of so many women joining Judaism, women may well have constituted the majority in some cases. The attraction of so many women may indicate the relaxation of restrictive practices. She thinks that scholarship should revise its attitude towards ancient Judaism and consider the appeal to women that it may have had. Brooten (1982:147) draws the following conclusions: women were possibly attracted to Christianity due to the presence of active Jewish female title-bearers; this form of Judaism was less restrictive than the other forms; men were not the only proselytizers; and it is likely that women were in the majority in the congregation mentioned by Paul to Timothy. This is an important conclusion for the Ephesian situation.

Considering these factors in the light of 1 Timothy 2, Paul addresses men and women simultaneously. From the structure of 1 Timothy examined in 6.2, it becomes clear that Paul addresses, through Timothy, both men and women simultaneously. Therefore they were gathered in the same room or locality, there was no separation or division between them. Paul points out a dress and behaviour code for both men and women (men-behaviour; women-behaviour and dress) indicating that they were not behaving and dressing appropriate to Christian standards.

Treiblco (1991:164) points out that synagogues were attractive places. The God-worshippers had a sense of belonging and were welcomed into the community often choosing to adopt Jewish customs.

New Testament references point to the participation of women in the services. This would be impossible if they were in a separate room, gallery or behind a screen (Ac 62 She underscores this by referring to inscription C II 523 (in Bilabel, F- Summelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Agypten 3, no 6783) in which Veturia Paulla who was a convert to Judaism for sixteen years was called the mother of two synagogues (Brooten 1982:147).

63 God-fearing women are referred to in 1 Tm 2:2.
16:13-14;17:4). Brooten (1982:149) argues on behalf of the integration of women in the worship in the synagogue, while Swidler (1976:88) is of the opinion that they were separated. Therefore inscriptive evidence about Jewish women leaders suggests that Christian female leadership did not constitute a departure from Judaism. Brooten (1982:73) produces evidence that three ancient Jewish inscriptions refer to functioning female priests. After the destruction of the temple the priestly cultic service was extended into the ancient synagogues and therefore also into homes. Priests continued to give their blessing based on Numbers 6:22-27. Brooten (1982:92) argues that the term ἱερεύς may reflect Christian usage rather than Jewish and that this would be a general term to refer to deacons, presbyters and bishops. Their duties would incorporate practical administration such as waiting on tables and caring for each other’s needs (cf 6.3). The question is posed whether female priests could, in the same fashion as male priests, perform certain functions in the worship service. Brooten (1982:94) states that rabbis usually take the exclusivist language used in Numbers 6:23 to mean that women were in fact excluded, however, the inclusion of ‘daughters’ would not constitute an ‘anomaly’ (Heb 3; 5; 1 Pt 2:9). In a Christian gathering it is likely that the concept of ‘priestly roles’ has been redefined to include everyone (1 Pt 2:9) (cf 6.2.4.2).

5.4.5.7 Status of women with regard to Jewish law

Men and women had different status and obligations before the Law.64 One midrash (Swidler 1976:84) cited by Jaiq Shim on Sm 78 stated that women, slaves and children were not obliged to fulfil all the Law because the wife has a single heart towards her husband and likewise the slave towards his master. Therefore they could not devote all their attention to God. However, according to Swidler (1976:84), subsequent explanations are given by other commentators including contemporaries that women would not find the time to fulfil time-bound commandments due to household obligations and restrictions of menstruation, pregnancy, nursing and so on. Some denigration of female worth included the practice that only fathers carried out the following duties with respect to their infant sons: circumcision and dedication; redemption of the first born son; teaching Torah; teaching an occupation; marriage and swimming (Swidler 1976:84).

Women were not permitted by the Talmud to pray or say grace or a benediction over men. In addition women and slaves could not be included in the number required to recite the Common Grace. The Talmud (bBer.47b) states: that ‘...an infant in the cradle may be counted for the zimmun65, but women, of course, could not’.

64 There is no clear-cut understanding of what constitutes ‘the law’ (1 Tm 1:7-8).
65 Zimmun was the number needed, for the recitation of the grace when three or more are together for a meal. However, women were not counted for this purpose.
According to Swidler (1976:86), there are three commands in the Mishnah directed at women: ‘For three transgressions do women die in childbirth: for heedlessness of the laws concerning their menstruation, the dough-offering (hallah)\textsuperscript{66} and the lighting of the (Sabbath) lamp....’. These are construed as punishment for Eve’s sin (Shab 2,6).

5.4.5.8 Attitudes towards women in Jewish literature

A typical example of the misogynistic attitudes prevalent in literature\textsuperscript{67} is provided by Ben Sira who advises men to look out for women as they have only one ambition which is ‘...to lead men astray sexually’. The concept of sexual sin was found in the Pseudepigrapha, where the Book of Adam and Eve (Swidler 1976:47) was probably composed in the first century C E by a diaspora Jew and the prevalent idea that sexual sin was the mother of all evils already prevailed. The focus is on Eve as the primary sinner and the source of death. Other books such as the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Book of the Jubilees focused on the sin of fornication and the need to avoid women out of fear. In spite of the improvement of women’s status in other cultures, Jewish literature continued to show negative attitudes (Swidler 1976:29-54).

Women were treated with suspicion and blamed for male weaknesses in respect of sexual arousal. Swidler (1976:32) argues that the fact that no biblical literature was written by and for women, is in itself an indication that women were regarded of a lesser and inferior status to men. Biblical writings also often denigrated women.

All the above contributed to a woman’s lack of self-worth. A female’s existence was viewed only in the light of her relationship to a male.

Many Pharisees thought of women as ‘in all things inferior to the man’; as ‘evil’ as ‘overcome by the spirit of fornication more than men’ and as ones who ‘plot against men’. It is highly likely that this attitude influenced other groups with whom the Pharisees came into contact (Swidler 1976:56).

With regard to the attitudes of Jewish rabbis, Swidler (1976:82-138) points out that it was the intricate laws of ‘niddah’\textsuperscript{68} which were first written by the male priestly writers of Leviticus and continually expanded by the rabbis which contributed to female inferiority and male superiority. He states that a high value was placed upon women but their value was only in respect of their usefulness and relationship to men. Samuel ben Unya said that a woman before marriage was a shapeless lump only transformed

\textsuperscript{66} The challah is the title taken from the dough before it is baked then given to the priest. It was the special task of women. Neglect of this duty was punished by death during childbirth (Unterman 1991:46).

\textsuperscript{67} Swidler cites the Testament of Semeon 5:3 and Rabbi Johanan b AZ.22b among others.

\textsuperscript{68} In a footnote expanding on this reference from Aboth 2,7, Swidler (1976:198) adds that the restrictions placed upon women and their total exclusion from significant participation in the religious cultic activities made them tend towards magical religious practices. However, this statement should rather be seen in the light that magic was practised also in Judaism.
into a *useful vessel* by marriage. Men were taught the necessity of being faithful to their wives, only in order to prevent miscarriage. Yet in the event of miscarriage it was deemed that the wife was guilty of adultery. A humiliating ordeal awaited her in any case, she was brought to the priest and publicly stripped of her clothes and forced to drink water mixed with dirt from the floor.

Rabbi Hiršch (Genesis Rabbah 8,12 cited by Swidler 1976:79) wrote that women should not be allowed to visit the market place due to a fear of misbehaviour of the men. As a result many men would lock up their wives within the confines of the house.

Hillel, a prominent Rabbi of the first century C E, said: ‘Many women, much witchcraft’69. Other Rabbis said that women possess four traits: they are *greedy, eavesdroppers, slothful* and *envious*. The best-known rabbinic teaching indicating the misogynist attitudes of the rabbis is the daily prayer: Praised be to God that he has not created me a Gentile! Praised be God that he has not created me a woman! Praised be God that he has not created me an ignoramus! (Swidler 1976:80 cites Tos. Ber. 7,18.)

This is not an obscure prayer as there are at least three separate direct quotations of this prayer in ancient rabbinic collections. Swidler (1976:111-117) maintains that the rabbis were nearly always monogamous but this is debatable. In the light of Paul’s insistence of monogamy in 1 Timothy, it would appear that polygamy was widely practised. Women were, on the whole, considered to have inferior status, the same as children or slaves. Women, children and slaves were grouped together as they were all less than full Jewish citizens. Swidler (1976:111-117) believes that the grouping together of women, slaves, beasts and property is significant, since it also indicates that they were considered inferior and an *object or possession*. Acquisition of a woman included three components, namely, money, document and sexual connection. On the other hand a slave was acquired only by money and document.

Rabbinical documentation (Swidler 1976:159 indicates Lev 21:18-20 bBek.43b) shows that women were regarded as inferior and as sex objects. If they were not regarded as physically attractive, they were judged negatively. In addition the following are added, ‘unpleasant perspiration, obnoxious breath, ugly unusual hair, horrid voice, scars and ungainly breasts’. It would seem that every part of a woman’s body was incitement to lust. Even a woman’s voice invoked sexual excitement. Rabbi Josiah (*BAZ 20a-b*) (cited by Swidler 1976:127) also stated that one should not even look upon a woman’s ‘gaudy garment even if it were upon the wall’. Yet Paul refers to women’s gaudy garments in 1 Timothy 2:970. To support this Swidler (1976:127) refers to the ‘crowning sexualizing statement’: ‘If one gazes at the little finger of a woman, it is as if he gazed at her secret place!’ (*b Ber 24a*).

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69 Tractate Niddah deals with ‘menstrual impurity and married life’ — it forms part of the Palestinian Talmud (Schiffman 1991:231-234).

70 Does Paul attempt to bring women into line with his own Jewish inclinations and expectations of appropriate dress and behaviour for women?
In rabbinical literature sexual allusions and discussions about details of sex life are frequent (Swidler 1976:56-79).

5.4.5.9 Attitudes of the Essenes
Modern scholars tend to make assumptions regarding the Dead Sea texts, based on ancient accounts, which describe celibacy among the Essenes and reinforce the belief that women were not permitted into their ranks. These assumptions are challenged by recent research at Qumran where excavations of cemeteries reveal graves of women and children. If such past assumptions concerning the low profile of women in the Essene community can now be found to be false, is it not possible that other assumptions based on Josephus and other first-hand sources are also suspect? (Schiffman 1994:128).

It was previously thought that the Essenes had the same negative attitude towards women as found in Wisdom, apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature and that they went even further by denouncing all relations with women and that marriage was only tolerated for the sake of children. It is, therefore, probable that positive attitudes towards women prevailed in some sections of the population.

5.4.5.10 Everyday life for women in Judaism
The above brief survey has attempted to sketch the situation within Judaism for women with particular reference to the cult, Torah, rabbis and other significant Jewish intellectuals. The overall impression gained is that generally women held a low and inferior status. The new form of Judaism that emerged in the first century would no doubt have been particularly attractive to Jewish women who, according to Brooten, were already involved in significant cultic and civic positions in the more emancipated localities such as Asia Minor.

I acknowledge the work done by Swidler, Neusner and Brooten and others for the above survey. This particular analysis only allowed a brief overview of the situation and a cursory evaluation of some primary sources has been made.

Other aspects of Jewish life with particular reference to women will now come under the spotlight.

5.4.5.11 Jewish women in public
Jewish women seldom appeared in public especially in the cities. When a Jewish woman ventured out in public, she always had her head covered with one eye exposed. Going without a headcovering was considered so shameful that it was grounds for divorce without the obligation to pay the kethuba71. If a man uncovered the head of a woman in public, he had to pay a fine. Swidler (1976:121-2) reasons that when

71 The bride-price paid to the father by the bride-groom on his daughter's betrothal.
women were in their own homes, they moved about with heads uncovered\textsuperscript{72} or minimally covered. The head and face covering probably consisted of a plaited hair-do (1 Tm 2:9)\textsuperscript{73} combined with two kerchiefs, a forehead band with ribbons hanging down to the chin, and a hairnet with ribbons and bows on it. Some women in certain places may have moved about in their homes with their heads uncovered. Just how thoroughly this covering hid the features of the women is revealed in a rather dramatic tale of a high-priest who was to administer the cup of bitterness to a suspected adulteress (Swidler 1976:122). It was only when he had uncovered her head and took her hair down that he realised that she was his own mother.

It was forbidden to talk to a woman\textsuperscript{74} in the street. Even a husband was told not to talk too much to his wife, except to procure sexual favour. In conversations the wife addressed her husband as ‘rabbi’, a form used by slaves and disciples meaning ‘my master’, whereas the husband addressed his wife as ‘my daughter’.

Women did not usually eat with men when there was a guest present and similarly they did not serve men. However, they did take part in the preparation of meals. There are possible indications that these customs (if they were also practised in Ephesus outside Palestine) changed with Christian revision because at the \textit{agape} meal women were present (cf anti-structures 5.6). In the light of the preceding information by Swidler (1976), it is concluded that in certain sections of traditional (if there was such a thing) Palestinian and Alexandrian Judaism women led a harem existence, secluded from society (Swidler 1976:125).

5.4.5.12 Marriage and divorce
Betrothals and marriages were normally arranged by the parents and the girl did not have a say unless she had reached the age of twelve and a half years. The girl was a \textit{minor} until the age of twelve years and one day, and a \textit{maiden} from twelve to twelve and a half. She was considered a woman from twelve and a half onwards. As a maiden she could remain in the parental home until she became a woman when she had the right to refuse a proposed husband. Swidler (1976:141) provides examples of betrothals

\textsuperscript{72} Lack of head-covering was grounds for divorce without obligation to pay the \textit{kethuba}. Paul makes reference to the elaborate hairstyles worn by the women in Ephesus. Possibly an elaborate hairstyle together with ornamental gold jewelry was a sign of wealth. Paul was informing the women that they should not draw attention to their status within the Christian community. There were no distinctions of wealth or rank (cf 5.6.2.4). For more on hairstyles of the Roman Empire, consult Padgett 1987. p Sotah 1, 166,28 and bBeer 241 cited by Swidler (1976:121).

\textsuperscript{73} It is incongruous that Paul forbids ‘plaiting’ of the hair if this was the hairstyle of the times (1 Tm 2:9).

\textsuperscript{74} The Mishnah recorded that ‘Jose b. Johanan (130 BCE) said ‘...talk not much with womankind’. In Palestinian Judaism it was customary not to converse with women even female relatives (Swidler 1976:123-4 cites Aboth 1,5.) This feature of Judaism may have affected Paul’s understanding of woman’s obligation to refrain from speaking and therefore to be quiet or even silent (1 Tm 2:10).

\textsuperscript{75} Ignatius to the Smyrnaeans VIII.2 alludes to this meal (in my estimation).
of daughters at ages six years and ten years and even younger. Before marriage the girl was under the control of the father and after marriage she passed into the control of her husband. The husband was obliged by the Mishnah to provide his wife with food, shelter, clothing, medical care and burial. He also had to provide 'kethuba', a financial provision in the case of death or divorce. The money which the husband provided, was not considered a purchase but rather a symbol of setting aside. A woman was set aside exclusively for her husband and the 'money' was a confirmation of the transfer of status.

Polygamy was certainly practised among the Jews whereas polyandry was forbidden. In the teachings of the Pharisees there was the tradition that polygamy was legally permissible and they did not, as the Christians, adhere to a policy of monogamy. The writer, Josephus, was from a priestly family who claimed he was a Pharisee, had four wives, two of them (possibly three) at the same time. The practice of polygamy was prevalent among the Jews and reflected a severely inferior status for women as they were treated as property and owned in much the same manner as slaves (Swidler 1976:144-148).

The wife was considered the husband’s possession and therefore adultery by the wife constituted a damage and violation of his exclusive right to her (cf Meeks 1993:11-12). Adultery was considered one of the three capital sins; idolatry and murder being the other two and hence merited the most severe punishment, namely death. The usual punishment was stoning, burning and strangulation.

Swidler (1976:151) also points out that a double standard is found in Deuteronomy 22:12-21 where, if a man claimed that his new wife was not a virgin, the father of the bride had to produce the bloodstained proof from the marriage bed. If the elders were not satisfied, she was stoned. Suspicion and the testimony of two witnesses was enough to instigate this sort of trial.

Maccoby (1989:56-58) contests the claim that the status of women in Judaism was inferior and intensely misogynistic in comparison to that prevailing in other cultures. However, Swidler (1976:164-166) argues that the objections against divorce only came into effect in the third century C.E and were extremely rare. Thus it is concluded that Rabbinic divorce rested heavily upon inequality.
5.4.5.13 Cultic life
In cultic activities women were disadvantaged because of natural bodily functions such as menstruation and childbirth. This has been pointed out above (cf 5.5.5.7). Women were thus excluded from cultic activities because of their uncleanness (Lv 11-17).

During this period of uncleanness it is likely that another member of the extended family would have to take over the duties of preparing the food or alternatively the family ate its ordinary food in a condition of cultic uncleanness. It is probable that this type of restriction was not so strictly enforced in Christian circles.

5.4.5.14 Education
There was no outright command forbidding women to study the Torah but such statements as that of Rabbi Eliezer in the first century CE: 'If any man teach his daughter the Torah it is as though he taught her lechery' showed that it was unacceptable (Swidler 1976:93 cites Rabbi Eliezer Sotah 3, 4.) Women were not expected to study the Torah. It seems to be an exceptional achievement for women to study the Torah. It may be concluded that in Mishnaic and Talmudic times, ordinary women neither studied nor were they taught Torah. In effect Jewish women, apart from a few upper-class families, received no formal education as this involved study of the Torah.

Neither were women allowed to bear witness in the Jewish society of the rabbinic period. Josephus writing in the first century writes that they were disqualified on account of lightheadedness and brashness. The Midrash Pirke REL 14 (7d,7) mention that women were not able to bear witness and regards this as one of the nine curses meted out to women as a result of the Fall (Swidler 1976:115).

5.4.5.15 Conclusions
From the above it may be concluded that the status of women was not equal to men but there was severe inferiority and intense misogyny in both civil and religious areas of life. Judaism did not follow the pattern of the societies and cultures around it but was running counter to the trends of Hellenism and Roman cultures.

Incongruously, a Jew is one who by definition is born of a Jewish mother, regardless of the faith of the father. Female infants are accorded no distinction on their entry

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1 There were, however, some exceptions. The wife of Rabbi Meir in the early second century is mentioned as a woman who studied the Torah and her views on halachic matters were taken seriously. She went through the usual three year study course customary for disciples of rabbis. Her intelligence and feminist attacks on the sayings of the sages earned her a reputation that was remembered for hundreds of years. The sister of Rabbi Gamaliel II, Imna Shalom also knew the Torah (Swidler 1976:103-4).

2 Acts 16:1-4 describes a certain disciple of Paul, named Timothy who had a Jewish mother who was a believer but a Greek father. Paul felt it was necessary to circumcise Timothy on account of some Jews in that region, Derbe and Lystra, who knew Timothy's father.
into the community at birth, while male infants are ceremonially circumcised on the eighth day to signify their entry into the covenantal community.

Generally in Judaism women were barred from participating fully and actively in cultic life. In marriage they were often treated as possessions or sex objects, their status and economic stability depended on their husbands. In the event of his death a widow had to be taken in and supported by a husband’s closest relatives. This led to a large number of women in a household. Her status was equal to a child and even a male child had more rights than she did. The majority of Jewish women were illiterate and like their Roman counterparts destined to live out their lives in the seclusion of their houses. Strict rules and regulations regarding a woman’s appearance and behaviour meant limited freedom and contact with men even her husband.

The fact that a few prominent women (probably by virtue of their good birth or fortuitous marriages) were able to rise above their station in life is truly remarkable. It is significant that this occurred particularly in Asia Minor. It is unlikely much social upward mobility existed for women in Palestine.

As Grabbe (1995:71 and 73) has pointed out above a variety of judaisms existed. The above profile, which was gleaned mainly from Swidler and Trebilco, may be considered to be on the extremely conservative end of the spectrum. Yet it was these rigid hierarchical structures in society which engendered the opposite anti-structure. When one examines Turner’s list of binary characteristics of a state or structure, it can be seen that Judaism exhibited these features.

Considerably more attention has been given to women in Judaism than other cultures as Judaism formed the matrix for the origination of Christianity. There was no obvious sudden schism but the genesis of a type of Judaism that was on the opposite end of the spectrum from that described above. Incipient changes were already present in Judaism long before Paul arrived on the scene. Some communities retained links with Jerusalem and the Temple. Neusner points to two strands of Judaism: one which emphasised sanctification and the centrality of the Temple and priesthood; the other emphasised salvation and a more permanent sanctification through a Messiah. When certain communities recognised Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah, this added to tensions and antipathy.

Paul was the shaper of a ‘distinct religion’ and was one of the exponents of ‘anti-Jewish’ aspects of life. His sentiments found fertile ground among diasporic Jewish communities, some of whom found Jewish practices restrictive and difficult to maintain far away from Palestine.

The above profiles of Hellenistic, Roman and Asian (Asia Minor) women serve to introduce the diversity of cultural influence in Asia Minor. This researcher has been hampered by the paucity of data concerning the everyday household life of women in antiquity. This is due to the fact that both the primary and secondary sources were
penned by men. It should also be noted that interpretations of the ancient texts are also gender biased.

5.5 Anti-structures — Pauline Christianity

5.5.1 Introduction
Having outlined the nature of the structures, Judaism and other patriarchal cultural influences such as Hellenism and Romanism, an examination of the transition phase, the anti-structures, will be attempted.

Initially, a broad profile describing the nature of Christianity and its origination as an anti-structure within strands of Judaism will be drawn. Features of this anti-structure will be examined in the light of the attraction they might have had for male and female converts. This new state/transition/anti-structure was carefully defined and boundary markers put in place by rule-creators such as Paul. This establishment of a 'new state' of life was fashioned by carefully selected metaphors based on Paul's Christology. Old rituals and patterns of behaviour were Christianised and redefined. The new way of life was, in many respects, the opposite and inverse of the old. Significant features of this anti-structure included these aspects: equality, redefinition of kinship and communitas.

Having broadly identified the nature of the anti-structure as it functioned in certain circles within the Roman Empire, further analysis will be undertaken in Chapter Six where a discourse analysis reveals evidence of those characteristics already mentioned.

Petersen (1985)³ based his theory on the observation that social groups emerge as anti-structural responses to the social world around them. He concluded that ‘...a society's members are also frequently related to one another not merely in a non-hierarchical fashion but in an anti-hierarchical anti-structural fashion’ (Petersen 1985:152). He suggests that these ‘anti-structures’ are the response to a de-humanizing system of social structures and lead to a sense of communal intimacy.⁴ Thus anti-structures are both the opposite and the inverse of structured behavior.

5.5.2 Anti-structures
5.5.2.1 Turner's theory of liminality
Petersen (1985:89-153) uses the terms 'structure' and 'anti-structure' in his study of the letter to Philemon. Many of his conclusions and assumptions regarding the symbolic world of Paul can be applied to this study of 1 Timothy. He also states that these two different 'modes of social relations' are essential to the functioning of any society. The structural mode of relating is governed by the system of hierarchically and seg-

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³ Petersen (1985) introduced me to Turner's theory of structures and anti-structures.
⁴ Verner (1983:182) on the other hand maintains that the church although conceptualized as 'a great household' is nevertheless '...firmly entrenched in his [the householder's — H D C] patriarchal authority.'
mentarily, differentiated roles. Anti-structures are the anti-hierarchical, anti-structural facets of a society conducive to communal intimacy.

Similarly, Scroggs (1982:171) calls for a re-examination of Synoptic material in the light of the earliest Palestinian communities and their 'larger social context' and refers to such inverse characteristics as an 'unconscious social protest' [Scroggs italics].

5.5.2.2 Christianity — the stage of liminality
Christianity is a transitional state or rite of passage from Hellenism and Judaism. In this model the origination of the Pauline Christian community at Ephesus can be seen as a transitional state or rite of passage from one fixed state to another.

Features of the structure were already pointed out in the descriptions of the social status of women referred to in 5.4.

Turner refers to Van Gennep's three phases of this process. Firstly, separation — this involves symbolic5 behavior signifying the detachment of the individual or group from previous social structures. Secondly, a liminal period involves entrance into a system of new relationships and communitas. Thirdly, there is a reaggregation or reincorporation which in Pauline terms would be the entry into the heavenly world. The society has moved from the fixed state or social structure through a liminal phase to the *terminus ad quem* — heaven. (Alternatively, one could consider the third stage of the fossilised Christianity that emerged during the second century).

Features of liminality include statuslessness and the submission of neophytes to an authority (elders) that is nothing less than that of the total community (Turner 1969:103). The community becomes the protector of its own values, norms, attitudes, sentiments and relationships. A parallel may be posited between the significance of words, in this case written speech and tribal speech. In tribal societies speech is not only communication but significantly 'power and wisdom'. This wisdom '...has ontological value, it refashions the very being of the neophyte' (cf 6). It is posited that Paul's letter to Timothy functions in much the same way as a shaper of the new identity (cf 6.3).

In addition, a further manifestation of liminality is the 'powers of the weak' (Turner 1969:109). The emphasis on the superiority of servant roles in the new Christian community can be seen in the light of status reversals in this stage of liminality. Turner (1969:133) points out that such a genesis of religious movements '...arise in times of radical social transition when society itself seems to be moving from one fixed state to another,...'.

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5 Baptism and Paul's symbolism of death, burial and resurrection — this type of imagery concerning death is also apparent in Ndembu liminality (Turner 1969:100).
5.5.2.3 Christianity in a fluid and flexible form

On the surface there appeared no remarkable distinction between Jewish Christians and the various expressions of Judaism in Ephesus.\(^6\)

Bauer (1971:243) refers to Jewish Christianity in the Palestinian and Hellenistic environments as fluid and subject to a variety of influences. The adoption of Gentile Christian forms, in addition to the Jewish form, of synagogue worship with its scripture readings, interpretations and exhortations had an impact on Gentile Christianity. Definitely both Jewish and Gentile forms of Christianity were influenced by what Bauer (1971:65) labels 'the syncretistic gnostic setting.' Bauer grapples with the complexities of Jewish Christianity and its relationship to its environs and the rest of the church. He considers it a 'polymorphic entity'.

The expansion of the oriental mystery religions paved the way for the expansion of Christianity and a range of travellers which included missionaries, such as Paul, existed. The variety of influences which interacted with Judaism and Christianity confirm the suspicion that the picture of first century Judaism and Christianity is blurred (Fiorenza 1983:171).

Meeks (1983:81) contends that Paul and his co-workers would have been regarded in the same light as philosophers, rhetoricians or sophists by their contemporaries. In fact Meeks (1986:114) states that because Christian groups concerned themselves with behaviour it is possible that they appeared more like a 'school' of philosophy rather than a cult. However, he concedes that within two decades of Jesus' death, Christians had become a distinct sect among the Jews in Jerusalem and in other parts of the ancient world.

It is likely, as Meeks (1983:80-91) proposes, that the Jews and early Christians met in homes which were later converted to synagogues. Archaeological evidence from Dura-Europis, Stobi and Delos supports this theory. Although no evidence has yet been found of a purpose-built synagogue in Ephesus, it does not mean that at least one, if not more, synagogue-homes existed there. Home-based\(^7\) congregations would have limited the size of the congregation to approximately forty-five persons.

In the light of the above findings it is concluded that Judaism was not a distinct orthodox entity but rather various diverse expressions of Judaism or Judaisms occurred. The formation of the anti-structure or transition from the strict expressions of Judaism or Judaisms occurred. The formation of the anti-structure or transition from the strict expression of Judaism would not at first glance be discerned as a new religion or cult.

\(^6\) Lemmer (1993:2-9) is also of the opinion that the first century Christians in Ephesus may have remained 'under the aegis of Judaism'. In addition although there has always existed a contrast between Jew and Gentile, '...precise boundaries were never very clear....' However separate burial practices were observed (Lemmer refers to Cohen 1987:46).

\(^7\) On the other hand there may have been custom-built structures: '[T]he Jews had already advanced to the stage of possessing buildings used exclusively for the community's function, this may not have been the case at Ephesus' (Meeks 1983:80).
5.5.2.4 Communitas and koinonia

Gottwald (1979:257-295) indicates that Jewish communities traditionally had strong cohesive societal bonds, where members cared and supported one another financially. They looked after each other’s welfare. Although Gottwald deals with practices in Palestine 1000 BCE, it is not unlikely that kinship patterns such as these were maintained and kept in place even in diasporic communities. It will become clear in Chapter Six that Paul encourages the intimacy of such an extended family for the benefit of the community/ies. This sense of communitas is similar to that which is found in the anti-structures studied by Turner (cf 5.3.1).

The desire for koinonia was a commonly felt need in the Ancient Near East at this time. The beliefs and conduct nurtured by Paul and his co-workers involved a high amount of caring for each other and sharing of possessions (cf 5.6.2.14). Paul’s association with the wider community of believers provided a sense of belonging to a ‘wider brotherhood’. He travelled in order to establish links with other groups.

Meeks (1980:15) refers to two types of community or social gathering to which people belonged, the politeia and oikonomia and proposes that the ‘more thoughtful and devout members of society’ looked outward to a community which would encompass all people beyond the confines of the polis. There was a proliferation of such associations all over the ancient world. A unique feature of this koinonia was that it united people from various backgrounds. The organisation and relationship between the various church congregations in Asia and other geographical areas existed through a network of personal contacts. They regarded other Christians as members of one family. The supra-regional context fulfilled the need for belonging to a larger entity beyond all local limits, the ‘new Israel’, or ‘the household of God’. This ‘world’ has been created by Paul and similar Christian missionaries. It was not only composed of localised communities.

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8 For example, the mishpahah is defined as a protective association of extended families. Likewise the beth-au or extended family consisted of two or more nuclear families.

9 Banks clarifies this in terms of ‘Paul’s understanding of community’. He states the following connotations: ‘the sense of participation in some common object or activity is uppermost, ...in a financial contribution....’

10 Meeks (1986:121) reasons that this sense of brotherhood and wider unity created its own sets of problems as Paul tried to establish or impose conformity, a conformity that was ‘...not usual either in Greco-Roman cults or, ...in Diaspora Judaism’.

11 Judge (1960:30-39): It is difficult to determine whether ‘the church’ was a gathering of the household or ‘a meeting of a larger body of Christians’.

12 The inscription 1 Eph 1a.20 may reveal something about the composition of the Pauline congregation. It is possible that there were a far larger number of Roman citizens than expected (Horsley 1992:132).
Christian groups had a high degree of intimacy between members and a sense of belonging and interaction (Meeks 1983:74-75). Such communal intimacy is called *communitas* by Turner (1969:131-165).

5.5.2.5 Christian definition in terms of kinship

Paul uses the 'household' metaphor as a symbolic form for the 'anti-structure' called the church (1 Tm 1:4; 3:5; 15). For example, a prominent metaphor in 1 Timothy is the ὀίκῳ θεοῦ (1 Tm 3:15). This anti-structure is an entity that exists in the same physical space as the Jewish household (Petersen 1985:153). The physical boundaries they shared were the large homes of the 'host of the community'. Paul relates the two spheres together as he motivates Christians to be exemplary stewards of their physical household in order to be good stewards in God's household (Banks 1980:45; Kidd 1990:75).

A cluster of terms derived from family life is applied to 1 Timothy, in particular. Terms such as ὀικονομός (1 Tm 1:4) and ἐπισκοπή (1 Tm 3:1) are drawn from the circle of household personnel. Paul speaks of his own relationship to the communities as 'father', 'mother', 'nurse' and refers to members as his 'children', 'brethren' and 'sons'. Terms which might also be seen in the context of family life include ἐπισκοπή.

Activities which are so often seen through the spectrum of ecclesiastical leadership, are quite ordinary features of the household. Nida places them within the sphere of household duties. There is a great deal of emphasis on the household in 1 Timothy 3:4-5; 12; 5:4 (cf 6.2).

Banks' (1980:14-48) main presupposition is that Paul's use of ἐκκλησία is drastically different to that which is considered the institutionalized church. The earliest usage of this term was in the context of a gathering of people, while Paul simply used it to indicate 'a regular, local gathering before God'. The ideal of a 'unified provincial or national church' was foreign to Paul. In addition the word was not used to indicate the Christians who live in a particular area, when they do not gather together. A further dimension of Paul's concept is indicated by the use of 'in Christ' which suggests that in addition to the physical gathering on earth, Christians belong to 'a heavenly church' which is 'permanently in session'. A variety of congregations met in Ephesus and elsewhere in Asia Minor and the Roman Empire. The relationships among the various churches were of a personal rather than an institutional nature. This took place by correspondence and personal visits, financial assistance of others in the time of need and prayer for each other. This organization of personal contacts was regarded as a family.

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13 Refer also to φιλάδεψως — hospitable (1 Tm 3:2) (Louw & Nida 1989:455).
5.5.2.6 The interface between structures and anti-structure
Integration of society's values by Christian groups was selective. On the one hand, they became models of civil conduct and on the other, rejected pagan cults and emperor worship as well as traditional Judaistic practices such as the Temple, Torah, circumcision and dietary requirements.

Theissen (1992:275) points out that Christianity at this stage could be seen as ...a new attempt by Judaism at acculturation into its environment'. This attempt was characterised by the renunciation of some rules of conduct that cut it off from the world around (especially the relaxation of the rules concerning, circumcision and a number of dietary injunctions).

Within the society of Asia Minor some groups found it easier to leave the 'old' world behind with its rules and regulations and enter into a new unrestricted state.

5.5.2.7 Boundaries were porous
The boundaries of the Pauline Christian groups were more open than other Christian groups and more inclusive in terms of women and slaves (Meeks 1983:78-79). It was also possible to move into and out of the group.14

Some groups clung to traditional patterns of Judaism whereas others moved out of them. Kraft (1975:175-176) provides a very general picture of a Christian as one having reverence for Jesus Christ, who is understood as the Messiah and Son of God. Kraft in comparing Jewish and Christian characteristics, concludes that there is nothing inherently incompatible with a person both Jewish and Christian. The question may also be asked: was it possible to be a Jew, a Christian and a worshipper of Artemis? In a survey of the Christian Jewish heritage, Kraft examines two aspects: The first, Judaism, as it existed then, and second, the ways in which the early Christians explicitly or implicitly affirmed some kind of continuity with various aspects of Judaism.15 The author of Acts, according to Meeks (1983:112-113), supposes links with the church in Jerusalem, where issues for arbitration are referred to the 'pillars' of the church in Palestine. Relationships between different households were fluid and disputes were settled within the Christian community. There was 'free movement' by 'apostles' between one congregation and another and no formal mechanism for settlement of disputes was in position at this early stage. Conflicts were resolved by meeting and talking and the 'apostolic letter' became a substitute whenever a face-to-face confrontation was not possible (Meeks 1983:113).

14 However, resocialisation into a Christian group meant relinquishing all other loyalties which was without precedent in antiquity except for Judaism (Meeks 1983:78).

15 Examples of Jewish-Christian groups include the Elkesaites or Ebionite Nazoreans, who borrowed practices, traditions and terms.
Petersen (1985:158) agrees that although it was essentially ‘a one-way street...’ from world into church it could occasionally be ‘two-way’. By entry into the Christian communities the initiate or convert escaped the ‘world’ of restrictive Judaism.

5.5.2.8 A widening gulf between Jews and Jewish and non-Jewish Christians

The New Testament contains documents that were written by Christians for Christians and they deal with specifically Christian issues (Safrai 1974:38). However, they are based on Jewish attitudes, Jewish ideas, and on typically Jewish methods of interpreting the scriptures. They also ‘...testify to the widening gulf between Jewish and non-Jewish Christians on the one hand and the Jews on the other’. Typically Jewish beliefs are given a unique Christology by Paul16 and other members of the early church.17 Meeks (1983:80-81) notes that Pauline Christianity took over scripture and the beliefs and norms as well as certain traditions ‘either whole or with some modifications from the Greek-speaking synagogues’.

Although Meeks (1986:110) posits that Christian groups became independent18 in their identity and organization at an early date, this may be disputed as Christianity and Judaism differed from city to city. Christianity was a form of Judaism ‘borrowed’ and ‘transformed’ by its environment and by the Christology of Paul and other Christian workers. ‘The first Christians assimilated great changes in perspective and role and purpose by filtering them through christological reflections....’ (Meyer 1986:23).

Although it is generally agreed that Judaism made a significant impact on early Christian self-definition and practices, as the movement became more and more Gentile in nature, it appears as if very little is reflected about the contribution of other cults and the mystery religions in the writings of Paul and other Christians. This is an unfortunate datum, especially when dealing with a letter to the Ephesian community.

A type of ‘existential reorientation’ occurred when people joined one of the three subcultures: Judaism, certain philosophical schools and Christianity. Turner (1969) refers to this re-orientation as ‘liminality’. Conversion meant relinquishing and despising that which was formerly revered. Within early Christianity ‘conversion’ became a pattern of behavior that was accessible to a broad spectrum of ordinary people. It was open for all and there were no social barriers. ‘Christianity began as an internal Jewish revival movement but as early as the forties of the first century it had turned into an intercultural movement’ not only that ‘...the integrative and intercultural character of

16 Refer also Moxnes (1980:78-99).
17 Christians could not have been visible to ‘non-Jewish outsiders as anything other than a schismatic Jewish group’ (Horsley 1992:122).
18 The maintenance and preservation of a separate Jewish identity was important. This was to be a source of dissonance among the Christian groups. The synagogue community/ies may have met in homes for synagogue purposes or as Meeks proposes ‘...the Jews had already advanced to the stage of possessing buildings used exclusively for the community’s function, however this may not have been the case in Ephesus.’
the new movement combined to be one of its most striking features' (Theissen 1992:261-264).

The state of liminality experienced after baptism into Christianity is described by Paul as 'in Christ'. It signifies 'not only a new purpose but a new mode of being'. It signifies being united with others in an 'organic unity and, with them, to transcend divisions, conflicts, bondages'(Meyer 1986:144-145).

Meeks (1974:169-174) introduces the notion that 'the symbolization of a reunified mankind was not just pious talk in early Christianity,'. It was considered a prime symbol of salvation and 'an important way of conceptualizing and dramatizing the Christians' awareness of their peculiar relationship to the larger societies around them' (Meeks 1974:166).

'Those who joined the Christian house church joined it as an association of equals.' It was particularly attractive to slaves or women who '...had little stake in the rewards of religion based either on class stratification or on male domination' (Fiorenza 1983:181).

Meeks (1973:168) accentuates the significance for the improved status of women in the 'general weakening of social categories'. There was an increase in mixed marriages between free slaves and free women, between Greek and non-Greek and persons of different economic status.

5.5.2.9 Self-definition of Christians
Meyer (1986:26) refers to self-definition as a 'structured process having three moments.' In order to arrive at a recognition of a new identity some self-understanding was necessary. This self-understanding evident in the trends towards emancipation, centered on the limited status and opportunities in society for women. Among men there were probably other factors such as the dissatisfaction already referred to 5.5.5.5. This awareness propelled their entry into different alternative structures. They then underwent either conscious or unconscious reshaping of their identity. Paul contributes to this self-definition and creation of a new 'world' — the anti-structure. Therefore the three moments were the awareness of dissatisfaction with the old state, entry into a new 'world' and conscious or unconscious shaping of this new 'world'. Meeks (1974:168) proposes that in the baptism ritual, when the Galatians 3:28 formula is pronounced, some of the early Christians thought of themselves as entering a 'new genus' of humanity.

The baptism ritual which was pronounced on a woman's entry into the Christian faith was not gender-specific. Baptism was common for proselytes into the Jewish faith. However, it is noteworthy that Paul includes an allusion to gender and that this ritual outlined in Galatians 3:27-28 definitely had implications for Christian women. It meant they could remain single or assume roles other than wife or mother, or obtain a new status based on their serving function (cf 5.6.2.13; Witherington 1988:77).
Moxnes (1980:78-99) argues that Paul uses 'God-language' as a method for unravelling the 'collective crisis of identity' of being both Christian and Jew. There is no doubt that Paul’s careful use of language establishes the identity of Christians as opposed to Jews and non-Jews. This will be illustrated in Chapter Six in an analysis of Paul’s use of language in 1 Timothy.

Neyrey (1991:23-4) refers to Paul’s symbolic universe as a system by means of which persons, objects, and places are classified, organised and maintained. Key terms that are applied to the maintenance of social boundaries of a group such as the congregation at Ephesus, include ‘purity’ and ‘pollution’. Entrance requirements into the ‘new’ group were modifications of past initiatory rites, circumcision was no longer necessary and baptism was modified but still essential. A new code of behaviour distinguished this group. In Christianity, the temple, sacrifice, passover, family and priesthood were also radically redefined in a most significant symbolism which included the eucharist, a meal commemorating Jesus’ Last Supper (Feeley-Harnik 1981:130).

5.5.2.10 Christian definition — Pauline metaphors

Paul refers to Christ as the ‘heavenly master’ (κύριος) in spite of his absence after his death, he is a key figure, whose presence is still experienced. It is to Jesus that initiates into the Christian faith owe their allegiance — they are his ‘subjects’ or ‘slaves’ (διάκονοι). The use of the term ‘Lord’ is prevalent in all the New Testament letters. Another term that has become highly significant is the ‘fatherhood of God’ and the ‘family’ of believers who are drawn into an intimate relationship of ‘brethren’ in the ‘household of God’. The use of this terminology in the sphere of the family household is transferred ‘metaphorically to the new social community, the ἐκκλησία in Ephesus and other centres which Paul visited (cf 6.2.4.2).

The following rituals redefined and established the transition:

■ Baptism

Maccoby (1991:127-128) maintains that Paul redefined the essentially Jewish rituals19 of baptism and qiddush20 in such a way that its aims become ‘non-Jewish and Hellenistic’. Christian baptism differed from the Jewish rite, which signified entry by a convert into the Jewish faith, because circumcision was no longer a requisite and neither was a sacrifice required at the Temple in Jerusalem. Instead Paul’s idea of baptism contains a radically new idea: ‘...the convert shares in the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus (Rm 6:1-4).’

19 McVann (1991:334) points out that rituals function in terms of status transformation. People might change roles. Those who have been excluded from aspects of societal life ‘...can be brought into the life of society by means of rituals which signal their status reversal....'.

20 The kiddush is a prayer or blessing over a cup of wine at the beginning of Shebat and festivals (Unterman 1991:113).
The eucharist
Perhaps the most shocking and unusual ritual but, at the same time, liberating activity, among Christians, was the celebratory meal, the eucharist. Feeley-Harnik (1981:2-10) affirms that the reason the early Christians chose to represent their beliefs in this manner can be found in the documents dealing with the eating habits of the Jews and Gentiles. She (Feeley-Harnik 1981:2) asserts that the 'eating behaviour', including the feeding miracles, dietary and fasting regulations and especially the last supper

...was intended to contrast their more universalistic politico-religious beliefs, attributed to Jesus Christ, with the more nationalistic conceptions of other Jewish sects, symbolized above all by the passover meal.

Her hypothesis is that food is '...one of the principal ways in which differences among social groups are marked.' Thus social differences either in gender, age or social class can be seen in the differentiated dietary rules. Yet Christian men and women ate and drank together, though women may have been served by men (hypothesis). Rohrbaugh (1991:146) construes that the Christian community was socially inclusive to an unusual degree, thus running the risk of being rejected by other '...social networks on which their positions depended.' He also concludes that if '...the Christian community provided a social haven for the poor, it occasioned social disaster for the rich.' The usual status markers and differences between rich and poor were withdrawn.

The fact that the benefactor is willing to take on the role of a servant represents a new concept of leadership and patronage.

The word 'to serve' was linked to food; it was the task of nurturing, associated with women and servants. Thus it was the task of providing life, but it had low status compared to that of free men...there is a paradoxical contrast between the master and the lowly task he is performing. Jesus is the master and benefactor, but now he appears in a totally unexpected role. He identifies greatness with the act of serving rather than being served. (Moxnes 1991:259)

In his analysis of Luke-Acts, Moxnes (1991:261) also refers to the transformation of the leadership structures and states that the greatest leaders had 'no different status from

21 The alien idea that Paul incorporates into the eucharist is: '... the mystical ingestion by initiates of divine substance' (Feeley-Harnik 1981:2).
the young and those who serve at tables'. In this state of liminality all distinctions of rank or hierarchy are removed. The revised self-definition included taking on the role of a servant irrespective of previous position in society at large.

5.5.2.11 Pauline codes of behavior and belief
McVann (1991:335) distinguishes between rituals and ceremonies. Ceremonies confirm the roles and the relationships between the roles called statuses within such institutions such as ‘kinship, politics, education, religion and economics’. Condemnation of certain practices and negative injunctions also provide a reference to the emerging community's sense of identity.

Paul condemns certain kinds of teaching and silences both male and female proponents of this teaching, often referred to as blasphemy (1 Tm 1:20). The exact nature of what is being refuted is not made clear. It is probable that it related to certain common practices in both Jewish and pagan cults.

Women in particular were heavily involved in magical practices which also involved incantations or magical curses.22 The possibility exists that it is these practices that are being denounced by Paul and this is the reason why he instructs women to silence. 1 Timothy 5:11-15 advises against enrolling younger women or widows who may '...have already gone astray after Satan' and who are 'workers of magic' (Kroeger & Kroeger 1992:62-63).

Paul's letter to Timothy cannot be read in isolation from his other correspondence in which early Christians shared the same symbolic universe.23 Paul uses language and symbols in such a way that is unique to himself and the group he addresses. This creates another world,24 the world of 'faith', particularly faith in the invisible presence of the resurrected Jesus Christ who was crucified outside Jerusalem.

5.5.2.12 Liminality status
With regard to liminality status, distinctions are segmentary/horizontal rather than hierarchical/vertical. In Galatians 3:28 Paul talks about equal rights of Jews, slaves and women. After initiation they are all free and belong to the liminal group which is in

22 Kroeger & Kroeger (1992:203) translate 1 Timothy 2:12 in this way: 'I forbid a woman to slay a man.' She elaborates that particularly in Cnidus, a town near Ephesus, cursing was used to deter people from carrying out certain actions. Cursing could also be used to consign someone to a deity associated with the world of the dead. Is this not what Paul does with Hymeneus and Alexander? Cursing was a way of venting hostility. Desperate women called upon Hecate and Dionysos to curse individuals who caused them problems. The curses were written on tablets of lead and left in the sanctuaries of the two goddesses or in the graves of the prematurely dead, in the sea and in wells. These curses have been discovered in various places including a city south of Ephesus.

23 Malina (1960:236) suggests a 'shared social system' gets its range of meanings from shared social definitions and expectations.

24 This 'world' which emphasised salvation through Jesus Christ was in opposition to the 'world' of legal Judaism that continued to emphasise sanctification.
transition to the heavenly 'city'. In naming these people Paul targets the 'disenfranchised' in Hellenistic cities, slaves and women.

The lower urban classes and people on the 'outskirts of local upper-class' were attracted to this supra-regional, spiritual koivwvia which was open to all men and women, irrespective of social or ethnic status. They did not encounter loyalty to the emperor25 enough probably because they did not experience its 'beneficial effects' (Theissen 1992:273).

Fiorenza (1978:158) perceives the significance of the church gathering within the home26 (the sphere of women) and it is within this location that equal opportunities for women were provided. The roles were mainly 'serving' roles. She adds that wealthy women were notorious for opening up their premises and houses to Oriental cults and their associated worship (1 Cor 16:19; Rm 16:5).

Petersen (1985:157) maintains that all distinctions between male and female were segmentary rather than hierarchical27 and that they belonged 'on the horizontal rather than vertical axis of social differentiation'. Segmentary distinctions did not apply outside the church where there was largely 'one-way from the world' to the church.

The use of symbolic forms such as 'household of God' and 'body' serve to establish a quality of social relations that is based on a mutuality of affection and responsibility rather than on the power of superordinate over subordinates. Individuals were required to perform tasks in accordance with Paul's perceptions of God's laws, requirements and purposes. Each member of the household had a role to play for the benefit of the whole household. Paul created his own world according to his perceptions of God's laws and requirements (Petersen 1985:152-157). In addition to the 'household' metaphor, 'master-slave' and 'kinship' metaphors are evident in 1 Timothy (cf 6.2.4.2).

There were no distinctions between male and female 'in Christ'. Similarly there was no distinction between servant and free. In fact, within Christian structures roles were either reversed or nullified as all were expected to become servants. This unusual phenomena will be discussed further below (cf 6.2.4.2). Paul and others founded a community but once it was established they moved on leaving it in the hands of the 'owner of the house'. The structure of the administration evolved from the roles (offices) performed by the individual members and only later became 'vested in the office' (Petersen 1985:159-237).

25 The crux of this argument is precisely this hierarchical, patriarchal family structure which was inverted in the structures and relationships of the church or 'the household of God'. There was also a sense of dissatisfaction with the 'cult' of Judaism or the variety of cults around Ephesus.

26 Meeks (1986:113) asks the question whether '...Christian groups upset the order of the household when new converts were initiated using the Galatians formula.'

27 He recognises that 1 Corinthians 14:33b-36 appears to counter his proposal and therefore suggests that these verses are later non-Pauline interpolations.
Similarly, expressions of anti-structures as inverted perspectives of the world's reality occur in Paul's perceptions on marriage as they are reflected in 1 Corinthians 7. Traditionally, patriarchally dominant structures existed in marriage relationships. For Paul and thus the church, celibacy\(^{28}\) becomes the anti-structure of marriage (1 Tm 5:11-12). As in 1 Corinthians believers should be concerned about 'pleasing the Lord'. In 1 Timothy 5:11-16 Paul concedes marriage for the sake of those who would not remain 'steadfast in their desire for Christ alone'. Petersen (1985:159) also describes how Paul anti-structurally condemns and denies any distinction between slaves and free, rich and poor. In this inverted symbolism, slaves and their masters are social equals 'in Christ'. Paul does not advocate the abolition of slavery, however, he simply redefines slaves' identity in terms of their relationships to other members.

When such past distinctions are erased God is perceived as the God of both Jew and Gentile and old maps are replaced by new maps of classification of persons. Neyrey (1990:67) quoting Malina states:

> The baptismal formulae continue to erase patterns of classification found in the old maps. "In Christ" there are no distinctions of male and female, a statement that could strike at the root value whereby all persons in the Mediterranean world were classified, the values of "honor and shame" that distinguished male and female.

However, Neyrey (1990) cautions the use of modern attempts to understand these new maps in terms of modern egalitarianism instead of the liminal or transitional status of an entrant into the church. He questions whether Paul expected the same 'absence of status among those fully initiated into the world after their rite of passage.' (Neyrey 1990:68).

Paul depicts Christ as Lord, even **κύριος τῶν κυριεύοντων** (1 Tm 6:15). All those who are 'in Christ' are his servants and dependent upon him. This system of symbolism provides people who share in it an opportunity to transcend their present situation. The effectiveness and continuity of this evolving system of symbolism is maintained and sustained by rituals\(^{29}\), ceremonies\(^{30}\), disciplinary activities, meetings and codes of behaviour. Paul and his designate Timothy, serve as role models for proper behaviour within this new society (1 Tm 4:12).

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\(^{28}\) A significant feature of liminality is sexual abstinence or celibacy (Turner 1969:104).

\(^{29}\) Neyrey (1990:79) points out that rituals perform the function of 'status reversal or status transformation'.

\(^{30}\) Ceremonies serve 'to confirm values and structures' within the groups. Kinship (families and household) is mentioned as a primary institution alongside the *polis* in the ancient society (Neyrey 1990:78).
The most elucidating letter on Paul's views on marriage can be seen in his response to problems in the Corinthian congregation found in 1 Corinthians 7. It is interesting that a discussion on circumcision and slavery (vv 17-24) is located in the middle of a chapter on marriage. This may suggest a pattern which is also found in Galatians 3:28; 1 Corinthians 12:13; Colossians 3:11 which involves the three most important basic social differences found in the first century society: sexual (male/female), social (master/slave) and ethnic (Jew/Greek). Paul digresses here to discuss the major social and ethnic differences in the Corinthian congregation because his response emphasises, to Christians, that irrespective of their situation they are equal and united in the 'body of Christ'.

Brooke (1992:257-277) argues that on the basis of 1 Corinthians 11:2-16, Paul's primary intention was not to enforce a subordinate role on women. Pauline Christianity brought a new understanding of the 'basic patterns of creation'. Women are not subordinate to men but have a 'mutual claim, and even a mutual rule over each other'. Paul advocates a '...mutual authority, a notion which is a far cry from most Jewish and pagan attitudes to marriage, where man is the dominant partner'.

Within Christianity women were accorded administrative and other functions within the context of the cult or worship. This included prophesying and teaching, at the very least teaching other women. However, some of the teaching propounded by certain women was considered erroneous by Paul (1 Tm 2:12). This pronouncement in 1 Timothy was made to counter the incorrect teaching on one of the following issues: the implications of a creation order, an over-emphasis on celibacy as a means of heightened spiritual experience on the part of women or as Kroeger & Kroeger (1992:103) advocate that women were forbidden to teach that woman was the 'originator of man' (cf 6.3).

5.5.2.13 A new sense of identity for women
In the anti-structure women were not only accepted as equal they had a sense of worth and recognition that may not be overlooked. Monogamy and the prohibition of divorce were to women's advantage. In marriage relationships instead of submission on the part of the wife alone, Paul now advocates mutual submission of both husband and wife thereby curtailing the husband's authority.

31 Paul answers the question about marriage, virginity and celibacy on the basis of his understanding of the meaning of 'no male and female in Christ' (Witherington 1988:26).
32 His intention was to clear up certain misconceptions regarding 'the relationship between the orders of creation and redemption in Christian theology'.

Paul addressed all members of the community including the women when he used such terms as 'the brethren' which was inclusive of women. Women were active at all levels within the Christian congregations.33

Fiorenza (1983:172) states that Paul is expressing his own opinion on celibacy as the best state for missionary work (1 Cor 7:24). When women feature as active in missionary and church work, it is not their role as wives and mothers which takes precedence but rather their commitment to the work of the gospel.

The fact that Christian believers experience a new sense of their identity 'in Christ' does not alter the fact that they must live and socialize in the old world. Paul does not suggest that slavery be abolished, but that masters and slaves treat each other as equals but at the same time be the best master or slave possible (1 Tm 6:1-3).

Theissen (1992:285) concurs that Christians were set apart by 'alternative values and rules of conduct' which were adhered to — to the point of martyrdom. Rules of conduct were shared, for example, between husband and wife, slave and master, children and fathers. They employed what Theissen calls 'outbidding the consensus'. The conflict was not as Theissen posits between upper and lower classes but rather a need for recognition for those who were 'disenfranchised', women and slaves. Some Christians may have been on the periphery of the local upper class with a relatively high status but they were excluded from communal office in civic life because they were women (Theissen 1992:268-284). However, they were included in all the activities in Christian circles.

It is possible that Paul's statements in Galatians 3:28 particularly, were interpreted as 'new freedom for women'. Not all the implications of this freedom were clear and this is then clarified by Paul in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 and 1 Timothy 2:8-15.

The role of women in the Pauline movement is much greater and much more nearly equal to that of men than in contemporary Judaism. (Meeks 1983:81)

Women had an importance which should not be underestimated. Meeks (1983:135) also confirms that it was not until the second century that roles became fully institutionalised.34

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33 Nympha in Colossians 4:15 would have functioned alongside men in the 'fullest' capacity. Women became co-workers with Paul (Ac 18:18). Apollos in Ephesus was instructed by husband and wife. The wife is mentioned first (Ac 18:27). Other female co-workers include Tryphaena and Tryphosa (Rm 16:12); Phoebe (Rm 16:2); Euodia and Syntyche (Phlm 2:2-4); Junias (Rm 16:7); and others not specifically mentioned by name.

34 Meeks (1974:200) states that in the Corinthian congregation Paul approved equivalent roles and a mutuality of relationship in matters such as divorce, marriage and the 'charismatic leadership of the church'.
Monogamy and the prohibition of divorce were to women's advantage. In Christianity especially in certain geographical locations such as Ephesus, there was more scope for women. Banks (1980:114-129) draws attention to the fact that although women were predominantly regarded as second-class citizens throughout the Roman Empire, in some places particularly in the Eastern Provinces women were able '... to participate alongside men in public commercial and religious life, own property and have a considerably independent existence'. Among the philosophers there were '... pleas for a large measure of equality between men and women.' (Especially by Musonius Rufus, Fragments, III-IV). Women often overshadowed men by their 'shrewd exercise of political power'. Their rights extended not only politically but also economically and legally (Meeks 1973:168). In Greece women were even permitted into the ranks of professional athletes for the first time.

Galatians 3:28 has definite social implications for women. They are 'able to assume roles other than wife and mother' (Witherington 1988:77; Fiorenza 1983:172). Not only Christianity but also other cultic associations disregarded 'ordinary social roles' (Meeks 1974:169). Women became co-workers with Paul (Ac 18:18).35

The role of women in Pauline groups was 'nearly equal to men' (Meeks 1983:81). Witherington (1988:109-112) reiterates Brooten's assertions above, that the Jewish synagogue provided a pattern for leadership within the churches of the diaspora. The pattern that emerged seemed to comprise apostles; Paul's travelling co-workers (Priscilla, Aquila, Timothy, and others) and local leaders. Paul's co-workers had a wide range of functions: letter-writing, encouragement, establishment of house-churches, teaching and evangelizing. The various churches did not develop at the same rate or have the same structure. Church leadership, those involved in 'labouring, administering' verbal discipline or acting as a patron or protector were those who were wealthy and owned large homes. Previously, in more rabbinical circles, sexual distinctions created religious barriers. However, Paul tries to use the abolition of such distinctions to build up and knit the Church together.

It is possible as Scroggs (1982) reasons that 'Paul wanted to eliminate the inequality between the sexes, while the Gnostics wanted to eliminate the distinctions between the sexes.' Witherington (1988) concurs with this but does not see it as 'Paul's main agenda'. In the end, women were actively involved in the ongoing ministry of the early church and all offices/functions /leadership roles were available to all Christians.

35 'When certain deficiencies became apparent at Ephesus in the teaching of an itinerant Jewish-Christian, Apollos, both wife and husband (she again named first) are involved in setting him straight (Acts 18:27)'. Female co-workers include Priscilla (Ac 18:27), Rm 16:4; Tryphaena and Tryphosa Rm 16:12; Phoebe Rm 16:2 Euodia and Syntyche Phlp 4:2; Junias Rm 16:7, and others not mentioned specifically by name.
5.5.2.14 The family of God
An intimacy between Christians was evident in the use of kinship metaphors such as τέκνον; ἀδελφός; πατρὸς/πατήρ; μητέρος/μήτηρ.

Men and women usually shared meals except during feast occasions when it was a purely male occasion. It is likely that both men and women shared the eucharist and any other common meal because of its spiritual significance for the Christian community. Women prepared the meals and male and female slaves waited at the tables (Lk 7:37-38). There were often disputes about the places of honour around the table (Lk 14:7-14). The host usually allocated the seating arrangement. Conventionally the seating was according to age and status (Du Plessis 1980:25-41). It may be speculated that such distinctions may have fallen away within Christian circles. It should be remembered that common meals and the eucharist meals shared by early Christians were an expression of their equality one with another and their acceptance and intimacy with each other and with God. Sharing meals not only unified symbolically but also established koinonia.

Even a cursory examination of 1 Timothy reveals that Paul is shaping his communities in terms of a 'fictive' family. (An examination of material pertaining to semantic fields and social domains of the household will be done in 6.2.4.2). Elliott (1991:224-232) asserts that Luke-Acts, more than any other New Testament document, clarifies the role that 'private houses and households played in the spread of the Jesus movement'. These fictional and probably also real family ties were united in their faith in the resurrected Jesus Christ.

The 'head' of the household or 'Lord' is Jesus (Lk 12:35-40; 13:22-30; 14:7-11). He is the host of every meal and the members of the family are his servants. Typical of this family life in the household of God is 'inclusiveness, fellowship, status reversal, reciprocal service, and joy'.

There exists some debate among scholars (Meeks 1993:78) as to whether Paul draws upon some fixed household code when referring to management of the households. No conclusive evidence can be provided to ascertain this assumption and at most one may assume that the discussion of household management and duties was an important topic from the time of Aristotle onwards and that there was no change in

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36 Early Christians used the language of food and the family meal to establish the legitimacy of Jesus and the novelty of his message. 'The last supper, ...establishes binding relations between human beings and God, but relations of a very different order from those established in scripture or by other sectarians' (Feeley-Harnik 1981:19). The 'breaking of the bread' which introduced the celebration of the eucharist occurred in the private homes of the faithful (Ac 2:46-20:7).

37 Meeks (1986:131) states that although the Graeco-Roman household was the context within which Christian groups were shaped, '...it ran up against contradictory values...' in the rituals of the sect. Problems included the roles of women and slaves and difficulties over other matters such as contaminated food.
the dominant patriarchal orientation of the family in either pagan Jewish or Christian households.  

It is likely that an average elite urban household included not only the members of the immediate family but also slaves and unmarried female relatives, freed persons, labourers, tenants, business associates and clients and that a study of the house church sheds light on the social status of the members of the household and explains why the members of such a community came from different groups and ranks of society. Other cults or associations that met in homes included the mystery cult of Dionysus as well as Bon Dea.

An explanation for the pre-occupation in 1 Timothy with household tasks also lies in the fact that the early church met in homes.

5.5.2.15 Public roles

Moxnes (1991:262-263) examines the roles played by Christian women in the wider society as portrayed in Luke-Acts. Lydia (Ac 16:14-15) played an important role as a benefactor. She probably ‘...belonged to a number of active working women of relatively low status, but who had the opportunity to enhance their status through their own work and initiative.’ There is also a member of the elite, Joanna, the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward. Luke portrays them as patrons who serve (Lk 8:3).

The Christian groups were probably made up of members from many different groups, elite and non-elite. There were probably some women with higher status (Moxnes 1991:267). Christianity would have been an unusual institution in the first century as it afforded social mobility on an upward scale. Usually the elite and non-elite members of the city did not mix.

5.5.2.16 Cultic activities

It would appear that arguments between the men and differences in social backgrounds among the women created problems in the churches in Ephesus. Paul's egalitarian stance may have caused the 'slaves and women' to become a threat to the male Jewish privileged section of society in their standing with the authorities of the city. The proclamation that in Christ there are no distinctions (Gl 3:28; 1 Cor 12:12,13; Col 3:11) would understandably generate a longing for full acceptance in the church by slaves and women. However, it should be borne in mind that in 1 Timothy as in 1 Corinthians 7, the focus appears to be on family relationships, not on relationships with

38 Witherington (1988:45) finds it interesting that as patriarchal as Philo is, wishing women confined to the house, a woman is said to be governor of the household in charge of its management. In short, there is no mention of the husband being the head of the household.

39 In addition, the relationship with other Jewish synagogues was tested by Paul's insistence that Jewish Christians should not expect Gentile Christians to live Jewishly.
church authorities which were at this early stage loose and undefined. The structure of the family had a bearing on general church matters and so it is included in a letter addressed to a church, but the focus is on sound family relationships. In fact there is a reference to the limitation of patriarchal authority in Colossians by the instructions to fathers regarding the behavior towards their children. Witherington (1988:26-54) draws the following conclusions: there is not a '...total rejection of a patriarchal family structure, but we do find a modification and limitation of the husband/father authority structure....' (Col 3:18-21). If in Colossians we saw the beginnings of an attempt to give a Christian definition of what the family structures ought to be in the Christian community, then in Ephesians we see that attempt carried much further in Ephesians 5:21. There is an exhortation to 'submit to one another' implying mutual submission of all Christians to each other which includes marital partners. Thus the injunction in 1 Timothy 2:12 cannot be applied to the relationship of husband and wife and the reference lies somewhere else. Chapter Six will provide further evidence that Paul is not addressing husbands and wives in this section. Meeks (1986:113) maintains that 'women did play a very large part in the mission and patronage and leadership of the Pauline groups. In fact as a result the second century leaders...wrote pseudonymously to reaffirm old Aristotelian rules of wifely submission....'.

5.6 Summary and conclusions

During the middle of the first century C E societal conflicts and dissensions or even merely dissonance within certain structures, such as Judaism, effected social changes. The process of change is described by the anthropologist, Turner, in terms of anti-structures which are composed of 'liminal' and communitas elements.

Some of the dissonance may be attributed to certain groups' dissatisfaction with cultic dietary and other restrictions. Women in particular had a 'heightened awareness' of their frustrations with traditional social roles (Meeks 1974: 179).

There are three 'moments' in this social process. Firstly, the realisation of discontent concerning the stable rigid structure; secondly a transition or liminal phase where freedom and abolishment of restrictions and rank are evident; and thirdly, the establishment of a new structure.

At the time of Paul's letter to Timothy, Christian society was still in the second stage. It was loose and undefined. Paul and other 'shapers' had the task of putting markers and boundaries, rules and regulations in place.

The two states, structure and anti-structure (cf diagram on p 125a), were still interfacing each other and no separation or clear identity had yet been formed.

Features of this liminal status can be identified in Paul's writings and have been examined briefly above. Although Paul is given the credit for such 'world-shaping', there were no doubt other significant Christians who performed the same role.

Particular features of this liminal state included:
* A system of intimate social relationships (communitas) which involved intense caring for one another.
* A distinct lack of distinctions in rank or wealth.
* Egalitarian treatment with regard to gender, ethnicity and social class.
* A redefinition of established rituals and symbols.

There is little doubt that a woman was considered inferior to a male from the time of her birth onwards in all strands of ancient Mediterranean society. She married young and was transferred as property, from the control of one male, her father, to the control of another, her husband. She was expected to provide her husband with children preferably male, rear them and organise the household. The household was composed of her immediate family members as well as a large number of slaves and visitors. Many women were satisfied with this typical domestic role. There was probably not the drudgery associated with twentieth century households, due to the large number of servants. Many women were content with their cloistered secluded existence, away from male public society. Within the domestic realm women were in total control. Many religious festivals and holy days provided opportunities to venture out in public and perhaps, as in the case of Dionysiac festivals, to find release in dancing and worshipping in the hills. This was the pattern for Hellenistic, Roman and Asian women.

Beyond the domestic realm certain women, probably wealthy elite sought honourable status in society. Macedonian women were known to have been queens and other prominent functionaries. They fulfilled priestly roles as well as other positions of authority within civic and cultic life. Yet their Athenian counterparts did not yet enjoy such places of honour or appear on civic inscription lists.

In Rome some women led extremely active business and social lives freely crossing cultural restrictions between men and women. The cult of the Vestal Virgins and its significance for the state imbued femininity with importance. However, they were not encouraged to model their lives on the Virgins as this had a detrimental effect on the number of children born into the state. This was a cause for concern for Augustus who actively encouraged women to pursue marriage and bear many children for the sake of the state. Augustus was also distressed by some cults especially that of Isis which met personal and emotional needs of women as opposed to the needs of the state. Although active in public spheres they did not, as their Macedonian and Asian counterparts, have access to positions such as empress or similar positions in society. Their husbands wielded the powers in the state though they were often influenced by their wives. The socially upward mobility of certain women in Roman and Asian society was evident and it was their business interests which enabled them to accumulate wealth and own property. Previously women were severely economically disadvantaged having no property or financial security of their own and in the light of easy divorce they could...
often be left destitute. Even their dowries often became the property of their husband. Wealth meant an opportunity to achieve status, public honour and recognition within society. A woman could now choose to become a patron of many guilds, associations or cults. As patron she would receive in return a position of honour and be permanently remembered in inscriptions as a benefactor. It is these inscriptions which bear witness to the increased emancipation of women within the society of Asia Minor and beyond. Women were becoming more autonomous and moving out of traditional roles into public offices. This was particularly the case in Asia Minor where inscriptions reveal the prominence of women and their wide range of interests.

It is likely that this evidence of women’s emancipation in certain centres may be in part attributed to the attraction of foreign cults, such as those associated with Isis, where women played significant priestly roles. Involvement in religious activities cannot be separated from civic duties, as in many cases the cult was attached to the welfare of the city — in particular the cult of Artemis embodied the economic, educational as well as the religious welfare of the city. Some women were involved in administration and management and were not only religious officials presiding over cultic affairs, but were involved in the affairs of the city.

This liberation from traditional domestic affairs for certain women was not only evident among Macedonian, Roman and Asian women but also Jewish women (though perhaps only in the limited geographical locality of Asia Minor). They also were beginning to assume greater responsibilities. Certain synagogues, the more liberal on the spectrum gave women positions of authority and honour. It would seem from inscriptive evidence that at first there was only limited participation. However, it is probably these freer synagogues which provided fertile soil for Paul’s law-free gospel.

Christianity was that expression of Judaism on the extreme liberal pole of the spectrum, while the other extreme was characterised by intense misogynism and exclusion of women from cultic activities on account of their ritual impurity. This relegated women to an inferior status in life. These more liberal synagogues were a threat to the conservative ones desiring to retain their Jewish identity, an identity linked to the Temple and the land of Palestine and controlled by the Torah.

It is doubtful that the conservative synagogues held much attraction for Gentile women. More likely it was the more liberal synagogues which had female leaders, to which Gentile women were attracted and converted in large numbers to Judaism. Features of the more liberal synagogues included a revision of Jewish symbols, rituals and beliefs. Within certain synagogues in Ephesus and beyond Jewish symbols, rituals and beliefs were Christianised. Another attractive feature was the emphasis on intimacy between adherents as they became members of an extended family and linked up with other families with similar beliefs even beyond Ephesus. Converts from all walks of life, male and female were encouraged to join. In addition it provided some financial security for many poor widows (left destitute in a society where it was not the norm for a woman to be financially independent of men). This association of equals (unusual in a
society which functioned on and was sustained by honour and benefits from the wealthy) emphasised their relationship and commitment to one another in terms of a fictive family. Paul's different perspective of Judaism and women's roles, relationships and rights in society was instrumental in the creation of a new sense of identity for women.

It was not until the second century when the more conservative elements within Judaic Christianity once again established rules and regulations which resulted in putting women back in their traditional place - exclusion from Jewish cultic affairs.

In terms of Turner's theory it may be reflected that the societal conflicts, dissections or even dissonances between strands of Judaism produced social change.

Aspects of this dissonance may be attributed to different expectations in Judaism, such as sanctification versus salvation. In the former the need existed to adhere to strict dietary and other restrictions as well as the necessity of links with Temple while the other depended on an Messianic figure. This process of change is described by Turner in terms of anti-structures, which are composed of two elements, liminality and communitas. The other instrument which propelled social change at this time was the 'heightened awareness' of women of their frustration with traditional social roles which were economically and psychologically disadvantageous.

Three 'moments' or phases can be identified in this social process: first the realisation of a state of discontent with the rigid, oppressive structure, second a transitional or liminal phase where freedom and abolishment of restrictions and rank are evident and thirdly, the establishment of a new structure.

At the time of Paul's letter to Timothy the Christian society was still in the second phase of this process. It was loose and undefined. Paul and other 'shapers' had the task of fixing boundaries, rules and regulations.

The two states, structures and anti-structures, were at an interface. Christianity as yet had no separate or clearly defined identity of its own.

Features of this liminal state can be identified in Paul's writings. The majority of scholars have treated Paul's theology as a doctrinal study without reference to the wider context in which his ideas and the exigency which he addressed, emerged.

The wider setting of both Judaism and syncretism of Asia Minor is significant as it provides some clues to the nature of the implied audience in Paul's letter to Timothy to which we now turn in Chapter Six.
MOVEMENT BETWEEN VARIOUS RELIGIOUS GROUPINGS
CHAPTER SIX: THE WORLD WITHIN THE TEXT — WHERE THE TWO WORLDS MEET

A text [as a "meaning generating-mechanism"] and its readership are in a relationship of mutual activation... (Lotman 1990:11-111).

6.1 General Introduction

Before finally correlating the world beyond the text with the world within the text a hypothetical construction of the rhetorical and argumentative situation will be provided by means of analysing communicative and literary elements as contained in the text.

At the end of Chapter Five it was concluded that most exegetes of Paul’s letters tend to neglect historical contexts while concentrating merely on his theology. All too often texts are treated merely as sources of information and the communicatory force of the documents is frequently overlooked (Vorster 1990:111).

In an analysis of the communicative aspects of the text, various factors should be considered:

- an understanding of the communication process (author—message/text—audience);
- the possible reciprocal interaction of these three constituents as can be construed from the text;
- a focus on the codes of the message/text; and an analysis of the possible literary processes by means of which the text operated, such as genre and discourse.

The procedure followed in this chapter will take place in two distinct stages, indicated as Part One and Part Two.

In Part One, the world within the text is analysed in terms of its communicative features. However, an analysis of the structural elements alone is insufficient. Therefore, a discourse analysis will search for underlying motives of the author and the nature of both the audience\(^2\) and the ‘issue’. The genre is also seen as a part of the argumentative strategy, therefore, the structure of the letter will not be neglected.

During the discourse analysis relevant semantic domains and themes will become apparent. The target pericope will be scrutinised for further evidence of such themes.

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1 The focus will be both on the ‘persuasive strategies’ implemented by the author and the ‘issue’ in the process of persuasion. Cf Lategan (1992:258) for an explanation of these strategies.

2 There are many audiences. In this instance the audience is that which is implied by the author in the text of 1 Timothy, particularly 1 Timothy 2:8-3:1(a).
An interpretation of the themes and cognates will be undertaken in the light of the background sketched in Chapters Four and Five.

It should be pointed out that in reality the final 'interactiveness' of the text, that is the assimilation of rhetorical aspects can only really become possible when the text is made to interact with the world beyond it — where the world within the text is made to overlay the world beyond the text, and vice versa.

Part One: Using a literary-communicative approach to construe the world within the text

6.2 Generating the world within the text — theory and practice

This chapter has one major overarching objective, namely to provide a possible construction of the conceptual world and the situation or issue of exigence present in 1 Timothy 2:8-3:1(a).

An analysis is attempted on the basis of a model of communication which provides a two-way flow of images and concepts and involves many different factors. An important additional feature in the process is the 'tension' created by 'distance and presence' (author and audience). Paul has knowledge about both the nature of his audience and the exigence or issue — clues about these elements are reflected in the text. He has judged the situation and uses the letter as a means to effect change. He has in mind a knowledge of where the audience is at present and also an idea of where he would like them to be — this causes a 'dialectic tension' between author and audience (Lategan 1992:258). In discovering where the tensions lie, certain 'clues to the issue' will be found. With these features in mind an interactional model is essential (Vorster 1990:107).

An approximation of meaning cannot be found in the relationship between structural or linguistic entities alone, but is found in the nature of the exigence — or rather the interaction between the exigence and the linguistic elements. It is, therefore, determined by social and psychological factors (Vorster 1990:108-9).

Under consideration, from this perspectivist and etic interpretation, are: the issue and situation of exigence (circumstances surrounding the issue); the rhetorical situation,3 the actants, audience and their attitudes towards one another, as well as the intended response (Vorster 1990:118).

6.2.1 Reading the text as interactive process
Recently several scholars, such as Lategan and Vorster (1985), Webb (1986), Vorster (1990), Black (1992), Van Dyke Paranuk (1992) and others have indicated that a

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3 This text is viewed as a text of persuasion or an argumentative text.
literary approach should entail far more than an analysis of the structure of a discourse and the relationship between its pericopes.

When constructing a framework for discourse structures it is useful to keep two dichotomies in mind (Van Dyke Parunak 1992:208). The first component is the text and the world that it conjures up in Paul's implied audience. The presumption is that as the audience experiences the text, a whole new world is constructed and elaborated on, by means of past experiences. This 'marriage' of the world generated by the text and the integration with other knowledge lead to the generation of a set of possible worlds. The second component is the text itself, comprised of certain entities and the relationships among these. Linguistic referentials point to other entities such as persons, objects, events, processes and states which present an actual or potential exigence.

Two sentences with two identical syntactical structures can have entirely different meanings depending upon the situation in which they occur. Therefore meaning does not lie in the linguistic elements of the text only but in the interaction with the 'speech situation'.

Webb (1986:37) provides a useful model of the various features which contribute to this communicative event.

<table>
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<th>A</th>
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<td>leads to choices on three levels</td>
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A = Physical situation/context (time, geographical location) and the subject (where, when, why)
B = Motive of the speaker (the psychological context)
C = Participants (the social context)
D = Behavioural norms
E = Linguistic devices
F = Rhetorical devices

4 This is confirmed by Lotman (1990:18) who is of the opinion that: 'The text is not only the generator of new meanings, but also a condenser of cultural memory.'
5 Neufeld (1994:4) contends that perspectives which are dominated by historical concerns 'limit exegesis to predictable variations on a theme.' He pointed out that the phrases about the world 'in front of the text' and the 'world behind the text' originated with Paul Ricoeur: Biblical Hermeneutics Semeia 4 (1975:27-148).
6 Vorster (1990) points out the usefulness of this particular model. Webb's example above is given in the context of the twentieth century Dutch Reformed worship service. Webb also stresses the role played by the environment and the theological and rhetorical nature of this type of communication.
It can be deduced from the above diagram that a writer had to make choices regarding genre and the type of linguistic and rhetorical devices to accomplish his or her intentions.

In a linguistic approach certain aspects of this model will be incorporated in order to avoid the pitfalls of conventional historical approaches. An examination of the world in the text include the following factors: motive, linguistic devices, rhetorical devices, genre and text.

Webb's model has some obvious deficiencies; the most significant is the one-way flow of the communication. There are also many other features of communication which have not been included, for example, the participants in the 'narrative' context.

A semantic discourse analysis follows, which will examine the structure/form of the letter and the relationships existing between lexemes and cognates and also between macro- and micro-discourse structures. The discoursé structure is fundamentally linked to larger units of discourse (macrostructures) rather than to individual lexemes (microstructures).

Meanings are often embedded in deeper structures which can be discovered by discourse analysis (Louw 1977:29-68). Thus meanings can also be determined by the way in which the author combines lexemes and the arrangement of larger units.

6.2.2 Rhetorical perspectives in the process of communication
Rhetoric presupposes that the world within the text is at most, only half of the communication process. It is, therefore, necessary to align and integrate rhetorical strategies with the situation that possibly existed beyond the text.
CHAPTER 6: THE WORLD WITHIN THE TEXT...TWO WORLDS MEET

Vorster (1990:107-128) proposes an ‘interactional model’11 where the text is seen as part of a rhetorical situation. A letter which is also considered a ‘text of persuasion’ (such as 1 Timothy) should not only be studied structurally but also in terms of its argumentation strategy and the rhetorical situation within which it is located.

*Rhetorical status* is a term used by Vorster (1990:118-130) who recognised the need to go further than a structural analysis of the text12. He recognised that the dynamic features of the text have an impact on the audience and an interaction occurs, in much the same way as in a conversation. In differing contexts the same words may have totally different meanings which are dependent on the motives of the utterer and also the *topoi*13 with which both speaker and hearer are familiar. Items such as the speaker’s perception of himself and his addressee/s become important. Other factors exerting an influence within the situation of communication include: the physical situation or context; the intention of the speaker; the participants; rhetorical techniques as well as the genre. There are often hidden propositions between the lines of the text and these have to be inferred14 (Vorster 1990:114-117). Meaning is determined by the author and the hearer’s perceptions, his/her point of view, social values and social relationship and the status that exists between the speaker and hearer. A possible key to the problem of 1 Timothy is provided by Lategan et al (1991:376-384). He states that it is no longer sufficient to say that 1 Timothy reflects a *polemic* situation. Against the background of the gospels, the letters are now generally regarded as *argumentative* and directed at the goal of convincing the readers/hearers. In other words, this involves ‘*shaping*’ their beliefs and behaviour (for example) into a Pauline Christian mould. When one takes into account the identity of the audience or congregations to which these words were directed,15 certain tensions become evident and it would appear that these were merely a matter of the degree of *definition*16 between those belonging to the ‘in-group’ and those on the outside.

The letter is directed at the congregations through the intermediary, Timothy. Lategan (1991:380) refers to a triangular relationship between the writer, Timothy and the congregations. On the surface it is apparent that the congregations are the ultimate target — note that the direct speech ‘I urged you’ (1:3) gives way to the third person ‘If anyone aspires to bishop...’ (3:1).

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11 In a similar sense Neufeld (1994:3) argues that within 1 John ‘self-involving speech acts’ involve and transform both the author and the reader.

12 See also Webb (1986), Vorster (1990) and Lategan (1992) above.

13 A *topos* is not the same as a theme, since it functions on a different level. It is rather ‘...a tactical aid or move...by the persons in the rhetorical situation’ (Vorster 1990:123).

14 Searle (1979) and Leech (1983) explore these inferences.

15 One must bear in mind that they were Gentiles steeped in a background of polytheism and familiar with a world of ‘deceitful spirits and doctrines of demons’ (4:1) and the ‘snare of the devil’ (3:6).

16 However, this definition is understood: i.e *self-definition* or by someone else, in this case by Paul.
In addition, Lategan (1991:381-384) points out that the content of the confession in 1 Timothy 3:16 is universal and is not related to the theology developed in the rest of the letter. The content of the rest of the letter is more concerned with ethics or the behaviour of the householders, than the nature of God. The rhetorical situation is one in which the basic theological questions have already been established but it now concerns the shaping of the faith. Not only faith is being shaped but also their way of life, world-view and identity. It is also questionable whether Paul had all his ‘basic theological questions’ established. It is more probable that he was also ‘in transit’ from being a Jew towards becoming a Christianised Jew. Paul makes it clear what is and what is not permitted within the parameters of Pauline Christianity in its Ephesian form/s. Quinn (1992:565) posits that the lists of ‘bad qualities’ contrasted with the lists of ‘good qualities’ serve ‘...to identify the Christian in contrast to the unbeliever;...’ and is directed at certain groups within the community.

6.2.3 The text as genre — letter elements and communication

The author has chosen to use the genre of a letter in which to communicate his requests to the receptor/s. This choice forms part of the author’s argumentative strategy (Olsson 1986:125). The overall structure of 1 Timothy resembles the conventional letter forms of the first century together with a distinctively Pauline creativity. Du Toit (1985:4-5) points to the conversational elements which are present in Paul’s first letter to Timothy. These elements include conversation (homilia); presence (parousia) and affection (philophronesis). Although conversational in tone, the letter is ‘somewhat more polished than the dialogue...’ (Du Toit 1985:5). In addition, although the usual Greek letters of that period were often impersonal; the Pauline letters did not use the usual stereotyped ‘almost meaningless forms’. Paul ‘transforms, adapts, and supplements the various categories’ traditionally found within the usual Greek letter (Du Toit 1985:7-10).

Paul adapted Graeco-Roman letter forms for Christian purposes, thereby creating a new literary genre (Doty 1973:21,26-27; Du Toit 1985:1-17). Obviously he was not writing to an individual only, but in his role as an apostle, he directed his words

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17 Ellis (1993:663) maintains that 1 Timothy maybe likened to the Qumran’s ‘manual of discipline’ and the letter form is used with the purpose of combining ‘personal communication and relationships’ and expressing tenets of the faith.

18 Doty (1969:183-199) suggests that scholarship should not emphasise only the informal, private epistles but should acknowledge that Paul’s letter is a ‘unique form’.
through Timothy, to members of the church. His letters had public intent and can therefore be classified more as an official pronouncement than a private letter.

Insights into the conventional use of such letters may provide clues to the author's intentions or psychological motives (Webb's diagram 6.2.1) and may be confirmed by discourse analysis.

Bearing in mind that the letter intends 'to do' something rather than simply 'to say' something to the hearers, specific attention will be given to these particular facets, where the letter is used as a communicative strategy. Some letters did not require an answer but rather 'action' from the recipients especially if it was an 'ethical exhortation' (Quinn 1992:564).

1 Timothy may be classified as belonging to the epideictic genre due to the following manifest intentions:

- to authenticate Paul and Timothy (1 Tm 1:1; 12; 18) (Doty 1973:30; Quinn 1992:564);
- to intensify adherence to values and attitudes such as generosity (1 Tm 2:10; 3:2; 3:15) and to point out moral issues (1 Tm 1:9-11);
- to praise those who do good deeds (1 Tm 2:10; 5:10);
- to blame those like Hymeneus and Alexander who do wrong (1 Tm 1:20; 4:1; 5:15);
- to request behaviour change as the word παρακλήσαι is found frequently in 1 Timothy (1 Tm 1:3, 18; 2:1; 4:11; 5:1; 6:2, 13, 17).

Letters of praise and blame were fundamental to the maintenance of the social construction of the ancient world. Paul used this means to point out what is honourable and what is dishonourable with regard to behaviour and norms.

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19 Letters were a 'handy medium of communication' and an essential mechanism for linking different households or congregations (Botha et al 1985:2).

20 Quinn (1992:564) maintains that 1 Timothy should be seen as forming a unit with the other two Pastoral Epistles, 2 Timothy and Titus. They functioned within the church as an epistolary collection not single letters and were a distinct entity by the end of the second century of the common era. The scope of this dissertation does not go beyond the first century so it is justifiable to consider 1 Timothy on its own merits for this time.

21 According to Stowers (1986:28) '...the ancients regarded epideictic as the rhetoric of praise and blame' and was used to honour or dishonour someone or something. Refer also to Bitzer (1968).

22 Quinn (1992:567) considers this preoccupation with ethical questions — a feature of first century Mediterranean, where philosophers usually lectured 'on the streets and in the baths about moral issues'. He also posits that the lists of 'vicious people' in 1 Tm 1:9-10 remind the reader of similarities to characters in Greek tragedy.

23 The word παρακλήσαι is found frequently in this genre especially in the New Testament and other Christian literature (Stowers 1986:17-46).

24 Cultural values prevalent within the Mediterranean first century were dealt with in Chapters Four and Five.
Another important function of this letter was to introduce Timothy and establish both his and Paul's status relationship. Paul authenticates himself and bestows part of this authority upon his 'son', Timothy. In this way a super-ordinate/subordinate relationship is established between them and the 'implied' audience. This gives them both effective (more likely to succeed) tactics for promoting behaviour.

- Timothy is to act as a positive behaviour model (1 Tm 4:12);
- Relationships are established on the basis of familial terminology (1 Tm 4:6; 5:1-3);
- The credentials of Paul are given (1 Tm 1:1; 12);
- The letter structure also conforms to similar letters of recommendation.

A comparison of 1 Timothy with a Hellenistic private letter of request according to Belleville's (1987:22) structure provides the following:

1. A letter opening which was addressed from A to B (1 Tm 1:1-2);
2. Some background to the request (1 Tm 1:3; 2:2) ἵνα ἰδεῖς καὶ ἴδῃς ἔχειν διάγωμεν;
3. A request formula - παρεκάλεσθαι (1 Tm 1:3; 2:1)
4. A letter closing (1 Tm 6:17). The word παράγγελσιν appears which is within the same semantic domain as the request formula above, namely communication. The second usage is a more intensive form of the word.

Based on the macrostructural analysis (6.2.4.2), the letter resembles a typical Pauline letter. See 6.2.4.2 for the actual layout of the letter.

1. Preamble — Pericopes 1,2,3
2. Thanksgiving — Pericope 4
3. Introduction to the main argument — Pericopes 5-7
4. Main argument or body — Pericopes 8-13
5. Conclusion of main argument — Pericopes 14-18
6. Closing — Pericope 19

The specific functions of some of the letter elements in the communicative process in 1 Timothy will be referred to in 6.2.4.2.

6.2.4 The text as discourse

Features of the structure of this letter conform, in certain respects, to standards found in other first century letters of request and it is epideictic in nature. However, the emphasis on credentials and behaviour modification, leads to the conclusion that this was a unique type of letter — a letter of social reconstruction.
6.2.4.1 Theoretical considerations

This is a text of argumentation, therefore it is possible to detect threads of the issue on the deep structural level, as well as by a variety of discourse markers. These threads form a part of the coherence of the argument. This coherence is particularly discernible when relationships between markers are anaphoric and cataphoric. Features of this semantic unity also include the repetitions of significant lexemes and cognates.

In an investigation into the meaning of the pericope, 1 Timothy 2:8-3:1(a), it is necessary to consider the relationship of the part to the whole and the whole to the part. Identifying that the larger structure\(^{25}\) has a role to play in the overall meaning of the part and its parts, will be done by looking at the overall structure and the relationship of units to each other in terms of some of the above criteria.

This discourse analysis is based on the so-called Semantic Discourse Analysis which was developed by various South African scholars. The smallest unit of the analysis is the colon, and it is composed of a noun phrase and a verb phrase. These phrases can be elaborated 'by means of embedded adjectival or adverbial sentences, clauses and phrases'. However, they should be grammatically linked to either one of these aspects. A numbering system is used to identify the different cola and their related elements.\(^{26}\)

The cola are combined first into clusters and then into pericopes which forming '...independent units of meaning, together constitute an entire discourse.' Lines are drawn to indicate the relationships between the clusters within the pericopes. This reflects the coherence and cohesion of the discourse (Pelser 1985:1).

Meanings are not always evident at a surface level and it is necessary to address the meaning within the context of the text itself. According to Louw (1977:29-68), meanings are often embedded in deeper structures which can be discovered by discourse analysis.

In this discourse analysis the entire text is analysed in terms of distinct pericopes which were identified on the basis of several indications, cluster configurations of cola, significant textual markers such as formulae or traditional material, thematic content or a change in the person or person addressed. Specific attention is focused on the target pericope and also the introduction to the letter, where it is asserted that the major themes may be found.

The ultimate aim of DA is not to fragmentise and segmentise the discourse but in fact to understand the semantic deep struc-

\(^{25}\) In his introduction to a series of essays, Black (1992:13) indicates that a '...text's macro-structure is usually marked on the surface level by various linguistic signals provided to the reader by the author'.

\(^{26}\) Colon numbers will not be indicated for the entire text, but only for the target pericope. Textual references will be indicated in chapter and verse divisions.
6.2.4.2 Structural elements in 1 Timothy

(a) Macrostructure of 1 Timothy (discourse and letter)

Longacre (1992:280-281) states that the macrostructure of a text provides a summary of the central thrust of the text as the writer had to select what aspects to emphasise and in what manner to effectively order or arrange its presentation.

In order to ascertain the context and relationship of the part (1 Timothy 2:8-3:1a) to the whole letter, it is essential to portray the macrostructure.

*Introductory formulae* provide useful markers indicating where the salutation ends and where the main body of the letter begins (White 1971:91-97). In seven other Pauline letters, three formulae are used to introduce the body of the letter: the disclosure formula, the request formula and the joy expression. The first two formulae are also found in 1 Timothy. There are two major elements; a background section and the request. The background material precedes and the subject matter is introduced by an *i'va* clause (1 Tm 1:3, 18). The introduction to the main body begins in 1 Timothy 1:18.

White (1971:91-97) also maintains that the function of the introductory section is to introduce the themes. Usually topoi with which the writer and the audience were both familiar. The introduction27 to the body of the letter usually conveys significant clues to the thematic content and intent of the letter as a whole.

The following is a *delineation of the macro-structure* based on a conflation of *both* letter elements and discourse analysis.

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27 Botha (1985:5-7) presents a strong motivation for separating the introduction and conclusion from the main body of the letter due to their importance. This forms a part of the justification of the isolation of 1 Timothy 1:18-2:1-7 from its parent text. This pericope (1 Tm 2:8-3:1a) together with 1 Timothy 1:18-2:1-7 form the introduction to the main body of the letter.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LETTER ELEMENTS</th>
<th>PERICOPES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. God the Father, Jesus Christ the Lord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introductory remarks (1:3-7)</td>
<td>2. Paul's charge to Timothy — reference to errors leading to quarrelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. rather than Godliness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. The nature of those opposing gospel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Paul is entrusted with the gospel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thanksgiving (1:12-17)</td>
<td>4. Mercy, salvation and eternal life come from God the benefactor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to main body (1:18-20)</td>
<td>5. Paul charges Timothy to fight. Contrast between Christian and non-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Prayer for a peaceful and Godly life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. God is the only saviour and benefactor, he has appointed Paul to teach</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. the gospel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8. Instructions for men and women with regard to — Christian and non-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8. Christian behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main body (3:1b-13)</td>
<td>9. The qualities of those in charge of a household/congregation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9. The purpose of this letter —</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10. How to behave in the household of God.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10. A warning concerning those who choose a different way of life.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11. Timothy will be a good servant of Christ if he does these things.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12. Timothy must instruct according to what Paul is teaching and be an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12. example of Christian behaviour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### LETTER ELEMENTS

- **PERICOPES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(5:1-6:2a)</th>
<th>(6:2b-10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Conclusion to the main body</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6:11-15a)</td>
<td>(6:15b-16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6:17-19)</td>
<td>(6:20-21a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Letter closing</strong></td>
<td>(6:21b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above outline of the macrostructure differs in several respects from that proposed by Bush (1990:152-156). The thanksgiving (1:12-17) is seen as a separate section before the main body. 1 Timothy 3:16\textsuperscript{28} is added to the section in the main body of the letter which indicates its main purpose and motivation.

The letter has a well-planned\textsuperscript{29} (at times symmetrical) structure indicating how the message of the letter is to be understood. It is regarded as a coherent and cohesive unit.

An examination of the above macrostructure reveals one main theme: the establishment of Christian practices, beliefs and behaviour. The consequences of deviant behaviour are strongly emphasised. Antithetical elements are used to contrast positive and negative behaviour.

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\textsuperscript{28} I agree with Bush (1990:152-156) on the issue of 3:16, that it is a hymnic section and is used to counter the practices of paganism.

\textsuperscript{29} Van Dyke Parunak (1992:210) suggests that it now widely accepted that ancient literature 'commonly uses symmetric patterns of repetition'.
(b) **Pericope 7: 1 Tm 2:8-3:1(a) — the incumbent passage**

(i) **The position and function of pericope 7 within the larger discourse**

- **Pericope 7 and Timothy's charge (1:18)**

  The request clause in 1 Timothy 1:18 contains the charge (*προς τοὺς παραγγελιον*) given to Timothy, and this introduces the introduction of the main body according to the macrostructure delineated above. The content of the charge is indicated by a marker of purpose (* γάρ 1:18(b)).

  This section is linked to the pericope under discussion (1 Tm 2:8-3:1a) in several ways. The charge 1:18 is carried anaphorically to 2:1 and consists of two parts: (a) 'firstly to pray for all' which is introduced by *προς τοὺς* — firstly (2:1); (b) in addition to pray in this way — 2:8. The use of the consecutive co-ordinating conjunction *διὸ* in 2:8 is a temporal connective in the combination or resumption of the first injunction 'to pray' in 2:1. According to Blass and Debrunner (1961:234-5) this indicates a resumption of prayer thus providing background. A digression occurs in 1:19b-20, the author digresses concerning both the origin and the fulfilment of the charge. In this section there are antithetical elements — those who fight for their faith and those who oppose such as Hymeneus and Alexander.

  The pivotal phrase is having faith and good conscience 19(a). Antithetical elements introduced in 18-19(a) convey the positive, while 19b-20 contain the negative elements. In these two parallel sections a change of topic occurs. In (1:18) Paul speaks directly to the receptor, Timothy, while in (1:19b) he digresses. He no longer instructs Timothy directly but refers to 'some' *τινὲς* possibly for the benefit of the audience beyond Timothy. This confirms that the letter was addressed to a wider audience than merely to Timothy.

- **Pericope 7 and Pericope 6 and preceding discourse**

  In Pericope 6 several issues are raised which are developed further in Pericope 7. The following will be referred to briefly: prayer; peace; God as saviour; truth; the nature of God and Jesus Christ.

  The setting of this pericope is prayer, worship and attitude to God. Paul requests that all must pray (2:1) then he requires men and women to pray in a certain manner (both physical and psychological) (2:8-3:1a). Some underlying issues are evident. Firstly the reason for prayer is so that there might be peace

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30 Poythress (1984:323-327) suggests that the use of *διὸ* indicates a logical inference based either on a relationship of 'reason-result' or 'grounds-implication'. The writer returns to the main point after a digression or parenthesis. In 1 Timothy there is a general injunction to pray, the resumptive then indicates the manner in which prayer must occur.

31 Poythress (1984:313) indicates that in the theory of semantic fields, it is recognised that meaning resides largely in paradigmatic contrast of one element over the other.
Dissensions and disagreements formed a part of Paul's motive for writing the letter. The lack of peace was noted both among men (2:8) and women (2:11).

In a secondary argument Paul attempts to bring about peace by providing answers to certain questions and doubts. These may have concerned the nature and capability of God. There is strong emphasis on the God's power and desire to save all (2:4). Later in (2:15) Paul allays the fears of women by assuring them that they too can be saved by God even in times of childbirth. An argument among local Ephesians was perhaps that he was unable to do so and that Artemis should be consulted.

Other qualities of God reverberate throughout 1 Timothy. In Pericope 4 (1:17) God is described as both King and eternal. The maleness of deity is brought out especially when Jesus Christ is also introduced (2:5). A special emphasis may have been placed on these two aspects because of the pre-occupation with female deities in Asia Minor. Therefore Paul attempts to present a good case for his God - his supremacy, ability to save and that he has eternal and invisible attributes. He is both an incorruptible God (1:12) and eternal (1:17). Perhaps this everlasting aspect and the fact that God had no origins was the reason for the secondary argument in Pericope 7. Eve was created at some point in history therefore the question debated was: who was created first? Surely Eve as the 'mother of all living' would have given birth to Adam? It is undeniable that the issue of teaching is present in Pericope 6. The nature of the teaching is that which is associated with the truth (the gospel) (2:4). The gospel is contrasted with teaching αὐθεντέω (2:12) which is associated with deception and the notion that, like Eve, women were deceived and should come to a knowledge of the truth concerning the gospel of Jesus Christ.

The emphasis on the supremacy of God may also indicate the question prevalent in the mind of the ancient world as to which God was supreme or the greater than all others.

Pericopes 6 and 7 are complementary and in many ways contrastive. The arguments are framed by the use of πιστὸς ὁ λόγος (1:15) and (3:1a).

The proposition is also given in Pericope 6 that God can be seen as chief Benefactor. The use of lexemes ἀντιλυτρον (2:6) and ὕπερ (2:1; 2:2) point to the Benefactor motif.

- **Pericope 7 and the ensuing discourse**

As part of the introduction to the main body it indicates some of the matters to be resolved by the author. Some of these were already referred to above in the preceding discourse. They will be addressed further in both the main body and conclusion to main body of letter. This will be indicated below (6.2.4.2c) in the discussion of relevant semantic domains.
(ii) The discourse structure of Pericope 7

**The delimitation of the pericope**

- A change in addressee from general, all in (2:1) to specific, first men (2:8) then women (2:9-15).

- A charge clause in 1 Timothy 1:18-20 τὴν παραγγελίαν introduces the main body (cf macrostructure above). It is also introduced by a purpose marker ἵνα (1:18b).

- The use of antithetical statements link positive and negative behaviour. Men are addressed first: positive injunction followed by negative elements, then women are likewise enjoined in both positive and negative terms.

- The use of βοῶμαν ὁν as an introductory formula (2:8).

- The use of linking particles ὡσαντως (1 Tm 2:9); ἀλλα (1 Tm 2:12); γὰρ (1 Tm 2:13); καὶ (1 Tm 2:14); δὲ (1 Tm 2:15).

- The saying πιστὸς ὁ λόγος (3:1a) refers to material preceding it because this phrase is usually linked to the concept of salvation. It could be considered a formula for asseveration as Metzer (1971:640) proposes it is used in Titus. Ellis (1993:665) agrees with this demarcation of 3:1a confirming that Paul was issuing a ‘faithful word’ for husbands and wives.
Portrayal of the discourse structure of Pericope 7

Overall structure of Pericope 7

ARGUMENT A

ARGUMENT B

RESOLUTION
Portrayal of relationship between cola of Pericope 7

Pericope 7 (2:8-13a)
Instructions for certain men and women in regard to — Christian and non-Christian behaviour.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>chapter &amp; verse</th>
<th>colon configuration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:8</td>
<td>Βούλομαι ὁ ἦν προσεύχεσθαι τούς ἄνδρας ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, ἐπαίροντας ὁσίους χεῖρας χωρίς ὄργῆς καὶ διαλογισμοῦ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:9</td>
<td>ὡσαύτως {καὶ} γυναικάς ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ μετὰ αἰδοὺς καὶ σωφροσύνης κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς, μὴ ἐν πλέγμασιν καὶ χρυσίῳ ἣ μαργαρίταις ἢ ἰματισμῷ πολυτελεῖ,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:10</td>
<td>ἀλλ' ὁ πρέπει γυναιξίν ἐπαγγελλομένας θεοσέβειαν, δι' ἔργων ἁγαθῶν.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:11</td>
<td>γυνὴ ἐν ὡσυχίᾳ μανθανέτω ἐν πάσῃ ὑποταγῇ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:12</td>
<td>διδάσκειν δὲ γυναικὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω, οὐδὲ αὐθεντεύειν ἄνδρός,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ἀλλ' εἶναι ἐν ὡσυχίᾳ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:13</td>
<td>Ἄδαμ γὰρ πρώτος ἐπλάσθη, εἶτα Ἐῳ.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 2:14            | καὶ Ἄδαμ οὐκ ἤπατηθή, ἢ δὲ γυνὴ ἐξακατατηθεῖσα ἐν
2:15 σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας,
11 ἐὰν μείνωσον ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ
kai ἀγιασμῷ
metá σωφροσύνης.
3:1(a) Πιστὸς ὁ λόγος'

(c) Relevant semantic domains, themes and cognates
An addendum is provided at the end to illustrate the location of frequently used lexemes and their possible indications of themes.

Identification of themes
An examination of textual clues will indicate the prominent parts which might constitute themes (Callow 1992:194)32. For example, an examination of the purpose clauses will assist in exploring the writers explicit motives for writing a letter of motivation or text of persuasion (for example persuasion of the non-Jewish proselytes towards an understanding of monotheism as opposed to prevalent alternative practices 1 Tm 2:5). The writer wishes to motivate other parties to some action or actions for specified or unspecified reasons33.

Other devices include the use of rhetorical questions and imperatives which highlight prominent themes. A theme is not static and the author develops his intentions progressively towards a ‘climax’ or ‘peaks’. Callow (1974:53) refers to this progression in terms of ‘the time-line and the theme-line’.

Prominent themes can be located in the introduction to the main body and the opening34 of the letter (1 Tm 2:8- 3:1a). The following themes are identified: (a)

32 Nida (1975:63) provides some assistance in ascertaining the formal features that indicate a change in the topic, these include: ‘reference chains, important boundaries of dependency relations, transitional devices (including shifts in temporal or spatial setting and orthographic markers’. Callow (1974:53) states: ‘Thematic material is material that develops the theme of a discourse, by contrast with background material, which fills out the theme but does not develop it’.

33 Neufeld (1994:57) refers to Stowers (1986:92-96) who maintains that the rhetoric of exhortation ‘attempts to persuade and to move the audience to conform to a model of behaviour and to elicit corresponding habits of behaviour’.

34 Belleville (1987:16-17) suggests that major concerns and themes are often referred to in the conventional opening of the letter in addition some aspects of the congregational situation may be conveyed. In the opening (1 Tm 1-2) the idea of relationships within a household are used. Timothy is referred to as a son (τέκνῳ) and God as Father (πατρός). This could indicate two very significant themes, firstly, the need for Timothy to be authenticated in Paul’s absence and secondly the identification of the Christian community as the household of God. This will establish ‘family links’ or bonding between the community and Timothy.
the contrast between Christian teaching and other teaching (b) the contrast between Christian and non-Christian behaviour within the household setting. *Positive and negative elements* are placed strategically parallel to each other creating the distinction between truth and deception - an ‘in’ group and ‘out’ group (c) the establishment of *communitas* through *oikòs*.

Themes also occur in the *thanksgiving section*. Arzt (1994:35) posits that in Paul’s letters the thanksgiving section is motivated ‘by the content’ and arises more out of the writer’s personal feelings rather than formulaic convention. The extension of the thanksgiving in 1 Timothy 1:12-17 reinforces the theme of the dramatic contrast between life ‘*in Christ*’ and ‘*life outside Christ*’ and also the justification of his own authority to prescribe beliefs, values and norms for the Christian society. It is notable that in this letter the thanksgiving is made to God, not for others (1 Th 2-4; Col 1:3-8) but for himself. Belleville (1987:19) quoting Funk (1970) confirms that the function of the thanksgiving was to give ‘something of the occasion and to introduce major concerns’.

As this letter is also a hortatory discourse, *command forms* are the basic material around which the rest of the letter revolves (Longacre 1992:271). Imperatival peaks may also provide clues about themes. Imperatives are located at the following places:

2:11 *let women* learn *μαθανέτω*;
3:12 *let them* (*προσιόμενοι*) manage their *children and household* well;
4:7b *exercise yourself in godliness* *Γίμνοσί*;
4:11 *charge and teach* these things *παράγγελλε*;
4:13 *attend to* the *πρόσεχε* and to preaching and teaching;
4:14 *do not neglect* the gift you have *μη άμέλει*;
4:16 *take heed to* yourself and your teaching *ἐπερευ*;
4:16 *continue* *ἐπίμενε*;
5:1 *exhort* *male elder* *παρακάλει*;
5:3 *honor* *widows* *τίμα*;
5:4 *let* *μαθανέων* (widows) *them learn*;
5:7 *command this* (provision for her family) *παράγγελλε*;
5:9 *let a widow* be enrolled — well attested for her good deeds, *καταλεξάθω*;
5:17 *let elders* who rule well be considered worthy of double honour, *προεστώτες πεσαθύτεροι διπλής τιμῆς άξιούσθωσαν*;
5:20 *reprove those* who persist in sin *ἐλεγχε*;

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35 Belleville (1987:19) noted that this is closer in terms of general content to what one finds in the typical Hellenistic letter.
6:1 let slaves regard their masters as worthy of all honour ἡγεῖσθωσαν;
6:2 let (masters) not despise μὴ καταφρονεῖτωσαν;
6:2 let them serve δουλεύετωσαν;
6:3 teach and urge these duties. If anyone teaches otherwise and does not agree with the sound words of our Lord Jesus Christ and the teaching which accords with εὐσεβείαν godliness;
6:11 vocative ὃ ἄνθρωπε;
6:11 flee φεύγε;
6:11 pursue righteousness, godliness δίσκες;
6:12 struggle/fight ἀγωνίζον;
6:12 take hold of eternal life ἐπιλαβῶν;
6:17 as for the rich charge them not to be haughty, nor to set their hopes on uncertain riches they are to do good and be rich in good deeds.

Longacre (1992:271-279) posits that the content immediately preceding and following an imperative can be an indication of themes. The above imperatival clauses are concerned with the following matters: women; children; widows; masters; slaves; management of family; teaching, godliness and finances. Once again household affairs, teaching behaviour and generosity are emphasised.

According to Nida, Louw, Snyman and Cronje (1983:15), the cohesion between different pericopes on a macro-level, is attained primarily by the unity of themes, sequence and style. At a micro-level various rhetorical features are also used to reinforce cohesion and progression. This overall organisation of the textual material can be seen as a series of carefully constructed contrasts which lead to a culmination or a peak and serve to create an emotional impact36 on the hearer/s.

- Evidence of these themes which permeates the whole letter can be found in the following:
  - Considerable tension is created by the use of contrasts.
  - The promotion of good Christian values and ethics (not deviating from the norm of Graeco-Roman Mediterranean society in the first century) which include among other things, the promotion of monogamous relationships, celibacy and child-bearing and child-rearing/client-patron relationships.
  - The development of communitas by the institution of 'fictive family relationships'.

36 This has a function of a 'phatic communication' and requires a response and further action. (Nida 1983:46). Every 'utterance' or 'speech act' has specific function and an effect on the hearer (Van Dijk 1980:13).
• Actants
  All relevant actants within the text
  Protagonists
  Super-ordinate over household
  Θεοῦ πατρὸς (1 Tm 1:2). The household of God is based on the typical patriarchal
  οἴκος of the first-century (cf 5).
  Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν (1 Tm 1:2). He shares the role of the supreme
  authority over the household.
  πνεύμα (1 Tm 4:1)
  τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν ἀγγέλων (1 Tm 5:21)

  Protagonists — householders
  Παύλος ἄπόστολος (1 Tm 1:1; 12)
  Τιμοθέω γυνηῶ τέκνη (1 Tm 1:2; 18)
  τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ (1 Tm 2:8)
  γυναῖκας (1 Tm 2:9)
  γυναιξίν ἐπαγγελλομένας θεοσέβειαν (1 Tm 2:10)
  Γυνὴ (1 Tm 2:11)
  γυναῖκι (1 Tm 2:12)
  Ἄδαμ (1 Tm 2:13-14)
  τις ἑπισκοπὴς ὄργεται (1 Tm 3:1)
  Διακόνους (1 Tm 3:8)
  Πρεσβυτέρως; πρεσβυτέρας (1 Tm 5:1-2; 17-20)
  Χήρα (1 Tm 5:9-16)
  δόλου; δεσπότας (1 Tm 6:1-2)

  Antagonists
  Ὁμάναιος καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος (1 Tm 1:20)
  Σάτανας (1 Tm 1:20; 5:15)
  διάβολος (1 Tm 2:14)
  ἀποστίχοινται τινες (1 Tm 4:1)

• Addressees
  The following range of diagrams illustrate the progression used by the writer in
  moving from the general to the more specific. The topic concerns prayer and
  behaviour. The addressees are first all people, then men and women in general
  although some reference is made to those who have deviant behaviour patterns. In
  more specific terms ‘behaviour and service’ are addressed first in connection with
  older men and women, older and younger widows, ruling elders and then many
  classes of people identified in diagram E. It is posited that ministry or service in
the household of God was inclusive of all. Both Timothy and Paul identified them­selves as in the 'ministry' even though they had neither children, wives or a household to manage.
ADDRESSEES WITHIN 1 TIMOTHY 2:1-6:2A

1 Tm 2: 1 - 7
Prayer by all for all

1 Tm 2: 8 - 3: 1a
How to pray

*MEN* generally with specific reference to some causing strife

*WOMEN* generally with specific reference to wealthy God-fearing widows

1 Tm 3: 1b - 4: 16
Behaviour and service in the household
1 Tm 5: 3 - 16
Qualities older widows and younger widows

Figure 4

1 Tm 5: 17 - 22
Qualities and behaviour towards elders who take the lead

Figure 5
COMPOSITION of a CONGREGATION in EPHESUS
**Who were the women in 1 Timothy 2:8-3:1(a)?**

- They were God-fearers — accepting the basic tenets of the Jewish faith (1 Tm 2:10).
- They were converts to the Christian faith (1 Tm 1:15).
- They were young converts to Christianity as they were not well educated in Christian teachings (1 Tm 2:11).
- They were wealthy therefore Paul exhorts them to be generous and do good work\(^\text{37}\) (1 Tm 2:9).
- They were involved in teaching (1 Tm 2:12).
- They were experiencing difficulties with myths about Eve (1 Tm 2:13).
- They were concerned about salvation during childbirth (1 Tm 2:15).

- **Theme 1 — sound and unsound teaching**

It has been established that this letter serves the rhetorical purpose to inculcate and maintain certain beliefs, norms and behaviour within Christian congregations in Ephesus. This is achieved by a system of *binary opposites* indicating the positive and negative consequences of adherence to such a value system (cf contrast between sound and unsound teaching).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme: Christianity Sound doctrine</th>
<th>Snare of the Devil, Satan Unsound doctrine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.3  ἐτεροδιδασκαλεῖν</td>
<td>1.3  ἐτεροδιδασκαλεῖν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4  μῦθους καὶ γενεαλογίας</td>
<td>1.4  μῦθους καὶ γενεαλογίας</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7  νομοδιδασκαλοι</td>
<td>1.7  νομοδιδασκαλοι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.10  τῇ ἰγιαμοῦσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ ἀντίκειται</td>
<td>1.10  τῇ ἰγιαμοῦσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ ἀντίκειται</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.11 — σιλήπον ρηθέως</td>
<td>1.11 — σιλήπον ρηθέως</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.7  σιλήπον ρηθέως</td>
<td>2.7  διδάσκαλος ἑθνῶν ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀληθείᾳ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.8  διδάσκαλος ἑθνῶν ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀληθείᾳ</td>
<td>2.8  διαλογισμοῦ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{37}\) It is possible that such good works included financial support of the poorer members of the church.
3.3 διδακτικῶν
3.15 ἑδραίωμα τῆς ἁλθείας 4.1 διδασκαλίας δαμοσίων 4.2 ἐν ὑποκρίσει ψευδολόγων,
4.3 ἐπεγνωκόσι την ἁλθείαν. 4.5 διὰ λόγου θεοῦ 4.7 τούς δὲ βεβήλους καὶ γραώδεις μύθους
4.13 τῇ ἀναγνώσει, τῇ παρακλήσει, τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ.
5.17 ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ:
6.2 ἡ διδασκαλία 6.3 ἐπεροδιδασκαλεῖ μὴ προσέρχεται ὑγιαίνουσιν λόγους,
6.3 εὐσέβειαν διδασκαλίας 6.4 λογομαχίας βλασφημίας
6.5 ἀπεστερημένων τῆς ἁλθείας
6.12 ὀμολογίων τῆς καλῆν ὀμολογίαιν 6.20 βεβήλους κενοφωνίας ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γυνώσως,

The antithetical relationship between God and Satan is introduced subtly by the tensions created between truth and deception. There appears to be a relationship based on 'giving benefits' from God (the giver of salvation) through Jesus Christ (the instrument of salvation in terms of 1 Tm 2:6,) and from Jesus Christ to Paul, who receives the authority to preach the truth. Paul then confers this authority on Timothy, who is commended by Paul, also as a teacher of the truth.

On the other hand, there are those who reject the good conscience and the truth, among whom are Alexander and Hymeneus.

The nature of the false teaching included references to myths, genealogies, speculation about the law and the forbidding of marriage. The teaching that there is a more powerful/greater benefactor/benefactress; Artemis, is the teaching that Paul does not permit (cf Lk 22:24-26 — the topos ‘who was the greatest?’ was a common feature of the ancient world). The contrary teaching which is forbidden, is that Artemis is the source, saviour and benefactor of the Ephesians who have converted to a new life ‘in Christ’. Paul goes on to state by his reference to Genesis that women are being deceived, in the same way that Eve was deceived, if they continue to assert that Artemis is a superior saviour than Jesus Christ. However,
they can be saved from this deception and kept safe in times of childbirth provided they remain in the faith and family of God. (1 Tm 2:15).

- **Theme 2 — establishment of communitas through ὀίκος metaphors and instructions for Christian behaviour**

Gatherings or synagogues take place within a family home situation and it is important for such family groups to set a precedent for good relationships one with another. Even the relationship between master and slaves is under scrutiny (1 Tm 6:1-2). Support and service for one another is important. Apart from the usual terminology associated with the household, the term 'deacon' Διάκονος becomes significant within the community. In fact, if Timothy succeeds in the mission given by Paul to promote harmonious relationships, he becomes 'a good minister' καλὴς διακονίας (1 Tm 4:6). The word 'deacon' which is also mentioned in 1 Timothy 3:8-15, falls within the semantic domain of serving one another with humility (Louw & Nida 1989:460). It is in this arena of servanthood διακονία that Paul acknowledges with gratitude that he has been placed. Therefore this did not indicate a special functionary or ecclesiastical office. It denoted a serving role.

Fictive family terminology is established in 1 Timothy 5:1-2 where older men and women are referred to as 'fathers' πρεσβυτέρῳ and mothers', πρεσβυτέρᾳ while younger men and women 'brothers' ἀδελφοῖς and 'sisters' συγγένεας. The plural ἀδελφοὶ can mean both 'brothers and sisters' (Louw & Nida 1989:118). These terms are also used to indicate fellow-believers in Christ.

The creation of a sense of intimacy and belongingness is established by the use of this kinship terminology. The persons named formed part of the first century household, from the overseer to the slave, but Paul uses them in a new way to create 'fictive family relationships' (not all are blood relatives) within the 'household of God'. This indicates those who adhere to the Christian doctrine of faith and those who do not. The 'in-group' is referred to as the 'family of God' who are 'in Christ' which is a significant rhetorical device aimed at creating an 'in' and 'out' group (cf 5.6.2.10). In 1 Timothy 1-2 the 'absent but present' members of the family include: God, the Father, Jesus Christ — the Lord. Paul also identifies himself as a parent who confirms that Timothy is 'his true child in the faith' (1 Tm 1:2; 1 Tm 1:18; A general term ἀδελφοίς is used in 1 Timothy 4:6 to depict the close family relationship enjoyed by this extended family (1 Tm 5:2 ἀδελφάς). The terms πρεσβυτέρῳ and πρεσβυτέρᾳ are used for older men and women in the household. Within a typical first century Mediterranean family the

38 Both in the familial and spiritual sense.
39 In Acts 22:1 the term (ἀδελφοί) is used in the sense of a fellow Jew - someone belonging to the same socio-economic group and the same age group (Louw & Nida 1989:125).
following groups of men and women would have formed a part: (1Tm 3:1) an overseer of the household administration; servants (διάκονοι) (1 Tm 3:8); older men and women (1 Tm 5:1; 17-23) slaves (δοῦλοι) (1 Tm 6:1-2); both older and younger widows (1 Tm 5:9-16) and rich patrons (πλουσίων) of the 'club' (1 Tm 6:17). Other references to household matters include: 1 Tm 1:4; 3:12, 15; 5:1, 8, 14.

Detailed lists of virtues are provided for bishops or overseers, male and female deacons and enrolled widows. Timothy is provided with a list of virtues applying to a widow who wishes to obtain the financial support of the church in the event of her children and grandchildren being unable to provide for her. It is interesting to note the emphasis on a lifelong monogamous relationship which was emphasised for overseers and deacons also applies to this particular group of widows (1 Tm 5:9).

The persons functioning within the household of God (ministers-διακόνοι) were required to have certain qualities (refer below). There were only two such categories namely bishops/overseers ἐπισκόποι and deacons διάκονοι and it is possible that these functions pertained to the same group of persons as so many common features exist. Perhaps (ἐπισκόπη) was the more generalised term for those caring for the household (owner of the house) and deacons were those who served one another in the household of God. In spite of the overlap it is noted that the ἐπισκόπη should be apt to teach, yet this was not an explicit requirement for the deacons according to the list given in 1 Timothy 3:8-13. However, Timothy was classified as a deacon or one who ministered Jesus Christ and he was repeatedly encouraged to teach the gospel according to Christ (1 Tm 4:6). Another requirement of deacons was that they were tested first (1 Tm 3:10). Timothy was the only person who was deemed a deacon while the others are not named. The emphasis on the lack of fighting or quarrelsomeness of these individuals could point to a link with our target pericope, 1 Timothy 2:8.

A separate list of virtues was not provided for the elders (πρεσβυτέροι). Therefore it is assumed that elder men and women, who were not neophytes, were in fact the deacons.

1 Timothy 5:17 mentions certain elders who take the lead προεστῶτες and πρεσβύτεροι. No virtues are mentioned but they deserved honour especially those who taught. Paul also mentions how other groups of people should be treated namely slaves, masters and the rich.
1 Timothy 3:1-8

a. μὲν γυναικὸς  
   List of virtues

b. νηφάλιον  
   temperate

c. σόφρονα  
   prudent

d. κόσμιον  
   modest

e. φιλόξενον  
   hospitable

f. διδακτικόν  
   able to teach

g. μὴ πάροντον  
   not a drinker

h. μὴ πλήκτην  
   not quarrelsome

i. μὴ αἰσχροκερδεῖς  
   not greedy of ill gain

j. ἕπιεική  
   gentle

k. ἀμαχόν  
   not quarrelsome

l. ἀφιλοργυρον  
   not avaricious

m. τοῦ ἱδίου οἶκον καλῶς  
   rule own household well

n. μὴ νεόφυτον  
   not a novice

o. μαρτυρίαν καλὴν ἔχειν  
   having a good witness

   ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν  
   from those outside

1 Timothy 3:8-13

Men

a. σεμνοῦς  
   befitting behaviour implying
   dignity and respect

b. μὴ διλόγους  
   not slanderers

c. μὴ οἶνῳ πολλῷ προσέχοντας  
   not drinkers

d. μὴ αἰσχροκερδεῖς  
   not greedy of ill gain

e. ἔχοντας τὸ μυστήριον τῆς  
   having faith and clear
   πίστεως  
   conscience

f. δοκιμαζοσθωσαν  
   tested

g. ἄνεγκλητοι  
   without reproach

Women

a. σεμνᾶς  
   befitting behaviour implying
   dignity and respect

b. μὴ διαβόλους  
   not slanderers

c. νηφαλίους  
   not drinkers

d. πιστὰς ἐν πάσιν  
   faithful in all things
Both male and female deacons husbands of one wife

τέκνων καὶ λόγος προϊστάμενοι καὶ

τῶν ἱδίων οἰκῶν

The following categories of female persons are given considerable attention in the rest of 1 Timothy: female deacons or the wives of deacons (1 Tm 3:11); elder women (1 Tm 5:2); widows both young and old, older widows over sixty who should be 'enrolled' whatever that may have meant? (1 Tm 5:3-9); younger widows who should marry, bear children and rule the household (1 Tm 5:11-14). It is therefore assumed that the congregation in Ephesus was largely composed of women.

6.2.4.3 Salient indications from the literary-communicative analysis

- A wide range of actants were involved including all members of the Ephesian congregation/s.
- Women were in the majority.
- No formal ecclesiastical structure was in place but a household pattern.
- The intent of the letter was for shaping Christian identity — Christian beliefs, concepts and behaviour.
- Deviant behaviour and teachings were condemned.
- False teaching involved myths (perhaps concerning Eve) genealogies, arguments and regulations concerning diet and abstinence from marriage.
Part Two: Where two worlds meet — viewing the world behind the text through the window of 1 Timothy 2:8-3:1(a)

The interface between the world in the text and the world beyond the text is now addressed by taking cognisance of aspects, more especially those pertaining to women and their life-world indicated in Part One. The text 1 Timothy 2:8-3:1(a) will act as an aperture (an opening) through which the world beyond will be viewed. At this point the relationship between text and referents comes into focus. Information will now be drawn from the results of Chapters Four and Five in order to clarify some of the perspectives that seem to emerge from the text itself. Turner’s model40 will be used in an endeavour to explain the contingent situation regarding certain women in the congregation in Ephesus (cf 7.3).

Paul used this letter as a tool to redefine the Christian identity of new believers in Ephesus. This ‘world’ he created, the anti-structure, was in a state of transition or liminality, characterised by a strong sense of belongingness — *communitas*.

Paul and his communities were in a state of transit moving away from old rigid structures (such as found in some forms Judaism) and moving towards a state they had not quite reached.

6.3 Possible realities beyond the text

6.3.1 Orientation

The textual study above indicated certain apertures through which to view the world beyond. The identity of the Christian women in 1 Timothy 2:8-3:1(a) is investigated. Who were they? What topoi was Paul introducing? Why were they singled out for correction?

Firstly, attention will be given to linguistic/structural/grammatical features and difficulties. Then a possible indication from the world beyond the text will be given.

6.3.2 Direct apertures or points of access to the world beyond — 1 Timothy 2:8-3:1(a)

Verses 8 and 9 *βούλομαι ὄν προσεύχεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας...ωςαύτως καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας*

Antitheses are used in this pericope. Verses 2:8-9 appear to contain antithetical statements in a chiastic relationship: men are first addressed and given the positive requirements and negative consequences for their behavior during prayer, then women

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40 It was encouraging while completing this dissertation to discover that Lategan (1992) also refers to this model in Petersen’s work. He points out the ‘prominence of the kinship issue in Galatians 3 and 4….’ Also that there was process of transition between structures and anti-structures.
are likewise enjoined in both positive and negative terms. Verse 10 is both parenthetical and contrastive pointedly referring to ὀπλάσμων ἀγαθῶν which is expected from such women.

A certain group of women was addressed those who were extravagantly dressed, attired with jewelry and ornate hairstyles braided with golden ornaments which showed off their status distinctions in the face of other women such as female slaves and poor widows. Elements of wealth and extravagance are introduced by the description of their appearance. It is assumed that the reference to 'plaiting' πλέγμασιν refers to ornate hairstyles\[41\]. The phrase ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμῶ is considered by Dibelius and Conzelmann (1972:45) and others to denote inward feelings as well as physical appearance. While women should dress modestly, inwardly and outwardly, during worship, men are exhorted to worship raising their hands and also to refrain from 'anger or quarrelling'.

The function of ὀσάυτως, verse 9 is difficult to determine. Should it be interpreted as: 1) 'in the same way' that means women are also 'to pray'; or are only the men to pray? Although the use of three infinitives: βουλομαι, προσευχομαι and κοσμεῖν might indicate that men only are 'to pray', the former alternative is preferred\[42\] and the third infinitive κοσμεῖν is part of an adjectival clause which was added 'per asyndeton' or 'with explanatory force' to βουλομαι. Since the grammatical possibility exists, it is posited that women were likewise (ωσάυτως) required to pray. This is a significant statement since most synagogue prayers were offered by men (Keener 1992:103). There are two 'special problems' associated with this freedom. One concerns the dress codes mentioned above and the other 'teaching'. Were women restricted in their teaching?

Verse 11 Γυνὴ ἐν ἴππυρια μανθανέτω ἐν πᾶσῃ ἱπποτῇ
In verse 11 Paul makes another rather unexpected statement in the light of the prevailing social roles for women, ἴππυρια μανθανέτω. Within Jewish circles it was relatively unknown for a woman to be taught the Torah\[43\] (cf 5.3.5.14). The writer to Timothy conversely assumes that a woman would and could learn.\[44\] It might appear

\[41\] In the Mediterranean world a woman's hair was the 'prime object of male lust'. It is significant that the 'uncovered women' were probably women of a high status who pursued fashionable hairstyles and uncovered heads (Keener 1993:585). This could have been a major issue of controversy especially in Christian circles where class and social status were deliberately played down.

\[42\] Ellicott (1861) Dibelius & Conzelmann (1972:45).

\[43\] Swidler (1976:92-105) states that although the most central feature of Judaism in the first century was the study of the Torah, women were not encouraged to study. A first century Rabbi, Eliezer said: 'If any man teach his daughter Torah, it is as though the taught her lechery.'

\[44\] Keener (1993:590). The nature of teaching in ancient society included the opportunity for interruptions for questions and debate, however, it was considered rude if the questioner was ill-informed. Paul proposes therefore that these women should receive instruction.
that Paul was breaking the barriers that did not permit women to learn.\(^\text{45}\) (Refer to 5.4 for the inverse structures within Christian circles).

The qualification \(\text{ἐν πάση ὕποταγῇ}\) also presents a problem as to whom or what must a woman be submissive/obedient? The possibilities include her husband, church elders, or sound doctrine.

If the context is 'men and women as worshippers' this statement is unlikely to refer to 'her husband', although this might appear to be the case in other New Testament references (Eph 5:22, Col 3:18 and Tt 2:5) (Bowman 1992:198-199).

In all probability Paul meant that women should subject themselves to the sound doctrine of Paul and Timothy and other teachers in the Christian congregation, forget about their former beliefs and refrain from associating with those people who conveyed false and contrary doctrines. Or perhaps women were simply to submit themselves to sound, as opposed to false teaching in general? In addition it should be remembered that the context is both the domestic household as well as the 'household of God', therefore it would be normal to expect the usual good social values to prevail, namely that women were silent in the presence of men.

Verse 12(a) \(\text{διδάσκειν ἐν γυναικὶ ὑπὸ ἐπιτρέπω}\)

After encouraging women to learn they are now apparently refused permission to pass this knowledge on. What are some of the possibilities of understanding this?

- Women should not teach at all;
- Women should not teach certain doctrines;
- Women should not teach men;
- Women should not teach men — in a certain manner.

Kroeger and Kroeger (1992:82) cite 2 Timothy 2:2 to support their conclusions that people of either sex are instructed to teach others and '...far from prohibiting them from teaching, it appears to be a strong exhortation that responsible women should make the proclamation of the truth a very high priority.'

Teaching in the first century may have resembled a philosophical debate where different points of view were argued. During this stage of fluidity and adaptation the beliefs and norms of the Christian movement were constantly being formulated and debated, before they were adopted (Meeks 1983:82-83). It is proposed that women were in fact teaching and that this factor caused tensions as it was not an accepted norm in the society (Meeks 1983:71). It was part of the anti-structure.

\(^{45}\) 1 Corinthians 14:35 corroborates that women may learn but they should do so quietly and address their question to their husbands at home. Moo (1980:64) points out that the phrase is framed by two \(\text{ἐν}\) clauses which would express the manner in which the women were to learn.
How is the clause \( \text{oik} \text{ epitrépew} \) (1 Tm 2:12) to be interpreted? Is this simply Paul’s personal preference? Or is it a binding command for women in the church for that particular time? Or is it a binding injunction on all women in the church for all time? It is this latter presupposition which has remained unchallenged for so many centuries.

It refers to a specific but limited situation and it should not be considered a universal timeless injunction (Kroeger & Kroeger 1992:80-83). The central concern of Timothy is his combating of false teaching by the implementation of sound teaching. Therefore the crucial point is not whether ‘to teach or not’ but ‘what’ to teach and the results of such teaching. It is unlikely that the context of 1 Timothy 2:12 is ‘neutral’, that is, referring to the act of teaching without reference to either its positive or negative elements. The entire letter concerns the antithetical tension between the two extremes.

In the light of the two negatives (\( \text{oik} \) and \( \text{odē} \)), it is agreed that this is the case and that the second negative qualifies the type of teaching that must not occur. It is likely that two prohibitions exist and the second explains and qualifies the first (Moo 1980:64).

This palindrome is a climax within the pericope

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
A & \gamma\nu\eta \ \epsilon\nu \ \eta\sigma\upsilon\chi\iota\iota \\
B & \mu\alpha\nu\theta\alpha\nu\epsilon\tau\omega \\
C & \epsilon\nu \ \pi\acute{a}σσ\eta \ \upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\gamma\eta \\
B & \delta\delta\alpha\acute{a}σ\kappa\epsilon\iota \ \delta\varepsilon \ \gamma\nu\nu\alpha\acute{i} \iota \iota \\
A & \acute{a}λλ\acute{a} \ \epsilon\iota\nu\iota \ \epsilon\nu \ \eta\sigma\upsilon\chi\iota\iota
\end{array} \]

positive

negative due to

adversative \( \delta\varepsilon \)

Many conservative exegetes (such as Bowman 1992:203-206) use this verse to validate male only teachers and leaders within the church today. They infer that a situation had arisen in which some women were violating God’s order of creation by teaching men in the context of worship. This type of interpretation indicates that insufficient attention was given to either the whole text or its various contexts thus resulting in a ‘mirror image’ reading.

The hapax legomena \( \text{aivbentew} \) is an obscure term. Why did Paul use it when there is a perfectly acceptable and frequently used word, \( \text{eixousiakxein} \)? Kroeger and Kroeger (1992:79-98) debate the meaning of \( \text{aivbentew} \) at length and the unusual word order within which it occurs. The two infinitives \( \delta\delta\alpha\acute{a}σ\kappa\epsilon\iota \) and \( \text{aivbentew} \) can be understood separately or together. If seen together, the one can be considered complementary to the other, as the contents or nature of the teaching (Kroeger & Kroeger 1992:79). This injunction is addressed to the group of women already mentioned in verses 9-10 who
were possibly the wealthy patrons\footnote{They are described as wealthy according to their style of dress and hairstyle and the injunction to be generous in good deeds — which in ancient times meant to be generous with money for the benefit of others.} of the congregation. The situation was one which coincided with the writing of the letter, therefore, the present tense is used and refers to a specific and limited situation and not a universal one.

verse 12(b) \(\text{o}v\delta\ \alpha\nu\theta\varepsilon\tau\varepsilon\nu\ \\alpha\nu\delta\rho\varsigma\)

The following range of meanings of the infinitive \(\alpha\nu\theta\varepsilon\tau\varepsilon\nu\) is possible:

- It deals with the content of the teaching: In the letter to Timothy there is an emphasis on the type of teaching which is either sound or unsound. Refer to 6.2.4.2b above which illustrates that negative or unsound doctrine is usually explained. For example 1 Tm 1:3 \(\varepsilon\tau\rho\delta\delta\iota\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\ell\epsilon\nu\) refers to \(\mu\iota\tho\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\i\gamma\\varepsilon\nu\varepsilon\gamma\omega\lambda\iota\varsigma\).

- It is used in the context of a usurpation of power: In Ephesian cultic circles it may be noted that the 'function of the male high priest had been supplanted by that of the high priestess.' That women were comparing male priestly roles.

- In the same vein it is often translated to rule over: In this instance it may be linked to a verbal form drawn from the same stem as \(\pi\rho\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\) with reference to Phoebe (Rm 16:2). Ancient tradition reveals that in Asia Minor the Amazonian worshippers were said '...to rule over men and to subject them to humiliation and slavery and assign them female tasks.' Women enjoyed more freedom and leadership. In some extreme cases these practices were linked to castration of males and exchange of clothing. Harrison (1962:492-494) also draws conclusions about the matrilinear nature of the society which worshipped the mother goddess. In Ancient Asia Minor the society was 'matrilinear not matriarchal'. Women were the central focus even as Artemis — who was a mother goddess had a male-god as a subordinate or as Aphrodite had Adonis as a subordinate. Some women may have tried to model themselves on the female goddesses who had subordinate male consorts. In a society where women were the social focus in spiritual terms, it is not unlikely that the question arose whether the Jewish male god should be identified merely as another male cohort of Artemis (Harrison 1962:492-546).

- Similarly, the word domineer suggests harsh and negative overtones pointing to an illegitimate sense of power, as opposed to a legitimate and positive exercise of power. Kroeger and Kroeger (1992:87-101) also refer to the influence that the various religious cults, especially the mystery religions, may have had on the use of this word. Artemis was worshipped for her power and authority over the city and men in the city (cf 4.3.6.13). According to ancient tradition about Amazonian worshippers, the original Tauropolian Artemis was said to rule over men, to
subject them to humiliation and slavery and assign them female roles. The question arises could these women attempt similar postures in the Christian congregation?

- Another possible explanation links \( \textit{auOevtw} \) to authorship, origin, primal cause and power: Cerinthus, a first century Gnostic in Ephesus, used \( \textit{auOevtez} \) to denote an 'originator or instigator'. Kroeger and Kroeger (1992:103) state that if this option is taken, the text may be read thus: I do not permit woman to teach nor to represent herself as originator of man but she is to be in conformity [with the Scriptures] [or that she keeps it a secret]. For Adam was created first then Eve. The idea of silence is often used in the sense of keeping something 'secret' (1 Tm 2:11-12). Keener (1992:108) points out that the sources used by Kroeger and Kroeger are from the patristic period and Paul’s readers would not have understood it in this way. I disagree because this was in issue many years before it was written about. Although the source might be late the ideas that were being promulgated were not unfamiliar to the women in Asia Minor who worshipped a Mother Goddess — creator of all things. The original source of life was a ‘topos’. This would be linked to the Adam and Eve controversy as well as childbearing and deception, all of which are referred to in the target pericope.

My own preference is that the use of the term \( \textit{auOevtw} \) in association with \( \textit{didason} \) relates firstly to the teaching which was unsound incorrect doctrine. Secondly, it relates to a particular group of women who were expounding and adhering to this doctrine. Thirdly, as it involved the deliberate use of an obscure term — a hapax legomena — that this was a topos with which Paul’s audience (God-fearing women) were familiar. This word probably conjured up the association with Eve (referred to in verse 13) and referred to certain myths known by the women and Paul about Eve's exaltation (after all this is where a cult around the ‘mother of god’ theotokis arose (cf 4.3.6.11)). There was some sort of power struggle about who was the greatest and Paul was correcting the situation.

verse 13: \( \textit{A\delta\mu \gamma\varphi \pi\rho\omega\tau\varsigma \varepsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\sigma\theta} \)

Another difficulty is the meaning of \( \gamma\varphi \) and the order of creation. The possibility exists that \( \gamma\varphi \) may be either explanatory or causal. Why did Paul introduce the inference of a creation order at this point?

- Kroeger and Kroeger (1992:153-170) maintain that ancient myths in circulation at that time advocated the primo-geniture of Eve and her supremacy over Adam.

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47 Kroeger & Kroeger (1992:153) explain how Eve could be viewed as giving life to Adam due to the ancient beliefs surrounding her deity — originally she was worshipped as Eve, then Hebat. Hebat became identified with Cybele and Artemis and Isis.
It is a reference to Genesis 3:1-25. This observation that Adam was created first implies that chronological primacy\(^48\) carried with it some degree of authority. Advocates of the position that women may not teach base it on this reason. Even Gritz (1986:211) understood this to be the reason men are accorded sole responsibility in the church universal. Not only is Adam superior — women are also prone to deception (verse 14).

### 6.3.3 Indirect access through perspectives of the world beyond the text

**Verse 8**

This verse indicates that prayer in the Jewish manner with hands raised was taking place. Moreover men and women were encouraged to participate in the cultic life. In other forms of Judaism all sorts of restrictions would be placed on women (cf 5.5.5.6; 5.5.5.10; 5.5.5.11). They are addressed together and it is likely that when the letter was read out they would have been in the same room. There would have been no separation or women's gallery (cf 5.5.5.5).

In addition, the women were requested to pray in a certain modest manner. Gentile worshippers had been accustomed to noisy, ecstatic forms of worship and Paul reminds them that they have entered a form of Judaism and therefore these practices were no longer acceptable.

**Verse 10(a)**

Terminology such as this phrase and \(\sigma\omega\phi\rho\sigma\omicron\upsilon\eta\zeta\) (v 9) are indicative of a benefactor motif. In 1 Timothy 2:5-6 a climax is introduced around a chiasmic construction involving the benefactor-client relationships between God and people. The benefactor-client system was a dynamic force within the first-century society (Meeks 1993).

Brooten (1982) has pointed out large numbers of inscriptions in which women were honoured for their financial contributions (cf 5.5.5.6). Some women were financially independent. It is likely from the description of the appearance of the women in 1 Timothy 2:9 that they were patrons of the Christian communities. Paul urges them to attend to good works. Good works are mentioned in the context of financially supporting one's own family as well as fellow-believers (1 Tm 5:10; 6:18). It is probable that Christian gatherings took place in their homes and they were encouraged to provide hospitality to travelling teachers such as Paul and Timothy (1 Tm 5:10). In addition, there is an injunction to reward those who were authentic teachers (1 Tm 5:17-18). It is known that these particular women were rich — and Paul continues throughout the letter even until near the conclusion reminding them of their obligations (1 Tm 3:3; 8; 5:16; 6:9-10; 17-19). Paul had to redefine their status in society — as

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\(^{48}\) Bowman (1992:205) also prefers the notion that \(\gamma\alpha\omicron\partial\) is caused and because Adam was created first, this implies chronological primacy.
they had entered into an egalitarian 'household of God', the usual societal privileges and honour fell away. Paul informed them that status and rank in the family of God were given not to those who were wealthy but to those who assumed the lowly positions of servants or διάκονοι. He was encouraging women to become active participants in the household.

The ruling elders, both men and women referred to in 1 Timothy 5:17 were probably the natural family hierarchy who would have in any case been responsible for the administration of the physical household. There were no badges of wealth such as expensive clothing or elaborate hairstyles.

Verse 10(b) γυναικὶ ἐπαγγελλόμεναι θεοσέβειαν
These women were converts to Judaism from syncretism. However, when they converted to Christianity, one of the many forms of Judaism, they did not necessarily give up their array of deities.

Paul had to constantly remind them that they now worshipped one God and that the mediator between God and people was Jesus Christ (1 Tm 2:5-6). He also reminded them of the differences between this God and their other gods — He is immortal and invisible (unlike their other gods whom they could see and touch) (1 Tm 1:17; 6:16).

Paul argues that Jesus Christ is also able to offer 'salvation' that is physical protection during childbirth. This may have been incomprehensible to many who supposed that Artemis was the one who would help women during the time of childbirth (cf 4.3.6.13).

Verse 12(a) διδάσκειν δὲ γυναικὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω
The historical situation may be placed within the context of public prayer. 1 Timothy 2:1-2 constituted a 'standard Jewish' custom which was practised in the temple and synagogues whereby people signified their loyalty to the Emperor. Christians did not pray 'to' the Emperor but 'for' the Emperor. These practices would enable the gospel to be spread more freely as indeed would reasonable and conforming behavior. Paul's appeal for men to pray with holy and raised hands everywhere without quarrelling indicates that there was some quarrelling. The requirement that 'people everywhere' (ἐν παντὶ τῷ ἐπιστευομένῳ) were involved could either mean a universal application or that a number of 'different house-churches in Ephesus' were required to adhere to this injunction. The latter is preferred (Keener 1992).

Silence was appropriate for a student especially someone as yet unskilled in the content. The word ἡσυχία can be related to 'respect'. The warning concerning teaching was to do with what was being taught. In other words Paul warns against 'teaching in such a way as to take authority'. Taking into account the social historical context as well as the reference to Genesis, Keener (1992:109) advocates that '...Paul may here be warning against a domineering use of authority rather than merely any use of authority'.

CHAPTER 6: THE WORLD WITHIN THE TEXT...TWO WORLDS MEET 164
Teaching: localised or universal
Women were required first to learn more about the nature of Christian teaching instead of teaching myths and fables. They were expected to learn in a respectful, quiet way (ἡσυχία).

Verse 13: Ἀδὰμ γὰρ πρῶτος ἐπλάσθη
Creation order and the superiority of Eve.
Gritz (1986:213) states that the reason for the emphasis on ‘creation order’ can be attributed to the influence of the Ephesian religious climate where superior attitudes of women were promulgated. However, Keener (1992:115-117) contends that women’s subordination ‘...is not the most obvious point of the text’ Paul often uses analogies to make his case. As far as the contention over which woman is addressed, as is mentioned above, he affirms that woman in the generic sense is not meant but rather Eve. Eve’s deception was not an uncommon matter of comment in Jewish texts. The analogy used in this case is based on Eve’s deception rather than her subordination to Adam. Paul connects the later creation of Eve with the problem of deception. She did not receive adequate instruction therefore she was deceived, in the same way, women in Ephesus could be deceived unless they first learned. However, Paul does not regard Eve as ‘a standard symbol for women’ in the same way as the consequences of Adam’s fall were not only applicable to men but to women as well (Rm 5:12-21; 1 Cor 15:45-49) (Keener 1992:117). Kroeger and Kroeger (1992:119) mention that many myths around Adam and Eve were in circulation during the first century. What myths might Paul have refuted in this passage? It is likely that Paul refutes the myth that Eve was created before Adam. Several traditions tell of a heavenly Eve who existed long before Adam.

Verse 3:1(a) the saying πιστὸς ὁ λόγος
The saying ‘faithful is the word’ occurs five times in the Pastoral letters and three times in 1 Timothy. Ellis (1993:664) regards these as preformed traditions or ‘confessional statements of Pauline soteriological themes’.

Two problems exist especially with 1 Timothy 3:1(a): firstly whether the saying refers to the material preceding or following it; secondly whether πιστὸς or ἀνθρώπινος was used in the original text. The argument for linking it to the preceding material is that the phrase is usually linked to the concept of salvation. However the use of the textual deviant ἀνθρώπινος presents a more logical link to 3:2. The use of this phrase in John’s gospel suggest that it is used in conjunction with the concepts of ‘pre-existence’ and ‘incarnation’. In 1 Timothy 1:15, however, it is associated with salvation.
When it refers to what follows, namely 'if anyone aspires to be a bishop', some argue that it was a common secular saying not specifically Christian referring to the concept of 'office' or a civil leader. It was used in this way in Acts 1:20. The saying means nothing more than a verification of the popular saying in question (Knight 1968).

Structurally it would appear that the saying fits best into the context of what follows. Paul introduces new subject matter with clear emphasis and the saying appears to underscore the value of leadership aspirations. I differ with Knight (1968) as it is my contention that the 'office' of bishop was not yet fixed. A reference to 'salvation' is found in 1 Timothy 1:15; 3:1; 4:8 and because of the usual association with salvation, this saying has been added to 2:8-15. Ellis (1993:665) concurs that this is an addendum to this pericope which concerns 'a "Faithful Word" for Husbands and Wives'. It is also possible to link this phrase either to the whole pericope in question or to verse 15 only: 'if they remain in faith and love and holiness with modesty.' The latter is preferred.

6.4 The summary and conclusions

A literary-communicative approach utilising both structural and discourse analysis provided access to both the rhetorical and argumentative aspects of the letter, 1 Timothy. The identification of rhetorical features provided clues to the author's (as implied in the text) motive for writing. Why did he want to effect change or move the audience from one point to another?

The argumentative nature of the letter is confirmed. Whereas rhetorical strategies point to the author's motive, tensions brought about by the argument reveal more about the 'issue' or exigence. It was this exigence in Ephesus which provided provocation for the letter.

The communicative process is not a simple one-way transaction but involves a complexity of factors, some of which are indicated in Webb's model. Both the audience and the exigence dictated the content and the manner in which the letter was written. Their nature is hidden in the text. Once produced this text was intended to act upon the situation and effect change. The audience is not only Timothy but all the members of a synagogue or synagogues in Ephesus. The actants involved in the 'narrative' situation include a vast array of supernatural beings and other individuals. Tensions often transcend spatial limits. For example tension is created between God, Jesus Christ, believers and Satan together with those who have fallen away from the Christian faith.

An examination of the letter structure revealed that it resembled, in many respects, the average personal Graeco-Roman letter of the time. However, Paul did not abide by all the literary conventions and his innovations led to the creation of a new genre — *a letter of social reconstruction.*
In a delineation of the macrostructure it was evident that Pericope 7 (1 Tm 2:8-3:1(a) is situated at a vital point in the letter. Positioned in the introduction to the main body meant that it encapsulates many of the main themes pervading the rest of the letter. This could shed some light on the nature of the exigence. An examination of the structure further revealed three main themes: the contrast between sound and unsound teaching; the inculcation of Christian behaviour values and ethics as well as the development of *communitas* through family metaphors.

This letter is systematically constructed and various features evidence this. It can also be seen in the way the members of the congregation were addressed. Initially Paul addresses Timothy only (1:1-20) but he soon moves to his wider audience. He progresses from the general to the more specific sectors of the community — all men and women; older men and women, younger men and women and older and younger widows. Certain composite groups such as the rich and slaves were singled out for special attention.

At some point, like two sides of a coin, the world in the text meets the world beyond the text. The text of 1 Timothy 2:8-3:1(b) is used to provide apertures through which to view a suspected wider world beyond. A phrase by phrase exposition generated some intertextual clues providing links with themes and semantic domains already identified. However, to avoid anachronistic mirror-reading, it was necessary to utilise the background data accumulated for this purpose in Chapters Four and Five. In many cases a variety of possibilities presented themselves. Final conclusions have not and never will be drawn due to the eternal elusiveness of a historical author and exigence. Notwithstanding these observations it is more likely that an approximation of the world as revealed in the text will be reached when the exegete evaluates the junction of the two worlds — the world within and the world beyond.

The apertures used were the verses supplied in the text. These provided both direct and indirect access. The indirect referents included such items as the benefactor motif and the involvement of the Artemis cult.

In conclusion: what has emerged from this analysis of the world in the text and its synthesis with that beyond? Paul was not advocating silence for women. Women were teaching but some were teaching the wrong doctrines. Many women (and men) had difficulty in adapting to their new Christian situation and were still involved in syncretistic practices. The early church functioned in synagogues which were more liberal in nature than others in the environment. Men and women were not separated. There was as yet no rigid system or hierarchy. The hierarchy that did exist was modelled on the patriarchal family of the ancient Near East and the *paterfamilias* was God (*πατρις*), the Father and Jesus Christ, the Lord (*κύριος*). The rest of the believers were *διάκονοι*. They were instructed to behave as a family and serve one another. It was especially difficult for the wealthy members to accept this status in a society where wealth and honour really mattered. They were expected to relinquish all
that and receive no reward other than a spiritual one. He instructs them to refrain from incorrect teaching. This teaching concerned certain myths about Eve and her pre-existence over Adam. He emphasised that Christ (not only Artemis) is also able to offer salvation even in times of childbirth. This is stressed by the introduction of the phrase πιστός ὁ λόγος.
CHAPTER SEVEN: CHRISTIAN SELF-DEFINITION OF WOMEN IN
EPHESUS — 1 TIMOTHY 2:8-3:1(a) AND WOMEN'S
ORDINATION

Through much of history, the true church's voice has been muzzled, as society's powerbrokers came to run the church, but the voice of our Lord, who came to serve and lay down his life for many has never been and never will be silenced (Keener 1992:211).

7.1 Introduction

This study was prompted by a contemporary question — Should women be ordained into decision-making and teaching positions within the church? The rationale behind the exclusion of women has been upheld by an interpretation of and way of understanding 1 Timothy and other texts (refer to Chapters One and Two). A cursory study of the characteristics of past interpretations has led to the conclusion that procedures for interpreting a text were atomistic and anachronistic. Whenever a contentious word, phrase or pericope was encountered such as that in 1 Timothy 2:8-3:1(a), commentators either glossed over them or remained silent as to their meaning. Another misfortune leading to hermeneutical deficiencies is that readers often isolate certain verses, thereby dismembering the body of the text into fragments. The part is no longer seen as the dynamic organic unit it was designed to be. It becomes a lifeless object for objective study used to fit into any and every frame of reference. It is forgotten that the text was designed and specially constructed for its intended audience in order to move it from one position to another. Scant attention was paid to the socio-cultural milieu of Ephesus or the possible contingencies addressed by this communication.

The fact that the text of 1 Timothy is only one part of the communication process and that other aspects are often neglected was discussed in Chapter Six. In the past little recognition was given to the actants on the other side of the text, namely Timothy and the clearly defined groups of Ephesian women and men who were members of an average household. Bearing in mind the amount of attention given in this discourse to women, it becomes increasingly unlikely that such a liberating and encouraging document for women would have been written in the second century, at a time when the male elite were attempting to put women back in their place. In this letter Paul makes some liberating statements with regard to further education for women and promotes their roles in the household as those who are worthy care-givers, deacons and servants in the 'household of God'. In addition the requirement that men must remain monogamous improved the status of women. Therefore the possibility that women
CHAPTER 7: SELF-DEFINITION...WOMEN'S ORDINATION

contributed to the production of the text even if only in their 'silent' capacity has not been given sufficient attention or taken seriously enough (Webb's diagram clearly illustrates that communication is more than one-sided). Instead of preoccupation with the identity of the author, let us rather seek the identity of the audience. This is possible by viewing the text suspiciously and considering the 'attributions of gender within the text' and then 'listening' to the silent voices of women on the other side of the text.

The assumption remains that the letter was written by a male (Paul) to another male (Timothy). However, it is evident from the target pericope alone that women were participants in the process of communication. Certain behaviour and past exigencies created the rhetorical milieu for Paul's response.

Bal (1988:34-38) defines 'voice' in this way: 'A voice belongs to her/him who holds the primary subject position within a discourse.' There is no doubt that the dominant force within the culture of Asia Minor was androcentric in nature and that the text itself was also a product of this society. Behind the male voices there are shadows of a very large number of women congregants.

7.2 Conclusions on 1 Timothy 2:8-3:1(a)

The 'reading into' the text of 1 Timothy a pattern for church offices and structures was reinforced by many scholars who denied Pauline authorship and therefore dated this letter in the late second century. The Apostolic writings show that changes had occurred in the relationships between church and members in the second century and beyond.

The issue of authorship of 1 Timothy has long been a vexing and time-consuming issue. Scholars who, for a variety of reasons mentioned in Chapter Two, adhere to non-Pauline second century authorship accentuate those features within the text which appear to establish ecclesiastic offices and affirm certain officials holding those ministerial functions. The latter included the role of preaching and teaching from which women were deliberately excluded.

In order to reach an understanding of 1 Timothy 2:8-3:1(a) that is neither anachronistic nor a mirror-reflection of the exegete's own theological presuppositions, it is essential that the text is placed back into its first century setting. The exegete requires an understanding of the exigence that created the need for the text. This particular communicative strategy was both a product of its world and was responsible for the reconstruction of the society. It had, and still has, a dynamic nature of its own that has impacted on a variety of societies over the centuries. The exigence and society which it addressed have been forgotten and are not recoverable except for the resonances which remain in literature. Without knowledge of ancient society, a vital link in the process of understanding is missing.
Attention to the diverse and very different cultural circumstances in the first century Eastern Mediterranean countries enables an interpretation, freed to some extent, from the cultural bias of the Western twentieth century exegete.

Malina (1993) provides some insights into the contrast between first century Mediterranean countries and twentieth century America. His culturally-sensitive approach provides 'windows' into everyday situations. Mediterranean family structures in antiquity were divided in terms of gender. The kitchen, inside the house and 'male-free' courtyard were the domains of women. A woman's primary responsibility was to ensure that the household functioned well. Paul states in Timothy that only those capable of running a good household would be fit to care for the 'household of God'. In spite of this feminine imagery where there is little doubt that women were very much involved, it would appear that Jesus and Paul after him, succeeded in 'turning the world upside down' as they inverted social values and norms. Is it possible that men performed those tasks which were traditionally reserved for females and servants?

In connection with status reversals Malina (1993:78) states:

On the other hand, who in the world of Jesus would have been socialized to give precedence to others, to serve others, to rejoice at the successes of others, and the like? Obviously women! By asking his male disciples to take on some of these traits, Jesus does indeed seek to rearrange Mediterranean values.

It should be recognised that in spite of the prevailing first century pattern of hierarchical family structures, where the male was always superior to the female and children and slaves, subordinate to parents, there were efforts especially in major urban cosmopolitan centres, such as Ephesus, where 'upwardly mobile women' flaunted societal androcentric boundaries (Meeks 1983:23; MacMullen 1990:162-176).

Child-rearing and household matters dominate this text. In the extended family household women played a crucial role in cultic and economic activities as well as child socialization, servant supervision and food preparation. Paul makes several liberating injunctions with regard to women in Ephesus. He instructs women to learn and educate themselves in things pertaining to the Christian philosophy. He made no attempt to limit women's ministry; on the contrary they were encouraged to continue 'good works' and to provide hospitality to wandering charismatic teachers such as Paul and Timothy. They were encouraged to rule their households well (because only a proficient householder could qualify to take charge of the 'household of God'). Many women in the absence of their husband or due to widowhood or celibacy performed tasks of the pater familias. Such tasks would have included caring for and serving other Christians within the congregations.
Chapter Four consisted of an etic description of this environment. Chapter Five provided an assessment of women's social status relative to men as viewed by mostly male, first century writers in various spheres of society. A sociological model based on Turner's stages of transition from one religious status to another was used to parallel the progress of Christians from paganism and Judaism to Christianity.

Paul's reference to childbirth in verse 15 has provided an enigma for scholars who are unable to explain it through atomistic or other procedures. They have missed the link to the rest of the verses because they have failed to look through this peep-hole, provided by reference in the text to the world beyond. An investigation of what the world may have been like, would indicate that there are other clues in this text which will take one out of the twentieth century into a strange and foreign environment. The author uses topoi, phrases and cognates with which his addressees were very familiar.

The point of issue in this pericope can be identified by the following referentials which formed a topos: childbirth-Eve-deception-origins-teaching (Artemis-Cybele—the 'mother of all living' may be inferred). The question debated was who was first, Adam or Eve? Placing these clues in their first century Ancient Near East setting, where the fabric of everyday life revolved around religious cultic activities and pre-occupations, a very different picture emerges from that which is usually provided by commentaries. The spiritual world was very real. Deities were essential for a person's safe passage through this danger-fraught life. Especially during times of illness or danger, deities providing protection were very useful. Pregnancy and childbirth were life-threatening situations for women during the first-century. Which deity or deities could provide the best insurance cover? Surely Artemis, the goddess of fertility, would assist women at this time as she had done for many generations? Paul is offering women an alternative source of protection/salvation through childbirth, the Christian faith. This is so strongly emphasised that he underlines it with a mark of emphasis—'faithful is the word'. No doubt a difficult conversion to make, or did women simply take Jesus Christ on board along with other deities, just in case?

It is not surprising that the issue of childbirth is connected to the matter of precedence between Adam and Eve. Hellenistic society commonly believed that gods had a beginning or origin. There was a never-ending source of debate as to which

1 Views concerning conception were chauvinistic and naive in first century Roman Empire. One view was that the formation of the embryo was entirely the work of male semen and women only provided the inferior blood element. A second view was that male and female seed mingled to produce the foetus. According to Valentinian allegory, female 'semen' was inferior to the male. There was a general societal tendency to regard women as 'weaker and less rational, and generally inferior'. Such views were prevalent among male authors but it is unfortunate that women themselves are not heard (Meeks 1993:139-140).

2 Myths provided the content for debate (Meeks 1993:112). Myths were told in such a way that the central issue was power: The sinister force of the invisible demon (or in this case the visible idols of Artemis against the invisible Lord Jesus Christ) against Jesus' superior might.
goddess preceded whom and who was the mother of all living things. Everyone in Asia Minor knew that the origin of the gods was the Great Mother, Cybele or even Artemis and in some circles, Eve was given this acclamation. Everything that lived owed its origin to this 'life-giving source'. From a Greek perspective it was a grave deficiency that Judaism could not explain the origin of its god (Kimpel 1983:19-21). One can imagine some naive Gentile convert to Judaism asking these pertinent questions or perhaps even asserting that as Artemis was the giver of life, she was also the mother of the Jewish deity. They may also have intimated that she gave birth to Adam as well. In Asia Minor the worship of the serpent was a well-established cult. Eve was obviously somehow associated with the latter in their thinking.

7.3 The Christian self-definition of women in Ephesus

Early Christianity was attractive to women due to their baptism into a community of equals. In the first century, households were the settings for cultic activities such as 'prayer'. 1 Timothy 2:8-15 is an encouragement for both women and men 'to pray'. Bearing these features in mind it would be surprising if 1 Timothy was a second century composition as by this time such 'upwardly mobile women' were threatening the erosion of patriarchal control and this '...was constantly deplored by the rhetorical moralists and the satirists...' who came after Paul.

At the same time it is necessary to proceed with caution and not overestimate the inroads made by a few women in the first century. This was unlike anything women are able to achieve today (Gottwald 1979:797). Upwardly mobile women must have been constantly reminded that they were crossing boundaries that a good part of the society held sacred (Meeks 1983:23).

It is clear that at the time of this letter there was no hierarchical structure for the church but rather a growing number of average first century Jewish households, which were particularly hospitable to Jewish travelling teachers like Paul and Timothy who brought disturbingly revolutionary ideas on behavior, societal norms and deities.

Ancient society functioned on a system of honour and shame; Paul turned this upside-down. People at the bottom end of the social scale, servants and women were treated in a different way, as equals. The rich in the Christian community were expected to give to beneficiaries without the usual public recognition. Rewards were invisible. Benefactors were promised an unseen eternal inheritance, instead of the best seat at a public festival or an inscription in stone for posterity. Although Christianity appealed to Gentile converts, it must have been difficult for wealthy Gentile women in particular to remain in the faith.

Paul's letters to the communities reinforced their new identity, they were to be changed and no longer subject to their past affiliations. They were no longer part of an oppressively male culture. They had a new identity as part of the 'household of God'.
At a time when certain women were breaking out of their traditional moulds women acted as benefactors and providers for Christian groups. They served one another, taught and promoted the gospel of Christ. They were co-workers alongside Paul.

It is undeniable that 1 Timothy provides insights into the emergence of different and divergent cultural forces that still influence and pervade all facets of life today and have done so for two thousand years.

Looked at from the perspective of cultural history, what changed was a broad range of sensibilities. There emerged altered convictions about the kind of behaviour that is fitting, right and salutary for human flourishing. (Meeks 1993:2).

What changed in the Roman Empire within certain quarters was 'morality'. Aspects of this morality can be scrutinised in 1 Timothy and after examination, it may be concluded that lists of virtues which were to apply to the Ephesian congregation were hardly exceptional and 'doubtless undistinguishable in most respects from that of their unconverted neighbours' (Meeks 1993:2). It is also likely that there were differences in 'moral judgement and practices' among different groups of Christians in different localities.

There is little doubt that the purpose of 1 Timothy was the 'maintenance and growth' of Christian communities within a multi-religious milieu which was not particularly tolerant towards the idea that a single deity held exclusive powers. It also appeared a matter of urgency that Paul maintained civil behaviour which did not bring the unwarranted attention of civic officials to groups of Christians.

Chapter Five examined this state of conversion or separation from one life and type of society (Judaism and polytheism) to another (Christianity). It is, therefore, not surprising that: '...the boundaries between the old world and the new are a constant element in early Christian moral exhortation' (Meeks 1993:12)

The promotion of Christian values and worship is at the heart of 1 Timothy - the establishment of Christian values and beliefs within the context of city life - particularly diasporic Jewish community life.

It appears that lists of virtues and vices which featured throughout the New Testament were a commonplace rhetorical strategy of the first century (Pliny Ep 10.96.7). There were other practices and beliefs peculiar to Christians. They claimed to worship, not the emperor nor a human king but Jesus Christ who died an ignominious death at the hands of the Roman governor in Jerusalem. He was proclaimed equal to the Jewish God, was raised to life and was believed by Paul to be the mediator between people and God (1 Tm 2:5). There are solemn reminders of the unseen presence of Jesus Christ (1 Tm 6:14) and the expectation that perseverance and obedience would be rewarded with his imminent return.
Lists of desirable behavior are particularly directed to rich women (1 Tm 2:9-15); female elders (1 Tm 5:2) female deacons (1 Tm 3:11-13); older and younger widows; the married and unmarried (1 Tm 5:3-16), yet no-one is mentioned by name.

Although only Paul's conversion story (1 Tm 1:12-16) is heard, we can infer the conversion stories of unnamed women in Ephesus, especially those addressed in 1 Timothy 2:15-3:1(a). Attracted to the cult of Judaism and especially the more egalitarian groups, these women called God-fearers, were exhorted to relinquish past habits and beliefs in exchange for a new status. To convert to Christianity meant primarily to convert to Judaism.

Common topics among first century pagan, moral philosophers were 'behaviour' and 'marriage'. Such topics occur in 1 Timothy. Paul encouraged marriage for younger widows (1 Tm 5:14) and monogamous marriages (1 Tm 3:2; 12; 5:9) for both men and women. The management of a household went together with the rearing of children (1 Tm 3:4;12). Meeks (1993:68) observes that the Jewish and Christian lists demarcating acceptable and unacceptable behaviour are virtually interchangeable with other moralists at that time. Not only do these lists indicate boundaries, those who are the 'in' group and those on the 'outside'; but they also warn about the consequences of deviant behavior (Hymeneus and Alexander, 1 Tm 1:19-20). Moral training occurred within the sphere of the household. Yet within the 'household of God' it was not only the householder who 'gave instruction and monitored the behavior of these grown-up children', visiting teachers (such as Paul and Timothy) also acted as 'parents'.

Hospitality was a virtue that was highly prized (1 Tm 3:2). It was important for the maintenance and growth of the Christian communities that the 'ruler of the household/s' had such qualities. With the development of the monarchical episcopate in the second century, a single bishop was responsible for each household or congregation and only gradually did the bishop become the chief patron performing similar functions to that which the wealthier patrons/householders performed in the early years (Meeks 1993:103-106). Those entrusted with the care of the church were not new converts who were still susceptible to 'fall into the condemnation of the devil' (1 Tm 3:6). In addition it was important that they had a good reputation with those outside the church (1 Tm 3:7).

Christian groups were based in homes and largely depended upon the hospitality of the patron householder. They were in many respects similar to a club, guild or philosophical school. Although formulas for baptism and various rituals reminded converts of their new place in the family of God, life went on in the household. Christian slaves and masters had to be reminded that although they had a new status, old obligations remained intact (1 Tm 6:1-3). Meeks (1993:49-50) states that although 'women sometimes took on exceptional roles of leadership in the new movement...there were soon reactions against that.'

A competitive jostling for status and esteem characterised Greek and Roman society. In addition male domination was prevalent everywhere in society except some
CHAPTER 7: SELF-DEFINITION...WOMEN'S ORDINATION

of the exclusive female cults. Paul attempted to change the prevailing 'rigid hierarchies and fierce but closely ordered competition for "honour"' (Meeks 1993:63). What was discovered about the status of women? This is a difficult question as any attempt to evaluate a woman's worth in the first century is fraught with problems. Women were treated differently to men but does this make them less valued or of inferior status? (Swidler 1976:2). In everyday Mediterranean life, women had certain spheres of influence mainly connected with the home and household affairs. Women were 'embedded' in men's honour and value system — this system, to some extent, still functions and is perpetuated in our own society today.

Becoming a Christian did not mean divesting oneself of one's beliefs and superstitions, as revealed by the frequency of Jewish divine and angelic names in the papyrus spells and also Jewish magic handbooks such as Testament of Solomon and Book of Mysteries (Meeks 1993:114). Even the name of Jesus was used as a magical incantation (Mk 9:38-39 Ac 19:15-16).

It was common practice to accumulate a variety of deities. What did the God of the Jews and Jesus Christ, the mediator, have to offer the Gentile believers in Ephesus that could not be obtained elsewhere? Perhaps it was the strangeness; there was no visible deity or the attraction that this was the Supreme Being who might just be the benefactor of all society. Paul emphasises this feature and the intermediary link through Jesus Christ. When they entered this new religion, were they aware that they might be asked to relinquish all other 'saviours'? What about the enjoyable festivals offering temporary social interaction and freedom from the domestic realm, so characteristic of Hellenistic religions, would that too have to be forfeited?

Modern Western society has lost much of its religious fervour and sensitivity having become too sophisticated for spiritual things. Yet in some sections of South African society, this is not the case. Traditional beliefs in the supernatural still hold sway over the lives of individuals and groups. The beliefs that unseen realities shape and control day to day living are paramount. It is here that resonances of Graeco-Roman religious life can be traced. Religious rituals are taken seriously. Turner (1969) based his study on rituals and their significance in the life of African tribes. The initiation ritual was seen as a significant transition from a old way of life into a new or rather from one phase of childhood into adulthood. The old was left behind and the new lay ahead. In between the initiand was in a state of limbo/transition-liminality. It was such a ritual process that transpired in the evolution of Christianity from its matrix, Judaism. Initiands to Christianity were baptised signifying a death to the old life-style and resurrected into a new state of liminality. In a sense they had to change their identity and their self-understanding of whom and what they were. Paul established the pattern for this identity which Christians had to adopt. This was not an easy task. The letter to the congregation in Ephesus, by way of Timothy, was a vital link in bringing into line a recalcitrant group who, no doubt, found the new way of life, the anti-
structure incomprehensible and incompatible with their pantheon of deities and traditional way of life.

7.4 Women's ordination

In spite of the conclusions reached that women were actively involved in congregations in Ephesus, also in decision-making processes, it is incorrect to look back and assume that structures of the modern universal church should be based either on a first century or third century model — the present must be freed from the past.

Women were teaching particular doctrines probably those concerning the primal origins of women. These instructions did not apply within the context of worship as it is commonly understood today. Furthermore, the offices of deacon, bishop, elder and widow were not necessarily liturgical offices with only sacred functions, they had practical connotations within the role of the average large Jewish household. Christian households were Jewish but different because of their attention to Jesus as the 'spiritual head' of the household and a more egalitarian stance outlined in Chapter Five. The organiser of the gathering was the household overseer who could have been a woman, either because of the absence of her husband or because she was a widow and owned a large home suitable for a synagogue.

The letter to Ephesus was written around 60-65 C E when Christianity was still in a fluid state of its evolution. At this stage the anti-structure was characterised by egalitarian attitudes towards women and slaves. Women, no doubt widows and others with absent husbands opened their homes and welcomed travelling Christian leaders into their extended families. Synagogues and homes were synonymous. Women were encouraged to spread the gospel of Jesus Christ and they obviously did, hence the tremendous popularity of this new religion. They were not discouraged and prohibited from teaching as conservative scholars would have us believe. The teaching about Jesus Christ was not the issue but rather the teaching about Artemis or Eve as the origin of all life.

Therefore, I conclude that Paul was actively encouraging women to learn more so that they would be better equipped to teach the 'truth'. Has the church not erred in silencing women in the church for so long?

The silencing of women has been the result of a misunderstanding. The same principles that were applicable to the church in Paul's lifetime can be applied, in order to improve and define the interaction of church and society. The terms, deacons and elders, now used in the church were nothing more than just stating the obvious — a deacon was someone who traditionally did the work in the home and an elder was simply some person either male or female who was older and therefore accorded more status in ancient society. When decisions were taken, naturally the older people, more especially the men, would have been involved whether it was within the sphere of the Christian church or not.
The question whether or not to ordain women as deacons, elders, priests and bishops is as historically naive as: ‘How should Christians react towards abortion?’ and ‘What does the New Testament say about homosexuality?’ (Meeks 1993: ix). It is impossible and naive to attempt to construct and prescribe for Christianity today, supposed New Testament principles for the establishment of ecclesiastical orders within the church. Ordination is not a question that should be addressed to the first letter of Paul to Timothy, who was on his way to Ephesus to face certain circumstances that were discussed above.

Having made this statement it feels like a betrayal, after all women have been seeking acceptance within the twentieth century church for a considerable period of time. After much pain, shame and hardship, women have succeeded in gaining ordination and recognition as leaders in many parts of the Church universal. In South Africa the way is now open for women to become ordained as bishops. If a first century model for twentieth century churches could be used as a model structure upon which to replicate the modern church, there is no doubt that women would play a more active and prominent function than they do today.

However, the notion that twentieth century congregations should follow a first-century pattern is an anachronistic fallacy as confirmed by Meeks (1993: 215): ‘Not only can we not replicate the golden age of Christian beginnings, there was no golden age to replicate.’

7.5 Considerations for Propaedeutic

This study has revealed that a social-scientific approach which complements other disciplines such as anthropology, sociology and linguistics is better equipped to an understanding of ancient texts such as 1 Timothy.

Therefore more attention should be given to the nature of religion and its function within ancient society and today. Study of some tribal societies may provide insights unobtainable from literature. Additional studies in Hellenistic religions will provide even more evidence about the myths Paul was refuting. Ancient women were often unable to express themselves in literature but were adept at weaving myths and narratives around favourite deities.

Textual analysis opened up many avenues for exploration which could only be treated in a cursory fashion in this dissertation. The way in which the ancient author constructed the text forms a fascinating study which is still awaiting further excavation.

Scholars such as Fiorenza who paved the way for hermeneutic of suspicion are acknowledged. In the same way as the identity or the self-understanding of the Christian women in Ephesus was shaped by this dynamic Word of God, if it is allowed to do so, the same will continue to encourage and provide women with the realisation that they are acceptable and equal in the household of God and able to exercise all that
God has called them to do, including teaching and extending the work of the gospel of Christ.

**ADDENDUM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household activities</th>
<th>Positive communication</th>
<th>Negative communication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Pericope 1 (1:1-2)**

A brief greeting and blessing for Timothy — a true child of the faith. God the Father, Jesus Christ the Lord.

<1> Παύλος ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ ᾿Ησοῦ κατ' ἐπίταγήν θεοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν καὶ Χριστοῦ ᾿Ησοῦ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν

2 Τιμοθέων γνησίω τέκνῳ ἐν πίστει χάρις, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Χριστοῦ ᾿Ησοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἡμῶν.

**Pericope 2 (1:3-7)**

Paul's charge to Timothy — reference to errors leading to quarrelling rather than Godliness.

3 Καθὼς παρεκάλεσά σε προσμείναι ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πορευόμενος εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ἰδαὶ παραγγείλης πιὰν μὴ ἐπειδοδιάκονι

4 μηδὲ προσέχεις μῖθοι καὶ γενεαλογίας ἀπεράντως, αἵτινες ἐκχυτήσεας παρέχουσιν μάλλον ἢ θεομαχίαν θεοῦ τὴν ἐν πίστει:

5 τὸ δὲ τέλος τῆς παραγγελίας ἐστίν ἀγάπη ἐκ καθαρᾶς καρδίας καὶ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθής καὶ πίστεως ἀνυποκρίτου,

6 ὃν τινας ἀστοχήσαντες ἐξετάσαντοι εἰς ματαιολογίαν,

7 θελοντες εἶναι νομοδιάκονοι, μὴ νοοῦτες μὴτε ἡ λέγουσιν μὴτε περὶ τίνων διαβεβαιαύνται.

**Pericope 3 (1:8-11)**

The nature of those opposing gospel. Paul is entrusted with the gospel.

8 Οἶδαμεν
Pericope 4 (1:12-17)
Mercy, salvation and eternal life come from God our benefactor.

Χάριν ἐξω τῷ ἐνδυναμώσαντί με
Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν,
ὅτι πιστῶν με ἡγήσατο
θέμενος εἰς διακονίαν,

τό πρῶτον ὑπάρχασμαν δὲ ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
μετὰ πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

Πιστός ὁ λόγος
καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἡμιαίος,
ὅτι Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἠλθεν
eἰς τὸν κόσμον
ἀμαρτωλοὺς σώσας·
ἥτιν πρῶτος εἰμι ἔγω,

Alleluia!
CHAPTER 7: SELF-DEFINITION...WOMEN’S ORDINATION

Pericope 5 (1:18-20)
Paul charges Timothy to fight. Contrast between Christian and non-Christian teaching and behavior.

18 Ταύτην τὴν παραγγελίαν
     παρατίθεμαι σοι,
     τέκνου Τιμόθεω,
     κατὰ τὰς προσαγούσας
     ἐπὶ ὅς προφητείας,
     ίνα στρατεύῃ
     ἐν αὐταῖς
     τὴν καλὴν στρατείαν,
19 ἔχων πίστιν καὶ ἀγαθὴν συνείδησιν,
     ἦν τινες ἀπωσάμενοι
     περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἐνανάγησαν
20 ὃν ἐστιν Ἰτέμναιος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρος,
     οὗς παρέδωκα τῷ Σατανᾷ
     ίνα παιδευθῶσιν
     μὴ βλασφήμειν.

Pericope 6 (2:1-7)
Prayer for a peaceful and Godly life. God is our only saviour and benefactor, he has appointed Paul to teach the gospel.

<2> Παρακαλῶ
     οὖν πρῶτον πάντων
     ποιεῖσθαι δεήσεις, προσευχὰς,
     ἐντευξίες, εὐχαριστίας,
     ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων,
Instructions for certain men and women in regard to — Christian and non-Christian behavior.

8 Βούλομαι οὖν προσεύχεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας
   ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ,
   ἐπαίροντας ὀσίους χείρας
   χωρὶς ὀργῆς καὶ
   διαλογισμοῦ.

9 ὠσαύτως {καὶ} γυναῖκας ἐν
   καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ μετὰ αἰδοὺς καὶ σωφροσύνης κοσμεῖν
   ἑαυτᾶς,
   μὴ ἐν πλέγμασιν καὶ
   χρυσίῳ
   ἦ μαργαρίταις ἦ ἰματισμῷ πολυτελεί,

10 ἄλλῳ ὁ πρέπει γυναιξίν
   ἐπεκαγγελλομέναις θεοσέβειαιν,
CHAPTER 7: SELF-DEFINITION...WOMEN'S ORDINATION

11 ἡ ἡσυχία μανθανέτων ἐν πάσῃ ὑποταγῇ.

12 διδάσκειν δὲ γυναικὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπτω,
οὐδὲ αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός,
ἀλλὰ εἰναι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ.

13 Ἄδαμ γὰρ πρῶτος ἐπλάσθη,
eίτα Εὐδα.

14 καὶ Ἄδαμ οὐκ ἡ πατήθη,
ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἐξαπατθεῖσα ἐν παραβάσει γέγονεν.

15 σωθῆσαι δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας,
ἐὰν μείνωσιν ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγαπῇ
cαὶ ἀγαπημοῦντες
μετὰ σωφροσύνης.

<3> Πιστῶς ὁ λόγος.

Pericope 8 (3:1b-13)
The qualities of those in charge of a household/congregation.

εἰ τις ἐπισκοπῆς ὑπάρχει,
καλὸς ἐργὸν ἐπιθυμεῖ,

2 δεὶ ὅν τὸν ἐπισκόπον ἀνεπιλημμένον ἐναίνει,
μᾶς γυναικὸς ἀνδρα,
νηφαλίων, σωφρονα,
κόσμου, φιλόξενουν, διδακτικῶν,

3 μὴ πάρουνον,
μὴ πλήκτην,
ἀλλὰ ἐπισκόπην,
ἀμαχον, ἀφιλάργυρον,

4 τοῦ ἱδίου οἴκου καλὸς προϊστάμενον,
τεκνα ἐχουσα
ἐν ὑποταγῇ,
μετὰ πάσης σεμνότητος.

5 {εἰ δὲ τις τοῦ ἱδίου οἴκου
οὐκ οἶδεν,
πώς ἐκκλησίας θεοῦ ἐπιμελήσεται;}
CHAPTER 7: SELF-DEFINITION...WOMEN'S ORDINATION

6 μὴ νεόφυτον,
 ἵνα μὴ τυφώθεις εἰς κρίμα
 ἐμπέσῃ τοῦ διαβόλου.

7 δεὶ δὲ καὶ μαρτυρίαν καλὴν ἔχειν
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξώθην,
 ἵνα μὴ εἰς ἀνειδιαμὸν ἐμπέσῃ
 καὶ πατίδα τοῦ διαβόλου.

8 Διακόνους ὑσσαύτως σεμνούς,
 μὴ διάλογους,
 μὴ οἶνῳ πολλῷ προσέχοντας,
 μὴ αἰσχροκερδεῖς,

9 ἔχοντας τὸ μυστήριον τῆς πίστεως
 ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει.

10 καὶ οὕτω δὲ δοκιμαζόθωσαν πρῶτον,
 εἶτα διακονεῖτωσαν
 ἀνεγκλητοὶ ὑπὲρ.

11 γυναίκας ὑσσαύτως σεμνός,
 μὴ διαβόλους, νηφαλίως, πιστὰς ἐν πάσι.

12 διάκονοι ἔστωσαν
 μᾶς γυναικὸς ἀνδρεῖς
 τέκτων καλῶς προϊστάμενοι
 καὶ τῶν ἱδων οἰκών

13 οἱ γάρ καλῶς διακορισταῖς
 βαθμὸν εἰσερχόμενοι καὶ πολλὴν παρρησίαν
 ἐν πίστει τῇ
 ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

Pericope 9 (3:14-16)
The purpose of this letter — How to behave in the household of God.

14 Ταῦτά σοι γράφων,
 ἐλπίζων ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σὲ
tάχισθην.

15 εἰς ὑπὲρ
 ῥώς δὲ ἐν οἴκῳ θεοῦ
 ἀναστήθησθαι,
CHAPTER 7: SELF-DEFINITION...WOMEN'S ORDINATION

16 καὶ ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἕστιν τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον·

"Ος ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί,
ἐδικαίωθη ἐν πνεύματι,
ὡθή ἀγγέλους,
ἐκπροσωπήθη ἐν δόξαι,
ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ,
ἀνελήμφθη ἐν δόξῃ.

Pericope 10 (4:1-5)
A warning concerning those who choose a different way of life.

<4> Τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ῥήτως λέγει
ὅτι ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς
ἀποστήσονται τινες
τῆς πίστεως,
προσέχοντες πνεύμασιν πλάνοις
καὶ διδασκαλίαις δαιμονίων,

2 ἐν ὑποκρίσει ψευδολόγων,
κεκαυστηριασμένων τὴν ἰδίαν συνείδησιν,

3 καλυόμενων γαμεῖν,
αὐτεχναθαί βρωμάτων
αὐτεχναθαί βρωμάτων
καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐκτίσεν
εἰς μετάλημψιν
μετὰ εὐχαριστίας
tοῖς πιστοῖς
καὶ ἐπεγνωκόσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

4 ὅτι πάν τισίν
θεοῖ ταῦτά καὶ
καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπόβλητον
μετὰ εὐχαριστίας λαμβανόμενον,

5 ἀγιάζεται γὰρ
dιὰ λόγου θεοῦ
καὶ εὐτυχεύως.
Pericope 11 (4:6-10)
Timothy will be a good servant of Christ if he does these things.

6 Ταῦτα ὑποστηθέμενος
τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς
καὶ χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ,
ἐντρεφόμενος τοῖς λόγοις τῆς πίστεως
καὶ τῆς καλῆς διδασκαλίας.

7 τοὺς δὲ βεβήλους καὶ γραώδεις μύθους
παραίτου.
γυμναζέ δὲ σεαυτὸν
πρὸς εὐσέβειαν;

8 ἡ γὰρ σωματικῆ γυμνασία
πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐστὶν ὡφέλιμος,
ἡ δὲ εὐσέβεια
πρὸς πάντα ὡφέλιμος ἐστὶν,
ἐπαγγελίαν ἔχουσα ἰσός
τῆς νῦν καὶ τῆς μελλούσης.

9 πιστὸς ὁ λόγος
καὶ πάσης ἀποδοξίας ἀξίως.

10 εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ κοπιῶμεν
καὶ ἀγωνιζόμεθα,
ὅτι ἥλπικαμεν
ἐπὶ θεῷ ἰσωτί,
ὅς ἐστιν σωτὴρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων,
μάλιστα πιστῶν.

Pericope 12 (4:11-16)
Timothy must instruct according to what Paul has taught and provide an example of Christian behavior.

11 Παράγγελλε
ταῦτα καὶ δίδασκε.

12 μηδεὶς σου
τῆς νεότητος καταφρονεῖτω,
ἀλλὰ τύπος γίμων
τῶν πιστῶν ἐν λόγῳ,
ἐν ἀναστροφῇ,
CHAPTER 7: SELF-DEFINITION...WOMEN'S ORDINATION

13 ἐώς ἔρχομαι πρόσεχε

τῇ ἀναγνώσει,
τῇ παρακλήσει,
τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ.

14 μὴ ἀμέλει

τοῦ ἐν σοὶ χαρίσματος,
ὁ εὐδόκη σοι
dίᾳ προφητείας
μετὰ εἰπθέσεως
τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου.

15 ταῦτα μελέτα,

ἐν τούτοις ἵσθι,

_iterations

τὰ σου ἡ προκοπὴ φανερὰ

ἡ πάση.

16 ἔπεξε σεαυτῷ

καὶ τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ

ἐπίμενεν αὐτοῖς

τοῦ γὰρ

tοῦν

καὶ σεαυτὸν σώσεις

καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντάς σου.

Pericope 13 (5:1-6:2a)

Appropriate family behavior for members of the household: overseers, older men and women; younger men and women; older widows and younger widows; masters and servants;

<5> Πρεσβυτέρω

Ἀλλὰ παρακάλει ὡς πατέρα,

νεοτέρους ὡς ἀδελφοὺς,

2 πρεσβυτέρως

ὁ πιστός

νεοτέρος ὡς ἀδελφὸς

ἐν πάσῃ ἀγνείᾳ.

3 Χήρας τίμα

tας ὅντως χήρας.
ΕΙΔΙΚΗ Η ΔΙΚΑΙΝΟΜΗ ΕΧΕΙ ΜΑΝΤΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ
ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ ΟΙΚΩΝ ΕΥΘΕΙΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΟΙΒΑΣ ΑΠΟΔΟΝΤΑΙ
ΤΑΙΣ ΠΡΟΓΩΝΟΙΣ,
ΤΟΥΤΟ ΓΆΡ ΕΣΙΝ ΑΠΟΔΕΚΤΟΝ ΕΝΩΠΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ.

Η ΔΕ ΩΝΤΩΣ ΧΗΡΑ
ΚΑΙ ΜΕΡΟΔΙΧΕΙΝ
ΗΛΙΚΕΝ ΕΠΙ ΘΕΟΝ
ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΜΕΝΕΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΔΕΗΣΟΥΝ
ΚΑΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΡΟΣΕΝΧΑΙΣ
ΝΥΚΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΡΑΣ.

Η ΔΕ ΣΠΑΤΑΛΩΣΑ
ΞΩΣΑ ΤΕΘΙΣΕΝ.

ΚΑΙ ΤΑΪΤΑ ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΛΛΕ Ν
ΗΜΑ ΑΝΕΠΙΛΗΜΠΤΟΝ ΣΟΙΝ.

ΕΙ ΔΕ ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ
ΚΑΙ ΜΑΘΙΣΤΑ ΟΙΚΕΙΩΝ
ΟΥ ΠΡΟΕΙΣΤΑΙ,
ΤΗΝ ΠΙΣΤΙΝ ΗΡΙΣΤΑΙ
ΚΑΙ ΕΣΙΝ ΑΠΙΣΤΟΝ ΧΕΙΡΩΝ.

ΧΗΡΑ ΚΑΤΑΛΕΓΕΣΘΩ
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ΕΥΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΓΥΝΗ,
ΕΝ ΕΡΓΟΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΙΣ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΜΕΝΗ,
ΕΙ ΕΠΕΧΙΟΝΟΚΕΦΗΝ ΕΙ
ΕΙ ΕΞΕΝΟΝΟΧΕΦΗΝ ΕΙ
ΕΙ ΑΓΩΝ ΠΟΙΑΣ ΕΡΝΕΥΝ ΕΙ ΑΓΩΝ ΠΟΙΑΣ ΕΡΝΕΥΝ
ΕΙ ΘΛΙΒΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΕΠΗΡΚΕΟΙΝ,
ΕΙ ΠΑΝΤΙ ΕΡΓΩ ΑΓΑΘΟ ΕΠΗΚΟΛΟΥΘΗΕΝ.

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ΓΑΜΕΙΝ ΘΕΛΟΥΝ,

ΕΧΟΥΝΑΙ ΚΡΙΜΑ
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ΑΜΑ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΆΡΓΑΙ ΜΑΝΘΑΝΟΥΝ,
ΠΡΟΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΟΣ ΟΙΚΟΙΚ.
CHAPTER 7: SELF-DEFINITION...WOMEN'S ORDNATION

ου μόνον δὲ ἄργαι

ὁλλὰ καὶ φλάραιροι

καὶ περιέργοι,

λαλοῦσαι τὰ μὴ δέοντα.

βούλομαι

οὖν νεωτέρας γαμείν,

τεκνωγονεῖν,

οικοδομητῇν,

μηδεμιαν ἀφορμήν οἴοναι

τῷ ἀντικειμένῳ λοιπορίας χάριν.

ηὗρ γάρ τινες

ἐξετάστησαν ὅτιον τοῦ Σατανᾶ.

εἰ τις πιστὴ ἦχει χήρας,

ἐπαρκείτω αὐταῖς,

καὶ μὴ βαρεῖσθω ἡ ἐκκλησία,

UNCTA οὐκ ὄντως χήρας ἐπαρκέσθη.

Οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες προεστότεροι
dιτης τιμῆς αξιονοθώσαν,

μάλιστα οἱ κοπιῶντες

ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ.

λέγει γάρ ἡ γραφή,

Βούν ἀλοώντα ὁ φιμώσειοι,

καὶ,

Ἄξιος ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ.

κατὰ προεστότοι κατηγορίαν

ἐκτὸς οἱ μὴ ἐπὶ δύο ἢ τριών μαρτύρων.

τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας ἐνώπιον πάντων ἔλεγχε,

UNCTA καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ φόβου ἔχωσιν.

Διαμαρτύρομαι

ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ

καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ,

καὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν ἁγγελῶν,

UNCTA παῦτα φυλάξεις

χωρίς προκρίματος,

μηδὲν ποιῶν

κατὰ πρόσκλησιν.

Χείρας ταχέως μηδενὶ ἐπιτίθει,

μηδὲ κοινώνει

ἀμαρτίας ἀλλοτρίας.
σεαυτὸν ἄγνων τῆρει.

23 Μηκέτι ὑδροπότει,

άλλα οἴνῳ ὅληγω χρῶ

διὰ τὸν στόμαχον

καὶ τὰς πυκνὰς σου ἁσθενείας.

24 Τινῶν ἁνθρώπων αἱ ἁμαρτίαι

πρόδηλοι εἰσιν, προαγοῦσαι

εἰς κρίσιν,

των δὲ καὶ ἑπακολουθοῦν·

25 ὠσαύτως καὶ τὰ ἔργα τὰ καλὰ

πρόδῆλα,

καὶ τὰ ἄλλας ἐχοντα κρυβῆναι

οὐ δύνανται.

<6> "Οσοὶ εἰσὶν ὑπὸ βυγὸν δοῦλοι,

τῶν ἴδιως δεσπότας πάσης τιμῆς ἀξίους

ἡγεῖσθησάντας,

ἵνα μὴ τὸ δώμα τοῦ θεοῦ

καὶ ἡ διδασκαλία διασφημηταί.

2 οἱ δὲ πιστοὶ ἐχοντες δεσπότας

μὴ καταφρονεῖτωσαν,

ὅτι ἄδειφοι εἰσιν·

ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δοιλεύσωσαν,

ὅτι πιστοὶ εἰσιν καὶ ἀγαπητοὶ

οἱ τῆς εὐεργεσίας

ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι.

Pericope 14 (6:2b-10)
Warning to Timothy to teach only these things. Some will fall away because of a desire for wealth.

Ταῦτα διδάσκεις καὶ παρακάλει.

3 εἰ τις ἐτεροθιδασκαλεῖ

καὶ μὴ προσέχεται

ὕγιαινοσαι λόγοις, τοῖς τοῦ κυρίου

ἡμῶν ᾿Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ,

καὶ τῇ κατ’ εὐσέβειαν διδασκαλίᾳ,

4 τετύφωται,

μηδὲν εἰστισμένος,

ἀλλὰ νοσῶν περὶ ζητήσεις

καὶ λογομαχίας,

190
CHAPTER 7: SELF-DEFINITION...WOMEN'S ORDINATION

δὲ ἐὰν γίνεται φθόνος,
ἐρίς, βλασφημία,
ὑπόνοια πονηρά,

5 διαταραξθεῖτε διεφθαρμένων ἀνθρώπων
tὸν νοῦν
καὶ ἀπεστηριμένων τῆς ἀληθείας,
νομιζόντων πορισμὸν εἶναι τὴν εὐσέβειαν.

6 ἐστιν δὲ πορισμὸς μέγας
ἡ εὐσέβεια
μετὰ αὐταρκείας.

7 οὐδὲν γὰρ εἰσηγήκαμεν
εἰς τὸν κόσμον,
ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐξενεγκεῖν τι δυνάμεθα.

8 ἔχοντες δὲ διατροφᾶς καὶ σκεπάσματα,
tούτως ἀρκετοθεσόμεθα.

9 οἱ δὲ βουλόμενοι πλούτεων
ἐμπίπτοντοι εἰς πειρασμὸν καὶ παγίδα
καὶ ἐπιθυμίας πολλὰς ἀνοῆτος καὶ
βλαβερᾶς,
αἰτίνες βυθίζονυ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
εἰς ὀλθέρων καὶ ἀπώλειαν.

10 ῥίζα γὰρ πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἐστιν
ἡ φιλαργυρία,
ἤς τινες ὀρεγόμενοι
ἀπεπλανήθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως
καὶ έαντοὺς περιέπειραν
ὅδινας πολλὰς.

Pericope 15 (6:11-15)
"plea to Timothy to pursue the Christian way.

11 Σὺ δὲ,
ὡ ἀνθρωπε θεοῦ,
tαῦτα φεύγε·
dιόντε δὲ δικαιοσύνην, εὐσέβειαν, πίστιν,
ἀγάπην, ὑπομονὴν, προφανείαν.

12 ἀγωνίζου τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς πίστεως,
ἐπιλαθοῦ τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς,
eἰς ἢν ἐκλήθης
καὶ ὑμολόγησας τὴν καλὴν ὤμολογίαν
ἐνώπιον πολλῶν μαρτυρῶν.
CHAPTER 7: SELF-DEFINITION...WOMEN'S ORDINATION

13 παραγγέλλω
{σοί} ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζωογονοῦντος τὰ πάντα
καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος
ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν,
14 τηρήσαι σε τὴν ἐντολὴν ἀσπιλον ἀνεπιλημμέτον
μέχρι τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ,
15 ἦν καιρός ἵδιος δείξει
ὁ μακάριος καὶ μόνος δυνάστης, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ κύριος τῶν
κυριεύοντων,

Pericope 16 (6:15b-16)
Traditional material — creed.

ὁ μακάριος καὶ μόνος δυνάστης,
ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων
καὶ κύριος τῶν κυριεύοντων,
16 ὁ μόνος ἑχὼν ἀδιάφαναι,
φῶς οἰκὼν ἀπρόσιτον,
διὰ εἰδέν οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων
οὖν ἑδρεύεται δύναται·
ἡ τιμή καὶ κράτος αἰώνιον ἀμήν.

Pericope 17 (6:17-19)
Command the rich to live a Christian life and be generous.

17 ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰώνι
παρατάχθηκε
ν ὑψηλοφρονεῖν
μὴ ἡπικέναι
ἐπὶ πλοῦτον ἀδηλότητι,
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ θεῷ τῷ παρέχοντι
ἡμῖν πάντα πλουσίως εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν,
18 ἀγαθοθεργεῖν,
πλουτεῖν ἐν ἔργοις καλοῖς,
eἰμεταδότους εἶναι,
κοινωνικούς,
18 ἀγαθοθεργεῖν,
πλουτεῖν ἐν ἔργοις καλοῖς,
CHAPTER 7: SELF-DEFINITION...WOMEN'S ORDINATION

εὑμεταδότους εῖναι,
κοινωνικοὺς,

19 ἀποθησαυρίζοντας ίαυτόν τοις θεμέλιοις καλὸν
εἰς τὸ μέλλον,

τὸν ἐπιλύσσων τῆς ὀντός ἀρχῆς.

Pericope 18 (6:20-21a)
Timothy must carefully guard the Christian way because some are inclined to fall away.

20 Ὁ Τιμόθεος,
τὴν παραθήκην φύλαξον,
ἐκτρεπόμενος τὰς βεβήλους
κενοφανίας καὶ ἀντιθέσεις πῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως,

21 ἢς τῶν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι
περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἡστόχησαν.

Pericope 19 (6:21b)
Blessing, Conclusions.

'Ἡ χάρις μεθ' ὑμῶν.
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