Korinna Zamfir

Men and Women in the Household of God

A Contextual Approach to Roles and Ministries in the Pastoral Epistles

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

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With this work I wish to honour the memory of Abraham Malherbe,
a kind person and an erudite scholar with a special vision
of the Greco-Roman environment of the New Testament,
of the world of the Pastoral Epistles.

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Cluj, 23rd of January 2013 Korinna Zamfir

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Introduction

At the turn of the first century Christian communities were experiencing significant changes. Against earlier expectations, the parousia became a remote, ever distancing perspective and third generation Christians realised that they were to live in time, in a society marked by the political realities of the Roman Empire. Communities had undergone an ethnic, cultural and social transformation. Christian beliefs were increasingly embraced by non-Jews with a Greco-Roman cultural background. At first largely attracting the unprivileged, the *ekklēsiai* gradually ceased to be harbours of the destitute and even when only a minority, the better-off started to shape mentalities in a discernible manner. Within communities a variety of interpretations of authoritative figures, sources and beliefs emerged. Teachings and ethical norms were reinterpreted within different sociocultural contexts. Under these circumstances, several Christian communities faced the need to *(re)define themselves, their image of the ekklēsia, just as their relationship to time and to the world in which they lived*.

Christianity (if we can speak of "Christianity" at this stage) was far from being a monolithic block with uniform answers. A range of canonical and extra-canonical writings shows that Christ-believers could define their relationship to history, to society, to politics and authority and could respond to internal struggles in very different ways. To face external challenges, some strands, like those represented by the Book of Revelation turned against contemporary society and political authority, demonising Roman imperial sway. Other groups, like those producing the deutero- and trito-Paulines, Acts, 1 Peter or 1 Clement, considered for various reasons that Christians should not break entirely with the values and norms of their society and should preserve political loyalty as much as possible. Internal questions also required adequate answers. In some communities eschatological expectations gradually gave place to concern for a respectable life in society. Conversely, ascetic groups embraced a more radical and countercultural lifestyle and often kept alive eschatological hopes. To respond to internal dissensions, some communities reinforced structures and offices, channeled authority, defined and defended one specific understanding of doctrine and ethics, against competing ones. Creating the notions of orthodoxy and tradition became essential elements of this endeavour. Yet, other groups con-

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tinued to hold a less formal and more fraternal understanding of the church and preserved an interest in charismatic and prophetic ministries.

This monograph explores the manner in which the Pastoral Epistles [PE] respond to these internal and external challenges, toward the end of the first century, focusing on the *definition of roles and ministries within a changed ecclesiological framework*. Facing internal diversity the PE re-interpret Pauline teachings, they create (the notion of) orthodoxy and orthopraxy and emphasise continuity in tradition, based on (a largely fictitious) succession in ministry. They react to the delay of the parousia by promoting a *respectable way of life in this world* and by producing a *hierarchical ecclesiology, anchored in the social and cultural values shared with contemporary society*. The PE *(re)define* thereby *social roles*, including gender roles, and the *ministries* performed in the church by men and women. They endorse *social integration by adopting mainstream structures, codes and practices of the non-Christian oikos and polis*, not as if assimilating foreign material, but because they share the traditional values of their own culture. To achieve these aims the author appeals to the authority of Paul.

The investigation focuses on *the cultural* and, to a lesser degree, on *the social background of the station codes and church orders* defining the roles and behaviour expected from Christians, men and women belonging to various social strata and the qualifications for ministries, respectively.[1] *Station codes* standardise gender roles (Tit 2,2–5; 1 Tim 2,8–15) and social relations in the household and in the community (Tit 2,9–10; 1 Tim 6,1–2; 6,9–10.17–19). *Church orders* regulate behaviour in the community, the criteria for acceding to ministries and the exclusion thereof (Tit 1,5–9; 1 Tim 2,1–3,13; 5,9–14.17–20). Exclusion is explicit in the case of women (1 Tim 2,11–12; 5,11–14), implicit for men not belonging to the establishment and probable in the case of slaves. The PE regulate the relations within the *ekklēsia* and the Christian *oikos*, as well as the attitudes Christians should display toward the secular *polis*. Contemporary sociocultural constructs are used to define social relations, concepts of authority and government, as well as rules and patterns of behaviour in the community.

It is essential to keep in mind, however, that these writings do not present the reality of the community to which they are addressed, let alone of the entirety of Christian churches. In virtue of their normative character, they specifically *aim at altering ecclesial and social realities, against dissimilar perspectives*. In a sense, they are the result and expression of a conflict

[1] On church orders in the PE: BARTSCH, *Die Anfänge urchristlicher Rechtsbildungen* (1965); H. MARSHALL, *PE*, 28–31, 52, 149, *passim*; FIORE, *PE*, 9–12; WAGENER, *Ordnung*, 69; MERZ, *Selbstauslegung*, 269 (1 Tim 2,1–3,16 as 'Gemeindeordnung'). On station codes: MARSHALL, *PE*, 232–233.

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between various answers to the questions listed above. These writings reflect a process of creating, re-thinking and re-shaping religious traditions and beliefs, accommodating social patterns to religious contexts and using religious concepts to legitimise social constructs.

The PE may be situated in the context of *contemporary discussions regarding social and gender roles*. In this sense, they are comparable to Greek and Roman sources that express nostalgia for traditional values and endeavour to preserve a hierarchical and segregated construal of society, against a fairly different reality. This *contrast between a persistent ideology of exclusion and reality* is conspicuous in the case of women. Whereas in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor and to some degree in Rome women are present in the public sphere, the influential ideology defending a clear-cut division between public and private sphere and demanding the exclusion of women from the latter continues to flourish in the imperial period. The presence of women in the public sphere is paralleled by the resurgence of currents emphasising traditional roles and female subordination. The writings of Livy, Tacitus, Valerius Maximus and Plutarch attempt to revive the exemplary values of a (largely fictitious) golden age, in which social and gender roles were clearly established and respected.[2] Read in this cultural context, the regulations of the Pastorals concerning women's participation in the life of the church, the conservative social ethics regarding women and slaves reflect a similar tendency.[3]

Method and sources

This volume proposes an interdisciplinary approach to the topic. The discussion relies on the *historical-critical* and *intertextual interpretation* of those passages of the PE that contain station codes and church orders (even when it is not the immediate aim of this study to offer a detailed exegesis of every passage). The specific interest, however, consists in the *contextual analysis* of these texts. "Contextual" refers here to the *cultural and social context of the text*, not to that of the reader.[4] The interpretation entails thus a

[2] The ethical and social views of Livy, Tacitus, Valerius Maximus and Plutarch will be addressed repeatedly. On Plutarch's conservative social ethics: SWAIN, "Plutarch's Moral Program", 85–96; POMEROY, "Reflections on Plutarch", 33–42.

[3] On the PE reflecting a conservative wing of Paulinism: ROLOFF, *1 Tim*, 43.

[4] Referring to the contextual approach of OT-texts, HALLO notes: "The 'context' of a given text may be regarded as its horizontal dimension – the geographical, historical, religious, political and literary setting in which it was created and disseminated. The contextual approach tries to reconstruct and evaluate this setting [...]. Given the frequently very different settings of biblical and ancient Near Eastern texts, however, it is useful to recognize such contrasts as well as comparisons or, if one prefers, to operate with negative as well as positive comparison." (*Context*,

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critical reading of the biblical texts in their social and cultural context. My main concern regards the cultural environment, the mentalities reflected in moral philosophies, political theories, drama and epigraphic sources. I am particularly interested in the *representations* of the social world, and the nature of the *discourse* articulated by ancient authors. Therefore, I compare these New Testament texts with a variety of ancient sources, integrating results from classical scholarship and epigraphy, to disclose mentalities, *topoi*, and cultural presuppositions.[5] My study is inspired mostly by perspectives from intellectual history and to a lesser degree by social history. The interest in ancient sources does not imply the assumption of a direct, genetic relationship, of a literary dependence on the works cited in this volume. I argue that the author reiterates certain *topoi* and patterns of thought widespread in his cultural environment. I focus on Greek and Roman sources because the author and the community represent a strand of Christianity with a dominantly Hellenistic background, living in a society marked by the realities of the Roman Empire. Furthermore, I do not assume that Christianity came under Greek and Roman influence mainly through the mediation of (Hellenistic) Judaism, but I consider that both Jewish and Christian communities in Asia Minor were part of the same cultural environment and were exposed to the same influences.[6]

XXV). He further mentions a vertical axis or the intertextual dimension (earlier texts that have inspired a given text, and later ones that came under its influence). I essentially use "contextual approach" in the sense proposed above, and I do not refer to the cultural context of the reader (for the latter: CARVALHO, *Ancient Voices*, 23, 375, 404). The Greco-Roman background of the PE has been illustrated already by DIBELIUS and SPICQ. The interest for the Greco-Roman context of the NT is well alive in contemporary scholarship. To mention only very few, one notes the *Neuer Wettstein*, the research on voluntary associations and the NT, the works of KLAUCK (e.g. *Die religiöse Umwelt des Urchristentums*, 1995–1996; *Ancient Letters*, 2006, etc.), ESLER (*Early Christian World*, 2000), the writings on honour and shame mentality in the NT by MALINA, NEYREY and DESILVA, the Eerdmans series of socio-rhetorical commentaries (on the PE: WITHERINGTON, 2006), as well as several commentaries, monographs and essays on the PE (QUINN, R. COLLINS, MALHERBE, FIORE, OBERLINNER, VERNER, KIDD, MERZ) highlighting Greco-Roman influences.

[5] While I use of the expertise of classical scholars I do not wish to intrude in this vast field of scholarship. The writings of each classical author mentioned in this volume have produced a distinct domain within classical studies, with its own internal debates. It is neither the competence, nor the wish of the biblical scholar to decide over such debates. However, I have attempted to interpret ancient sources in a critical manner, based on the work of classical scholars.

[6] Rightly, MALHERBE, "*Virtus Feminarum*", 50–51, and in a personal communication (September 29, 2011): "it is unnecessary, indeed wrong, to posit some grand theory that everything Greek in the NT came through a filter of Judaism. In the case of Paul that is demonstrably false. Jewish material is of extraordinary significance, but as important examples of how authors who shared some major presuppositions with Paul appropriated traditions that Paul also appropriated, not because they were the vehicles by which the traditions came to Paul. Some of the traditions

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My presuppositions regarding the relationship between these New Testament texts and their cultural context come very close to the *ecological or environmental approach* of Abraham Malherbe.[7] Malherbe argued that the Greco-Roman cultural-philosophical background of early Christianity should not be taken merely for a contingent backdrop, but we should allow this background "to become integral to the world of which the New Testament was part".[8] One should consider the "ecology of ancient Christianity and its world" and "*think in terms of the environment in which early Christianity came into existence*".[9] Malherbe has used "ecology" in the broadest sense of the word, as an approach that examines "the interrelationship of organisms and their environments".[10] This method allows the interpreter to take into account formative influences and to perceive the dynamic relationship between the texts (and their authors), their own environment and (what matters more here) their broader social and cultural environment. Both New Testament authors and popular philosophers inhabit the same physical and cultural space, as well as the same intellectual environment. They are exposed to similar influences, but also to specific conditions, which have to be interpreted in their own right. This approach has certain implications. (a) One does not need to establish a genealogical relationship between traditions or texts, or to identify the medium through which Greco-Roman influences reached NT authors (in particular one does not need to postulate the mediation of Hellenistic Judaism). (b) New Testament authors and their writings preserve their distinctiveness, just as any individual in a certain environment is more than the sum of the influences to which he is exposed.[11]

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certainly did come to him via this route (see Rom 1), but others did not." *Pace* TREBILCO, *Early Christians*, 354.

[7] "Paul and the Popular Philosophers", lecture delivered at Wheaton College on 4 April 2006, and personal communications by e-mail (September 29, 2011). See also his introductory considerations to his "Godliness, Self-Sufficiency" I, 376–377.

[8] "Paul and the Popular Philosophers" (cf. n. 7 above). Even NT scholars who address the Greco-Roman background frequently treat it as a "backdrop", "at most providing a setting for the action that takes place on the stage without actually being part of the action".

[9] "Paul and the Popular Philosophers" (cf. n. 7 above), emphases added.

[10] "Paul and the Popular Philosophers", quoting the Webster Dictionary. One could also cite the second meaning listed in the Merriam-Webster: "the totality or pattern of relations between organisms and their environment". The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy proposes a similar definition: "ecology studies interactions between individual organisms and their environments, including interactions with both conspecifics and members of other species." (http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ecology/).

[11] "I ought to look at the different traditions or texts, not so much as in causal relationship with each other, but as belonging to an environment by which they are all nourished while retaining their individuality. […] [T]he Pauline text should be seen as belonging to that environment as one

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Malherbe has used the images of (intellectual) "landscape", "space", or "environment". If we think in terms of ecology, we could perhaps add "*oikos*" (the very root of "ecology"), since, as it will be seen later on, in Greco-Roman thought *oikos* is frequently used as a metaphor for larger entities – for society (the *polis*) or the cosmos, itself perceived as a society of humans and gods. Remarkably, the core ecclesiological metaphor of the PE is precisely the *oikos*. If we consider the metaphorical use of *oikos* in antiquity, we may think of ancient authors, writers of New Testament texts, (popular) moral philosophers or playwrights as belonging to the same, widely understood social and cultural *oikos*, exposed to similar cultural influences, yet with quite distinct individual backgrounds and concerns.

Beside the cultural investigation, the *social study* of this early Christian community, seen as part of a Greco-Roman society, may illuminate the mentalities expressed in the PE. For this purpose, I also examine some *models and analyses worked out by social historians and*, to a lesser extent, *the paradigms advanced by social scientists* that help the comprehension of Hellenistic and Roman societies.

Exploring the roots and the development of the patterns that mark Greco-Roman thought through the lens of *ideology critique*, I wish to show how deeply the author of the PE is entrenched in a conservative manner of thinking that pervades Greek and Roman culture through centuries. Without minimising historical and regional differences, I focus on the continuity and pervasiveness of conformist mentalities with regard to the division of spaces and roles and to social expectations of honourable behaviour. Thus, I argue that *although social practice and legal regulations do change, ideological approaches* to these issues are *remarkably persistent*. This is why the temporal and geographic frame of the examined sources extends beyond the period and area in which the PE were written. I discuss firstly and in more detail Greek sources, then Roman authors, mostly in a chronological order, attempting to draw attention to the persistence of *topoi* and to the convergences between Greek and Roman authors, but at times I also point to the differences between Greek and Roman mentalities and practice.

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among other options with its own integrity as the philosophers have theirs. Perhaps this simply means that the relationship is analogical rather than genealogical […]. But, I am reaching for something beyond analogy in introducing the notion of ecology, which allows a more dynamic reality. […] I believe that we are part of all that we have met, yet I do not believe that we can be explained or described by identifying what we have been exposed to and adding them up. We are more complex, and so is the enterprise in which we are engaged." (e-mail, September 29, 2011). On the fallacy of positing a Jewish mediation, and the need to acknowledge that both Christian and Jewish authors lived in the same environment and were exposed to the same influences see n. 6 above.

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Some of the classical and Hellenistic authors cited in this volume may be remote in time. However, the issues they raised continued to be relevant and their views continued to be influential much later. Drama continued to be performed in the Greek-speaking world well into the imperial period, contributing to the survival of the views expressed by classical playwrights. Authors were cited, revived and reinterpreted, often by Roman writers, some were even translated, or pseudonymous works (partly) reiterating their views were produced.

To take only a few examples, Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* was used by the author of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Oeconomica*[12] and was translated by Cicero. Columella drew upon this translation. Plutarch knew a great deal of Xenophon, Plato and Aristotle, often citing their views. He evoked the conditions of Spartan society, reiterating judgements made by Xenophon and Aristotle, or referring to ancient legislators, in order to make a point for his own time. He quoted Sophocles and Euripides and criticised Aristophanes.

Obviously most of the ancient authors whose works have survived belonged to the elite. This may cast doubt on their relevance for understanding early Christian writings. Surely, the views of those Christians who came from the lowest echelons of society cannot be deduced from these works. However, I argue that the PE do not express the views and values of the destitute, but those of the elite, in a socially heterogeneous community. This implies the downward diffusion or replication of the values and ideas formulated by the elites, a well-known phenomenon in antiquity.[13] This is one of the implications of perceiving (Christian) authors as individuals who belong to a larger cultural environment.

Beside literary sources I use epigraphic records that may (in spite of their standardised language and values) reflect to some point social realities, but even here I am more interested in mentalities. When available and relevant, documentary papyri are also used, especially to highlight the contrast between reality and ideology.

The Pastorals, largely influenced by their time, have had a remarkable effective history that in various ways extends up to present day. Although the implications of such a contextual approach of roles and ministries for systematic theology, canon law and church practice (including issues like ordained ministry, apostolic succession and women's exclusion from ministry) are evident, these issues will not be addressed here. Even so, the con-

[12] This is true mainly for the first book. The second and third book have a different author. See p. 80, n. 53.

[13] For examples: LIGHTMAN, ZEISEL, "Univira", 19–32 (the ideal of *univira*); BERG, "Wearing Wealth", 41, 45–46, 48–49 (adorning habits).

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temporary relevance of the discussion will be obvious. Further, it is not my intention to confront the PE with modern expectations of social sensitivity and equality, but to situate the texts in their cultural and social context, showing the extent to which they are the product of their time and express conservative views on various matters, even for their time.

Structure

In the first chapter I state the *premises* of this investigation. I do not always enter into the details of the scholarly debate concerning the PE, as some of the matters like the question of authorship and addressees are extensively discussed in commentaries to which I refer, whereas others are addressed in various chapters. I read the PE as pseudepigraphical writings composed by the same author probably at the turn of the century, very likely in Western Asia Minor, intimately connected by certain themes, concerns and linguistic particularities. The PE express a conservative position on social ethics and promote adherence to the values shared with the society in which the author lives. They are prescriptive writings that attempt to shape reality, to establish and maintain an ecclesial, social and gender hierarchy and have thereby an ideological character. The PE presuppose a socially heterogeneous *ekklēsia* probably organised as a religious association that replicates the *polis*, including middling groups that embrace elite values and mentalities.

The second chapter deals with *the ecclesiology of the PE and its implications*, exploring the meaning and significance of its core metaphor, *the οἶκος θεοῦ* (1 Tim 3,15). The PE ground their view of the church in the sociocultural concept of the *oikos* and in the rules of household management. The concept has an essential contribution to the redefinition of the church at the turn of the century. It implies a major ecclesiological shift and has decisive consequences for the definition of roles and ministries in the community. The structure and ideology of the *oikos* explains in part the restrictive regulations of gender roles and the gender-related exclusion from offices, as well as the emphasis on the subordination of slaves.

Most authors who have addressed the *oikos*-ecclesiology have focused, not without reason, on the understanding of the church as a (patriarchal) household. I wish to go one step further and to argue that when the PE use the concept of *oikos* for the church, i.e. for a religious community that stretches out beyond the household proper, they employ *oikos* metaphorically, in a certain cultural context. In ancient mentality, the *oikos*, the *polis* and the cosmos are deeply interrelated entities that may be used to define one another. The (political) community, the *polis*, is commonly described as

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an enlarged *oikos*, whereas the *oikos* is thought to be a sort of small *polis*. Religious associations that replicate through their structure the *polis* may also be referred to as *oikoi*. Even the cosmos may be described as an *oikos* or a *polis* joining gods and humans, belonging to the supreme deity. Therefore, when the ecclesial community made up of several households is described as the οἶκος θεοῦ, it is understood both as an extended *oikos and* a Christian *polis* governed by God, i.e. as public and sacred space. Moreover, the *ekklēsia*, as household *of God*, gains in a sense a cosmic dimension that leads to the reification of the ecclesial and social regulations.

In this volume I use *oikos* in two ways, for the household, as sociocultural unit, and for the ecclesiological metaphor that determines the institutional and hierarchic nature of the church (the *oikos* of God). Similarly, *polis* will be used in two ways, for the non-Christian *polis* or society as socio-political construct, as well as for the church as public space, incorporating several households and constituting thereby a broader entity than the one embracing members of a single household (the Christian *polis*).

This understanding of the *ekklēsia* has a number of implications. First, it involves the ancient separation between private and public space, the division of gender roles in conformity with the laws of spaces and the assignment of certain vocations and ministries to one or the other sex. The patterns for roles and offices largely correspond to the dominant Greek and Roman distinction between private and public spaces and roles. The PE embrace conservative norms that restrict the public sphere to men, refer women to the *oikos* and refrain slaves' claims to brother(sister)hood and equality. Secondly, men and women, Christians belonging to different social strata are expected to fulfil their social roles in an honourable manner, contributing to the respectability of the community. Thirdly, they have to be loyal members of their society.

Chapter three focuses on the authority to teach in the *ekklēsia*, a public space ruled by divine decrees. Teaching, a major task of the officials, is connected to legitimacy and authority. Teaching requires authority and implies the exercise of authority. In turn, the authority to teach is related to a number of factors among which orthodoxy and (male) gender rank prominently. This explains the exclusion of women and "heterodox" men from teaching. Most commentators argue that this exclusion had to do with the involvement of men and women in teaching heterodoxy. I question this assumption and I show that (a) "orthodoxy" and "heterodoxy" are concepts construed to single out those who adhere to the norms of behaviour established by the author and to discredit the opponents and (b) there is no sufficient proof that women taught heresy. I subsequently argue that the exclusion of women from public teaching has to do with ancient conventions according to which women may not hold authority, may not speak

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in public and have to be taught by men. These cultural conventions receive a theological backing from the narrative of creation and fall, used to relegate women to the domestic sphere and to persuade them to embrace motherhood instead of teaching. In this, the PE come close to ancient ideological / legal discussions on procreation and maternity. While the chapter focuses mainly on 1 Tim 2,11–15, which explicitly tackles the female condition, in the last part I show that although men as such are not prohibited to teach, it is far from obvious that just any man has the authority to teach.

Chapter four draws attention to the *ideological character of the PE*, focusing on the *presence of women in the public sphere*. I argue that the norms connected to the division of spaces and roles have a prescriptive-ideological character both in Greek and Roman authors and in the PE; therefore these *texts do not describe reality* in an adequate manner. To that purpose I explore the contrast between the ideology of exclusion and the reality involving participation in contemporary society and, by way of analogy, in the PE. I show that notwithstanding the deeply rooted distinction between the (male) public and the (female) private sphere, in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor and to a degree even in Rome (especially elite) women were present on the public stage as priestesses, benefactors and holders of certain magistracies, the latter being a practice typical for Asia Minor. This shows that the PE not only contradict a more gender-inclusive practice in the lifetime of Paul, but are also more conservative compared to contemporary social and religious practices. They exclude women from the public religious stage, where their peers played a significant role, and attempt to limit the informal authority of better-off women. To this effect I show that the restrictions on women's (display) of wealth and their cautioning against a self-indulgent lifestyle match those ancient sources that wish to limit the authority of well-off women. The regulations that bar women from public roles in the *ekklēsia*, in fact, alter practices that go back to the lifetime of Paul. This restrictive attitude has to do mainly with conservative views on gender roles shared with contemporary traditionally-minded sources. It may also be connected with some more specific factors: a possible influence of the Jewish heritage, a probable Roman influence, and, foremost, the centrality of teaching among the roles of the officials in comparison with the mainly ritual function of priesthoods.

The final conclusions emphasise that the *oikos*-ecclesiology of the PE and the ecclesial norms they promote may not be understood without the a deep knowledge of the cultural and social background of these writings.

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Why a new monograph on the Pastoral Epistles?

(1) The Greco-Roman backdrop of the PE was highlighted in a number of commentaries and essays. To my knowledge, however, there is no monograph attempting to give a picture of the wider social and cultural landscape that shaped the ecclesiology of the PE and their definition of social roles and ecclesial ministries. Applying the environmental approach proposed by Malherbe in his essays, I discuss the PE not as writings that have a contingent Greco-Roman background, but as expressions of an author and reflections of a community that belongs to this social and cultural environment. In the same time, these texts cannot be reduced to their cultural context, but address specific concerns in ways that are also dissimilar from other contemporary approaches. In this context, I propose a critical reading of the ancient sources, without taking at face value assertions made by the authors, as if they would objectively describe reality and without establishing unlikely connections with remote social phenomena.

(2) As I regard the *ekklēsia* as an intrinsic part of a Greco-Roman society, I incorporate the research on the social world of earliest Christianity, in particular on private associations, into the analysis of the PE. I explore both the ecclesiology of the PE and the structures of the community using insights from work done on private associations. To my knowledge, this enterprise has not yet been carried out.

(3) The ecclesiology of the PE with its focus on the *oikos* has been addressed time and again. In virtually all discussions, *oikos* was taken in a strict sense, and the *ekklēsia* was understood to replicate the ancient household. While this interpretation has much to commend it and to some extent I take it over, I reckon that this perspective explains only one aspect of this ecclesiology. As I focus on the metaphorical use of *oikos* in Greco-Roman antiquity, I show that the term denotes much broader entities: the religious association, the *polis* and the cosmos. These considerations bring me to regard the *ekklēsia* as a public space that reproduces the *oikos and* the *polis*, just as private associations do. This justifies my discussion of roles and ministries based on the public-private divide and on honour and shame mentality. The theo-logical and cosmic dimension of the "household of God" illuminates the essentialist understanding of social and ecclesial roles.

(4) Numerous scholars tend to identify with the perspective of the author and describe the struggle reflected in the PE as a justified combat against heterodox opponents and against illegitimate emancipatory tendencies. My focus on the ideological character of the PE highlights the function of polemics in creating opponents and in legitimising restrictive ecclesial regulations. It tracks down the process of creating "orthodoxy" and orthopraxy,

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and it shows that the ecclesial norms are not necessary reactions to disruptive practices, but particular decisions motivated by a conservative worldview. The ideological features of the PE have been highlighted in a number of essays. To my knowledge, however, the critique of this ideological character, intrinsic to the discourse on orthodoxy, orthopraxy and social roles, was not yet used in a monograph on roles and ministries as the lens through which these texts are read.

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1. Placing the Discussion on Roles and Ministries

Any research starts from certain premises that largely shape the writing and the conclusions. Exploring the way in which the PE define roles and ministries in the *ekklēsia* requires clarifications about the character of these writings (and/or the way they are read), the author and the addressees, as well as the social and cultural context they presuppose. This chapter will address some preliminary assumptions concerning the PE, their character and purpose and the community they reflect.

One of the fundamental premises of this investigation is that the PE are writings *that claim the authority of Paul for the norms of orthodoxy and orthopraxy that they create and wish to instate*. As such, they belong together and share certain themes and concerns with other Pauline traditions. Yet, within the larger cluster of Pauline traditions they represent a distinct stream struggling to acquire legitimacy against other, competing interpretations of the Pauline legacy. At the turn of the century, in a time when the *ekklēsia* attempts to find its place in society, *Paul is reinterpreted* in a specific way. The expectations concerning community members with different functions are re-defined so as to match the norms of respectable behaviour. This ideal can be described either by the older paradigm of good Christian citizenship (M. Dibelius, notwithstanding critiques of the notion) or by the more recent concept of "public transcript" (J. Scott).[1]

This brings us to the second major feature of the PE: their *ideological thrust*. While purportedly personal letters of Paul to his intimate collaborators, addressing issues and tasks of immediate concern, the PE are in fact programmatic writings composed with a specific goal. They are ideological in two ways. First, they do not describe reality, they do not give a glimpse into a spontaneous communication between Paul and his disciples, but they attempt to *create* a certain reality and to change existing practices. They are not descriptive, but *prescriptive*. Second, the PE attempt to *impose and legitimise certain relations of power* in the community, buttressing the exclusive authority of male, officially instated leaders, at the cost of various other ministries – charismatic or tending toward institutionalisation – carried out by men and women. They legitimise the existing social order by defending the interests

[1] These concepts will be discussed later on (→1.1.4, with bibliographic references).

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of slave-owners, at the cost of those of slaves and at the expense of the Pauline ideal of Christian brother(sister)hood. Although it may seem inappropriate to address this ideological character before discussing the relevant passages, it is essential to make this point from the outset, to make it clear that I read the PE against the grain. I do not uncritically identify with the position of the author, but I pay attention to the contrast between this prescriptive discourse and an underlying reality which this author obscures and attempts to change, by controlling certain manifestations and by vilifying the dissenters.

The third premise concerns the addressees. Defining roles and ministries, the author has in mind a specific community with a certain social constituency and a particular institutional shape. This *ekklēsia* seems to be socially heterogeneous, relatively well organised, and may be approximated to a private association. This model also illuminates the ecclesiology of the PE. An association reproduces the *oikos* through the bonds of fictive kinship and replicates the *polis* through its structures and offices. In an analogous manner, the *ekklēsia* is an *oikos* belonging to God and a structured community that mirrors the society in which it exists.

1.1 Placing the Pastoral Epistles

1.1.1 Writings that claim the authority of Paul

The PE are pseudonymous writings[2] that build on the fiction of author, addressees and possibly location, written by the end of the first century or early in the second century.[3] The pseudepigraphical character of the PE,

[2] The arguments for pseudonymity will not be detailed here. See DIBELIUS, CONZELMANN, *PE*, 22–60; ROLOFF, *1 Tim*, 23–39, 41–46; OBERLINNER, *1 Tim*, XXXIII–XXXIX, XLII–XLVI; DONELSON, *Pseudepigraphy*, *passim*; WOLTER, *Past*, 11–25; YOUNG, *Theology*, 2, 22–23; THIESSEN, *Christen*, 248, 339–341; R. COLLINS, *1–2 Tim Tit*, 3–9; WEISER, *2 Tim*, 53–54, 56–59, 63; MERZ, *Selbstauslegung*, 72–86; TREBILCO, *Early Christians*, 202–205; FIORE, *PE*, 15–20; SCHRÖTER, "Kirche", 77–104; QUINN, *Tit*, 117–121; QUINN, WACKER, *1–2 Tim*, 19; MARGUERAT, "Paul après Paul", 317–337. The authenticity is defended by evangelical and traditionalist Catholic authors (FEE, *1 2 Tim Tit*, xv–xxvi; LIEFELD, *1–2 Tim Tit*, 24–28; MOUNCE, *PE*, xlvii–cxxix; WITHERINGTON, *Letters*, 23–68, 76–77; TOWNER, *Letters*, 3, 9–26, and SPICQ, *Épîtres* I; JOHNSON, *1–2 Tim*, 91–99; ID., "First Timothy 1,1–20", 19–39; MONTAGUE *1–2 Tim Tit*, 16–24). To avoid the negative "pseudonymity", H. MARSHALL introduces the notion of "allonymity" (*PE*, 83–84, 92). The challenge to the consensus about pseudonymity (HERZER, "Abschied", 1267–1282; DONFRIED, "Rethinking", 153–182) may not obscure the fact that authenticity is defended because of a certain understanding of inspiration and canonicity, that takes the debate to an ideological level (ROLOFF, *1 Tim*, 24–25).

[3] Those who take the PE to be pseudonymous mostly date them between 80–100, more often to the end of the century (BROX, ROLOFF, OBERLINNER, WEISER, R. COLLINS, MERZ, TREBILCO). WOLTER proposes a broader interval (90–140), whereas QUINN and SCHRÖTER date them closer to 80. STANDHARTINGER argues for the mid-second century, largely based on her reading of εὐσέβεια as

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more generally the phenomenon of New Testament pseudepigraphy under its various forms,[4] is a debated matter. Even more disputed is the possibility that the PE are the result of deliberate deception. This option is commonly rejected on theological and/or moral grounds.[5] On the other hand, some of those who admit pseudepigraphy explain the endeavour of writing fictitious letters with the need to preserve apostolic teaching and continuity in tradition through its reinterpretation in new contexts, marked by inner debates.[6] When it comes to the PE, some scholars highlight the author(s)'s esteem for Paul and his (their) dependence on the Pauline tradition.[7] Others argue that the PE are examples of school pseudepigraphy, comparable to that practiced by members of philosophical schools,[8] exercising the style of the master and developing his ideas, without the intention to deceive, relying on a consensus between author and readers.[9] The author would aim thereby to consolidate

element of the imperial propaganda for stability, fully developed under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius ("*Eusebeia*", 80). But the term cannot be used to date the PE, unless one argues that it can be understood only from second century imperial ideology, discounting its similar, political use from Augustus onward. Some connect the PE to a Pauline school (SCHNELLE, *Einleitung*, 328; POKORNÝ, HECKEL, *Einleitung*, 618; MERKEL, *Past*, 9–10; HERZER, "Fiktion", 522–523) or to the alleged recipients of the epistles, esp. Timothy (FRENSCHKOWSKI, "Pseudepigraphie", 239–272, esp. 253–269). 2 Tim is sometimes considered to be authentic by authors who do not take 1 Tim and Tit to be genuine (e.g. PRIOR, *Paul*).

[4] I will not discuss here the different forms and aims of pseudepigraphy. For that purpose see esp. SPEYER, *Literarische Fälschung* (1971); BAUM, *Pseudepigraphie und literarische Fälschung* (2001).

[5] MEADE, *Pseudonymity*, 2; BAUM, *Pseudepigraphie*, 81–91. PORTER addresses the implications of pseudepigraphy and deception for the canon and concludes that despite differences from the undisputed Paulines, the PE should be accepted as authentic because of the consequences of admitting pseudepigraphy ("Pauline Authorship", 105–123). BAUM notes that pseudepigraphic NT-writings were in all probability composed with the intention to deceive and in early Christianity such works were regarded forgeries (80, 93, 131). An exception to this rule was the case when the content could be linked to the author whose name this writing bore, or the apostle authorised the real author to write a letter (93). Therefore, Baum argues, if one does not accept that a *pia fraus* could legitimise such endeavour, one is left with two options: that of a canon within the canon (which he finds untenable), or the rejection of the canonical character of these forged writings (191, cf. 194–196).

[6] SCHNELLE, *Einleitung*, 327–329 (moreover, personalities that would have held "gesammtkirchliche Autorität" were allegedly lacking); POKORNÝ, "Das theologische Problem", 122 (although admitting that the personalia were forged, a matter that was not recognised or was intentionally overlooked by the Church in the process of canonisation, 126); POKORNÝ, HECKEL, *Einleitung*, 621–622; KLAUCK, *Ancient Letters*, 404.

[7] THRAEDE, "Pseudepigraphie" II, 707. See the critical discussion in DONELSON, *Pseudepigraphy*, 9–13; FRENSCHKOWSKI, "Pseudepigraphie", 240–243; HERZER, "Fiktion", 490–497.

[8] On pseudepigraphy practiced within philosophical and medical schools: SPEYER, *Fälschung*, 34–35; BAUM, *Pseudepigraphie*, 51–63 (including apostolic schools); HERZER, "Fiktion", 521–523. Yet, forgeries may also imitate the style of philosophers: SPEYER, *Fälschung*, 82.

[9] HERZER, "Fiktion", 521–523, 533–536, on 1 Timothy. He works with the distinction between fiction and forgery (not all fiction is forgery, p. 531; see SPEYER, *Fälschung*, 7, 22–24). Tit and 2 Tim precede 1 Tim (which he dates to the late first half of the second century) and are independent writings, not epistles belonging to a corpus, and their Pauline authorship does not seem to be

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Korinna Zamfir explores the redefinition of social roles and ecclesial ministries in the Pastoral Epistles within a changed ecclesiological framework (the *ekklēsia* as *oikos Theou*). She discusses the Pastoral Epistles as writings intimately linked to their Greco-Roman social and cultural environment. Zamfir argues that the ecclesiology of the Pastoral Epistles presupposes the metaphorical use of *oikos Theou*. The Pastoral Epistles define roles and ministries based on the public-private divide and on honor and shame mentality. The theo-logical and cosmic dimension of the »household of God« explains the essentialist understanding of these roles.

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