

LYN M. KIDSON

Persuading Shipwrecked Men

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Lyn M. Kidson

Persuading Shipwrecked Men

The Rhetorical Strategies of 1 Timothy 1

Mohr Siebeck

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Dedicated to Andrew and John.

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

Preface

This monograph is the published version of my PhD thesis, “The Rhetorical Strategies of the First Chapter of 1 Timothy: The Relationship of the First Chapter to the Purpose of the Letter,” which was completed at Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia, in 2018. Professor Alanna Nobbs, my supervisor, suggested its original title in an attempt to capture the scope of this study. Philostratus of Lemnos advised that good letter writing style be tempered by characteristics such as brevity and a rhetorically plain style. The writer of 1 Timothy appears to have followed this kind of advice, and this obscures the fact that he is desperately attempting to persuade “certain men” to turn away from another instruction, which he believes shipwrecks a believer’s faith. Central to his project is the rehabilitation of “certain men,” Hymenaeus and Alexander, who he says are among those who have shipwrecked their faith (1 Tim 1:19); hence, the new title *Persuading Shipwrecked Men: The Rhetorical Strategies of 1 Timothy I*.

I wish to acknowledge the ancient history department at Macquarie University for providing an inspiring, challenging, supportive, and exciting context in which to research and write. I began my journey towards higher degree research in 2010 by enrolling in the Master of Early Christian and Jewish Studies. That year I met Professor Larry Welborn, who encouraged me to think seriously about higher degree research. Professor Welborn went on to become my adjunct supervisor, whose guidance through my thesis was invaluable. His breadth of knowledge, insightful critiques, and unfailing interest in my project led to many avenues of investigation that greatly enriched this study. I also want to thank my primary supervisor, Professor Alanna Nobbs, for her consistent encouragement and guidance. Professor Nobbs spent many hours reading my work, commenting, and gently guiding me to produce a thesis that was fit for purpose. I also wish to thank my associate supervisor, Associate Professor Paul McKechnie, for his exacting eye and his thought-provoking comments. In particular, I would like to thank Paul for his expert assistance in translating many of the inscriptions I relied on throughout this study.

I would like to thank Dr Don Barker for convening the New Testament and Early Christianity seminar at Macquarie University. It was here in this collegiate setting that so many of my ideas were tested and reviewed. In particular, I would like to thank Dr Edwina Murphy and Mr Mark Kulikovsky

for their eye for detail, consistent encouragement, and friendship. Dr Brent Nongbri also provided friendship and support and whose comments on my Masters project assisted me in publishing my first journal article. I wish to thank Professor Edwin Judge for his thoughts on Christian education in the Graeco-Roman world. Associate Professor Ken Sheedy unknowingly contributed to my thesis by personally introducing me to Professor Angelos Chaniotis, which led to an introduction to Professor Chaniotis's work on emotions in the ancient world, a central issue in my study.

Special thanks to Dr Eddie Bridge and Associate Professor Ian Young for their assistance with the Hebrew text and the analysis of the Septuagint. The Society for the Study of Early Christianity provided a grant to travel to Tyndale House in Cambridge UK. This not only allowed an introduction to the scholarship in my area of interest but also provided an opportunity to visit a number of museums and archaeological sites. This included a visit to Ephesus. These experiences contributed to a richer and deeper understanding of the historical and archaeological material that I have consulted in my research, which in turn led to a broader awareness of the historical background to the New Testament.

Finally, I am grateful for the continued support of my home fellowship group, whose unwavering friendship and encouragement throughout the years has led to a published study on 1 Timothy. Special thanks to Associate Professor Ian Young for suggesting that I pursue further study. In the end, though, it has been my wonderful husband and my son whose continued love and support has meant so much to me during this time.

September, 2019

Lyn M. Kidson

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Abbreviations

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

- a. *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Biblical Studies and Related Disciplines*. 2nd ed. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014, 141–68.
- b. Goldberg, Sander ed., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016–.

Online: <http://classics.oxfordre.com/page/abbreviation-list/>

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

BDAG	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i>
LSJ	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i>
MM	<i>The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament</i>
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
OLD	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i>
OTP	<i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i>
PGL	<i>A Patristic Greek Lexicon</i>
TLG	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae</i>

Abbreviations of Epigraphical and Other Sources

Greg H. R. Horsley and John A. Lee, “A Preliminary Checklist of Abbreviations of Greek Epigraphic Volumes.” *Epigraphica* 56 (1994): 129–69.

For those not referenced in Horsley and Lee’s checklist:

- a. François Bérard et al., *Guide de l’épigraphiste: bibliographie choisie des épigraphies antiques et médiévales*. 3rd ed. Paris: Ed. ENS Rue d’Ulm, 2000.
- b. The Packard Humanities Institute, “Searchable Greek Inscriptions, A Scholarly Tool in Progress”: <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/biblio.html>

Additional Abbreviations

AthMitt	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i> . Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1876–.
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i> . Cambridge, MA: Duke University, 1959–.
Petzel	Georg Petzl, <i>Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens</i> . <i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i> 22. Bonn: Habelt, 1994.

Papyri, Tablets, and Ostraca

John F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets Web Edition*: <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html>

Chapter 1

Introduction

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

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

At this point, there emerges among scholars deeply divided interpretations regarding the functioning of 1 Timothy as a letter. A significant question is whether it is the historical Paul giving these instructions or if the whole of the letter is a pseudonymous creation. Scholars are divided essentially into two camps.² However, this is only part of the problem when interpreting 1 Timothy. A deeper underlying problem exists, no matter if the scholar argues for Pauline authorship or for a pseudonymous author.³ The problem exists because 1 Timothy presents itself as a letter. These problems are epitomized by the following comment from Martin Dibelius and Hans Conzelmann:

We cannot with equal certainty identify a basic body of material in 1 Tim [as it can be for Titus]. For there the interest is directed to two main points: church order and the refutation of heretics ... But even apart from this twofold interest, the character of the church order materials themselves does not seem uniform.⁴

¹ Unless otherwise stated, all English Scripture texts will taken be from the NASB, *The Holy Bible*. The Lockman Foundation. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1999.

² Mark Harding, *What Are They Saying About the Pastoral Epistles?* WATSA (New York: Paulist Press, 2001), 10–24.

³ Lewis R. Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy and Ethical Argument in the Pastoral Epistles* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1986), 67–9.

⁴ Martin Dibelius and Hans Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, Hermeneia, trans. Philip Buttolph and Adela Yarbro (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972), 5.

First Timothy looks like an assortment of materials, and it is difficult to perceive how they function together as a cohesive whole.⁵ The lack of perceived cohesion is an issue not only for 1 Timothy but also for 2 Timothy and Titus as Lewis Donelson describes: “The Pastorals are dissected into pieces and then each piece is examined in turn.”⁶ Donelson argued that each of the Pastoral Epistles could be understood as offering cohesive arguments when compared to other Graeco-Roman ethical documents.⁷ However, Donelson’s insistence that the Pastoral Epistles fit within a pseudepigraphical letter category has not gone without criticism.⁸ It has been argued that 1 Timothy fits within a well-recognised subtype of letter writing: the administrative letter.⁹

This study will argue that the opening command of 1 Timothy is the key to understanding how the letter functions as a persuasive literary unit. As Donelson has pointed out, rhetorical devices are at work in this letter.¹⁰ However, important ideological and thematic threads need to be considered including the ideologically important father-son motif, civic ideals, educational motifs, stereotypes of young men and older men, cultural anxieties, and aspirations. The challenge is to see how these threads, among others, are drawn in by the writer to develop a strategy to persuade the “certain men” to desist in “teaching strange doctrines” and pursuing other unhelpful activities. It is clear that the “certain men” are being instructed to turn to the “administration of God which is by faith,” and this is tied to the commands that follow later in the letter (that is, “the church order materials”). The principal objective of this study is to identify the primary strategy taken up by the writer to counter the opponents, the “certain men.” As will become evident in this study, the writer lays the groundwork for his offence against the opponents in the first chapter and this, therefore, will be the central focus of this investigation.

⁵ Anthony Tyrrell Hanson, *Studies in the Pastoral Epistles* (London: SPCK, 1968), 110; James D. Miller, *The Pastoral Letters as Composite Documents* SNTS 93 (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 138–9.

⁶ Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy*, 68; Also Ray van Neste for a summary on the views about cohesion, “Cohesion and Structure in the Pastoral Epistles,” in *Entrusted with the Gospel: Paul’s Theology in the Pastoral Epistles*, ed. Andreas J. Köstenberger and Terry L. Wilder (Nashville: B&H Academic, 2010), 84–104.

⁷ Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy*, 69.

⁸ Lyn Kidson, “1 Timothy: An Administrative Letter,” *Early Christianity* 5 (2014): 97–116.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Also Mark Harding, *Tradition and Rhetoric in the Pastoral Epistles*. StBibLit (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1998), 180–229.

Chapter 2

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

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

2.1. Benefaction and Education in Asia Minor and Their Connection to the Pastoral Epistles

Sometime between 2 BCE and 2 CE Kleanax was publicly honoured by his city Kyme in Western Asia Minor with a stele praising his virtue and beneficence

at the completion of his term as prytanis.¹ The text of this stele is a very valuable document for, although it is a typical decree for cities in Asia Minor in the early imperial period, it goes into a great deal of detail about Kleanax's beneficent activities, which are referred to without specificity in many decrees.² The decree reads in part:

(1) The strategi made the motion and it was recorded ... Whereas Kleanax (son) of Sarapion and natural (son) of Philodemos, the prytanis, (5) on both sides of his family having nobility of birth from his ancestors and an agreeableness unsurpassable in love of honour for his country, has provided many great benefits for his city continuously throughout his lifetime, giving way to no opportunity in which he left aside care for the people, administering the best things for the city in both word and deed, [in view of which, witness is borne (in the form of this award of honours) by the people at the present time (10) to the effort he made to gain (increased) reputation as a recent holder of the presidency], and his many actions also through his (service) of former votes meet with the thanks of the people ... when the opportunity of the expense showed his impressive love of honour and his piety, (15) having alone and as the first to do so undertaken the duty and summoning by written proclamation the citizens and Romans and nearby residents and foreigners he gave a banquet ... (20) For these reasons, the people, having in mind these good deeds also, forgot none of his other activities to which they had grown accustomed. And for this reason also the prytanis Kleanax is worthy of praise and honour, (namely) that when a handsome son became his, he took thought for the boy's education in letters, and provided for the people a man worthy of his family, Sarapion (by name), and a protector and helper, one who in many ways has already displayed toward the city through his own manly deeds; a father-loving man and meriting also that by public consent this name should be added, a man whose affection for his father is attested also by public decree for all time. (ll 1–18, 20–8)³

Rosalinde Kearsley in her comments on this inscription notes a number of important connections that it has with the vocabulary and thought patterns of benefaction and the New Testament.⁴ As this study will show, a number of other important themes in this inscription are evident in 1 Timothy. The desire to seek honour and recognition from one's peers will emerge as an important issue between Paul and the "certain men." Also, the relationship between fathers and their sons has important dimensions in 1 Timothy as Paul addresses Timothy as "my true child in the faith" (1 Tim 1:2). Further, as this inscription reveals, Sarapion is described as "a father-loving man" and this expectation is engendered in Timothy's appellation as a "true child." We also see from the

¹ SEG 32.1243=Rosalinde A. Kearsley, "A Civic Benefactor of the First Century in Asia Minor," in *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, ed. S. R. Llewelyn (North Ryde: Macquarie University, 1994), 7:233–41.

² Ibid.

³ Translated by Kearsley, "A Civic Benefactor," 233–6; R. Hodot, "Décret de Kymè en l'honneur du Prytane Kléanax," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 10 (1982), 165–80; J. and L. Robert, *BE* 96 (1983): no 323, 132–8; amended by Paul McKechnie, Macquarie University, 2017.

⁴ Kearsley, "A Civic Benefactor," 239.

inscription that there is a connection between a father's education of his son and his ongoing benefaction towards a community.

Reggie Kidd investigated the connection between wealth, beneficence, and the church in his study, *Wealth and Beneficence in the Pastoral Epistles*. He found that, while the writer of the Pastoral Epistles interacts with the language and ideals of benefaction at large in Graeco-Roman social setting, he was at pains to adapt this cultural model for his own needs.⁵ In countering the idea of cultural accommodation proposed by Dibelius that the Pastoral Epistles are bürgerlich or "bourgeois" he says,

No one should suggest that the Pastorals' answers are scandalously radical. Divestment is not demanded of wealthy Christians. Full play is given to a generous, voluntaristic spirit on the part of the wealthy on the one hand, and to a willingness on the part of their dependents to defer to them on the other ... All the same, the conclusion that the Pastorals' approach is but an uncritical accepting of contemporary bürgerlich or even 'aristocratic' values is vacuous.⁶

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

The first instruction in 1 Timothy is for "certain men not to teach strange doctrines, nor to pay attention to myths and endless genealogies"; instead, they are to give their time to "furthering the administration of God which is by faith" (1 Tim 1:3–4). While the vocabulary is not the same, Kleanax was "administering (πολιτευόμενος) the best things for the city" (l.8), while the "certain men" are "furthering the administration (οικονομίαν) of God" (1 Tim 1:4), and so the ideas have some correspondence.⁷ Kleanax is praised because he has always sought to "care for the people" and his administration has provided good things for the city "in word and deed" (l.9). In a similar way, the elders in 1 Timothy are urged to "manage [their] own household well" for "if a man does not know how to manage his own household, how will he take care of the church of God?" (3:4–5). The elder's role is to manage the church along similar lines to his household, caring for those under his responsibility.⁸

⁵ Reggie M. Kidd, *Wealth and Beneficence in the Pastoral Epistles: A "Bourgeois" Form of Early Christianity?* SBLDS (Atlanta: Duke University, 1990), 157.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ All New Testament Greek texts are taken from *The Greek New Testament*. 4th ed. Edited by B. Aland and K. Aland et al., Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1998.

⁸ Ibid., 83–5, 137–40.

Later in the letter the rich are instructed to “do good, to be rich in good works, to be generous and ready to share” (1 Tim 6:18). Here, in particular, those of means are urged to “do good works,” much as Kleanax is praised for his benefaction in “word and deed.” Such similarities between the Pastorals and honours for civic office have not gone unnoticed. David Verner notes:

The author appears to speak for his church in regarding office in the church as socially prestigious in the same way that citizens of Greek cities and members of associations regarded office holding (1 Tim 3:1, 13) ... Thus, although the leaders of the church may not have been on the same social level as the members of their municipal aristocracy, they shared the same aristocratic social aspirations within a smaller sphere.⁹

The observations of both Kidd and Verner make it clear that any investigation of 1 Timothy should be aware of the cultural assumptions made by the writer. On the other hand, we should be alert to the fact that he does not uncritically accept contemporary values, but at times adapts them. These adaptations can be subtle, as Kidd makes apparent. Kleanax is praised because he has “a love of honour,” (1.5, 10) and so he desired to show “his impressive love of honour and his piety” (1.15). It was a noble thing to seek after honour for oneself. The writer of 1 Timothy, on the other hand, instructs the rich not to “be conceited or to fix their hope on the uncertainty of riches, but on God” (1 Tim 6:17). Further, they are to do good not for public honour but for the eschatological future reward “storing up for themselves the treasure of a good foundation for the future, so that they may take hold of that which is life indeed” (1 Tim 6:19). As Kidd argues, seeking after honour is not, for the Christian, to gain worldly honour in the present but looks forward to a future reward from God.¹⁰

Significantly, in many of these inscriptions the honoured are described as descended from honoured ancestors, and that they love their fathers. Kleanax was worthy of “praise and honour,” not only for his own beneficence and virtue, but because he had provided a son who was emulating his father’s virtues (Il.22–6). Benjamin Fiore in his study on the example in the Pastoral Epistles demonstrated that example and imitation was a key feature in these letters.¹¹ However, Paul’s example in 1 Timothy does not operate because he is an apostle, but by way of and through his relationship as Timothy’s father (1 Tim 1:2). As seen in the above inscription, Kleanax as a father operates as a model of benefaction to his son. The city, in turn, is able to identify Sarapion as a benefactor worthy of honour because of the example of his father. The key to Sarapion’s emulation is his education provided by his father. As will be shown

⁹ David C. Verner, *The Household of God: The Social World of the Pastoral Epistles*, SBLDS (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 160; Kidd, *Wealth and Beneficence in the Pastoral Epistles*, 85.

¹⁰ Kidd, *Wealth and Beneficence*, 134–6.

¹¹ Benjamin Fiore, *The Function of Personal Example in the Socratic and Pastoral Epistles* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1986), 198–231

in chapter 6, fathers were to ensure that their sons received the proper education to produce the right kind of citizen. The gentleman citizen, so often lauded in inscriptions, was one who was educated in literature and rhetoric.¹² The phrase “he took thought for the boy’s education in letters” (1.23) refers to education or training; Kleanax took thought to the manner of the boy’s training in what could be described as word craft and reasoning (τᾶς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀγωγής).¹³ A similar thought is in Pseudo-Plutarch’s *The Education of Children*:

This also I assert, that children ought to be led (ἄγειν) to honourable practices by means of encouragement and reasoning (παραινέσεις καὶ λόγοις), and most certainly not by blows or ill-treatment, for it surely is agreed that these are fitting rather for slaves than for the free-born. (8F [Babbitt, LCL])

Pseudo-Plutarch is describing the means by which sons should be brought up into “honourable practices” and these means are “encouragement and reasoning” (λόγοις). The phrase τοῖς λόγοις referred to making an argument (Diogenes Laertius 4.6.30) or giving a discourse (Diogenes Laertius 6.2.76). It refers to the art of speech. In the first century CE, appropriate education for the young gentleman consisted not only in learning to read and write, but also in how to address an audience and argue a case before a court, a city council, a governor, or perhaps even the emperor.¹⁴ This training was closely tied to the benefaction that a gentleman could offer to his community as Diogenes Laertius in his *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* describes:

Of conferring benefits (εὐεργεσία) there are four divisions. For it takes place either by pecuniary aid or by personal service, by means of knowledge or of speech (τοῖς λόγοις). Pecuniary aid is given when one assists a man in need ... Personal service is given when men come up to those who are being beaten and rescue them. Those who train or heal, or who teach something valuable, confer benefit by means of knowledge. But when men enter a law-court and one appears as advocate for another and delivers an effective speech on his behalf, he is benefiting him by speech. Thus benefits are conferred by means either of money or of personal service, or of knowledge, or of speech. (“Plato,” 3.95–6 [Hicks, LCL])

Kleanax is praised because he has provided a son, who has been trained, so that he can confer benefits on the city as a “protector and helper” (11.24–5). Sarapion

¹² Frederick W. Danker, *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field* (St. Louis: Clayton, 1982), 318–20.

¹³ W. Jaeger, “Early Christianity and the Greek Paideia: 1 Clement,” in *Encounters with Hellenism: Studies on the First Letter of Clement*, ed. Cilliers Breytenbach and Laurence L. Welborn (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), 104–14 (113, n.15): ἀγωγή is “an old Greek technical term that stresses [the] special side of a good education.”

¹⁴ Fergus Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 BC –AD 337)* (London: Duckworth, 1977), 22–3, 375–85. Embassies from cities were often sent to the Emperor to make requests. The Jewish community in various cities also sent embassies to the emperor.

is not only equipped to give benefaction through his wealth, but also through his rhetorical skills to represent and assist Kyme and its individual citizens.¹⁵

A broader picture is obtained by considering the terms in which Kleanax is honoured and the use of individual terms and phrases in similar discourse. This allows the scholar not only to see how Kleanax was honoured and for what kind of benefaction, but how his benefaction and honours represent the kind of ideas about benefaction and honouring present in the cultural context of his society.¹⁶ It allows the scholar to access, in some way, the thought world of the historical figures that he or she is investigating. There is some resemblance here to the kind of investigation conducted by anthropologists and cultural linguists. We shall return to this thought shortly, but first we will consider briefly the connections between Sarapion's beneficent activities, his education, and 1 Timothy.

2.2 Rhetoric, Youth, and Education in the Pastoral Epistles

A number of scholars have noted the importance of speech activities in the Pastoral Epistles. Robert Karris, in his 1973 article, highlighted the writer's use of a schema, "which is traditional to the polemic of philosophers against sophists."¹⁷ Karris identified six key elements in the schema: opponents are greedy, they are deceivers, they do not practice what they preach, they engage in verbal disputes, they can be described by using vice lists, and they manipulate women.¹⁸ All of these elements can be identified in the Pastoral Epistles, which highlight the central place educational practices and argument have in these letters. Karris observes that the schema was adopted and adapted by writers against their opponents, which suggests "that the author views his teaching as genuine wisdom, philosophy, truth, and that he views the teachings of his opponents as false wisdom, as sophistry."¹⁹ Dio Chrysostom, *On Kingship* 4, uses the schema to clearly mark off his education (παιδεία), which is "from heaven" (29), from that of ignorant and charlatan sophists:

¹⁵ Christina Kokkinia, "Letters of Roman Authorities on Local Dignitaries: The Case of Vedius Antoninus," *ZPE* 142 (2003): 197–213. Such skills would have included the art of letter writing in the course of representing a city to the Roman authorities.

¹⁶ For a similar approach, see Giovanni Salmeri, "Reconstructing the Political Life and Culture of the Greek Cities of the Roman Empire," in *Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age*, GRHSGCCA 2, ed. Onno M. van Nijf and Richard Alston (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 197–214; For a discussion of semantic fields and their relationship to inscriptions, see Danker, *Benefactor*, 26–9, 317.

¹⁷ Robert J. Karris, "The Background and Significance of the Polemic of the Pastoral Epistles," *JBL* 92 (1973): 549–64 (551).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 552–5.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 555–6, 563.

This human sort, however, is what most people call “education” (παιδείαν) – meaning thereby something for children, I suppose – and they have the notion that he who knows the most literature ... and has read the most books is the wisest and best educated person; but again, when people find any knaves or cowards or avaricious men among these, then they say the fact is as insignificant as the individual. The other kind men sometimes call simply education, at other times, “true manhood” and “high-mindedness.”... And furthermore, if he [the educated man] comes upon a man who knows the road, so to speak, this man easily directs him, and on getting the information he at once goes his way. If, however, he falls in with some ignorant and charlatan sophist, the fellow will wear him out by leading him hither and thither. (4.30–3 [Cohoon, LCL])²⁰

As we see here in Dio Chrysostom, there is a clear distinction being made in 1 Timothy between one type of education, the sound teaching (τῆ ὑγιανοῦσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ) (1 Tim 1:10), and another teaching activity (ἐτεροδιδασκαλεῖν) (1 Tim 1:3–4). As Karris’ catalogue shows, the elements of the polemical schema are present in 1 Timothy; indeed, it is present from the first instruction (1 Tim 1:3–4). In highlighting the writer’s use of this polemic against the opponents, Karris has exposed a significant interpretative element in the letter that has received little attention. Dibelius and Conzelmann had found it difficult to identify a connection between the two main points in the letter “church order and the refutation of heretics.”²¹ They found the order of the church material was not uniform.²² However, as the preceding discussion shows, there is in the culture of Asia Minor a close connection between benefaction, training in speech, administration, education, and the refutation of opponents as sophists. There have been some who have explored this ground in their studies. Fiore demonstrated the use of the example as a hortatory device in the Pastoral Epistles.²³ This identification connects the letters to an educational context that uses letter writing as an essential device in promoting a particular philosophy or teaching.²⁴

Mark Harding in his study *Tradition and Rhetoric in the Pastoral Epistles* investigated the use of rhetoric in these letters. He stressed that since they are letters of moral instruction they could not be classified using the Aristotelian scheme of forensic, deliberative, or epideictic speeches.²⁵ Still he found that the writer had employed some persuasive strategies drawn from Aristotle’s three proofs: logical deduction, induction through the use of paradigms and examples, and appeals based on pathos.²⁶ In summing up, Harding concludes that “the PE are best characterized as letters standing self-consciously in the

²⁰ Ibid., 552, 555.

²¹ Dibelius and Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 5.

²² Ibid.

²³ Fiore, *The Function of Personal Example*, 10–21, 195–231.

²⁴ Ibid., 232–6.

²⁵ Harding, *Tradition and Rhetoric*, 180–1, 214.

²⁶ Ibid., 194–214.

Pauline tradition and in the Greco-Roman tradition of moral exhortation ... the PE can be situated within the epistolary tradition of Greco-Roman moral exhortation, though without minimizing the Pastor's own adaptation of this tradition as an author subscribing to the saving achievement of Christ."²⁷ In other words, the writer has utilised epistolary, philosophical, and rhetorical conventions, adapting them to his own purposes in preserving the Pauline tradition.²⁸ That is, the writer is well acquainted with the educational resources available in the early imperial period.

In a more recent study, *My True Child: The Rhetoric of Youth in the Pastoral Epistles* (1997), Christopher Hutson set out to explore ancient Graeco-Roman attitudes towards youth and surveyed Greek and Roman literature for and about youth and their relationship with the Pastoral Epistles. He focused on philosophical literature aimed at cultivating youthful philosophers into mature perpetuators of their traditions.²⁹ He found that "the Pastoral Epistles reflect the language and thought of the philosophical training regimen. The language of the training regimen appears throughout these letters and explains how they cohere as a collection."³⁰ These studies clearly place the content of the Pastoral Epistles, and thus 1 Timothy, in a philosophical or educational milieu.

In a pivotal study on the first Christian communities, Edwin A. Judge found that early Christians were engaged in intellectual activities and their leaders were those "whose work was in important respects of a scholarly kind, and that they accepted the status in the community that this required, and employed the conventional methods of instructing and organizing their followers."³¹ Therefore, we would expect that the writer of 1 Timothy, as a part of an intellectual community, would adopt and adapt the language of his intellectual and educational context and apply it to the problem as he identifies it. The challenge is to draw in the threads that have been identified – the civic, the educational, the intellectual – to grasp the strategy that the writer has launched to persuade the "certain men" to desist in teaching "strange doctrines" and pursuing other associated activities. They are instead to turn to the "administration of God which is by faith," which is tied to the commands that follow later in the letter (that is, the church order materials). The principal objective of this study is to identify the primary strategy taken up by the writer to counter the opponents. As Karris identified, the writer only briefly engages

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 232.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 231–2.

²⁹ Christopher Hutson, "My True Child: The Rhetoric of Youth in the Pastoral Epistles" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1997), 10.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 366.

³¹ E. A. Judge, "The Early Christians as a Scholastic Community" in *The First Christians in the Roman World: Augustan and New Testament Essays*, ed. James R. Harrison (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 526–52 (552); Essay originally published as "The Early Christians as a Scholastic Community," *Journal of Religious History* 1 (1960): 5–15, and (1961): 125–37.

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