

ANDREAS J. KÖSTENBERGER
& THOMAS R. SCHREINER

Editors



W O M E N
in the
C H U R C H
3rd Edition

AN INTERPRETATION & APPLICATION OF 1 TIMOTHY 2:9-15

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“The third edition of this outstanding volume of integrated essays about the ministry of women in the Christian church (particularly in relation to 1 Timothy 2) is the most comprehensive treatment to date on the subject. At significant points this series of grammatical, linguistic, exegetical, hermeneutical, and theological essays takes us beyond earlier editions and makes a fresh contribution to our knowledge. The contributors have interacted extensively and courteously with contemporary scholarship as they have sought to grapple with the teaching of God’s Word on this vital issue of women’s ministry and to work through some of its implications. Highly recommended.”

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“In an age when assertions abound concerning the meaning of this text, the contributors have not only presented the most thoroughgoing and decisive case for the traditional view of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 now available but have also provided a handbook of solid interpretive methodology. Whether or not one agrees with their conclusions, the reader will find the issues clarified, the evidence evaluated, and the text carefully analyzed and applied. I heartily recommend this book to all who are willing to confront and be confronted by the biblical text once again.”

Scott J. Hafemann, Reader in New Testament, University of St. Andrews

Women in the Church

Women in the Church

*An Interpretation and Application
of 1 Timothy 2:9–15*

Third Edition

Edited by Andreas J. Köstenberger
and Thomas R. Schreiner

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To all honest seekers
for the truth
who delight in God's design
for man and woman.

Romans 1:18–32

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Contributors and Participants

Contributors

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Abbreviations

- AB Anchor Bible
- ACO *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, ed. Eduard Schwartz
(Berlin: de Gruyter, 1914–1984)
- ATJ *Ashland Theological Journal*
- BAGD W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, and F. W. Danker, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979)
- BBR *Bulletin for Biblical Research*
- BDAG *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, rev. and ed. F. W. Danker, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000)
- BDF F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and R. W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961)
- BK *Bibel und Kirche*
- BSac *Bibliotheca Sacra*
- BT *The Bible Translator*
- BTB *Biblical Theology Bulletin*
- CCSG Corpus Christianorum: Series Graeca
- CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
- CSHB Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
- CTJ *Calvin Theological Journal*
- EBib *Etudes Bibliques*
- ECC Eerdmans Critical Commentary
- EDNT *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. Horst Balz and Gerhard Schneider, ET, 3 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990–1993)
- EKKNT Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
- EQ *Evangelical Quarterly*
- EuroJTh *European Journal of Theology*
- ExAud *Ex Auditu*

- ExpTim* *Expository Times*
- FGS Functional Grammar Series
- GCS Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte
- HBT *Horizons in Biblical Theology*
- ICC International Critical Commentary
- Int* *Interpretation*
- IvE* *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, ed. H. Wankel et al., 8 vols. in 11 (Bonn: Habelt, 1979–84)
- IvM* *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, ed. O. Kern (Berlin: Spemann, 1900)
- IVPNTC IVP New Testament Commentary
- IvPr* *Die Inschriften von Priene*, ed. C. J. Fredrich and F. Hiller von Gaertringen (Berlin: Reimer, 1906)
- IvPrusias* *Die Inschriften von Prusias ad Hypium*, ed. W. Ameling (Bonn: Habelt, 1985)
- JBL* *Journal of Biblical Literature*
- JBMW* *Journal for Biblical Manhood and Womanhood*
- JETS* *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
- JGRChJ* *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism*
- JHS* *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
- JRS* *Journal of Roman Studies*
- JSNT* *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
- JSNTSup Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
- JTS* *Journal of Theological Studies*
- LCL Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press)
- LNTS Library of New Testament Studies
- L&N J. P. Louw and E. A. Nida, eds., *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (New York: United Bible Societies, 1989)
- LSJ H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, rev. H. S. Jones (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996)
- LTQ* *Lexington Theological Quarterly*
- Moulton-Milligan J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament: Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-literary Sources* (repr., Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1963)
- NA28 Novum Testamentum Graece, Nestle-Aland, 28th ed. (German Bible Society)

- NCBC New Century Bible Commentary
- Neot *Neotestamentica*
- Neue Inschriften VIII D. Knibbe and B. Iplikçioğlu, "Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos VIII," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 53 (1981–82): Hauptblatt, 87–150
- Neue Inschriften IX D. Knibbe and B. Iplikçioğlu, "Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos IX," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 55 (1984): Hauptblatt, 107–35
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- Neue Inschriften XII D. Knibbe, H. Engelmann, and B. Iplikçioğlu, "Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos XII," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 62 (1993): Hauptblatt, 113–50
- Neue Inschriften XIII H. Engelmann, "Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos XIII," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 69 (2000)
- New Docs *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, ed. G. H. R. Horsley and S. R. Llewelyn (North Ryde, NSW, Australia: Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University, 1981–)
- NIBCNT New International Bible Commentary on the New Testament
- NICNT New International Commentary on the New Testament
- NIGTC New International Greek Testament Commentary
- NIVAC NIV Application Commentary
- NovT *Novum Testamentum*
- NovTSup Supplements to Novum Testamentum
- NPNF1 *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Series 1
- NTL New Testament Library
- NTOA *Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus*
- NTS *New Testament Studies*
- OCD *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. N. Hammond and H. Scullard, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970)
- PG *Patrologia Graeca* [= *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*: Series Graeca], ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 162 vols. (Paris, 1857–1886)
- PGL *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. Geoffrey W. H. Lampe (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961)
- PL *Patrologia Latina* [= *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*: Series Latina], ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 217 vols. (Paris, 1844–1864)
- Presb *Presbyterion*

- RAM T. R. S. Broughton, "Roman Asia Minor," in *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, ed. T. Frank, vol. 4 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1938), 499–950
- RBL *Review of Biblical Literature*
- REG *Revue des études grecques*
- ResQ *Restoration Quarterly*
- RNT Regensburger Neues Testament
- SBJT *Southern Baptist Journal of Theology*
- SEG Supplementum epigraphicum graecum (1923–)
- SNTSMS Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
- SP Sacra Pagina
- SR *Studies in Religion / Sciences Religieuses*
- ST *Studia Theologica*
- TDNT *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, trans. G. W. Bromiley, 10 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964–76)
- THKNT Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
- TLG Thesaurus Linguae Graecae
- TNTC Tyndale New Testament Commentary
- TPINT Trinity Press International New Testament Commentaries
- TrinJ *Trinity Journal*
- TSF Bulletin *Theological Students Fellowship Bulletin*
- TUGAL Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
- TynBul *Tyndale Bulletin*
- TZ *Theologische Zeitschrift*
- VE *Vox Evangelica*
- WBC Word Biblical Commentary
- WTJ *Westminster Theological Journal*
- WUNT Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
- ZECNT Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
- ZIBBC Zondervan Illustrated Bible Backgrounds Commentary
- ZKT *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*
- ZNW *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
- ZPE *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

Introduction

Two decades have passed since the publication of the first edition of *Women in the Church* in 1995, and ten years have flown by since the second edition appeared in 2005. Not only have the editors and contributors to this volume, shall we say, matured (or at least gotten older), but the culture has also undergone a tremendous amount of change (though not progress, from our perspective) in this same period. Both anecdotally and statistically, we've seen the culture's approach to gender take breathtaking twists and turns before our very eyes. Homosexual marriage is being legalized, and the transgender revolution is under way.

Yet, as the saying goes, the more things change, the more they stay the same. Sinfulness still infects and incapacitates all humanity (though Christians have been liberated from sin's powerful rule over them). God's design for man and woman has not changed radically—or even changed at all. Many believe, as we do, that Scripture is revelation from God and that human relationships ought to strive to conform to *his* pattern rather than substituting our own or renegotiating the terms, and these men and women continue to insist that Scripture ought to remain our final authority, not only in matters of faith, narrowly conceived, but also in human relationships.

For this reason, I was excited when Tom Schreiner broached the topic of updating *Women in the Church* in the form of a third edition. Our previous publisher, Baker Book House, graciously declined to publish a third edition, and Crossway has, even more graciously, agreed to serve as publisher for the present volume. Initially, we planned simply to update each of the chapters in the second edition and to replace the single-author chapter on application with a virtual roundtable in order

to express the diversity of ways Christians apply the teaching of 1 Timothy 2:9–15. Then, developments ensued in rapid fashion.

First off, Henry Scott Baldwin gently but firmly declined revising his chapter, suggesting that Al Wolters, who has engaged in cutting-edge research on the term *ἀνθευτεῖν* for the past decade, be pressed into service. After initial hesitation due to other commitments, Al kindly agreed to write for the current volume what we are convinced is now the definitive essay on *ἀνθευτεῖν*. While building on Baldwin's work, Al powerfully sharpens his argument and engages all the recent scholarship on the meaning of *ἀνθευτεῖν* judiciously and compellingly. The inclusion of Al's chapter alone warrants the production of this third edition.

Also, one by one, the other contributors decided against giving their chapters a mere "face lift" and opted instead to write a fresh piece that is congruent with their work in earlier editions but presents the material in light of developments in the past two decades and in keeping with current research and cultural dynamics. S. M. Baugh and Robert Yarbrough, in particular, spent a considerable amount of time, with much careful thought, presenting the background of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 to apply it to our cultural context in a fresh, new light that is sure to connect both with readers of previous editions and with those new to the debate.

I, too, decided not merely to touch up my chapter but to completely rerun all my searches of the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG) database in an effort to isolate the most pertinent syntactical parallels for the grammatical construction found in 1 Timothy 2:12. More detailed search parameters and a more robust database now available have allowed me to narrow my investigation from its previous four-century span to include only authors who wrote in the first century AD, while simultaneously adding thirty-one examples. I also decided to integrate my interaction with the scholarly literature on the subject throughout my essay rather than collecting responses at the end as in the second edition.

Finally, we asked Denny Burk to write a brand-new chapter on Bible translation. This addition seemed necessary since the NIV 2011 translation committee retranslated *ἀνθευτεῖν* in a rendering that went against the NIV 1984 and even the TNIV 2002.

In what follows, the content of each chapter is summarized in the words of the contributor. We will return to the contribution of each chapter in the conclusion. As the editors, who have actively participated in the discussion for the past twenty years (or more), we are grateful to be able to offer the public this substantially new third edition of *Women in the Church*. We believe that as those committed to historic Christianity, we cannot afford to take our cue from the rapidly changing culture. Increasingly, being a Bible-believing Christian in this world—or taking one’s cue from Scripture alone—means swimming upstream and being countercultural.

To that end of submitting to Scripture’s authority, the team of contributors, all leading experts in their respective fields, scrutinize in the following pages the various aspects of a responsible interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:9–15: the historical background of first-century Ephesus; the meaning of the word ἀϋθεντεῖν; the Greek syntax of v. 12, “I do not permit a woman to teach or to exercise authority over a man”; the exegesis of 1 Timothy 2:9–15; the cultural context for applying the passage; matters of Bible translation; and vigorous, spirited interaction on the implications of the reading offered here for women’s roles in the life of the church today.

In chapter 1, S. M. Baugh discusses the first-century background. For more than a century, excavators have been digging in the city of Ephesus, and in the course of that time, archaeologists and ancient historians have unearthed, examined, and evaluated a very large amount of original source material, which makes a fairly intimate knowledge of the city and its inhabitants possible. Unfortunately, this material is not always easily accessible, and misunderstandings sometimes continue for people who look for accurate explanations of the Ephesian background to interpret texts such as 1 Timothy. Hence, while the earlier forms of this essay provided much technical information, this version has been revised to make the subject matter clearer to the nonspecialist. The overall goal is to draw an accurate, brief portrait of the institutions of Ephesus as they relate specifically to the interpretation of 1 Timothy 2 and illumine its message.

In chapter 2, Al Wolters examines the meaning of the verb ἀϋθεντέω, which occurs in 1 Timothy 2:12 and is commonly translated “have

authority.” His main point is that the verb here does not have a pejorative meaning (as in “domineer”) or an ingressive meaning (as in “assume authority”), although in recent decades a number of scholars, versions, and lexica have ascribed these connotations to it. An exhaustive survey of all known occurrences of the verb in ancient and medieval Greek shows that actual usage does not support these lexicographical innovations. While the translation “assume authority” (or the like) is sometimes justified, this is the case only where an ingressive aorist is used, not in other tense forms of the verb, such as the present tense in this passage.

In chapter 3, I examine the essential syntax of what is probably the most contentious section of 1 Timothy 2:9–15: “I do not permit a woman to teach or to exercise authority over a man” (v. 12 ESV). In particular, based on syntactic parallels in both Scripture and ancient Greco-Roman literature, I argue that the two activities joined by the conjunction οὐδέ in 1 Timothy 2:12 (teaching and exercising authority over men) must be, in Paul’s consideration, either both positive or both negative. Paul’s positive view of διδάσκω (teaching) as an activity thus points to his positive view of αὐθεντέω ἄνδρός (exercising authority over a man) as an activity, over against interpreters who have assigned to αὐθεντέω ἄνδρός a negative meaning. In addition, I argue that the two activities of teaching and exercising authority, while related, ought not to be merged into a single idea that is more restrictive than either one is separately (e.g., “seizing authority to teach a man”), an interpretation that some scholars have strenuously advanced in recent years. I conclude with a new section on discourse analysis that contextually supports and reinforces the results of the preceding syntactic analysis.

In chapter 4, Thomas Schreiner sets forth an interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:9–15. While not every contributor would agree with everything argued for in this essay—especially the interpretations offered for 1 Timothy 2:14–15—the interpretation proposed draws upon the conclusions reached in other chapters of this book (especially Baugh, Wolters, and Köstenberger) and interacts extensively with existing scholarship.

In chapter 5, Robert Yarbrough deals with the hermeneutics of this passage and what the interpretation means for church practice. He de-

nies that this passage asserts the abolition, prevention, or curtailment of women's leadership in church or society, or women's exclusion from all teaching and ministry in any capacity whatsoever. Rather, this chapter explores the meaning of the biblical precedent and precept of men's primary leadership responsibility as pastoral teachers and overseers (cf. Paul's "teach" and "exercise authority" in 1 Tim. 2:12) in God's household, the church.

In chapter 6, Denny Burk investigates the claim, advanced by Linda Belleville, that a nonpejorative rendering of *αὐθεντεῖν* is an innovation of English Bibles produced in the twentieth century. He also examines the shift in translation of *αὐθεντεῖν* from "have authority" in the NIV 1984 and TNIV 2002 to the ingressive "assume authority" in the TNIV 2005 and NIV 2011. Is the NIV translators' explanation for the new rendering compelling? Or is it potentially misleading in light of Philip Payne's pejorative understanding of "assume authority," which the findings of Al Wolters and Andreas Köstenberger in the present volume contravene?

Chapter 7 is devoted to the application of the teaching of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 to women's and men's roles in the church today. To this end, we gathered a virtual roundtable of several women and men with a proven track record of speaking out intelligently and knowledgeably on this issue. While diverse in background, these women and men concur in their essential interpretation of the passage as laid out in the present volume. At the same time, while the original meaning of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 is firm, the significance of Paul's teaching in this passage is multifaceted. The various participants in the roundtable provide a series of perceptive observations on the text and its application as women and men strive to apply the teaching of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 to their lives today.

It is my conviction that the phalanx of highly credentialed scholars who contributed to this volume cannot easily be charged with merely spouting patriarchal propaganda. Readers of this work will find extensive engagement with primary sources; judicious, transparent interpretation; and responsible, charitable interaction with opposing views. We trust that the quality of our work speaks for itself and hope that any who might be disposed to dismiss our book as "the scholarship of patriarchy" or the like will instead give serious consideration to its ar-

guments. The scholarly work presented in this third edition of *Women in the Church* is the result of a sustained quest for truth: readers will find ample evidence of adjustments, refinements, and wrestling with the evidence rather than mere dogmatic assertions. We believe anyone who is honestly searching for God's design for man and woman will find in this volume ample food for thought and much truth for life.

I am deeply grateful to Tom Schreiner for our twenty-year partnership in publishing on this vital issue. I am also grateful to the contributors to this volume for setting aside valuable time not only to update their essays but also to reconceive them in significant ways. Thanks are also due to my research assistant, Chuck Bumgardner, not only for his help with revising my essay but also for his behind-the-scenes work of updating and reshaping the bibliography, which has evolved from a simple collection of works cited to a more robust research bibliography. Justin Taylor and his staff at Crossway, as always, have wholeheartedly embraced the vision underlying this volume and have done an outstanding job producing it. Last but not least, I'm grateful to my wife, Margaret, with whom I share a deep passion for God's design for man and woman.

Soli Deo gloria.

Andreas J. Köstenberger

A Foreign World

Ephesus in the First Century

S. M. Baugh

In the twenty years since the first version of this essay appeared, a handful of general studies related to the Ephesian historical background of the New Testament have appeared.¹ And some other studies of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 have also been published that make at least some reference to background material.²

¹Newer general studies include Paul Trebilco, *The Early Christians in Ephesus from Paul to Ignatius* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007), and Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *St. Paul's Ephesus: Texts and Archaeology* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2008). The archaeology and physical remains of the city are reported in Peter Scherrer, *Ephesus: The New Guide* (Turkey: Zero, 2000). For the religious institutions connected with Artemis Ephesia, see now Guy Maclean Rogers, *The Mysteries of Artemis of Ephesus: Cult, Polis, and Change in the Graeco-Roman World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012); cf. Beate Dignas, *Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, Oxford Classical Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). For bibliography information, see Richard E. Oster, *A Bibliography of Ancient Ephesus*, ATLA Bibliography Series 19 (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1987). Earlier helpful resources include Helmut Koester, ed., *Ephesus: Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Its Archaeology, Religion, and Culture* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity, 1995), and Werner Thiessen, *Christen in Ephesus: Die historische und theologische Situation in vorpaulinischer und paulinischer Zeit und zur Zeit der Apostelgeschichte und der Pastoralbriefe*, Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter 12 (Tübingen: Francke, 1995). Unless otherwise noted, all translations appearing in this chapter, including those of Scripture, are my own, except for ancient authors included in the Loeb Classical Library.

²E.g., Michele George, "Domestic Architecture and Household Relations: Pompeii and Roman Ephesos," *JSNT* 27, no. 1 (2004): 7–25; Bridget Gilfillan Upton, "Can Stepmothers Be Saved? Another Look at 1 Timothy 2:8–15," *Feminist Theology* 15, no. 2 (2007): 175–85; Alicia J. Batten, "Neither Gold nor Braided Hair (1 Timothy 2:9; 1 Peter 3:3): Adornment, Gender and Honour in Antiquity," *NTS* 55, no. 4 (2009): 484–501; Gary G. Hoag, "Decorum and Deeds in 1 Timothy 2:9–10 in Light of *Ephesiaca* by Xenophon of Ephesus," *ExAud* 27 (2011): 134–60; and Lyn Nixon, "Response to Hoag," *ExAud* 27 (2011): 161–68.

The two earlier versions of this essay had focused on presenting an overview of the society of Ephesus, particularly in contrast with certain popular presentations of this city, as relevant background to 1 Timothy 2:9–15 (its *Sitz im Leben*). This exploration had arisen not long after I intensively studied the city of Ephesus in the Pauline period from every ancient source available—literary, epigraphic (inscriptions), archaeological, numismatic (coins), and so forth—as well as from relevant secondary works.³ I have subsequently kept an eye on Ephesus, even though my teaching duties and interests have led me into other areas of New Testament studies.

The inscriptions from Ephesus are particularly valuable historical sources, and we possess an amazing wealth of them in Greek and Latin (some six thousand) from this city alone. The *Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut* (Austrian Archeological Institute) in Vienna has spearheaded excavation of this area for over a century. On epigraphy, one of the more prominent ancient historians writes, “Though we must always be conscious of how much inscriptions will *not* tell us . . . it is still the case that inscriptions, read in bulk, provide the most direct access which we can have to the life, social structure, thought and values of the ancient world.”⁴

Hence, while the earlier forms of this essay provided much technical information, I have revised this version to make the subject matter clearer to the nonspecialist in ancient history and classical studies by trimming the bulk of the footnote references to secondary literature. At the same time, I cite ancient sources fully. The design of the essay is to begin with some methodological clarifications and then to move to general observations on Ephesian social institutions. After that, we will narrow in on points that illuminate the historical background of 1 Timothy 2 to help us exegete it accurately.⁵

When analyzing any past culture, historians distinguish between the role and influence of individuals and the fundamental role of politi-

³I completed this research for the PhD in ancient history at the University of California, Irvine (UCI); my dissertation, “Paul and Ephesus: The Apostle among His Contemporaries” (1990), included work (in the days before the Internet!) in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* developed and housed at UCI.

⁴Fergus Millar, “Epigraphy,” in *Sources for Ancient History*, ed. Michael Crawford, *The Sources of History: Studies in the Uses of Historical Evidence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 80.

⁵All good exegesis, of course, also engages in other important tasks, which are addressed in the remaining essays in this volume.

cal, social, cultural, and religious *institutions* in the place and time of study. Individuals are interesting and may have some historical effect, but institutions give distinctive shape to any people and place, much like bone structure shapes a person's body. People come and go, but institutions are preserved and propagated through the generations with only slow incremental changes over time, absent a revolution of some sort where individual leaders (like Augustus) may make permanent, radical changes to institutions. Unfortunately, some scholars overlook this focus on institutions when discussing the historical background of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 or other biblical passages.

In light of the focus on institutions, it is important to stress that the same powerful individuals and groups normally controlled all the various institutions of the period we are discussing. For example, the Roman emperors obviously dominated politics in the Mediterranean world, but they also often engaged in legislative attempts to regulate Roman families *and* served as the *pontifex maximus* (“Supreme Priest”) of Rome. Hence they played sometimes central roles not only in the political institutions but also in the social and religious institutions of the early imperial period.

The time frame of our discussion is the early to mid-AD 60s, when 1 Timothy was most probably written.⁶ While any ancient historian knows that we must sift through evidence from other periods to illuminate a very narrow time frame like this, we can only safely use some such evidence while other such evidence requires serious qualifications. We will return to this caveat again when we look at second- and third-century Ephesus below, whose evidence must be scrutinized very carefully if it is to bear any relevance for mid-first-century Ephesus.⁷

Historical Sketch

Ephesus, along with other colonies, was founded on the west coast of modern Turkey by Greek adventurers roughly around the time of the

⁶For a brief discussion of the date of 1 Timothy, see my “1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus” in *ZIBBC*, ed. Clinton E. Arnold (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002), 3:444–511, esp. 446–47, and the compelling work by Harry W. Tajra, *The Trial of St. Paul: A Juridical Exegesis of the Second Half of the Acts of the Apostles*, WUNT 35 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1989).

⁷A familiar analogy in New Testament studies is reading the Mishnah and Talmud as embodying material that witnesses to the beliefs of the Pharisees of the earlier Second Temple era. It is possible to make connections, but the experts caution us not to make these links without serious interpretive qualifications. The same care applies when discussing Pauline Ephesus from much later or geographically distant sources.

Israelite judges. The physical setting for ancient Ephesus was highly favorable, especially for commerce. It had a natural harbor nearby for overseas trade, and a royal road up the nearby Maeander River valley connected the city inland with important routes for eastern passage and trade.

Some myths have it that mythical female warriors (“Amazons”) originally founded Ephesus (Strabo, *Geogr.* 11.5.4; Pausanias, *Descr.* 7.4–5), yet the Ephesians themselves officially ascribed the foundation of their city to a Greek hero named Androclus. An oracle directed him to establish the city at the site where he killed a boar while hunting (Strabo, *Geogr.* 14.1.3, 21; Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 5.115). The Ephesians called Androclus “the creator of our city” (*IvE* 501) and celebrated the city’s foundation annually as “Androclus day” (*IvE* 644). They also featured him on their coins.

Ephesus’s cultural heritage was Greek. Yet from the time King Croesus of Lydia captured it in the sixth century BC, Ephesus never enjoyed independence from foreign domination. Croesus, Cyrus, Darius, Athens, Sparta, Alexander, Lysimachus, the Seleucids, the Attalids, Mithridates, and finally the Romans all captured or controlled Ephesus in their turns. The city’s political life was dominated by kings, tyrants, satraps, bureaucrats, and proconsuls. As a result, Ephesus’s mood was pragmatic and politically accommodating. “All is in flux” was the famous dictum of the Ephesian philosopher Heraclitus, well expressing the city’s adaptability to changing political climates. At the time of Paul, the political climate was Roman, and the Ephesians showed a persistent interest in retaining and reviving ancestral Ephesian laws and customs where they could within the broad constraints of Roman rule.⁸

Ephesus had suffered terrible economic and political turmoil in the first century BC. During the final civil war of the Roman republic, Mark Antony had selected Ephesus as one of his main headquarters, and while there, he pillaged Ephesus and the temple of Artemis Ephesia (the Artemisium) of money, materiel, and manpower: “[H]e stripped

⁸Rome’s rule concentrated on two interrelated issues: the free flow of taxes back to Rome and the suppression of any element in the provinces that would lead to “insurrection” or “sedition” (Greek, *στάσις*; Latin, *sedition*, *defectio*, or *motus*). One can see this attitude, for example, in the Emperor Trajan’s refusal to allow the people of Nicomedia to form a fire brigade (Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10.33–34) and in the speech of Ephesus’s secretary of the people (*grammateus*), who ominously warned those demonstrating against Paul that they ran the risk of being charged by the Romans with “insurrection” (*στάσις*; Acts 19:40).

many noble families of their property and gave it away to rogues and flatterers” (Plutarch, *Ant.* 24).⁹ But then Octavian (Augustus) defeated Antony in the naval battle at Actium in 31 BC, which paved the way for the imperial revolution. Ephesus held its breath as Augustus consolidated his power. Would he punish the city with crushing penalties since it had supported Antony? In fact, Augustus treated Ephesus favorably, even confirming its position as the judicial and financial capital of the Roman province.

Ephesus, however, did not grow and prosper overnight. Although the wealth of Ephesus enjoyed a broad base (banking, fishing, agricultural products, commerce, slaves), the city had a fundamentally agrarian economy, like all in antiquity, which could not grow instantly.¹⁰ The city also suffered a setback in AD 23 when a major earthquake caused serious damage to some public buildings that had to be rebuilt or replaced through private donations. This took time.

Yet the Roman peace was starting to pay off in the middle of the first century. Paul stepped into a city well on its way to eclipsing its old rivals Miletus, Smyrna, and Pergamum as “the greatest and first metropolis of Asia” (*IvE* 22 et al.). With a population somewhere around one hundred thousand people and growing even more in the next century, Ephesus eventually was on a path to become one of the largest and most important cities in the empire, next to Rome.¹¹

But we need to highlight one more political issue. In the early part of the AD 60s, when 1 Timothy was written, the Roman Empire was not as secure as may sometimes appear from our vantage point, knowing how things turned out.

In AD 54, Nero succeeded his adoptive father, the Emperor Claudius, largely through the influence of his mother, Julia Agrippina (“the Younger”; AD 15–59). He was seventeen years old, and Agrippina expected to control her young son and to significantly influence imperial

⁹Plutarch’s grandfather used to tell Plutarch grim stories of Antony’s deprivations that he had experienced. Old grudges and insults lasted long in the ancient world.

¹⁰As a rough guide, one can estimate that around 80–85 percent of the population in antiquity was directly engaged in food production: farming, animal husbandry, fishing, and, to a lesser extent, hunting. Any ancient city had to control large tracts of its rural areas to provide a consistent food supply for its non-food-producing populace.

¹¹Higher estimates of Ephesus’s population in the range of 200,000–250,000 people are more accurate for the second century, when the city reached its zenith in commerce, wealth, and building activity.

affairs.¹² Things did not go according to Agrippina's plan, particularly when Nero had her murdered in March of AD 59, in part because of his suspicion that she was plotting his overthrow.¹³ Because Agrippina had been popular in some circles, her death, particularly since it was a matricide, contributed to the eventual downfall of Nero. After several unsuccessful coup attempts, Nero opted to commit suicide in June AD 68 to avoid assassination. A civil war ensued with the rise of three imperial claimants in brief succession—Galba, Otho, and Vitellius—until Vespasian (AD 69–79) broke off his campaign against the Jewish uprising to take firm control in Rome in December of 69 (with sons Titus [AD 79–81] and Domitian [AD 81–96] to follow as emperors).

Therefore, in the shaky part of the Neronian period, when 1 Timothy was written, the people living at the time could not have foreseen the fate of the Roman empire. Would Rome devolve into another massively destructive civil war (which did erupt briefly in AD 68–69)?¹⁴ The Ephesians (including the many Romans residing there) could not have been sure whom to support and how things would turn out, which weakens claims that Rome wielded hegemonic cultural influence in places like Ephesus at this time.¹⁵ Certainty did not really arrive until the rise of Vespasian and his successors, whose policies established a political stability that made it clear to all by the second century that the Roman imperial system was in the provinces to stay (at least until the third century; see below).

Two more preliminary issues from Ephesian history impact our understanding of this city-state and condition our use of evidence from later periods for the Pauline era. One scholar who has investigated the issue believes that outright famines occurred relatively rarely in the an-

¹²Nero was born to Agrippina and the Consul Domitius Ahenobarbus in AD 37. (Agrippina had been betrothed to Ahenobarbus when she was thirteen years old.) Later, in AD 49, Agrippina married her uncle, the Emperor Claudius, whom she is believed to have poisoned (in AD 54), though that did not stop her from serving as priestess of the deified Claudius. (Historians think she did away with several others in addition to Claudius.)

¹³The ancient sources are not unanimous on the details; cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.1–8; Suetonius, *Nero* 34; Cassius Dio, *Rom. Hist.* 63.11–14. Agrippina's ghost appears in an extant tragic play, *Octavia*, believed to have been written shortly after Nero's death. Octavia (AD 40–62) was the daughter of Claudius whom Nero was forced to marry and whom he later banished and executed.

¹⁴This is not even to mention the *angst* of the Jewish population of Ephesus and other provincial areas, who could not have known what repercussions the rising Judean rebellion (AD 66–73) would have for them.

¹⁵Bruce W. Winter makes one such claim, writing, "There was no substantial distinction between a major city of Asia Minor [i.e., Ephesus], Roman Corinth and Rome itself; such was the ready embracing of Romanisation." *Roman Wives, Roman Widows: The Appearance of New Women and the Pauline Communities* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 97.

cient world (often combined with plague-type diseases), but that food shortages were quite common.¹⁶ Evidence for food shortage in Ephesus comes from an order by Emperor Domitian that one-half of the vineyards be dug up in light of a scarcity of grain (Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 520; Suetonius, *Dom.* 7.2). More seriously, in AD 129 the Ephesians honored the Emperor Hadrian for allowing grain importation from Egypt (*IvE* 274), no doubt alleviating a serious grain shortage and possibly a famine.¹⁷ Problems with grain availability continued, evidenced by Ephesian bakers' guild strikes (*IvE* 215) and by bread prices doubling from the beginning to the end of the second century (*IvE* 910, 923, 924, 934, 938, 3010).

While Ephesus greatly prospered in the first half of the second century, the second half brought the worst of times. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius (AD 161–80) used Ephesus as the central debarkation point for Roman troops when he invaded Parthia (Persia). This decision severely affected Ephesus and most other cities in the empire when troops returning from the siege of Seleucia to the west via Ephesus in the winter of 165/66 brought back with them a particularly devastating plague (possibly smallpox). The exact proportion of the population that died from this plague remains unknown, but this was, in fact, a turning point in Ephesian history; the city saw a significant downturn in civic building activity, and officials searched ever harder for patrons of their civic and cultic institutions.¹⁸ These bad times turned to terrible times when Roman power failed to protect one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World (discussed below) from a tribe of marauding Goths who took and looted the Artemisium in AD 262/63. This disaster was a haymaker for Ephesian glory (and certainly for Artemis Ephesia worship) in the ancient world.

¹⁶Peter Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World: Responses to Risk and Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). Garnsey believes that food shortage afflicted people in the Greco-Roman world as often as every two to three years due to too much rain, too little rain, or rain at the wrong times (i.e., rain during harvest can cause toxic molds to grow on grains and hay leading to reproductive problems and respiratory disease in animals and people).

¹⁷The Roman emperors tightly controlled Egypt's grain for use in Rome itself. The inscription reads: "Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, (holding) tribunician authority for the thirteenth time, consul three times, father of his fatherland. The Council and People of the Ephesians, to their own founder and savior on account of his superabundant gifts to Artemis: he granted to the goddess rights over inheritances and deposits and her own laws, *he provided grain importation from Egypt*, he made the harbors approachable and diverted the Kaystros River which silts up the harbor" (*IvE* 274; emphasis added).

¹⁸Note especially the inscription discussed by J. R. Harrison in *New Docs* 10:37–47 for an oracle inscription giving the ritual antidote to a grave plague from this date believed to be caused by a sorcerer.

This general historical sketch cautions us against importing later cultural practices and Roman influences directly into mid-first-century Ephesus, as is sometimes done in modern treatments of 1 Timothy 2. Pauline Ephesus must be understood from sources that are relevant to that period. As we will see, knowing the particulars of Ephesian institutions in the Pauline era plays an important role in understanding what Paul meant in his discussion of women in 1 Timothy 2.

Civic Institutions

A thorough presentation of all the institutions of Ephesus is not possible here, but in general, one must conclude from the abundant extant evidence (including an estimated six thousand recovered inscriptions) that Ephesus resembled other Hellenic city-states of the time with a fundamentally patriarchal social and political structure. However, as we will note below, some individual women rose to prominence in Ephesus, particularly in the second and third centuries (see the historical sketch above for possible reasons). But in the first century, based on our substantial evidence base, no women at all filled municipal magistracies (the *prytany* will be explained below), though a few did fill particular high-status priesthoods in the city and province. So the city is still best described as somewhat typically patriarchal.

The municipal organization of Ephesus formally resembled the Athenian democratic model, with the male citizen body (δῆμος) divided into tribes (φυλαί) comprising the state assembly (ἐκκλησία; see Acts 19:39).¹⁹ The municipal ruling body was the 450-member State Council (βουλή), which was presided over by the secretary of the people (ὁ γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου), familiar to us from Acts 19:35–40.²⁰ We know the names of scores of men who filled these magistracies and other civic functions (e.g., “market director” [ἀγορανόμος], “supervisor of the *gymnasia*” [γυμνασίουρχος], and “sheriff” [εἰρήναρχος]; cf. Mart. Pol. 6.2). From the first century, some of these men include Heraclides III (*IvE* 14); Tatianus (*IvE* 492); Tib. (i.e., Tiberius) Claudius Aristion (*IvE* 234–35 et

¹⁹ The secretary of the people addresses the mob in Acts 19 as though it is an ordinary meeting of the ἐκκλησία—“Gentlemen of Ephesus” (Ἄνδρες Ἐφέσιοι, vv. 35, 39).

²⁰ For an example of an Ephesian councilor who served nineteen consecutive years, see *IvE* 1017–35 (under Trajan and Hadrian). Roman officials like Pliny the Younger might deliberately limit councilors to “free men from the better class families (*honestorum hominum liberi*) than from the commoners (*plebs*)” (*Ep.* 10.79).

al.; Pliny, *Ep.* 6.31); C. Julius Didymus (*Neue Inschriften* IX, 120–21); Alexander Memnon, son of Artemidorus (*IvE* 261); and L. Cusinius (*IvE* 659B, 716, et al.). Either Alexander Memnon or L(ucius) Cusinius could possibly be the secretary of the people in Acts 19:35–40.

One group of some three hundred-plus members had extraconstitutional but real influence in Ephesus, the *gerousia* (γερουσία) or “Old Men’s Society.” The Romans thought of this group as similar to their Senate.²¹ There is no way of knowing its exact public role, but it was undoubtedly significant and represented the most powerful families in the city.²²

That central families of Ephesus controlled the city over generations should not surprise us, given the role of patronage, benefaction, and wealth in the patriarchal Greco-Roman world.²³ Let me illustrate this reality with a few sample individuals and the extent of their civic involvement and magistracies in Ephesus.

The first civic patron is probably the most famous: Tib. Claudius Aristion, who was asiarch (and high priest of Asia) three times (see Acts 19:31), secretary of the people, *prytanis* (see below), temple-guardian (*neocoros*), and *gymnasiarch* (*IvE* 234–35, 239, 424–25, 427, 508, 638, 1498, 3046, 5101, 5113).²⁴ His fame comes from being one of only two first-century men known to have appealed to Caesar (Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 6.31 [he was acquitted])—the other, of course, wrote 1 Timothy. Pliny the Younger calls Aristion “the leading man [*princeps*] of the Ephesians” but politically harmless. That is, he was no threat to Roman rule (see στάσις, “insurrection,” above).

The second man, Tib. Claudius Menander, shows family influence over several generations. Menander was known as both asiarch and high priest of the (imperial cult) temple in Ephesus (*IvE* 644A, 1023) possibly in the mid-first century. His son, Prorosius Phretorianus, was secretary of the people (*IvE* 27, 426, 1023–24, 4354), and his grandson

²¹ Both the Greek γερουσία and Latin *senatus* come from words meaning “old man” (cf. John 3:4).

²² The asiarchs—mentioned in Acts 19:31—were another, especially prominent group of men in Ephesus and other cities of Asia Minor with possibly a priestly role in the Provincial Union (κοινόν).

²³ Patronage in Rome was rather more formal than benefaction in the Greek world; cf. John Nicols (a former professor from whom I first learned about Rome), *Civic Patronage in the Roman Empire*, Mnemosyne Supplements: History and Archaeology of Classical Antiquity 365 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), and Claude Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities*, Oxford Classical Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

²⁴ The names Tib(erius) and Claudius indicate that Aristion probably became a Roman citizen under either Claudius or Nero (people took on the first two names of their Roman patron), while Aristion (or Aristio) is Greek and shows his Hellenic Ephesian heritage. The evidence for Aristion dates from around AD 90–115.

was Tib. Claudius Menander, the high priest who “executed his high priesthood in the honorable fashion of his family” (*IvE* 4354).²⁵ Later, as Roman rule became more secure in the area, we find these families having broader influence and connections. For example, the Asiarch Claudius Zeno boasted: “(My) great great grandfathers were Cl. Zeno the Asiarch of the temples (in Ephesus) and Cl. Salvius the Asiarch of the temples in Smyrna” (*IvE* 3072; cf. *IvE* 653, 810). Another relative of this Zeno and of Tib. Claudius Italicus (?) the asiarch and secretary of the people also had connections with Roman magistrates:

Son and descendant of High Priests, of a mother who was twice High Priestess, of Claudian ancestors Callicrates, Zeno, (and) Diogenes, Asiarchs of the temples in Ephesus; descendant of Julius Candidus (who was) twice Consul [in AD 86 and 105], Praefect of Rome; relative of many Consuls and Senators. (*IvE* 810; cf. *IvE* 266, 280, 643C)

Finally, we see the wealth of these men and their families through the sometimes exorbitant benefactions they lavished on the city. An example from around AD 100 to 116 is attested by T. Flavius Monanus, who held various positions (high priest of Asia, eparch of the craftsmen, *flamen Augusti*, etc.) and was honored because “he completed the theater[,] . . . he sponsored (gladiatorial) single-combats and hunts, he also sponsored a luncheon for the citizens and gave 3 den(arii) to each one[,] . . . and he added 75,000 (denarii) for the repair of the harbor” (*IvE* 2061).²⁶ These figures illustrate how men largely dominated the political and social scene in first-century Ephesus.

Religious Institutions

Although Artemis Ephesia dominated the public religion of her hometown, the Ephesians were ordinary Hellenic polytheists. The temples, altars, and dedications in Ephesus show that they were devoted to a full house of Greek deities as well as some imports. Familiar names include

²⁵ See the family tree given under *IvE* 1023.

²⁶ Cf. *IvE* 498, 2037, 2061–63. Montanus’s father might be T. Flavius Soter who honored his patron, an Augustan freedman (*IvE* 854). And his sister might be Flavia Lycia, a high priestess of Asia. The Vedii of *IvE* 697B, 728–29, 1017, et al., date to the second century but deserve special notice for the enormous size of their benefactions to the city during its high point in building expansions. I focused on those above because they lived closer in time to Paul.

Aphrodite, Apollo, Asclepius, Athena, Dionysus, Pluto, Poseidon, and Zeus. The latter appears as Zeus Keraunios, Zeus Ktesios, Zeus Polieus, Zeus Melichios, and Zeus Soter (cf. *IvE* 1201–71). The more esoteric cults include the mysteries of Demeter Karpophoros (“Fruit-Producer”), private house cults of Dionysus, the public cult of Dionysus “before the city,” and a cult of God Most High (“Theos Hypsistos”), whose appellation may or may not have come about through Jewish influence.

Some Ephesians also worshiped foreign deities, such as the Egyptian Isis, Serapis, Anubis (*IvE* 1213, 1231), and even the Phrygian Zeus Sabazios and mother goddess Meter. Some worshipers, covering all bases, dedicated their offerings “to all the gods and goddesses” (*Neue Inschriften* VIII, 131), and one scholar believes an altar dedicated “to all the Pantheon” represents true pantheism there.²⁷

The majority of these deities, even the goddesses, were served by male priests at Ephesus, which is a bit unusual, since “a priestess very commonly officiated for goddesses and a priest for gods” in Greek cults, according to the leading authority on ancient Greek religion.²⁸ For example, at Ephesus we find P. Rutelius Bassus Junianus, priest of Demeter Karpophoros (*IvE* 1210); Isidorus, son of Apollonis, son of Apollonis, priest of “Karpophoros Earth” (*IvE* 902) (different from Demeter Karpophoros); C. Sossianus, priest of Isis and Serapis (*IvE* 1213); Nic[ius?], priest of Theos Hypsistos (*IvE* 1235); Demetrius, son of Myndius, son of Nester, priest of Zeus Keraunios (*IvE* 1239); and a few named priests and unnamed priestesses of Dionysus (*IvE* 902, 1600–1601, et al.). See also priests of civic groups: priests of the council (*IvE* 941; *Neue Inschriften* XII, 22); a priest of the *ephebes* (*IvE* 836); and a priest of the *molpoi* (*IvE* 901, 3317).²⁹

THE ARTEMISIUM

Ephesus was not a temple-city like the oracular centers of Claros or Delphi, yet the worship of Artemis Ephesia dominated the city in many ways. The Artemisium itself was the largest building in the Greek world,

²⁷ Christoph Börker, “Eine pantheistische Weihung in Ephesos,” *ZPE* 41 (1981): 181–88.

²⁸ Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*, trans. John Raffan (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1985), 98.

²⁹ *Ephebes* is the name of an exclusive group of leading young men in their late teens in the Greek world who trained for military and civic leadership positions; the *molpoi* represents a guild of musicians.

about four times larger than the Athenian Parthenon.³⁰ It boasted 127 massive columns decorated with friezes. Its adornments by some of the most famous painters and sculptors of antiquity made it one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World (Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 16.213–14; 35.92–93; 36.95–97; Pausanias, *Descr.* 6.3.15–16). Hence its fame: “What man is there after all who does not know that the city of the Ephesians is guardian of the temple of the great Artemis?” (Acts 19:35). This sentiment is echoed later on an Ephesian stone: “Whereas the leader of our city, the goddess Artemis, is honored not only in her hometown—which she has caused to be honored more than all cities through her own divinity—among both Greeks as well as barbarians, so that her rites and precincts have been set up everywhere” (*IvE* 24B [AD 160]). The Artemisium’s tourist appeal brought “no small income” to the whole city, including the silversmith guild (Acts 19:24–27; cf. *IvE* 1578A). One ancient poet remarks about the Artemisium:

I have set eyes on the wall of lofty Babylon on which is a road for chariots, and the statue of Zeus by the Alpheus, and the hanging gardens, and the colossus of the Sun, and the huge labour of the high pyramids, and the vast tomb of Mausolus; but when I saw the house of Artemis that mounted to the clouds, those other marvels lost their brilliancy, and I said, “Lo, apart from Olympus, the Sun never looked on aught so grand.” (*Greek Anthology*, 9.58)

The Artemisium illustrates the intimate connection between the economic and the religious spheres of life at Ephesus. It was the city’s dominant economic power. The temple’s influence was especially felt in two areas: banking and landholding. As a bank and moneylender, the Artemisium was “the common treasury of Asia” (Aelius Aristides, *Or.* 23.24), holding in deposit “not alone money of the Ephesians but also of aliens and of people from all parts of the world, and in some cases states and kings” (Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 31.54). The extant boundary stones (*IvE* 3501–12) show that Artemis, as a landholder, owned extensive, rich farmlands in the Cayster River valley. A rough estimate

³⁰ The temple did not dominate the city’s skyline in Paul’s day, though, since it was situated about a mile (2 kilometers) from the city center. Ephesus had originally been located around the temple, but because the area was swampy, Lysimachus, a successor of Alexander the Great, forcibly moved the city to its current location.

shows her in possession of about 120 square miles of land, though she may well have owned more lands whose boundary markers have not yet been found.

THE TEMPLE HIERARCHY

Who held the actual reins of power over the considerable wealth and sway of the Artemisium? We know of sacred guilds that administered Artemis's various resources, but they were probably bureaucratic agencies that followed the policies of someone else.³¹ What we find is something entirely expected for a Hellenic city of the imperial era: civil magistrates exercised supreme control over the Artemisium, while Roman governors actively meddled in their affairs. We could substantiate this pattern in various ways, but the easiest is with one clear example deriving from the lifetime of Paul. The following is a portion of an AD 44 edict of the provincial proconsul Paullus Fabius Persicus, possibly at the personal direction of Claudius himself:

The temple of Artemis herself—which is an adornment to the whole province because of the magnificence of the building, the antiquity of the worship of the goddess, and the abundance of the incomes granted to the goddess by the Emperor [or, Augustus]—is being deprived of its proper revenues. These had been sufficient for the maintenance and for the adornment of the votive offerings, but they are being diverted for the illegal wants of the leaders of the *koinon*,³² according to what they consider will bring them profit. . . . While using the appearance of the divine temple as a pretext, they sell the priesthoods as if at public auction.³³ Indeed, they invite men of every

³¹ “The Sacred Rent (or Wage) Office” (*IvE* 1577A, 3050, et al.) probably administered leases on temple lands to peasant farmers and handled larger agricultural concerns. One such concern was represented by another bureau known variously as “Those Engaged in the Taste” (*IvE* 728), “The College of the Sacred Tasters” (*IvE* 2076), or more fully, “The College of the Sacred Wine Tasters,” an association engaged in the production and distribution of wine grown on the sacred soil of Artemis (so SEG 35, no. 1109). One sacred association of the Artemisium, the *ἱεροποιοί*, apparently owned its own land (*Neue Inschriften* IX, 118–19).

³² The term *κοινόν* in the singular normally refers to the provincial League of Asia, while the plural form (*κοινά*), used elsewhere in this inscription, corresponds to *res publica*, the city-state. Although it is uncertain whether these are precisely city or provincial officers, the same city magistrates were the ones who filled the provincial posts, so the distinction is not critical here. Cf. Baugh, “Paul and Ephesus,” 159–61.

³³ In the Greek world, individuals commonly made a “donation” for the honor of serving in various priesthoods, but this practice upset the sensibilities of the Romans, who preferred to grant and acquire priesthoods through patronage (e.g., Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 4.8, 10.14), which ensured that the “right sort” became priests. Perhaps among the “wrong sort” acquiring priesthoods of Artemis were freedmen like Domitian’s procurator, Tib. Claudius Clemens, who became a “trustee” (*neopoios*) of the Artemisium (*IvE* 853, 1812).

kind to their sale, then they do not select the most suitable men upon whose heads the crown would fittingly be placed. [Instead] they restrict incomes to those who are being consecrated to as [little] as they are willing to accept, in order that they themselves might appropriate as much as possible. (*IvE* 17–19)

This edict shows that the Roman government believed it held authority to regulate and oversee religious affairs in Ephesus as in other provincial cities.³⁴ Furthermore, the Persicus inscription demonstrates that officials in local government had direct control over access to the Artemisium's priesthood. The wedding between civic government officials and religious affairs was normal for Hellenic cities, where a magistrate usually fulfilled civic priestly duties as a part of his office. This is evidenced in Acts 19:35 when the secretary says that the city (i.e., through its magistrates and priests) was the "temple-guardian of the great goddess" (cf. *IvE* 647).

As implied in the Persicus edict, the "auctioning" of priestships of Artemis concerned "men" (ἄνθρωποι) who served as "priests" (ἱερεῖς) (*IvE* 18C.8, 12). Although these terms could be used generically, other inscriptions name men who served as "priests of Artemis" (see below for female priestesses). For example, C. Julius Atticus was "priest of Artemis Soteira (and) of the family of Caesar" (*IvE* 1265); Apollonius Politicus was "the priest of Artemis," who dedicated a local altar (*Neue Inschriften* IX, 120–21); and Servilius Bassus was "(priest) of Artemis" under Augustus (*IvE* 4337). An imperial freedman under Nero, C. Stertinus Orpex (whose daughter was a priestess of Artemis), says that he donated five thousand denarii "to the council of the Ephesians and to the priests" (*IvE* 4123). Also, a "priest of Artemis" figures prominently in Achilles Tatius's second-century romantic novel when the story's venue shifts to Ephesus (*Leucippe and Clitophon*, books 7–8).

³⁴Earlier Augustus had personally limited the boundaries of the asylum area of the Artemisium (Strabo, *Geogr.* 14.1.23; Cassius Dio, *Rom. Hist.* 51.20.6). The following points offer further evidence that Rome oversaw Ephesian religion: (1) The city petitioned Roman proconsuls for permission (a) to perform mysteries "to Demeter Karpophoros and Thesmophoros and the divine emperors . . . with all sanctity and lawful customs" (*IvE* 213 [AD 88–89]), and (b) to carry on festivals throughout the month of Artemision in honor of Artemis (*IvE* 24 [AD 162–64]). (2) The municipality and temple establishment placed themselves under the patronage of individual Romans: "Lucius Antonius son of Marcus (a brother of Mark Antony) . . . patron (πάτρων) and benefactor of Artemis and of the city" (*IvE* 614A [ca. 49 BC]), and Marcus Messalla Corvinus, a prominent figure under Augustus (*Neue Inschriften* XII, 18).

The next group of sacred officers, the *κουρήτες* (“young men” or “young warriors”; LSJ), were highly connected men (often brothers serving together) involved with the cult of Artemis, especially in an annual ceremony reenacting the myth of Artemis’s birth (Strabo, *Geogr.* 14.1.2).³⁵ The surviving epigraphs from the period offer extensive information on the *kourētes* (*IvE* 1001–57 et al.) and list the names of the annual *kourētes* each year during the imperial period. We know from these records that six to nine men served in any year, many of whom also served on the Ephesian city council (βουλή). For example, here are two of the lists:

In the *prytany* of Publius Veditus son of Publius Quirina (tribe) Antoninus. The *kouretes* pious and emperor-loyal were: P. Cornelius Liberarius, P. Cornelius Cornelianus, Lucius Stadius Quartus, P. Veditus Olympicus, P. Veditus Diadumenus, P. Veditus Atimetus. Myndicios the city-councilor was hierophant. Theudas was sacred herald. Atticus was incense-bearer. Trophimus was flute-player at the drink offering. (*IvE* 1016 [AD 95–96])

(In the *prytany* of) Tib. Claudius son of Tiberius Quirina (tribe) Romulus the emperor-loyal priest for life. The *kouretes* pious and emperor-loyal, all city councilors (βουλευταί) were: M. Pompeius Damonicus, Tib. Claudius Capito, C. Numicius Peregrinus, Tib. Claudius Claudianus, Alexander, son of Alexander, the *ephebarch*, Ephesius, son of Aristonicus. The sacred assistants were P. Cor(nelius) Aristo, [victim inspector and city councilor]. Myndicios was hierophant and city councilor. Epikrates was sacred herald. Atticus was incense bearer. Trophimus, was flute player at the drink offering. (*IvE* 1020 [AD 100–103])

Another group associated with the Artemisium were the *neopoioi*, who functioned as something like a board of trustees for temple property (*IvE* 27, 1570–90b, 2212, et al.).³⁶ We know that the *neopoioi* held office for a term and that the office involved significant financial

³⁵ See the now extensive treatment of the *kourētes* in Rogers, *The Mysteries of Artemis*.

³⁶ Since the discovery of an inscription mentioning a first-century *neopoios* named Demetrius (*IvE* 1578A), it has been debated whether this might be the silversmith of Acts 19. A first-century silversmith, M. Antonius Hermias, served as *neopoios* (*IvE* 2212), so it remains possible, though not proven. See Horsley, *New Docs*, 4:7–10, 127–29.

commitment since many *neopoioi* claimed that they were “voluntary” and served “generously.”³⁷

The sacred office of *essene* (ἐσσην) is of interest to New Testament scholars for its associations with the community at Qumran (which produced what we today call the Dead Sea Scrolls). In the pre-Roman era, *essenae* appeared alongside the *neopoioi* as those charged with inscribing decrees of enfranchisement of new citizens in the Artemisium. In the imperial period, however, the Ephesian *essenae* held an annual priesthood with duties in cultic rites requiring chastity (even if married) and other kinds of ritual purity during their term of office (Pausanias, *Descr.* 8.13.1). Here are two examples:

To Good Fortune. I give thanks to you, Lady Artemis. C. Scaptius Frontinus, *neopoios*, city councilor, along with my wife, Herennia Autronia. I completed a term as *essene* [ἐσσηνεύσας] purely and piously. The drink offering was performed by Theopompos III [great-grandson] of Menecrates, the votary. (*IvE* 1578B [first or second century AD])

In the year of the chief staff bearer, M. Aurelius Poseidonius. I give thanks to you, Lady Artemis. Aur. Niconianus Eucarpus son of Agathemerus, voluntary *neopoios*, *chrysophorus*, member of the *gerousia*, and *gymnasiarch* of the *gerousia*, in that I piously and generously fulfilled two terms as *essene*. (*Neue Inschriften* IX, 120)

The inscriptions signify the purity requirement by various forms of the phrase “completed my term as *essene* purely [ἄγνῶς],” and the financial obligations of the office are indicated by their having served “generously.”

A number of other minor guilds and groups associated with the Artemisium were active that do not need elaboration here.³⁸ The men who filled these posts and the other major offices discussed were fully

³⁷For instance: “The loyal C. Mindius Hegymenus, who served as *decemprimus*, *ephebarch* with distinction, harbor master, superintendent of education, and as voluntary *neopoios* piously and generously, the father of Mindia Stratonike Hegymene, high priestess of Asia of the temples in Ephesus and *theoros* of the Great Olympiad, and of Mindia Soteris Agrippine, priestess of lady Artemis, the grandfather of a sacred herald [broken off]” (*Neue Inschriften* IX, 125). The *decemprimus* (δεκάπρωτος) was probably a financial officer of the Artemisium; cf. SEG 38, no. 1181.

³⁸For example, sacred victors (ιερονεϊκται) of the games in honor of Artemis were supported after their victories as “votaries” (ιεροί) of the goddess (*IvE* 18, line 22; 17, lines 46–50) and may also have been called “crown bearers” (χρυσοφόροι).

involved in the civic life of Ephesus. Many of them discharged a variety of sacred and civil offices during their lifetimes or served subsequent years in the same offices.³⁹

In other treatments of the Artemis hierarchy, one figure frequently draws primary, if not sole, attention: a supposed eunuch priest called the *megabyzos*. The fact is that this word never appears in the abundant physical remains from Ephesus. We know the term from the first-century BC author Strabo (*Geogr.* 14.1.23), who reported it as something from the past.⁴⁰ One scholar believes that no such priesthood ever existed but that the term is a corrupted form of an Ephesian priest's personal name from the Persian period.⁴¹ In any case, the whole notion of a *megabyzos* eunuch priest is irrelevant for Pauline Ephesus and will accordingly draw no more notice.

To this point, we have presented only men in politics and religion at Ephesus, and we have seen them filling the principal positions typical of a Greco-Roman patriarchal society. However, we have not yet discussed Ephesian women, whose lives and activity bear on our understanding of the women in 1 Timothy 2:9–15. What were their roles in Ephesus? Since some did play a part in Ephesian public life, we must now give them due attention. But first, some general remarks about women in antiquity may be helpful.

Women in Antiquity

A number of scholars have treated the changing legal and, in some cases, social status of women in the Roman world.⁴² Some scholars

³⁹Here are two examples: "The most sacred association of *neopoioi* of our lady, the goddess Artemis, have honored the loyal Cornelius Gamus, high councilor, general, sheriff, *neopoios*, *decemprimus*, twice secretary (of the people), *chrysophorus*, superintendent of education [*paidonomon*] [broken off]" (*Neue Inschriften* IX, 121–22); and, "I give you thanks, Lady Artemis. Metrodorus Damas Jr., grandson of Alexas, Teios tribe, Eurypompios division; I completed a term as *neopoios* piously and [two as *es*] *sene*, (I dedicate this) with my three children, and [my w]ife, and brother" (*IvE* 1588).

⁴⁰The only epigraphical reference to *megabyzoi* occurs in two connected honorary inscriptions from Priene from 334–33 BC (*IvPr* 3, 231).

⁴¹James O. Smith, "The High Priests of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus," in *Cybele, Attis, and Related Cults: Essays in Memory of M. J. Vermaseren* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 323–35; cf. Lynn LiDonnici, "The Ephesian Megabyzos Priesthood and Religious Diplomacy at the End of the Classical Period," *Religion* 29 (1999): 201–14.

⁴²In addition to the several general treatments and collections of sample sources for women in ancient Greco-Roman society cited in earlier versions of this essay, we can add Susan Dixon, *Reading Roman Women: Sources, Genres and Real Life* (London: Duckworth, 2001); Bonnie MacLachlan, *Women in Ancient Greece: A Sourcebook*, Bloomsbury Sources in Ancient History (London: Continuum, 2012); Sharon L. James and Sheila Dillon, eds., *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World* (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012); and Bonnie MacLachlan, *Women in Ancient Rome: A Sourcebook*, Bloomsbury Sources in Ancient History (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013).

have assumed that this development in Rome influenced Ephesian society.⁴³ While Rome undoubtedly had an eventual effect on Ephesian social structures as its influence grew in this city, we must beware of assuming too much for the Neronian period relevant for 1 Timothy, as noted above. Despite generally good treatments, it is still worthwhile to sketch out briefly some specifics about girls and women in Ephesus from a close reading of the primary sources to get perspective since the teaching in 1 Timothy 2:9–15 relates directly to them.

First, note that a girl became a woman very early in the Greco-Roman world: she was usually betrothed and married in her early teens.⁴⁴ For instance, Julia the Elder (39 BC–AD 14), the daughter of Augustus, was first betrothed at age two (her husband-to-be was later executed) and married for the first time at age fourteen, which is a good ballpark figure for the average age of marriage for girls in Pauline-era Ephesus. Hence, while in the modern world we think of grandmothers in their fifties and older, in antiquity women would often become grandmothers in their thirties. See, for example, the grave memorial of Claudia Magna, wife of Tib. Claudius Diognetos, who was honored by her grandchildren sometime around the Pauline period. We are told that this grandmother lived thirty-eight years, two months, and four hours (*IvE* 1636).

Second, since an estimated 50 percent of children in the first century died by age six, girls who made it past that age could expect to live only to their mid-twenties or thirties (men might, on average, live a decade longer).⁴⁵ Two primary reasons explain early female mortality. First, the ancient diet generally lacked iron, which led to anemia and resulting miscarriages (cf. Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 8.10) or to diseases such as pneumonia, bronchitis, and emphysema that hit women hardest during

⁴³ E.g., Winter assumes this throughout his work, *Roman Wives*, as noted above.

⁴⁴ This is discussed with references to the literature in S. M. Baugh, “Marriage and Family in Ancient Greek Society,” in *Marriage and Family in the Biblical World*, ed. Ken M. Campbell (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2003), 103–31. See especially other essays for the New Testament period in this volume by Susan Treggiari on Rome (chap. 4) and David Chapman on Second Temple Judaism (chap. 5). See also Arnold A. Leis, William A. Percy, and Beert C. Verstraete, *The Age of Marriage in Ancient Rome*, *Studies in Classics* 26 (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2003).

⁴⁵ Some women (and men) lived much longer, of course, but early mortality was the norm. For instance, *IvE* 2240A (in Latin) honors a man who lived to eighty-six years. Yet contrast him with an unknown young woman (the stone is broken) who lived nineteen years and nineteen days “with decorum” (κοσμίως; *IvE* 2560; cf. 1 Tim. 2:9). Hence the widow who reached sixty years of age in 1 Tim. 5:9 would have outlived most of her children and other near relatives. We find some poignant epigraphical witnesses to infant mortality on Ephesian funerary memorials: Eppia, infant daughter (νηπρία) of Marcus (*IvE* 1639); Herakleides, who lived eighteen months, twenty-four days, and five hours (*IvE* 2268); Hero, who lived four years (*IvE* 2269); and Statonike, six years (*IvE* 2104).

menstruation and pregnancy.⁴⁶ The second reason for women's early mortality is related to the first: women in antiquity commonly died during or shortly after childbirth.

A few inscriptions may witness to the tragic event of mother and child dying together. For example, "Eutyches made [this memorial] for his wife, Germana and child, they live" (*Neue Inschriften* XII, 42). In this case, the child probably died with his or her mother in childbirth before he or she could receive a name, whereas in *IvE* 1653, Flavia Tation and her son (τέκνον), named Tatianus, probably died together due to complications from childbirth rather than during childbirth itself, since the infant boy apparently lived long enough (a few days or weeks?) to be given a name.

Hence, in antiquity the term *woman* (γυνή) typically referred to a female who was married and might be a thirty-five-year-old grandmother but might also be a fifteen-year-old mother who had just given birth to her first child (with a husband who might be five to thirty years her senior).⁴⁷ Thus when I talk below about some "girls" who were honored on the inscriptions of Ephesus, normally their fathers and/or mothers identified them as such, not their husbands. In other words, this term would generally indicate that such a "girl" (Greek κόρη [Ionic, κούρη], παιδίσκη, or παρθένος [also "virgin"]) was unmarried and was in the age range of, say, ten to fourteen years old. Some exceptions occurred, but this is the normal way ancient historians read the extant evidence for women's lives.

A further ancient reality to keep in mind is that there would have been a sharp distinction between the lives of women in cities such as Ephesus and those who lived in rural areas. Life in the outlying hamlets and villages looked much different than in the cities, and the rural

⁴⁶ Food shortage in general was a perennial problem in the Greco-Roman world (see above) and would have especially affected poor women and children. Furthermore, water in a city such as Ephesus (which was fed through open aqueducts and lead pipes) was probably permeated with untold contaminants. An inscription from Ephesus bears witness to this problem (*IvE* 3217 [AD 113/14]): the Roman governor threatened the populace with a heavy fine because some people were apparently breaking holes in the water supply pipes that ran through their property and pouring into them "all manner of disgusting things" (πολλά ἄτοπα).

⁴⁷ See Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Xenophon Oeconomicus: A Social and Historical Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) 259–64, for both the literary wife of Ischomachus in Xenophon's work and for the historical Chrysilla, wife of a known Ischomachus of the day, who reportedly had a daughter when she was around fifteen years old. Furthermore, we encounter marriage of uncle to niece from time to time in the ancient world; e.g., the Emperor Claudius to his niece, Agrippina, and two cases in Apollodorus (Pseudo-Demos-thenes), *Against Neaera*. See Baugh, "Marriage and Family," 105–10.

people easily comprised a majority of the total population in antiquity. Furthermore, slaves made up a high proportion of the urban population in antiquity, and they lacked any sort of legal rights or social position. The purchase of female (and some male) slaves merely for sexual exploitation was common in the ancient Greco-Roman world, so any discussion of women's social status in Christian communities must recognize, though exclude, these people who were sometimes dehumanized mercilessly in society—but not in Christ's church!

Women in Ephesus

To this point, I have stressed the public role of men and the limitations on the lives of girls and women in the first century. Are we left, then, with the position that “the opinion Thucydides imputes to Pericles reflects the ancient world's prevailing view of women: the less said about them the better”?⁴⁸ Were Ephesian women locked in their homes by jealous and severe patriarchs? And is it correct to say that “old-fashioned women proved their modesty by going out as little as possible and never showing themselves in public without a partial veil”?⁴⁹ The answer is a qualified *no*. One piece of data ancient historians often overlook is the New Testament itself, where women are portrayed as participating in the church's assemblies. While many Greco-Roman moralists spoke to men about their wives and daughters, Paul spoke directly to women (as well as to children and to slaves).⁵⁰ Even in pagan Ephesian (and provincial) worship, women (and girls) were also participants and priestesses.

It is true that women appear only rarely in the epigraphical remains from Ephesus. Normally the city's patrons do not mention their wives at all; if they do, it is something like: “P. Hordeonius Lollianus *with*

⁴⁸Pauline Schmitt Pantel, “Representations of Women,” in *A History of Women in the West*, vol. 1, *From Ancient Goddesses to Christian Saints*, ed. Pauline Schmitt Pantel, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1992), 2; cf. Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War* 2.44; Plutarch, *De mulierum virtutes* (Mor. 242E–F). Cf. Xenophon, *Oec.* 3.12:

Socrates: “Is there anyone to whom you commit more affairs of importance than you commit to your wife?”

Critobulus: “There is not.”

Socrates: “Is there anyone with whom you talk less?”

Critobulus: “There are few or none, I confess.”

⁴⁹Paul Veyne, “The Roman Empire,” in *A History of Private Life*, vol. 1, *From Pagan Rome to Byzantium*, ed. Paul Veyne, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 73.

⁵⁰See my comments on Eph. 5:22–6:9 in my forthcoming Ephesians commentary in the Evangelical Exegetical Commentary series (Logos Bible Software).

wife” (*IvE* 20; emphasis added). Wives do occasionally appear by name on Ephesian stones, although frequently as models of classical female virtues, particularly “modesty” or “prudence” (the term that appears in 1 Tim. 2:9, 15).⁵¹ For example, Laevia Paula (AD 16–37) was given this eulogy at her funeral procession: “The state council and people crown Laevia L. f. Paula, who lived a modest and decorous life [σώφρονα καὶ κόσμιον ζήσασαν βίον]” (*IvE* 614B). It is clear from comparing her memorial with that of her husband—M. Antonius Albus, “the patron [προστάτης] of the temple of Artemis and of the city” (*IvE* 614C)—that Laevia was honored together with her husband, the benefactor of the city. Women could act as benefactors of Greco-Roman cities (see below), but they often appear because of their husbands.⁵²

Nevertheless, Ephesian women and girls do appear in some official capacities, not just as the honorably mentioned wives of patriarchs and patrons. Upon examination, we find a few first-century women filling one or more of three municipal sacred offices: priestess of Artemis, *kosmeteira*, and *prytanis* (the number of women in these offices increases in the following two centuries).⁵³

Priestesses of Artemis

It should come as no surprise to find girls and women serving as priestesses at Ephesus. In fact, women held a variety of priesthoods and other functions in state cults throughout the Greco-Roman world. The

⁵¹ The noun σώφροσύνη can also mean “good judgment,” “moderation,” “self-control,” “decency, chastity” (BDAG; LSJ). This term and its cognates appear very commonly in the ancient world as a distinctive virtue for women as well as for men.

⁵² An even more pointed illustration of the value placed on female modesty at Ephesus is demonstrated in this honorary inscription of unknown date: “[Heraclides Didymus] . . . [unknown office] of Artemis and was benefactor of the people because of his personal, universal excellence, his piety toward Artemis, his acumen and trustworthiness in learning, and his goodwill toward the people. [Ammion, daughter of Perigenus,] wife of Heraclides Didymus son of Menis [was honored] because of her personal modesty [σωφροσύνη] and because of the goodwill of her husband, Heraclides, toward the demos” (*IvE* 683A; lacunae supplied from *IvE* 683B). This inscription explicitly states that Ammion received honorable mention because of her husband’s public benefactions; praise for her consists of the stock expression of “modesty.”

See also a grave inscription from Prusias-on-Hypius (Bithynia), where “Aur(elia) Chrestiniane Rufina, known as Himeris, was the modest and husband-honoring wife [ἡ σώφρων καὶ φιλανδρος γυνή] of the silversmith Aur(elius) Socratianos Pasikrates, she lived a decorous [κοσμίως] life for 31 years” (*IvPrusias* 89). The editor calls the phrase in question “eine typische Formulierung für eine Frau” and cites other examples.

⁵³ A few Ephesians served as priestesses of Leto, Athena, and other gods (e.g., *IvE* 4107; *Neue Inschriften* IX, 142–43); cf. honors for a Magnesian woman who was “priestess also of Demeter in Ephesus” (*IvM* 158). Women also appear as “envoys” (θεωροί) to the Ephesian “Olympic games” (e.g., *IvE* 891–96). The *theomros*, often a priestess, represented the state’s matrons at the sacred games as at Olympia (Pausanias, *Descr.* 2.20.8–9); cf. H. Engelmann, “Zu Inschriften aus Ephesos,” *ZPE* 26 (1977): 154–55. The high priestesses in the provincial imperial cult represent a generally more important priesthood held by women, but I omit it here simply because of space constraints and my focus on Ephesian municipal offices.

ancients thought it especially fitting for a priestess to serve goddesses in the same way that they thought it fitting to offer sacrifices of female animals to female deities. Furthermore, Greek women regularly participated in state cults in a variety of ways regardless of the sex of the honoree. Women might garland or lustrate sacrificial victims (see Acts 14:13), play musical instruments, sing, shout a distinct cry (ὄλολυγή), chant, dance, pour libations, prepare sacred garments or sacrificial foods, bear water or sacred objects in processions, prophesy at the oracles, and so on.⁵⁴

While we do not know all the duties that the priestesses (and priests) of Artemis Ephesia performed, we can say with confidence that (as with other priesthoods in this period) monetary obligations were paramount. This is interesting because some (though not all) of the priestesses of Artemis were unmarried girls (see Vedia Marcia below). So to serve, girls needed to come from a family of some means. In fact, all Artemis priestesses were from wealthy families who served their goddess “circumspectly” (ἱεροπρεπῶς, *IvE* 987–88), “piously and with decorum” (εὐσεβῶς καὶ κοσμίως, *IvE* 3059), and “worthily of the goddess and of her family” (*Neue Inschriften* XIII, 160).⁵⁵ One girl-priestess, Ulpia Euodia Mudiane, daughter of Mudianus and Euodia, reveals the source of her benefactions when she says that she “performed the mysteries and made all expenses *through my parents*” (*IvE* 989, emphasis added).⁵⁶

Adding more details, two first-century (?) priestesses, Vipsania Olympias and her (adopted?) sister Vipsania Polla, “wreathed the temple and all its precincts in the days of the goddess’ manifestations,

⁵⁴See Johannes Quasten, *Music and Worship in Pagan and Christian Antiquity*, trans. B. Ramsey (Washington, DC: National Association of Pastoral Musicians, 1983), 1–31, esp. 17, where two female flutists and two veiled girls appear on the pedestal of a statuette of Artemis Ephesia in Rome. Quasten interprets the scene as an incense offering. Note also that men were excluded from certain mystic rituals, such as the Thesmophoria festival celebrated in many Hellenic cities, including Ephesus. See the parody by Aristophanes (*Thesmophoriazuseae*); cf. “Thesmophoria,” *OCD*, 1465–66; and Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 242–46.

⁵⁵Hence, the modern myth that these were sacred prostitutes should be dropped once and for all; there was no sacred prostitution in the Greco-Roman world. Cf. S. M. Baugh, “Cult Prostitution in New Testament Ephesus: A Reappraisal,” *JETS* 42, no. 3 (1999): 443–60. Stephanie Budin states the matter even more categorically in her recent monograph: “Sacred prostitution never existed in the ancient Near East or Mediterranean.” Stephanie Lynn Budin, *The Myth of Sacred Prostitution in Antiquity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 1.

⁵⁶*IvE* 3072 (ca. AD 270) is a lengthy memorial for “the most missed daughter” of Vedius Servilius Gaius, who similarly “fulfilled the mysteries through her father Gaius.” It is uncertain whether she was a *prytanis* (below) or priestess of Artemis (especially since the Artemisium was sacked a few years earlier, if the date is accurate). In a similar case, the *prytanis* and *gymnasiarch* Ploutarchos inscribed a prayer to Hestia and Artemis on behalf of his children, “priestesses of Artemis” (*IvE* 1068).

making the public sacrifices and the distributions (of money) to the council and *gerousia*” (*IvE* 987–88). Another priestess “(made) all the distributions of her priesthood” (*IvE* 997), while the priestess Flavia Chrysanthe “fulfilled the myster[ies] generously” (*Neue Inschriften* IX, 123). Apparently, the state council itself set the requisite donations and generosity for priestesses of Artemis, since another stone reads: “[name lost] served as priestess of Artemis piously and generously . . . and gave five thousand denarii to the city *in accordance with the state council’s measure*” (*Neue Inschriften* XI, 8, 176 [ca. AD 165]; emphasis added).⁵⁷ We may suppose that the definition of “pious” priestly service at least partly included serving “generously.” And note again how the Ephesian state council (βουλή) was involved directly in the affairs of Artemis worship.

Another of the priestesses’ duties beyond financial underwriting of the cult is suggested by the associated title *kosmeteira* (“adorner”), often held concurrently by an Artemis priestess (*IvE* 892, 983–84, 989, *passim*). The etymology of this title suggests a duty connected with adorning the cult statue of Artemis with clothing and ornaments, which was common in the Greek world. We find clear evidence for this practice with Artemis Ephesia in the presentation of robes to the goddess according to ancestral practice (*IvE* 2). See also this inscription:

When Fl(avius) Perigenes was *prytanis*, Vedia Papiane was priestess of Athena for life, T. Fl(avius) Julianus was secretary of the people, when the fullers and whiteners of the goddess Artemis were in charge, (the following) boys and girls [παῖδες καὶ παρθένοι] presented the adornment [τὸν κόσμον] to the goddess [there follows a list naming eight boys, no girls]. (*Neue Inschriften* IX, 142–43)⁵⁸

Therefore, the role of the priestess and *kosmeteira* may have involved providing sacred adornments for Artemis similar to the role of the girls

⁵⁷ Note that this inscription is dated circa the time period of the Antonine plague discussed above, when benefactions to the city would have been at a premium.

⁵⁸ See also the inscription from *New Docs* 10:37–47 noted above at the time of the Antonine plague (AD 165/66), which mentions use of hymns (ὕμνοις) and the dancing of “girls” (κοῦραι) and “boys” (παῖδες) for worship of the girl-goddess (κοῦρη) and virgin (παρθένος) Artemis Ephesia. Vedia Papiane (along with her sister Vedia Phaedrina), in the inscription cited above, was the great grandniece (through adoption) of Vedia Marcia discussed below (cf. *IvE* 46–47, 732A). The Vedium family became the most famous in Ephesus and left their marks on many dozens of inscriptions.

and older priestesses who made and presented an ornate new robe (*peplos*) to Athena during the Athenian Panathenaia.⁵⁹

Prytanis

"I give thanks to Mistress Hestia and to all the gods," wrote the *prytanis* Aurelia Juliane, daughter of Paparion, "for they returned me safe and sound to my parents" (*IvE* 1066). In other Greek states, the *prytany* was a high-ranking executive magistracy of the state council, often the office whose annual incumbent's name dated state documents.⁶⁰ The pre-imperial Ephesian *prytany* possibly had this eponymous, magisterial character (cf. *IvE* 9), but by the time Aurelia Juliane and other men, women, and girls served as *prytaneis*, the Ephesian office had changed.

For some reason, after the reign of Augustus when the new *prytaneion* was built, the Ephesian *prytany* became a subordinate priesthood of Hestia of the Council (Hestia Boulaia), the flame goddess of the hearth. In a Greek οἶκος, keeping the hearth fire burning was a critical task, and worship of Hestia as the eternal flame symbolized the family's continuity, health, and dependence on the gods for its basic needs, among which fire was the most important.⁶¹ The cult of Hestia in the city's *prytaneion* was simply an extrapolation from the *oikos*: "The fire cult, then, proceeding from a necessary task in daily life, became a symbol for political unity embracing numerous families. . . . This cult of Hestia was thus a clear indication that the whole city was actually a single, big family."⁶²

In the Greek οἶκος, a young girl tended the hearth fire, so it was natural for a girl to serve Hestia Boulaia at the city's hearth as well. This is precisely the case with Aurelia Juliane, who "returned to her parents" after her term of office. Like some of the priestesses of Artemis, some *prytaneis* were prepubescent girl-priestesses whose wealthy

⁵⁹ See "Panathenaia," *OCD*, 1073.

⁶⁰ I.e., the "eponymous" office. See the series by Robert K. Sherck, "Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities, I-V," *ZPE* 83 (1990): 249-88; 84 (1990): 231-95; 88 (1991): 225-60; 93 (1992): 223-72; 96 (1993): 267-95. On the Greek *prytany*, see "Prytaneis" in *OCD*, 1231-32.

⁶¹ The centrality of fire is symbolized in Greek mythology when Prometheus tricked Zeus by clandestinely giving fire to men and raising them above the brutes. In wrathful response, Zeus created a "beautiful, evil" (καλὸν κακόν) woman, Pandora (Hesiod, *Theog.* 562-612). Hestia herself was represented as "immortal flame" and "ever-maiden" (ἀειπαρθένος) (*IvE* 1063-64) and corresponds to the Roman Vesta.

⁶² Reinhold Merkelbach, "Der Kult der Hestia im Prytaneion der Griechischen Städte," *ZPE* 37 (1980): 77-92; quote from 79.

families acquired the honor for their daughters.⁶³ Men, women, and possibly young boys served as *prytaneis* in Ephesus as well.

The specific duties of the Ephesian *prytany* in the imperial era primarily involved significant monetary expenditures.⁶⁴ The clearest evidence of this requirement is found in a long inscription from the late second or early third century AD summarizing an “ancestral law” regulating the *prytanis*’s duties (*IvE* 10).⁶⁵ The cultic duties included lighting the altar fires; making incense and herb offerings; and participating in paeans, processions, night festivals, and daily animal sacrifices. The inscription explicitly says that the *prytanis* paid the bill “out of his private resources.” Furthermore, the regulations of *IvE* 10 put the *prytanis*’s activities under the oversight of a hierophant, who ensured that all was done according to “ancestral custom” (πάτριος νόμος). (He received “the head, tongue, and hide” from sacrificial animals as his due portion.) The inscription specified a fine for the negligent *prytanis*: “the *kouretes* and the hierophant are to make exaction for failure to attend to each particular point as specified.” The oversight of the *kouretes* and the hierophant was probably needed if the *prytaneis* of that year were too young to keep up with all the duties.

A Sample Priestess

In recent years, several scholars have written articles in support of women holding “positions of power and authority within Roman imperial Ephesos.”⁶⁶ Let me stress here that the work done by Rosalinde Kearsley and Steven Friesen in particular on this subject has added important perspective for the lives of females in Asia Minor in the imperial period.⁶⁷ Kearsley’s essay on two women (from Corinth and Chios)

⁶³ Cf. Merkelbach, “Kult der Hestia,” 80. One epigraphical example, which is fairly broken (see the editors’ note for reconstruction from *IvE* 987), reads: “. . . [a female] performed the public sacrifices and likewise made the distributions [to the council] and to the *gerousia* from the sacrifices and to the temple household and to the sacred victors of games for Artemis, [expended?] her private [denarii?] on account of the generosity [τῶς φιλοδοξίας] of her father for the *prytany* and [gymnasi]archy and all the other phil[anthropic . . .]” (*Neue Inschriften* XII, 21). This girl-*prytanis* and *gymnasiarch* may never have set foot in a gymnasium (cf. “Gymnasiarch,” *OCD*, 638). In *IvE* 650, a mother “undertook the *prytany* on behalf of her son from her funds”; the *prytanis* was either dead or too young to serve himself (cf. *IvE* 4339).

⁶⁴ Cf. *IvE* 1064, the *prytanis* Tullia spent her own funds lavishly. Similarly, an imperial freedman under Augustus, C. Julius Nicephorus, contributed heavily to games and sacrifices at Ephesus. His generosity probably explains how someone of former servile status could become a “*prytanis* for life” (*IvE* 859, 859A).

⁶⁵ Translated with brief comments by A. L. Connolly in *New Docs* 4:106–7.

⁶⁶ Rogers, *Mysteries of Artemis*, 424–25n66.

⁶⁷ Steven Friesen, “Ephesian Women and Men in Public Religious Office in the Roman Period,” in *100 Jahre österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos: Akten des Symposions Wien 1995*, ed. Herwig Friesinger,

is especially helpful for understanding the probable role of Phoebe as patroness in the early church.

However, the unwary who do not read these helpful treatments in conjunction with all the historical evidence might gain the impression that ancient Ephesus was something like a modern liberal democracy or some fanciful gynocracy, when, in fact, it was an ancient patriarchal, historic Hellenic city under growing Roman influence in the Pauline period. Furthermore, a few statements in the literature need fine-tuning, and some even misread the evidence.⁶⁸ The discussion often revolves around “females” or “women,” but sometimes these “women” are probably unmarried females and therefore properly called “girls” (see above).⁶⁹ They were indeed given high honors with their names inscribed for all to see, but positions open to ten- to fourteen-year-old girls (and boys) did not hold the same social and political authority as held by the Ephesian state council, *gerousia*, or Roman governor. While some second- and third-century (older) women did indeed hold significant status and influence in these cities, it is doubtful that all the females in evidence did.

Let us look briefly at one example of how our evidence reads. From the inscriptions, we know of only a few Ephesian females with prominent sacred positions in the city in the first century. One appears on this inscription (*IvE* 1017) from AD 97–100, which reads as follows:

Friedrich Krinzing, Barbara Brandt, and Karl R. Krierer (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Science Press, 1999), 107–13; R. A. Kearsley, “Women in Public Life in the Roman East: Iunia Theodora, Claudia Metrodora and Phoebe, Benefactress of Paul,” *TynBul* 50, no. 2 (1999): 189–211; and Kearsley, “Women and Public Life in Imperial Asia Minor: Hellenistic Tradition and Augustan Ideology,” *Ancient West and East* 4, no. 1 (2005): 98–121.

⁶⁸ Rogers, for example, in his reference to female “power and authority” in Ephesus, says this: “In at least some cases (e.g., the priestess Aurelia, see *IE* 3059), there is no reference at all in the inscriptions to male members of the family of the priestesses who completed the mysteries” (Rogers, *Mysteries of Artemis*, 424n66). Here, however, is *IvE* 3059: “[. . . Aurelia . . . priestess of Artemis], who fulfilled her priesthood with piety and decorum, who renewed all the mysteries of the goddess, and who restored [them] by ancient custom, daughter of M[arcus] Aur[elius] Hierokles Apolinarius, the emperor-loving General, Marketplace Supervisor, Head of the Council, father of [the] priestess. . . .” The names “Aurelia” and “M. Aurelius” place the inscription after the AD 212 edict of the emperor Caracalla granting Roman citizenship to all free inhabitants of the empire (see above on the effects of the Antonine plague), and this priestess Aurelia (which is the editor’s speculation, deriving it from the father’s name) actually never appears without reference to a male. In a few other Ephesian inscriptions, a sole woman’s name appears but not in this one.

⁶⁹ Please note that there were also possibly married priestesses. For example, Auphidia Quintilia, “priestess [of Artemis] and high priestess [of Asia] of the temples in Ephesus,” paid for an honorary statue of her husband, “Tib. Claudius Aelius Crispus the *asiarch*, *agonothete* of the great Ephesian [games], secretary of the people, secretary of the state council, and all other liturgies” (*IvE* 637). We know that the priestesses Kallinoe and Hordeonia Paulina had sons (*IvE* 615A, 981; cf. 690) and were therefore probably married and older, but we cannot tell whether they had served their terms as priestesses before getting married or afterward.

In the *prytany* of Vedia Pu[blius's]
 daughter Marcia, priestess and h[ighpriest-]
 ess of Asia. [The following were] *kouretes* piou[s (and) emp]
 eror-devoted: C. Geminus Paulus, L. []
 Nicos, Bassus Me[n]jekles son of []
 etc. [the names of seven men follow].⁷⁰

The Greek of the first two lines reads: ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Οὐηδίας Πο[πλίου] | θυγατρὸς Μαρκίας (“In the *prytany* of Vedia Pu[blius's] | daughter Marcia”). The girl’s name is Vedia Marcia, but the word order and form of the name follows formal Latin, not Greek.⁷¹ We assume, then, that this is a prominent Italian family living in the city. They were perhaps connected with the Roman provincial administration or an Italian business group that ran a slave market in Ephesus (*IvE* 646). It is possible but not certain that the family was derived from P. Vedius Pollio (d. 15 BC), who was a well-known (and famously cruel) friend and agent of Augustus with financial duties in the province (cf. *IvE* 17; Seneca, *Ira* 3.40; Cassius Dio, *Rom. Hist.* 54.23).⁷² In either case, the Ephesian Vedii were to become probably the most prominent family in the city in the next century.

In the inscription above, Vedia Marcia is identified by her father’s name, which indicates that she still lived in her father’s house and was unmarried.⁷³ Now it is certainly possible that Vedia Marcia was past the normal age of marriage (i.e., older than twelve to fourteen years). But fathers, especially among the Roman elites, normally, if not always, arranged marriages, and it would be unusual for her not to be married

⁷⁰ Hoag mistakenly says that this inscription “celebrates the *eusebeia* of Vedia Marcia” when the *eusebeia* (“piety” hence “pious” in my translation) refers not to Vedia but to the (male) *kouretes* that comprise the list. “Decorum and Deeds,” 149n72.

⁷¹ In Latin the name would be listed as “Vedia P. f. Marcia,” where “P.” stands for “Publii” (“of Publius”) and “f.” stands for “filia” (“daughter”). The common Greek form would list the father’s (or husband’s) name after the female name and would normally omit “daughter” (θυγατήρ): Ἰομήδη Διφίλου, “Iomede [daughter] of Diphilos” (*IvE* 2272, with relief of a girl; cf. *IvE* 1002 for “Diphilos son of Diphilos son of Heliodoros”).

⁷² Cf. “Vedius Pollio, Publius,” *OCD*, 1537. For seven generations of Vedii in Ephesus descending from Vedia Marcia’s brother, P. Vedius Antoninus, see the impressive family tree after *IvE* 3077. Antoninus served in the Roman army and served both Ephesus as secretary of the people and the province as asiarch (*IvE* 429).

⁷³ If Vedia Marcia were married, she would normally be identified by her husband’s name as so: “Claudia Magna wife of Tiberius Claudius Diognetus” (*IvE* 1636). If Vedia Marcia were married and left off her husband’s name, it would be a grave insult to him in that society where honor and shame were paramount. She might still identify her illustrious father and other family connections, but this would normally appear in conjunction with her husband’s name.

if she were an older woman. Hence, we can safely assume that Vedia Marcia was a young girl. She might have been older, but the law of averages and the way our sources normally read support this conclusion.⁷⁴

In sum, the daughters and wives of some of the wealthy families in Ephesus held priesthoods in various cults (especially those with female divinities) under the general oversight of (male) provincial and municipal authorities. These offices were high honors and involved females in public service in ways that we should neither downplay nor overplay.⁷⁵ So Steven Friesen makes a compelling case that “public *leitourgiai* [‘services’ in offices and benefactions] became accessible to women for the first time” in the first century AD, yet then adds this crucial caveat: “[B]ut women never came close to equaling the number of men who held any of these positions.”⁷⁶ At the end of the day, we still need book-length studies of societal issues in Asia Minor and other provinces that evaluate and present balanced, detailed treatments of all the evidence. Some good progress has been made, but more work remains.

With this general Ephesian background, it is time to note some specifics that may illuminate 1 Timothy 2:9–15. The text itself can be divided into three sections: vv. 9–10 (hairstyles and adornments), vv. 11–12 (women teaching and having authority), and vv. 13–15 (creation offices and childbirth). I will treat the last section first, because it is the shortest, and then the first two in order.

Childbirth

Generally, Greeks had a variety of stories (myths) regarding the creation of the world and of the human race (which were not necessarily concurrent). The main ones revolved around Prometheus and Pandora.⁷⁷ I have found nothing to confirm (or deny) that the Ephesians specifically believed these stories. In early Ephesus, a number of philosophers were

⁷⁴For other priestesses of Artemis named by their parents and ancestors, see, for example, *IvE* 492, 508, 980–989A, 3059, 3072. For Vedia Marcia’s brother, P. Vedius Antoninus, as *prytanis* see *IvE* 1016 (and other Vedii as *kouretes*) cited above; thirty years later he adopted a son and was probably a young man or boy in the late AD 90s. That such young girls like Vedia Marcia could serve as priestesses of Artemis Ephesia fits Plutarch’s comparison of her priestesses with the Roman vestal virgins (*Mor.* 795D–E). Along with this, one broken inscription of a priestess of Artemis mentions that she came from a line of ancestors who served in the “virgin-office” (ἐκ παρθενῶν[ος]; *IvE* 990).

⁷⁵For example, the fact that both men and women occasionally refer to their ancestry from priestesses as a sign of noble descent indicates the priesthood’s honorary value (e.g., *IvE* 810, 933, 994, 4336).

⁷⁶Friesen, “Ephesian Women,” 111.

⁷⁷Cf. “Prometheus” and “Pandora” in *OCD*, 1217, 1073.

active, including the famous late first-century Pythagorean, Apollonius of Tyana (the subject of a fanciful biography by the sophist Flavius Philostratus a century later). But the Ephesians, who recorded their activities on their stones and in literary accounts, tended to be rather more pragmatic and interested in commerce and local politics than philosophy (yet see below). Most Ephesians probably gave little thought to the origin of the world (much like people today), and Paul's mention of Adam and Eve and the temptation and fall in 1 Timothy 2:13–14 required his Christian audience to know and accept Genesis as a source for the early history of the human race.

In 1 Timothy 2:15, however, Paul mentions salvation through “(the) childbearing” (ἡ τεκνογονία), which would have caught the attention of every Ephesian. As mentioned above, young women faced significant dangers in childbirth, particularly where diet, health problems, and the rudimentary medical skills of the time made pregnancy and childbirth a very real threat to the lives of both mother and baby. A recently discovered documentary reference evidences this concern when it relates a mother's deep relief that her daughter “escaped” (ἐκφεύγω) the ordeal of childbirth.⁷⁸

The fearful nature of the childbearing ordeal would have been exacerbated further for young mothers who experienced their first pregnancies in their midteens. For example, see the poignant letter of Pliny the Younger (AD 61–ca. 113) to his wife's grandfather after her miscarriage and nearly fatal consequences (*Ep.* 8.10). Pliny says that due to “the inexperience of her youth,” Calpurnia, his wife, did not realize that she was pregnant and seriously endangered her life by failing to take the proper precautions.⁷⁹ That young Christian mothers could rely on older women in the congregation for help and advice would have come as a godsend during such times (cf. Titus 2:3–5).

Women and Adornment

The epigraphical sources under review by their very nature refer to predominantly upper-class people. However, while women's names and deeds were never inscribed on stone, most women were much like those

⁷⁸ See S. R. Llewelyn, *New Docs* 9:57–58.

⁷⁹ Pliny was thirty-nine when he married his third wife, Calpurnia, who was fourteen or possibly younger.

encountered anywhere else at the time: wives, mothers, and midwives; farmers, fullers, and fishmongers; scullery maids, bar girls, and prostitutes; mediums, fortunetellers, and slaves. But at least some women from the kind of wealthy circles that appear on inscriptions were also part of the Ephesian congregation. It took some amount of leisure and wealth to adorn oneself “with braided hair and gold or pearls or costly attire” (1 Tim. 2:9 ESV), not least because specially trained slaves normally worked as hairstylists for their mistresses.⁸⁰

Greek hairstyles for women were, for the most part, simple affairs: hair was parted in the middle, pinned simply in the back or held in place with a scarf or a headband. Women normally wore a “veil” a few inches back from the forehead and falling down toward the back like long hair. An abundance of statues and reliefs representing girls, women, and goddesses with this simple hairstyle survive from the Hellenic world, including Ephesus.⁸¹ Sometimes, having loose, uncombed, or cut hair was a sign of mourning; other times, it portrayed lascivious worship of Dionysus (Bacchus). Plutarch notes in relation to the former:

Why do sons cover their heads when they escort their parents to the grave, while daughters go with uncovered heads and hair unbound? [γυμναῖς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς καὶ ταῖς κόμαις λελυμέναις]. . . . [He mentions various proposed answers.] Or is it that the unusual is proper in mourning, and it is more usual for women to go forth in public with their heads covered and men with their heads uncovered? So in Greece, whenever any misfortune comes, the women cut off their hair and the men let it grow, for it is usual for men to have their hair cut and for women to let it grow. (Plutarch, *Quaest. rom.* 14 [Mor. 267A–B])

Like the Greeks, Romans preferred simple coiffures until Augustus established the empire, when the women of the imperial household originated new styles. The empress Livia, wife of Augustus, had a distinctive hairstyle represented on two portrait busts found at Ephesus.⁸²

⁸⁰ These hairstylists were called *ornatrices* in Latin (Juvenal, *Sat.* 6). Wealthy women also wore wigs made from the shorn hair of rural slave girls (cf. 1 Cor. 11:6).

⁸¹ Although it was not built until some thirty years after Paul’s day, the Celsus Library shows these hairstyles on the female statues of personified “wisdom” and “virtue” (who is veiled). See also the mosaics and frescos and the statue of Artemis as the young huntress found in the Ephesian terrace houses.

⁸² Scherrer, *Ephesus*, 199 (fig. 2), 215 (fig. 2).

Her hair was parted in the middle with thick, wavy hair hugging the sides of her head. Just above her forehead stood a wide and prominent roll of hair that marked her look. Later, in what is now identified as the Flavian hairstyle (i.e., beginning in AD 69 and continuing into the next century), women had a quite distinctive coiffure with large curls built up in a prominent fan shape framing the top of the head. The peak of this fan of hair would rise quite high above the forehead.⁸³

By the Trajanic period, women's hairstyles had developed into elaborate curls, braids, high wigs, pins, and hair ornaments that were quickly copied by the well-to-do throughout the empire. One can even date representations of women by the increasing complexity of hair fashions.

If Roman styles seem a bit too far away to affect Ephesian fashions, consider that portraits of reigning empresses sometimes appeared on coins minted in Ephesus and other Asian cities and that prominent statues of the empresses were erected in both public and private places.⁸⁴ Portraits of provincial women from the era show that the imperial coiffures were copied in Ephesus and the other cities of Asia.⁸⁵

Although Paul's exhortation for women to "adorn themselves with modesty and humility [σωφροσύνη]" (1 Tim. 2:9) fits the expectations of either Greek or Roman society, the adornment of the hair "with braids and gold or with pearls" (cf. 1 Pet. 3:3–5) fits a new trend originating in Rome. Hence, Paul's teaching regarding elaborate hairstyles reflects the increasing influence of Roman empresses at Ephesus during the unfolding first century AD. And Paul's skeptical response to this trend was due to his judgment that simplicity and modesty in dress befit pious women, not external extravagance. Furthermore, his reaction to women imitating the latest hairstyles should not shock us, since it was quite a new trend, really begun only a decade or so earlier, and

⁸³ For hairstyles during the earlier Pauline period, see especially two relief statues of Agrippina the Younger with rather simple braided hair in an early setting next to Claudius and with more elaborate and regal braids as she crowns the young Nero from Aphrodisias in Asia Minor. Kenan T. Erim, *Aphrodisias* (Istanbul: NET, 1993), 61, plate 85; 64, plate 91. Cf. R. R. R. Smith, *Roman Portrait Statuary from Aphrodisias* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006).

⁸⁴ See Jale Inan and Elisabeth Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor* (London: British Academy, 1966), for Asian portraits of Livia (plate VII), Octavia (plate VIII—very elaborate coiffure), and Agrippina the Elder and the Younger (plates XI–XII).

⁸⁵ For instance, the portrait of an Ephesian woman mirrors the hairstyle of Octavia and Livia; cf. Inan and Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture*, plate LXXXI, no. 140, and plates VII–VIII, nos. 11–12, and the remarks on p. 123. For another provincial woman with the same style, see plate LXIV, no. 109.

since it carried connotations of both imperial luxury and the infamous licentiousness of women like Messalina and Poppaea.⁸⁶ Today, it is the equivalent of warning Christians away from imitating styles set by promiscuous pop singers or actresses. How one dresses can often convey rebellious or ungodly messages whether intended or not.

Certainly, the most imaginative of the recent works on the historical background of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 is an essay by Gary Hoag on the passage in light of an ancient novel, the *Ephesiaca*, attributed to a Xenophon of Ephesus. For those who have never read this novel or others from antiquity, I might suggest Bryan Reardon's *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*; it is guaranteed pleasant reading.⁸⁷ These little pieces of "pulp fiction" are a combination of "Gothic" romance and soap opera spiced up with travel to exotic places (most of the *Ephesiaca* takes place outside of Ephesus, while the Alexandrian Achilles Tatius's *Clitophon and Leucippe* ends up there). Hoag may be interested to know that I once discussed the idea of using the *Ephesiaca* to illumine the historical situation of Ephesus with the late Professor Reardon, and, frankly, the very idea baffled him. The thought had never crossed his mind. A more modern equivalent would be the use of Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as an historical source for Elizabethan England. But the ancient historian cannot afford to eschew any source provided that it is interpreted carefully.⁸⁸

Hoag's essay tantalizes in some ways but misses an interesting possibility for interpreting the practice of sumptuous dress and coiffure in early church meetings. Hoag quotes the *Ephesiaca* opening in Ephesus where the young fourteen-year-old heroine, Anthia, marches at the head of a festival procession for Artemis Ephesia all decked out in the traditional costume of the tomboy huntress goddess. Hoag quotes this bit, "[A]ll the girls had to march sumptuously adorned . . . each of the girls was adorned as for a lover."⁸⁹ Yet, he leaves out of his quote an

⁸⁶It should be stressed that Romans such as Pliny the Elder (AD 23/4–79), Juvenal (ca. AD 55–140), and no doubt many others despised the Greeks and complained about the corruption of traditional Roman morality through contact with the Greek East. For example, Juvenal made the searing comment that Syrian Orontes was pouring its sludge (*faex*) into the Tiber with its "language and *mores*" (*Sat.* 3.60–63). This common sentiment should temper notions that the Romans corrupted the Greeks.

⁸⁷B. P. Reardon, ed., *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, with a new foreword by J. R. Morgan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008). Reardon probably did more than any other scholar to rehabilitate the ancient novel as a subject of scholarly study in classics.

⁸⁸See the seminal essay by Fergus Millar, "The World of the *Golden Ass*," *JRS* 71 (1981): 63–75.

⁸⁹Hoag, "Decorum and Deeds," 150.

informative tidbit: “Now a great crowd had gathered for the spectacle, many were locals and even many from foreign parts, for it was the custom during that pageant to find husbands for the girls [νυμφίους ταῖς παρθένοις] and wives for the young gallants [γυναικας τοῖς ἐφήβοις]” (*Ephesiaca* 1.2; my trans.). In other words, dressing up in a public religious gathering was a way for marriageable girls (who were often otherwise sequestered at home) to be put on display to attract a suitor.⁹⁰ Could this practice possibly explain Paul’s statement about wealthy fashion in 1 Timothy 2:9 for at least the unmarried women (girls)?

Women and Education

Discussion of women from the Ephesian aristocracy brings up the question of women’s educational opportunities and Paul’s instructions regarding women teaching in 1 Timothy 2:12. This verse is the most controversial and raises many questions that need thorough exposition of other biblical passages and principles.⁹¹ Here, I address only one narrow historical question: Does Paul disallow Ephesian women to hold the special office as teacher only because they were all unlearned? As with other issues, it might be helpful to start with a few broad historical realities and then focus on some specifics that will illuminate the question.

When addressing the issue of education in the Greco-Roman world, it is important to keep in mind that, historically, Greek education (which the Romans adopted, with some adaptations, after Cicero) aimed primarily at equipping students to speak well in public.⁹² Hence, two of the earliest skills developed at the primary level were memory and breathing control (e.g., Quintilian, *Inst.* 11.2; 11.3.14–18, 51–56). In the Hellenic city-states, oratory and rhetoric constituted the central skills for statesmanship and political advancement. Under their rule, the Romans reduced the scope of oratory (and Greek politics), although

⁹⁰ “Guard a virgin in firmly locked rooms, and do not let her be seen before the house until her wedding day” (Ps.-Phoc. 215–6)—a Jewish source, but interesting advice. See my forthcoming Ephesians commentary, where I discuss Ephesians 6:1–4 and the presence of both girls and boys in the early church worship gatherings.

⁹¹ In addition to the later chapters in this book, see Edmund Clowney’s book *The Church* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1995), 195–235, which provides a helpful treatment of the ecclesiastical issues in this passage and others through a distinction between general and special offices.

⁹² We must qualify this statement by noting that advanced technical education (e.g., engineering) took place “on the job” through apprenticeships rather than in schools proper.

they retained an important role for rhetorical training. Thus Plutarch noted to a young man aspiring to become a statesman:

Nowadays, then, when the affairs of the cities no longer include leadership in wars, nor the overthrowing of tyrannies, nor acts of alliances, what opening for a conspicuous and brilliant public career could a young man find? There remain the public lawsuits and embassies to the emperor. (Plutarch, *Praec. ger. rei publ.* 10 [Mor. 805A–B])

As a historic Ionic city-state, Ephesus was “a center of philosophical and rhetorical studies” (Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 8.8), which shook with “a chorus of rhetoricians and their noisy applause” (Tacitus, *Dial.* 15.3). It also possessed a well-known medical college in its center for the Muses (i.e., μουσεῖον, “museum”; *IvE* 690, 1162, 3068, 3239). These schools drew (male) students (μαθηταί) from other cities, as attested by the grave memorials of some φιλόλογοι who died before finishing their course (e.g., *IvE* 1627, 2202, 2211), as well as of some of the teachers, rhetors, and sophists, and doctors.⁹³ In effect, these studies represent “graduate school” training in students’ fields after they passed through lower levels in grammar, reading, and literature, all of which centered on the main subject, oratory.⁹⁴

It is true that women do not appear in any of the ancient sources from Ephesus as the sophists, rhetors, teachers, philosophers, doctors, or their disciples. However, one should not conclude from this that all women were uneducated and that therefore in 1 Timothy 2:12 Paul disqualified women from teaching in the Christian church merely be-

⁹³ See “T(ib.) Claudius Flavianus Dionysius rhetor” (*IvE* 426; 3047; Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 1.22); T. Flavius Damianus (*IvE* 672a–b, 676a, 678a, 735, 811, 2100, 3029, 3051, 3080–81), “a most illustrious man,” prominent building donor, and city councilor (Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 2.23); Hadrianus of Tyre, “the sophist” (*IvE* 1539); P. Hordeonius Lollianus (*IvE* 20), the father or grandfather of the sophist who “was the first to be appointed to the chair of rhetoric at Athens” (Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 1.23), whose daughter was a priestess of Artemis (*IvE* 984); Ofellius Laetus, a Platonic philosopher (*IvE* 3901); (?)ius Secundinus of Tralles, “the Platonic philosopher” (*IvE* 4340); L. Vevius Severus, “the teacher” (*IvE* 611); and Soterus of Athens, known by his disciples as the “chief sophist” (*IvE* 1548) but as a mere “plaything of the Greeks” in Philostratus’s opinion (Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 2.23). Note that all the listed μαθηταί of Soterus are males (*IvE* 1548). See *Neue Inschriften VIII*, 149–50, for an inscribed philosophical diatribe originating from an Ephesian school and 136–40 for sophists’ tax exemptions. All doctors named on Ephesian stones are males; for instance, Tib. Claudius Demonstratus Caelianus, *asiarch*, *grammateus*, *prytanis*, and priest of Asclepius (*IvE* 278, 643, 719, et al.); cf. *IvE* 1162, 2304, 4101A; and Broughton, *RAM*, 851–53.

⁹⁴ The student L. Calpurnius Calpurnianus died at age twenty after five years’ study in Ephesian schools (iv [=év] Ἐφεσῶν σχολάσας εἰκοσέτης ἔθανον) (*IvE* 1627). Cf. Acts 19:9 and a σχολή where Paul taught in Ephesus.

cause they did not attend specialized schools in rhetoric, philosophy, or medicine. This claims too much. In fact, some famous people like Sophocles, Socrates, and Sappho never had that “graduate” training either. Paul himself specifically rejected the showy devices of the sophists and rhetoricians as the essential component of his own preaching (e.g., 1 Cor. 1:17; 2:1–2), and he never required such qualifications for male teachers and elders (e.g., 1 Tim. 3:1–7; Titus 1:5–9).

Upper-class women participated in other forms of education in Ephesus, particularly private lectures in salons. For instance, false teachers mentioned in the Pastoral Epistles taught women in this venue: “For among them are those who creep into *households* and capture weak women, burdened with sins and led astray by various passions” (2 Tim. 3:6 ESV).

Because women’s education in antiquity usually took place privately, we only get a glimpse of it here and there in historical sources. As for women’s literacy, daughters of the upper classes needed some level of education for their duties in managing large households.⁹⁵ And though they were not commonly found in fields like philosophy, women did read and write literature and poetry during this period.⁹⁶

While women’s literary works were usually designed for private consumption and have therefore been lost for the most part, we find some exceptions from Ephesus. For instance, we have several extant tributes to Hestia from female *prytaneis*.⁹⁷ Two poetic epigrams for Hestia (“sweetest of gods . . . ever-streaming light”) in particular are said to have been written by the first-century *prytanis* Claudia herself

⁹⁵ See the recent work of Raffaella Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), who has a chapter on “Women and Education” (chap. 3). Cf. Teresa Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 48–49n149, who observes, “But in general we should expect female literacy to be very low.” And note the (private) literary activity of Pliny the Younger’s third wife, Calpurnia (*Ep.* 4.19). Cf. *IvE* 2121 for an inscribed epistle of a woman to her brother setting aside a place in her Ephesian tomb for his recently deceased wife: “I have written this epistle through my slave, Dionysius, which [document] I have personally signed” (ἔγραψα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν διὰ δούλου μου Διονυσίου, ἢ καὶ αὐτὴ ὑπέγραψα).

⁹⁶ For example, Telesilla of Argos (Plutarch, *Mor.* 245C–F).

⁹⁷ We possess the thanksgiving dedication from the girl-*prytanis* Aurelia Juliane (*IvE* 1066; see above), though we can only speculate that she actually wrote it. It is not particularly inspired and follows standard lines. We also have two dedicatory prayers of the *prytanis* Tullia (see below), which are metrical with distinctly poetic vocabulary (*IvE* 1063–64). For a reference to “Balbilla, a friend of the wife of Hadrian,” who wrote Greek verses on the Colossus of Memnon, see Samuel Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius* (London: Macmillan, 1904), 80. This Julia Balbilla was the Ephesian (?) granddaughter of Tib. Claudius Balbillus, an Ephesian who served as prefect of Egypt, who was probably Nero’s court astrologer (Suetonius, *Nero* 36; *IvE* 3041–42), and who founded the Balbilleia games at Ephesus.

(*IvE* 1062 [both epigrams]). These show that some upper-class Ephesian girls and women were among the known female devotees of literature in the Greek world.

From the foregoing, we can assume, then, that some female members of the Pauline church were at least literate and possibly had a modicum of formal or informal learning. The elaborate coiffures, jewelry, and clothing mentioned in 1 Timothy 2:9 and the warning to the rich in 1 Timothy 6:17–18 show clearly that there were wealthy women in the Ephesian congregation. At least some of these women were educated and possibly a few highly accomplished in letters or poetry.⁹⁸ Indeed, Paul probably knew Ephesian women who privately sat at the feet of teachers like Hymenaeus and Philetus, who were “ever learning, but never able to enter into knowledge of the truth” (2 Tim. 2:17; 3:7). Hence, we should not assume that Paul’s statement in 1 Timothy 2:12 arises because women would *eo ipso* be disqualified from teaching through lack of educational opportunity. They may not have attended graduate school or studied rhetoric or medicine, but they had their own opportunities for intellectual pursuits.

Summary and Conclusions

Ephesus was in most ways a typical Hellenic society. It was a burgeoning trade and commercial center somewhat like Corinth, though unlike Corinth (which had been rebuilt by the Romans as a colony), Ephesus preserved its Greek roots in its political and cultural institutions. The state council, *gerousia*, *gymnasia*, and religious hierarchies (including priestesses) were typically Hellenic. Like other Greco-Roman city-states, its society was generally patriarchal, even though some girls and women from wealthy and influential families appear in certain places of honor and patronage both at Ephesus and other places in Asia Minor. From Ephesus, the evidence testifies to a few such females (some, like Vedia Marcia, in their early teens), compared to several hundred men (and possibly also boys in their early teens).

Paul’s injunctions throughout 1 Timothy 2:9–15, then, are not temporary measures in a unique social setting. Ephesus’s society and

⁹⁸In light of Acts 19:19, these *literati* may have had works on magic and spells in their libraries.

religion—even the cult of Artemis Ephesia—shared typical features with many other contemporary Greco-Roman cities. Ephesus was thoroughly Greek in background and character and showed the beginnings of Roman influence (especially after Vespasian, as noted). Hence, we have every reason to expect that when Paul restricted women from teaching and exercising rule through special office over a man, he applied it to “every place” (v. 8).⁹⁹

Unfortunately, some scholars fear that finding Ephesus to be a typical Hellenic city-state—with its own distinctive features as noted—leaves 1 Timothy 2:9–15 without a *Sitz im Leben*.¹⁰⁰ However, that Ephesus typified Hellenic city-states does, in fact, say something positive and helps illumine the proper interpretation of the text. Thus, while we noted the presence of a few wealthy patronesses in Paul’s day throughout Asia Minor and Greece and the connotations of newer hair and clothing styles, these distinctives occurred in the context of standard Hellenic patriarchal institutions at Ephesus.

Let me illustrate my point with a parallel. Anyone who studies the Greco-Roman world to any depth knows that the gymnasium was a constant and central institution in the Greek world with many cultural and ethical connotations. One is reminded of Trajan’s snide aside to Pliny, “These Greeklings [*Graeculi*] do love their *gymnasia*” (Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10.41; my trans.). This devotion to the gymnasium and to one’s physical appearance typified the Greeks. And the Ephesians were no different, for they had many large and lavishly appointed *gymnasia* in their city.¹⁰¹ These *gymnasia* represent the obvious background to Paul’s statements to Timothy that “bodily training is of some value” but that he should instead focus on godliness (1 Tim. 4:8).¹⁰² Yet this

⁹⁹I have echoed here again Clowney’s understanding of the vital difference between the general-office service of Christ performed by all Christians, male and female, and the special-office ministry, which is not a position of power but of selfless service, captured in the old Latin phrase *servus servi Christi*, “servant of the servants of Christ.”

¹⁰⁰The search for a distinctive historical background to the 1 Timothy text has, unfortunately, led to many fanciful reconstructions of Ephesus with either no basis in fact or with a picture so out of focus as to hardly reflect the actual Pauline city. New Testament scholars often pursue study of the Judean background of the Gospels with admirable vigor, while the abundant historical evidence through which one properly investigates a city like Ephesus go unread or remain known only through a few secondary treatments, some of which are of dubious reliability. Alternatively, some scholars know Ephesus only through literary sources of foreigners who may have visited Ephesus, like Pliny the Elder or Strabo; while valuable for some details, like the fact that Ephesians laced their wine with seawater (Pliny, *Nat.* 14.10), such sources are limited in illuminating day-to-day Ephesian culture.

¹⁰¹Scherrer, *Ephesus*, 162. See 174 for the gymnasium-bath complex begun after Paul’s time.

¹⁰²See Baugh, “1 Timothy,” *ZIBBC*, 3:464–65.

devotion to “bodily training” was not unique to Ephesus. It was Greek, and Ephesus also typified it. In the same way, the generally patriarchal Ephesus was in line with other Greco-Roman cities of the first century (with appropriate qualifications, as I have noted).

Furthermore, we have no reason to suspect that the Christian women of Ephesus would have regarded Paul’s exhortation to modesty and humility as unusual or necessarily unpalatable, even if they had earlier served as priestesses in pagan cults. As we saw, some of these elite girls and women were praised for their “modesty” and “devotion to husband.” If they had read Plutarch’s advice to a bride (*Conjugalia Praecepta*)—and we believe that at least some Ephesian women were able and had the leisure to read such works—they would have encountered injunctions similar to Paul’s on extravagance, modesty, and silence (*Mor.* 142C–D; 145A–B).

Indeed, Paul actually seems a bit more “liberal” than Plutarch, since the latter wants a virtuous wife to be hidden away when not accompanied by her husband and advises her not to make her own friends but to be content with her husband’s (*Mor.* 139C; 140D). Paul positively opens to all women the road to learning by enjoining them to learn in the church. Furthermore, Paul does not tell women to remain cloistered at home but to exercise their gifts in the practice of public good works and especially in the discipleship of younger women (1 Tim. 5:9–10; Titus 2:4–5; etc.). Patronage offered one key outlet for this service, and I agree with Rosalinde Kearsley that patronesses of the early imperial period are good subjects of study for understanding Phoebe as “patroness” (προστάτις) of many, including Paul himself (Rom. 16:1–2).

Note, however, that while women functioning as patronesses were always wealthy, they did not necessarily abandon traditional roles in their society. Many of the inscriptions about first- and second-century women in Ephesus draw attention to their “modesty” and domestic fidelity in accordance with traditional Greco-Roman expectations for women. And the case of Tullia gives explicit evidence that Ephesian women embraced this role. This young girl, after serving as *prytanis*, thanked Hestia with two metrical inscriptions (implying some degree of education). In the first she prays that “since she immaculately completed her obligations of patronage [προστασία], so grant children to

her . . . because of [her] unimpeachable modesty [σωφροσύνη] and wisdom” (*IvE* 1063).

In the course of our discussion, we have seen Ephesian girls and women in traditional Greco-Roman roles. Aristocratic women participated alongside their husbands as managers of sometimes extensive households: “This memorial and the outlying area belongs to Pomponia Faustina, *kosmeteira* of Artemis [inherited] from her forebears, and to Menander her husband. Myrrachis, Nico, and the rest of Menander’s freedmen care for the tomb” (*IvE* 1655). Ephesian women’s official functions were limited almost entirely to the sacred priesthoods, but these gave girls and women important avenues to express civic patronage and acquire resulting prestige and a measure of influence in their society.

The issue of patronage in the church, however, raises an issue that should be kept in mind. Paul calls women in the church to “adorn themselves . . . with good works” (1 Tim. 2:9–10 ESV). Yet if these good works took the form of patronage, the Greco-Roman social patterns of the day could have strongly tempted women to transform acts of patronage into a competition for resulting honors and positions of status. The rules of patronage and exchange in the Greco-Roman world had clear, if unspoken, rules of reciprocity. In contrast, Christian giving was to be “without strings” (e.g., Matt. 6:1–4), reflecting God’s own beneficence (James 1:5; ἀπλῶς).

Let me illustrate the expectations of patronage with this notable Ephesian example. In AD 145/46 the Emperor Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61) sent a letter to “the magistrates, the council, and the people of the Ephesians.” Antoninus may have known some of these Ephesians personally from his time as governor of the province ten years earlier (AD 135/36). Here is the substance of his epistle:

I did not learn about the generosity which Vedius Antoninus shows you from your communication but from his. Because, as he wished to enlist my help for the adornment of the public works which he promised you, he showed me how many and what magnificent buildings he is adding to the city. *But you do not appreciate him properly.* I, for my part, have granted him all that he requested. I appreciated that he hopes to make the city more august in a manner

[looking] to the [future?], not following the fashion of many public figures who expend their generosity on spectacles, on distributions, and on prizes for the games [only] for the sake of immediate popularity. (*IvE* 1491; emphasis added; cf. 1492–93)

If the name Vedius Antoninus looks familiar, that is because he was the grandnephew (by adoption) of Vedia Marcia discussed above. This grandee (M. Claudius P. Vedius Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus) is remembered as the Great Builder (*der Bauherr*) who received many municipal offices and honors. Apparently it was not enough, so he took the emperor's letter chastising the city for its miserly lack of due honors in exchange for his generous patronage and had it inscribed in stone on one of his buildings for all to see.

In this ancient context, many may have expected the church to offer its special offices to patrons and patronesses in appreciation for their support ("good works"). Paul knew people like this at Ephesus—he was friends with asiarchs, after all (Acts 19:31; Vedius Antoninus was an asiarch)—but he himself took care not to engage in this practice (e.g., 2 Cor. 11:7–15).¹⁰³ Church offices were not for sale.¹⁰⁴ The way Greeks and Romans exercised patronage and exchange might represent further background for how 1 Timothy 2:12 flows out of vv. 9–10.

To conclude, in 1 Timothy 2, after reminding the wealthy women of Ephesus in particular about true piety in contrast to outward show, Paul anticipates that such women might misunderstand their inherited, worldly privileges to imply that they could step outside their divinely ordered role in the new covenant community. He points them instead to their distinct, profound, and significant roles in the church as those who hold the high calling of the general office in Christ's body and calls them, like all believers, to adorn this vocation with lives of grateful service.

¹⁰³ Cf. Baugh, "Philemon," *ZIBC*, ed. Clinton E. Arnold (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002), 3:515–19.

¹⁰⁴ See above for the Persicus inscription where the first-century Ephesian magistrates are accused of offering priesthoods to the highest bidder.

The Meaning of Αὐθεντέω

Al Wolters

The text of 1 Timothy 2:12 contains a verb that has been the subject of considerable scholarly discussion in the last few decades.¹ The NRSV offers a standard translation: “I permit no woman to teach or to *have authority* [αὐθεντεῖν] over a man; she is to keep silent.” A series of scholarly studies have sought to show that the rare verb αὐθεντέω means something other than “have authority,” while others have countered by defending this widely accepted rendering.² In the course of the debate, a number of rather fanciful suggestions about alternative meanings of the word have been proposed, but these have not proved very persuasive.³ Most scholars now agree that αὐθεντέω has to do with the

¹I would like to thank Philip B. Payne (Linguist’s Software, Edmonds, WA) and Cynthia Long Westfall (McMaster Divinity College, Hamilton, ON) for commenting on an earlier draft of this chapter. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations of ancient texts, including biblical ones, are my own.

²Also found in the RSV, NKJV, NJB, NIV 1984, and NLT.

³Among these are the proposals that αὐθεντέω in 1 Tim. 2:12 means “engage in fertility practices” (Catherine C. Kroeger, “Ancient Heresies and a Strange Greek Verb,” *Reformed Journal* 29, no. 3 [1979]: 14); “represent herself as originator (of)” (Richard Clark Kroeger and Catherine Clark Kroeger, *I Suffer Not a Woman to Teach: Rethinking 1 Timothy 2:11–15 in Light of Ancient Evidence* [Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1992], 103); and “instigate violence” (Leland Edward Wilshire, “1 Timothy 2:12 Revisited: A Reply to Paul W. Barnett and Timothy J. Harris,” *EQ* 65, no. 1 [1993]: 48–50; Wilshire, “The Anatomy of a Prohibition: 1 Timothy 2:12, the TLG Computer, and the Christian Church,” in *Insight into Two Biblical Passages* [Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2010], 29–32). See also Wilshire’s first article on the subject, “The TLG Computer and Further Reference to Αὐθεντέω in 1 Timothy 2.12,” *NTS* 34, no. 1 (1988): 120–34, in which he had not yet proposed a specific translation.

exercise of authority in some way. What remains in dispute is whether the contested verb has a pejorative or an ingressive connotation. In other words, is what the apostle forbids a woman to do something intrinsically inappropriate (as in “domineer”),⁴ or is it the initiation of the exercise of authority (as in “assume authority”)?⁵ This chapter will argue on the basis of an analysis of all known attestations of the verb that it is very unlikely that either of these specific senses applies to Paul’s use of αὐθεντέω.⁶

It will be useful to begin by sketching the overall fortunes of αὐθεντέω within the history of the Greek language. Its first occurrence in surviving Greek literature is dated to the first century BC, not long before Paul used it, and for centuries after that its recorded uses are quite rare. In fact, until the official recognition of Christianity under Constantine in the year 312, the verb appears in only a handful of places, most of them in obscure nonliterary sources. No doubt part of the reason for this paucity of attestation is that αὐθεντέω was considered a colloquial word, so that writers with literary pretensions avoided it. The rarity and obscurity of the word’s use in Greek sources that are chronologically close to the New Testament have contributed significantly to the lack of scholarly consensus in the recent discussions about its meaning in 1 Timothy 2:12.

After the year 312, especially during the ensuing patristic golden age of the fourth and fifth centuries, the recorded uses of the verb become more plentiful, but even in this period most authors still avoided it. In fact, it is documented only about 114 times in all of surviving Greek literature, and the term becomes rare again after the sixth century, ex-

⁴See, for example, BAG s.v. (“have authority, domineer τινός over someone”) and L&N §37.21 (“to control in a domineering manner”).

⁵For example, the TNIV 2005 and the NIV 2011 render the term “to assume authority over”; see also chap. 6 below. A prominent proponent of the meaning “assume authority” is Philip B. Payne, especially in the chapter devoted to αὐθεντέω in his *Man and Woman, One in Christ: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Paul’s Letters* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2009), 361–97. Both the ingressive and the pejorative senses are suggested by BDAG s.v. (“to assume a stance of independent authority, give orders to, dictate to”).

⁶I would like to record at the outset my indebtedness to Henry Scott Baldwin’s pioneering work on αὐθεντέω, which has provided the foundation of my own research. Although I differ from him on many subordinate points, my work on αὐθεντέω builds on, and essentially confirms, the conclusions he reached in the studies that he contributed to the first and second editions of the present volume. What has especially proved an invaluable resource for subsequent researchers is his “Appendix 2: αὐθεντέω in Ancient Greek Literature,” in *Women in the Church: A Fresh Analysis of 1 Timothy 2:9–15*, ed. Andreas J. Köstenberger, Thomas R. Schreiner, and H. Scott Baldwin (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1995), 269–305.

cept in technical legal works.⁷ It seems that it finally died out altogether as part of the living language in the late Middle Ages (being replaced by the related verb *ἀϋθεντεύω*), although already centuries before that time it was used only sporadically, being restricted almost exclusively to the participle *ἀϋθεντήσας* and to quotations from (or allusions to) earlier occurrences. Effectively, it passed out of the living language in the ninth century. This demise of the verb stands in stark contrast to the fortunes of some of its nominal and adjectival cognates (*ἀϋθέντης*, *ἀϋθεντία*, *ἀϋθεντικός*), which are alive and well in Greek to this day.

Not surprisingly, apart from the use of the verb in 1 Timothy 2:12 (and one place in Origen where that text is quoted), its rare occurrences before Constantine are all found in pagan authors. What is surprising, however, is that its use after 312 occurs exclusively in Christian writers.⁸ From the third century onward pagan writers universally avoided the verb, presumably because it was considered too colloquial.⁹ Indeed, most Christian authors avoided it too, no doubt for the same reason. But those who did set aside the literary prejudice against *ἀϋθεντέω* are all Christians. Thus it seems that a relatively small number of Christian authors rescued this colloquial verb from obscurity. Perhaps they thought that its one occurrence in the New Testament legitimized its use.

Turning now to the meaning of *ἀϋθεντέω*, we begin by looking at the other Greek words to which it is related, notably the noun *ἀϋθέντης*, since scholars are in broad agreement that *ἀϋθεντέω* is derived from that noun.¹⁰ The presence of the letter τ indicates its denomina-

⁷This number is based on all the occurrences of the verb found by searching Papyri.info and the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (as of July 2014), the latter with the exclusion of references to late medieval legal works. In addition, I have included in this number a handful of places not yet incorporated into the TLG. This number also excludes places where later writers quoted earlier occurrences, notably citations of 1 Tim. 2:12.

⁸A possible exception is the pagan historian Olympiodorus of Thebes (early fifth century), since *ἀϋθεντέω* does occur twice in what survives of his *History*. However, we have good reason to believe that the verb in these two cases came not from the hand of Olympiodorus himself since his *History* survives only in the summaries of select portions of it that the Christian writer Photius prepared in his *Bibliotheca* (ninth century). We know of at least one other case where Photius introduced a form of *ἀϋθεντέω* into his summary of a previous writer's work where it was absent from the original. Compare Josephus, A.J. 20.200, with Photius's summary in *Bibliotheca* 317b7 (PG 103.1192B), where he added the form *ἀϋθεντήσας*, "on his own authority." Significantly, the two places where our verb occurs in Photius's summaries of Olympiodorus also have *ἀϋθεντήσας*, used in the same sense.

⁹On the colloquial nature of *ἀϋθεντέω*, see the references given in A. Wolters, "A Semantic Study of *ἀϋθέντης* and Its Derivatives," *JGRChJ* 1 (2004): 152–48. This article was reprinted in *JBMW* 11, no. 1 (2006): 44–65, <http://www.cbmw.org/journal>.

¹⁰See J. H. Moulton and W. F. Howard, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. 2, *Accidence and Word-Formation* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1929), 278, and P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: Histoire des mots*, vol. 1, A–D (Paris: Klincksieck, 1968), 138.

tive status since τ is a remnant of the nominal ending -της, which is not part of the word's stem but identifies αὐθέντης as an agent noun.¹¹ As we will see, that αὐθεντέω is a denominative verb based on the noun αὐθέντης is significant for a number of reasons, most obviously because the meaning of the noun will likely give a significant clue to the original meaning of the verb.

Here, however, we run into a problem that has caused much confusion in discussions of αὐθεντέω, namely, the fact that ancient Greek used αὐθέντης in two very different ways. On the one hand, it is a word that is primarily at home in the elevated language of classical Attic literature (fifth and fourth centuries BC) and has the rather specific meaning “kin-murderer,” someone guilty of killing his or her own flesh and blood. This usage occurs in later Greek as well but mainly in texts that aim for an elevated literary style emulating the Attic classics (a notable example is found in *Wisdom of Solomon* 12:6). The other use of αὐθέντης is very different. With one debated exception, it is found nowhere in Greek literature until the first century BC and then only in texts without literary pretensions.¹² In this usage, αὐθέντης means not “murderer” but “master,” and it seems to have belonged to the colloquial register of the language. Because the two uses of αὐθέντης are so different, both ancient and modern scholars have repeatedly suggested that they have different etymologies. This would mean that αὐθέντης/“murderer” and αὐθέντης/“master” are in fact two different lexemes that are semantically quite distinct, like καρπός (“fruit”) and καρπός (“wrist”) in Greek, or like “ear” (of grain) and “ear” (of hearing) in English. Greek has many such homonyms, as do English and other languages.

Whether or not αὐθέντης/“murderer” and αὐθέντης/“master” are etymologically distinct, however, it is a serious error to assume that the meaning of the one (and the meaning of its derivatives) must be understood in the light of the other. After all, no one thinks that an ear of grain has connotations of hearing. If a political commentator says, “In the current presidential race, a recurring issue has been one candidate’s race,” no one will confuse the two senses of the word *race*, and no one

¹¹ See W. W. Goodwin and C. B. Gulick, *Greek Grammar* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1930), §818.

¹² The one exception is Euripides, *Suppliants* 442, where αὐθέντης is often emended or considered a later interpolation.

will conclude that the denominative verb *to race* has anything to do with racism or the like. By the same token, it is a basic methodological mistake to assume that we should understand the verb *ἄυθεντέω* in the light of both *ἄυθέντης*/"murderer" and *ἄυθέντης*/"master," leading to the conclusion that it means "instigate violence."¹³

Instead, the picture that has emerged from studies of the word *ἄυθέντης* and its derivatives in ancient Greek is that all these derivatives, with the exception of a single occurrence of *ἄυθεντέω*, are based on *ἄυθέντης*/"master," not on *ἄυθέντης*/"murderer," and therefore have to do with mastery or authority of some kind.¹⁴ This semantic derivation applies not only to the verb *ἄυθεντέω*, but also to the adjective *ἄυθεντικός* ("authoritative") and to the nouns *ἄυθεντία* ("authority"), *ἄυθέντρια* ("mistress"), and *ἄυθέντησις* ("governorship"). It is also telling that none of these derivatives occur in Greek before the second century BC, around the same time (within a century) that *ἄυθέντης*/"master," too, becomes more frequent in our sources. All of them also seem to have belonged to the colloquial register of the language. Literary authors avoided them, and Atticists advised against using them. In short, it seems that, at some point in early Hellenistic times, *ἄυθέντης*/"master" arose (or became popular) in ordinary spoken Greek (the Koine) and produced a number of cognates with a similar meaning and nonliterary status.¹⁵

For our purposes, it is also significant to note that neither *ἄυθέντης*/"master" nor any of its derivatives had a particularly negative connotation, as though they referred to the misuse of authority. In fact, *ἄυθέντης* was used by Christians to refer to Jesus Christ; *ἄυθεντία* was used by some early gnostics to describe their supreme deity; and *ἄυθεντικός* was often used to describe the "master copy" of a will or contract, that is, the original document that was "authoritative" or legally valid.¹⁶

Given its derivation from *ἄυθέντης*/"master," we may assume that *ἄυθεντέω* is in the first instance a denominative verb of ruling. For our further discussion, it is also useful to note that *ἄυθεντέω* shares a

¹³ See, for example, Wilshire, "The TLG Computer," 130–31; Wilshire, "1 Timothy 2:12 Revisited," 48–50; Wilshire, "Anatomy of a Prohibition," 29–32. Another basic flaw in Wilshire's discussion of the *ἄυθεντ*- words is that he assumes that all of them (nouns, verb, and adjective) are forms of the same word.

¹⁴ See Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, 138. The one exception appears in the Aeschylus scholion, which we will discuss under example 8 below.

¹⁵ See Wolters, "Semantic Study," 153, 170 (repr., 47, 54), with references to further literature.

¹⁶ For references, see Wolters, "Semantic Study," 148, 154, 161 (repr., 45, 47, 50).

number of features with other verbs of ruling in Greek, especially denominative ones. First, like other verbs of ruling, αὐθεντέω is regularly construed with the genitive.¹⁷ Second, such verbs often describe the exercise of an office (see example [2] below). Third, these verbs often acquire an ingressive meaning in the aorist. To illustrate this last point, the verb βασιλεύω, a verb of ruling based on the noun βασιλεύς (“king”), means essentially “be king,” but in the aorist it often acquires the meaning “become king.”¹⁸ Other examples include ἐπιστάτέω (from ἐπιστάτης), ἡγεμονεύω (from ἡγεμών), and τυραννέω (from τύραννος).¹⁹ As these examples show, ingressive aorists are particularly common among denominative verbs, although they are not restricted to them.²⁰ So σιωπάω means “be silent” but in the aorist regularly acquires the ingressive meaning “fall silent,” and δακρύω means “weep” but in the aorist generally means “burst into tears.” In the same way, αὐθεντέω (“have authority”) often acquires the ingressive meaning “assume authority” in the aorist. Of course, the fact that the aorist of such verbs *may* have an ingressive meaning does not mean that it always does.²¹

Occurrences of Αὐθεντέω before AD 312 (Assured and Possible)

The most significant evidence for the meaning of a disputed word, apart from what can be gleaned from its immediate context, is the use of that word in other contexts that are roughly contemporaneous with it. Unfortunately, however, as we have noted, in the centuries before and after Paul’s use of the verb αὐθεντέω in 1 Timothy 2:12, it appeared very rarely. Apart from its one occurrence in the New Testament (and one place in Origen where that text is quoted), the verb can be found in, at most, eight places before the year 312. Moreover, of these eight, most are debatable in one way or another, either because the text is dubious, the context unclear, or the date disputed. Its rarity in surviving Greek literature before 312 is probably at least partially due to the fact that it represented a colloquial or subliterate stratum of the language. I will

¹⁷ See Goodwin and Gulick, *Greek Grammar*, §1109, and BDF §177.

¹⁸ See LSJ s.v.; BDAG s.v.; BDF §318; Goodwin and Gulick, *Greek Grammar*, §1262.

¹⁹ See the relevant entries in LSJ.

²⁰ See A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville: Broadman, 1934), 834n4: “These ingressive aorists are often denominative verbs.”

²¹ See, for example, the noningressive use of the aorist of βασιλεύω in Rom. 5:14 and Rev. 20:4.

briefly discuss the eight places where the verb does (or may possibly) occur in this period.²²

(1) PHILODEMUS, *De Rhetorica* 2.133

(= *P.Herc.* 220, FRAGMENT 4)²³

This text, which can be dated to the mid-first century BC, was found among the fragmentary papyri recovered in Herculaneum. It belongs to the works of the philosopher and poet Philodemus, who in this passage is arguing that rhetors, unlike philosophers, are harmful to the leading members of society. As reconstructed and published by Sudhaus, the fragmentary text that interests us reads as follows:

6 . . . Ἄλλ' εἰ δε[ῖ τὰ-
7 ληθῆ κα[ὶ γι]νόμενα [λέ-
8 γειν, οἱ ῥ[ή]τορες καὶ μ[εγά-
9 λα βλάπτουσι] πολλοὺς [καὶ
10 μεγάλους καὶ περὶ τῶν [“δει-
11 νοῖς ἔρωσι το[ξ]ευομέ-
12 νων” πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιφαν[εσ-
13 τάτους ἐκάστοτε διαμάχ-
14 ονται καὶ “σὺν ἀϋθεντ[οῦ]-
15 σιν ἄν[αξι]ν” ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμοί-
16 ων ὥσ[αύτως]. . .²⁴

If Sudhaus's reconstruction is correct, a possible translation of this fragmentary text would be as follows: “But if we must state the true facts and things that happen, the rhetors both do great harm to many great men, and are always fighting against the most illustrious [of them] about ‘those targeted by the arrows of powerful desires,’ and ‘with *ruling* lords’ on behalf of their peers, likewise. . . .” Another possible way to read Sudhaus's text is to take *συναϋθεντ[οῦ]σιν* as a compound verb

²² The analysis offered in this essay is based on an independent study of all the places known to me where the verb *ἀϋθεντέω* occurs and differs on many points from other treatments of those places. I will occasionally note the points where I disagree with earlier discussions but will pass over many more in silence.

²³ I have numbered the occurrences of *ἀϋθεντέω* in bold numbers within parentheses for ease of reference throughout the rest of this chapter.

²⁴ See *Philodemi Volumina Rhetorica*, ed. S. Sudhaus (Leipzig: Teubner, 1892–96; repr., Amsterdam: Hakert, 1964), 2:133.

that is coordinate with διαμύχονται (the original text had no spaces between words) and to translate it “and they *rule together with* lords.”

Unfortunately, it is unlikely that Sudhaus’s reading is correct. As the Kroegers have pointed out, we could also reconstruct the text to read αὐθέντ[αι]σιν ἄν[αξι], using the Old Attic dative plural of αὐθέντης.²⁵ This is actually a fairly plausible reconstruction, since the preceding words δεινοῖς ἔρωσι το[ξ]ευομένων, which Sudhaus prints between quotation marks, are an allusion to a passage describing political rulers in the Attic poet Euripides.²⁶ If the fragmentary words συν αὐθεντ[. . .]σιν αν[. . .] of the papyrus are also the remnant of a literary quotation (as Sudhaus believed, since he enclosed them in quotation marks as well), then both the Old Attic dative plural αὐθένταισιν and the old-fashioned poetic word ἄναξι would fit very well. In that case, the meaning of the second set of quoted words would be “with *murderous* lords.”²⁷ Of course, all of the above readings also presuppose the validity of Sudhaus’s reconstruction of αν[. . .] as ἄναξι, but this too is quite uncertain. This latter reading is especially dubious if it is coupled, as in Sudhaus’s text, with the participle αὐθεντοῦσιν, because it then puts together an old-fashioned poetic noun (ἄναξ) with a newfangled colloquial verb (αὐθεντέω), which is unattested before Philodemus.

All of these uncertainties are compounded by the fact that the original papyrus fragment containing this passage (fragment 4 of *P.Herc.* 220) is now lost, and that the only published witness to this lost text is a hand-drawn facsimile made in the nineteenth century—one of the so-called *disegni* of the Herculaneum papyri.²⁸ Unfortunately, these drawings are not always accurate. Scholars have recently shown, for example, that the *disegno* of another fragment of the same papyrus,

²⁵ Kroeger and Kroeger, *I Suffer Not a Woman*, 96. For the form αὐθένταισιν(v)—found, for example, in Aeschylus, *Ag.* 1573—see Goodwin and Gulick, *Greek Grammar*, §196f.

²⁶ See fragment 850 in *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, vol. 5, *Euripides (in Two Parts)*, ed. Richard Kannicht (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), which reads as follows: ἡ γὰρ τυραννὶς παντόθεν τοξέεται δεινοῖς ἔρωσιν, ἧς φυλακτέον πέρι, “for the rulership is targeted from all sides by the arrows of powerful desires, about which [rulership] one must be on one’s guard.”

²⁷ Αὐθέντης/“murderer” is not infrequently found in apposition with other nouns. See, for example, Aeschylus, *Ag.* 1573 (θανάτοις αὐθένταισιν) and *Wisd. of Sol.* 12:6 (αὐθέντας γονεῖς). For this construction, in which one of the nouns (here αὐθέντης) functions as an attributive adjective, see Goodwin and Gulick, *Greek Grammar*, §907.

²⁸ On these *disegni*, see David Sider, *The Library of the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005), 49, 54–55, 114. The *disegni* of the fragments of *P.Herc.* 220 were drawn by C. Malesci in 1824 and published in *Herculaneum Voluminum quae Supersunt: Collectio Altera*, vol. 6 (Naples: Museo Publico, 1866). The *disegno* of fragment 4 is found on p. 189.

in this case fragment 14 of *P.Herc.* 220 (which does survive), needs to be corrected at several points.²⁹ In addition, an unpublished transcription of fragment 4 preserved in the Archivio dell' Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi in Naples has the unintelligible reading *συναυθεντες ου/σιν αν. . .*.³⁰

The upshot of these considerations is that it is doubtful whether the verb *Ἀϋθεντέω* appears in *P.Herc.* 220 at all. In any case, given the obscurity and fragmentary character of this text, its hypothetical occurrence there cannot make any reliable contribution to determining its meaning.

(2) THE PAPYRUS BGU 1208.38

This text from Egypt is dated to 27/26 BC, shortly after the Romans conquered Egypt in 30 BC. A fragmentary papyrus of fifty-one lines, it forms part of a collection of letters that are all related to a certain Asklepiades.³¹ Unfortunately, the fragmentary state of this letter obscures much of the text's meaning. Only the last letter of the author's name (a *nu*) has been preserved, but the author is likely to have been Tryphon, the author of several other letters in the Asklepiades collection.³² Furthermore, the specific passage containing *Ἀϋθεντέω*, although preserved intact, is grammatically and lexically challenging, allowing multiple syntactical construals.³³ It needs to be admitted that any translation of this passage, too, will be conjectural. Here is the passage in question:

κάμοῦ ἀϋθεντηκότος πρὸς αὐτὸν περιποῖσαι Καλατύτει τῷ
ναυτικῷ ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ φόρῳ ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐπεχώρησεν. "Since I had

²⁹ See Francesca Longo Auricchio, "Osservazioni su alcune scorze della biblioteca ercolanese," *Cronache Ercolanesi* 40 (2010): 138–42. Even in the nineteenth century, scholars noted discrepancies between the originals and the published engravings of the *disegni* of the *De Rhetorica*. See Rosella Farese, "Catalogo delle 'Illustrazioni' e degli interpreti," *Cronache Ercolanesi* 29 (1999): 87n24.

³⁰ This transcription was done by G. Genovesi, who was the *Interprete anziano* of the Archivio from 1845 to 1854 (see Farese, "Catalogo," 83, 87). The call number (*segnatura*) of this transcription is "AOP, Busta XXIII/1.1." On the history of the *illustrazioni* to which it belongs, see Farese, "Catalogo," 83–94. I am grateful to Dr. Angela Pinto, the director of the photographic laboratory of the Archivio, for supplying me with a digital photograph of this early transcription of fragment 4.

³¹ On this "Asklepiades Archive," see John L. White, *Light from Ancient Letters* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 103–5.

³² This was the assumption of W. Schubart, the original editor of the papyrus, who restored the name [Τρύφω]ν in the first line. See *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1912), 4:349.

³³ It is uncertain, for example, whether *περιποῖσαι* is dependent on *ἀϋθεντηκότος* or on *ἐπεχώρησεν*, or how the phrase *ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ* is to be translated or construed.

authority with respect to him, he immediately granted Kalatyti the ferryman a concession [which allowed the latter] to make a profit at the same rent.”³⁴

In my judgment, the key to understanding these words is found in the remark made on this passage by Schubart, the original editor of the papyrus: “hiernach handelt es sich um Verpachtung der Fähre” (“according to this, we are dealing with the leasing of ferries”).³⁵ This understanding is confirmed by what Wallace writes about leasing government-owned boats in Egypt under the Romans: “Transport-boats for which receipts ὑπὲρ πορθμίδων are found were at least a partial monopoly for which concessions in certain districts were let by the government; in BGU. IV.1188 the rent (φόρος) for the concession of a ferry is paid to tax-farmers (τελῶναι).”³⁶ In a note on the phrase ὑπὲρ πορθμίδων (“for ferrying”), Wallace refers to a number of documentary sources, significantly including our passage in BGU 1208. Some other features of the papyrus also point to the fact that it is concerned with the Roman imperial administration of leases of state property (land and boats). The present context is not the place to elaborate on this, except to point out that it suggests that ἐπιχωρέω in our passage should be understood in the technical sense “grant a leasing concession.”³⁷

I reconstruct the letter’s hypothetical background as follows: Tryphon, the writer of the letter, was a senior official of the Roman taxation bureaucracy and was in a position of authority over Antilochos, the tax-farmer (τελώνης) who dealt directly with Kalatyti the ferryman. Antilochos had imposed a new leasing contract on Kalatyti, which meant that the latter would have to pay Antilochos a higher rent for the use of the government-owned ferry that he operated, which in turn meant that he (Kalatyti) could make no profit. Tryphon overruled Antilochos so that the latter granted Kalatyti a leasing concession that called for the same rent as before. The meaning “have authority” for αὐθεντέω fits such a scenario quite well, since it would describe the relationship of a

³⁴ See *Aegyptische Urkunden*, 4:351.

³⁵ BGU 1208, note on line 40.

³⁶ Sherman LeRoy Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), 189.

³⁷ Friedrich Preisigke, *Fachwörter des öffentlichen Verwaltungsdienstes Ägyptens* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1915) s.v., 4: “ein Miets- oder Pachtverhältnis zugestehen . . .” (“to grant a rental or leasing arrangement”).

senior official to his subordinate in a bureaucratic hierarchy.³⁸ Although Tryphon appears to have overruled Antiochos, nothing in the context suggests that he did so without just cause; in fact, he seems to have been protecting Kalatytis from the notoriously extortionist practices of the *τελῶναι*. In any case, since Tryphon used *αὐθεντέω* to describe his own behavior, the verb unlikely had a pejorative connotation.

The reason why Tryphon here used the otherwise unattested construction with *πρός*, rather than the expected genitive, is probably that he wished to avoid the ambiguity that would have otherwise resulted. If Tryphon had used the wording *κάμοῦ αὐθεντηκότος αὐτοῦ*, it could have been misunderstood as meaning “since *he* had authority over *me*,” which is the opposite of what he intended.

Perhaps we can be a bit more specific about the meaning of *αὐθεντέω* in this context if we take seriously the term’s nature as a denominative verb, meaning essentially “be an *αὐθέντης*.” It then becomes significant that the noun *αὐθέντης* was sometimes used as the designation of a senior revenue official involved in gathering taxes for the Roman government.³⁹ Such a position would be comparable to that of Zacchaeus as an *ἀρχιτελώνης* (see Luke 19:2). Furthermore, a denominative verb derived from a noun designating an official or ruler often has the meaning “be (that is, hold the office of) such an official or ruler.” Thus *βασιλεύω* can mean “be a king,”⁴⁰ *ἡγεμονεύω* can mean “be a governor,”⁴¹ and *οἰκονομέω* can mean “be a house-steward.”⁴² A striking example in the NT is the use of *ἐπισκοπέω* to mean “be an *ἐπίσκοπος* (overseer or bishop).”⁴³ Consequently, the relevant phrase in this papyrus could possibly be translated “since I was an *αὐθέντης* [that is, a senior revenue official] with respect to him.” I offer this as a tentative hypothesis, which fits well with the overall context of *BGU* 1208. Whether or not we adopt this specific hypothesis, the immediate

³⁸ Since *αὐθεντηκότος* is a perfect participle, and the perfect tense commonly refers to a settled state, it is unlikely that *αὐθεντέω* here has an ingressive sense, as in “take the matter into one’s own hands” or “assume authority” (so Payne, *Man and Woman*, 370).

³⁹ See the two examples in the recently discovered customs law (*SEG* 1180, lines 110 and 123), which is almost contemporary with *BGU* 1208, as well as the third-century AD papyrus *P.Leit.* 13.21 (= *SB* 8.10205).

⁴⁰ *LSJ* s.v., 1.1.

⁴¹ *LSJ* s.v., 3; see Luke 2:2.

⁴² *LSJ* s.v., 2; see Luke 16:2. Other examples include *ἐπιστατέω* (*LSJ* s.v., 2.1) and *στρατηγέω* (*LSJ* s.v., 1). See also Raphael Kühner and Bernhard Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache. Zweiter Teil: Satzlehre, Erster Band. Dritte Auflage* (1898; repr., Munich: Max Hueber, 1963), 155–56.

⁴³ *LSJ* s.v., 1.5; *BDAG* s.v., 2.

context together with the verb's derivation from αὐθέντης/"master" suggests that it refers to the exercise of some kind of authority.

(3) THE ASTROLOGICAL TREATISE *Methodus mystica*

The treatise in question, which can be dated somewhere around the turn of the era, provides answers to specific enquiries about the future prospects of an unborn child.⁴⁴ The relevant part of this text is its very last sentence, which deals with the significance of the position of Hermes (that is, the planet Mercury) in relation to other planets in the zodiac.

Hermes in the post-ascension of the place of access signifies a common laborer; and if it is in the bounds of Ares, it signifies one making a living from fire or iron. But if in the bounds of Kronos [it signifies] a manager [making a living] from theft or waterside trades. But if the benefic planets are in quartile aspect [it signifies] the one who *is superior to* the foregoing [τὸν τούτων αὐθεντοῦντα] in his occupation, and yet earns nothing.⁴⁵

In the last clause, the text is describing someone who in a given occupation or trade (τέχνη) surpasses or is superior to the tradesmen listed just before. But despite his professional superiority, he has no income. The reference is no doubt to a slave, who may be more skilled in various vocational accomplishments than many free men, but who nevertheless receives no wages.⁴⁶

(4) ARISTONICUS ALEXANDRINUS, *On the Signs of the Iliad*, I.694 (9.694)

This text (which is to be dated around the turn of the era) is a philological note on a line in Homer's *Iliad*, part of a work by Aristonicus in which he explains the text-critical "signs" added to the text of the *Iliad* by his teacher Aristarchus, the celebrated Alexandrian philologist. Among other such signs, Aristarchus had pioneered the use of the

⁴⁴ Although we cannot establish the date of this text with precision, a reasonable guess is that it was written between 100 BC and AD 50. See A. Wolters, "An Early Parallel of αὐθεντεῖν in 1 Tim 2:12," *JETS* 54, no. 4 (2011): 675. Note that George W. Knight mistakenly dated the *Methodus mystica* to the fifteenth century. "ΑΥΘΕΝΤΕΩ in Reference to Women in 1 Timothy 2.12," *NTS* 30, no. 1 (1984): 147, 150.

⁴⁵ F. Cumont, ed., *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, vol. 8.1 (Brussels: Lamertin, 1929), 177. ⁴⁶ For a more detailed discussion see Wolters, "Early Parallel," 676–80. It should be noted that Cumont's edition of the text unnecessarily emends the manuscript reading τούτων to πάντων.

obelus, a symbol written like today's division sign ($\div$) that he placed next to a line that he considered text-critically suspect. Apparently, Aristarchus had placed an obelus next to line 694 of the ninth book of the *Iliad*, which reads μῦθον ἄγασσάμενοι· μάλα γὰρ κρατερῶς ἄγόρευσεν, "They were indignant at his words, for he had spoken very forcefully." To explain the obelus at this point, Aristonicus wrote the following: "[There is an obelus here] because the line is [taken] from other places. For as it is it does not fit. For it is usually added in recitation when the *originator* of the speech [ὁ αὐθεντῶν τοῦ λόγου] has said something shocking. But as it is, how could it be said with reference to Odysseus, who is reporting the words spoken by Achilles?"⁴⁷

To understand this note, we need to look at the context of the obelized line in the *Iliad* that it is discussing. The line occurs at the end of book 9, which tells the story of the embassy (led by Odysseus) that Agamemnon had sent to Achilles to persuade him to rejoin the Greeks in their battle against the Trojans. Achilles had spurned this overture in harsh and uncompromising language, and just prior to this line, Odysseus had reported his response to Agamemnon and the other Greek leaders. The suspect line 694 describes their reaction to Odysseus's report of Achilles's reply, but it does so in stereotypical language that occurs in several other places in the *Iliad*.

In arguing that the line should be deleted, Aristonicus points out that it comes "from other places," that is, from other places in the *Iliad* where this line occurs (see 8.29 and 9.431). He says that typically this formulaic line is used when the "originator of the speech" (that is, the original speaker) has said something shocking. But that does not fit the present context, since it records the words not of the original speaker (Achilles) but of the one who reported them (Odysseus).⁴⁸

The meaning "originate" for αὐθεντέω, construed (as here) with the genitive of a noun describing a belief or action, also occurs in later Greek.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ L. Friedländer, *Aristonici Περὶ Σημείων Ἰλιάδος reliquiae emendatiores* (Göttingen: Dieterich, 1853), 170 (note on I.694 [9.694]).

⁴⁸ My interpretation here agrees with that of Baldwin, "Appendix 2," 303, and differs slightly from the one I gave in "Semantic Study," 157–58 (repr., 61). Payne, relying heavily on the presumed etymology of αὐθεντέω, translates the relevant phrase as "the one self-accomplishing the speech." *Man and Woman*, 361–62.

⁴⁹ See the discussion of column 6 in the post-312 occurrences of αὐθεντέω below.

(5) PTOLEMY, *Tetrabiblos* 3.14.10

This famous astrological treatise can be dated to the second century AD. The relevant passage reads as follows: “Saturn, therefore, once he has taken sole ‘house’-control (οἰκοδεσποτεία) of the soul and has *gained mastery* (αὐθεντήσας) of Mercury and the moon . . . makes people lovers of the body.”⁵⁰

This passage describes two kinds of rulership exercised by the planet Saturn, the first over the soul and the second over two other planets.⁵¹ The former is indicated by the noun οἰκοδεσποτεία and the latter by the verb αὐθεντέω.⁵² Both terms make reference to Saturn *coming into* a position of rulership as the various heavenly bodies move relative to each other in the zodiac. The aorist form of αὐθεντέω therefore carries an ingressive sense here, as aorist verbs of ruling (especially denominative ones) commonly do (see the discussion in the introduction above). The aorist can therefore be translated as “*assume authority*” or “*gain mastery*.”

Because Saturn’s rulership in this case is associated with making people “lovers of the body,” some have argued that αὐθεντέω must have a pejorative connotation.⁵³ But this is not the case, since in astrology the same words for planetary influence are used regardless of whether it has a positive or negative effect on people. Besides, in this case, αὐθεντέω describes a relationship not between Saturn and people but between Saturn and other planets.⁵⁴

As is customary in astrological parlance, planets are spoken of in anthropomorphic terms. Just as they are elsewhere said to “rejoice,” to “regard,” and to “witness,” so they are here said to “rule.” Not only do the planets have the names of personal gods (Saturn, Mercury, and the like), but they themselves are spoken of as persons.⁵⁵ For that rea-

⁵⁰ *Claudii Ptolemaei opera quae supersunt omnia*, vol. 3.1, ΑΠΟΤΕΛΕΣΜΑΤΙΚΑ, post F. Boll et. A. Boer secundis curis edidit Wolfgang Hübner (Leipzig: Teubner, 1998), 3.14.10.

⁵¹ In astrology the moon is considered one of the seven planets.

⁵² That the latter refers to a kind of rulership is also indicated by the fact that the later paraphrase of this work substitutes the more literary κατακρατέω (“predominate”) for the colloquial αὐθεντέω at this point. See Proclus, *Procli Paraphrasis in quatuor Ptolemaei libros De siderum effectionibus*, ed. Philipp Melanchthon (Basel: Oporinus, 1554), 197, and LSJ s.v. κατακρατέω 1.2. Compare Wolters, “Semantic Study,” 158 (repr., 49).

⁵³ See Payne, *Man and Woman*, 381.

⁵⁴ Furthermore, a pejorative meaning does not clearly follow from the supposed parallel with the verbs ἐπικρατήσαντων and καθυπερτερησάντων, which occur some twenty-two lines earlier, *pace* Payne, *Man and Woman*, 381.

⁵⁵ See Wolters, “Early Parallel,” 681.

son, my translation refers to Saturn as “he.” This means that *Ἀὐθεντέω* in this passage illustrates its use with the genitive of the person (as in 1 Tim. 2:12), not the genitive of the thing.

(6) MOERIS ATTICISTA, *Lexicon Atticum* s.v. *αὐτοδίκην*

This entry reads: “*Ἀὐτοδίκην* [read: *Ἀὐτοδικεῖν*], Ἀττικῶς. *αὐθέντην* [read: *αὐθεντεῖν*], Ἑλληνικῶς.” This may be translated as follows: “*Ἀὐτοδικεῖν* [‘to plead one’s own cause’] in Attic [is] *αὐθεντεῖν* [‘to act on one’s own’] in Hellenic Greek.”⁵⁶

We can date Moeris Atticista to the second or third century AD. As an Atticist, he held that the Attic dialect of classical Greek literature was the norm for correct literary Greek. His *Lexicon Atticum* gives a list of preferred Attic words that authors should use in proper literary Greek instead of their allegedly substandard “Hellenic” equivalents.

The manuscript tradition of this entry in Moeris includes the nouns *αὐτοδίκην* and *αὐθέντην*, but scholars have long recognized that these apparently nominal forms are a corruption of the verbal forms *αὐτοδικεῖν* and *αὐθεντεῖν*. We can be quite certain of this, not only because later versions of the entry in the lexicographers Hesychius and Thomas Magister list the verbs rather than the nouns but also because the noun *αὐτοδίκης* is otherwise unattested in ancient Greek. Besides, Moeris regularly lists nouns in the nominative, not the accusative case, and we can readily explain the textual corruption as the result of itacism.⁵⁷

Consequently, we learn from this entry in Moeris that people in his day popularly used *αὐθεντέω* in a sense equivalent to the preferred Attic *αὐτοδικέω*. As a search of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* for the words *αὐτοδικέω* and *αὐτόδικος* shows, *αὐτοδικέω* essentially means “to act on one’s own in a judicial context”—either as a political entity that makes its own laws and has its own judges (that is, has its own jurisdiction) or as an individual person who pleads his or her own cause (that is, acts as his or her own lawyer). The Moeris entry seems to have the second meaning in mind, as we can deduce from the following quotations:

⁵⁶ See Moeris Atticista, *Lexicon Atticum*, ed. Johannes Piersonus and G. A. Koch (Leipzig: Laufferus, 1830; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1969), 54.

⁵⁷ Wilshire, “The TLG Computer,” 121–22, fails to recognize the textual corruption, and treats *αὐτοδίκην* here as an adjective, which he gives the meaning “self-judged.”

1. Hesychius, *Lexicon*: αὐτομαχεῖν· αὐτοδικεῖν.⁵⁸ Here αὐτοδικεῖν is defined as the equivalent of αὐτομαχεῖν, which in turn means “to fight for oneself, to plead one’s own cause.”⁵⁹
2. Photius, *Lexicon*: αὐτοδίκη [read: αὐτοδικεῖ]· ὅταν αὐτὸς δι’ ἑαυτοῦ τις δικάζηται καὶ αὐτομαχεῖ, that is, “αὐτοδικεῖ [means] when someone goes to court himself, on his own, and pleads his own cause.”⁶⁰
3. Hesychius, *Lexicon*: αὐτοδικεῖ· αὐθεντεῖ. ὅταν αὐτὸς λέγῃ.⁶¹ In the light of the equivalency of αὐτοδικέω and αὐτομαχέω established in the preceding two quotations, this entry may be translated as follows: “αὐτοδικεῖ [‘pleads his own cause’] [means] αὐθεντεῖ [‘acts on his own’], when he himself pleads his cause.”⁶²

On the basis of the foregoing evidence I would submit that αὐθεντέω in the Moeris entry means “act on one’s own.” As we shall see, this is, in fact, a common meaning of the verb in later Greek.⁶³

(7) THE PAPYRUS *P.Tebt.* 276.28

This text, dated to the late second or third century AD, is unfortunately damaged at the point that interests us.⁶⁴ As restored by Grenfell and Hunt, the relevant lines (26–29) read as follows:

[ἐὰν δὲ] ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεως τρίγωνος τούτῳ φανῇ [καὶ τῷ τ]οῦ Κρόνου εὐδαιμονίαν με[γά]λην [ἀποτελεῖ] καὶ περ[ί]κτησιν ἔξει καὶ [α]ὐθεντή[σει? . . .] εὐαχολίαν. “If Mars appears in triangular relation to the latter [Jupiter] and to Saturn, this will cause great happiness, and he will make acquisitions and *rule* . . . an occupation.”⁶⁵

⁵⁸ See *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. 1, A–Δ, ed. Kurt Latte (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1953), s.v. αὐτομαχεῖν.

⁵⁹ LSJ s.v. αὐτομαχέω.

⁶⁰ Christos Theodoridis, ed., *Photii Patriarchae Lexicon*, vol. 1, A–Δ (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1982), 296 (#3215).

⁶¹ *Hesychii Lexicon*, s.v. αὐτοδικεῖ.

⁶² On λέγω meaning “plead one’s cause,” see LSJ s.v. 3.11. Compare also δίκην εἰπεῖν, “to plead a cause” (LSJ s.v. δίκη, 4.2a).

⁶³ See the discussion of column 3 in the post-312 occurrences of αὐθεντέω below. In an earlier discussion of this passage, I concluded that αὐτοδικεῖν (and therefore αὐθεντεῖν as well) should here be understood to mean “to have independent jurisdiction.” See Wolters, “Semantic Study,” 159 (repr., 49). Although this is clearly a meaning of αὐτοδικεῖν in other contexts, I now believe that the meaning “plead one’s own cause” better fits the Moeris context.

⁶⁴ See *The Tebtunis Papyri. Part II*, ed. Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt (London: Henry Frowde, 1907), 29–31.

⁶⁵ In this translation, I have slightly modified that given by Grenfell and Hunt (*The Tebtunis Papyri*, 31), who leave [α]ὐθεντή[σει?] and εὐαχολίαν untranslated.

Unfortunately, the restoration of this fragmentary papyrus is not entirely secure. It is just possible that we should read the noun [α]ῤθέντη[σιν . . .], “governorship,” instead of the verb [α]ῤθέντη[σει . . .]—especially since the very rare noun ἀθέντησις does occur in a similar astrological context elsewhere.⁶⁶

(8) SCHOLION ON AESCHYLUS, *Eumenides* 42

This scholion reads as follows: ἐμφατικῶς τοῦτο νεωστὶ ἀθέντηκότα παρίστησιν. “This [word] vividly portrays one who has just *committed murder*.”⁶⁷

This text, like the one quoted above from Aristonicus’s *On the Signs of the Iliad*, is a philological annotation on a classical text, in this case on one of the plays of Aeschylus. Specifically, it provides a note on the word στάζοντα, “dripping [with blood],” found in line 42 of Aeschylus’s play *Eumenides*. This word describes Orestes, who had previously murdered his mother Clytaemnestra. Because of this heinous crime, Orestes had become what the Attic tragedians called an ἀθέντης, a “kin-murderer.”⁶⁸ The scholion is clearly alluding to this meaning of the noun in using the verb ἀθέντω in the unusual sense “murder.” This point is explicitly made in an expanded version of the Aeschylus scholion by the fourteenth-century scholar Demetrius Triclinius, who adds the following words to explain the use of ἀθέντηκότα in this unusual sense: “as if [to say] ‘the one who committed murder [τὸν φονεύσαντα].’ For the murderer is called an ἀθέντης.”⁶⁹ By not recognizing the connection with the Attic sense of ἀθέντης, some scholars have mistakenly translated the verb here more generally as “commit

⁶⁶ See Vettii Valentis *Antiocheni Anthologiarum libri novem*, ed. D. Pingree, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig: Teubner, 1986) 1.1.40 (p. 4, line 24), and the discussion in Wolters, “Early Parallel,” 683.

⁶⁷ *L’Eschilo Laurenziano: Facsimile*, ed. Enrico Rostagno (Florence: Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, 1896), Tavola 42. See also O. L. Smith, *Scholia Graeca in Aeschylum quae Exstant Omnia* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1976), 1:45. Smith emends the text to read [στάζοντα] ἐμφαντικῶς <διὰ> τούτου <τὸν> νεωστὶ ἡθέντηκότα παρίστησιν, “*dripping*. By this [Aeschylus] vividly portrays the one who has just committed murder,” but this emendation is not necessary.

⁶⁸ See L. Gernet, “ἀθέντης,” *REG* 22 (1909): 24–27.

⁶⁹ The scholia on Aeschylus’s *Eumenides* by Demetrius Triclinius have been published in Aleksander Turyn, *The Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Aeschylus* (New York, 1943; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), 125–37 (here 126).

an act of violence” (so Belleville⁷⁰) or have even given it the meaning “initiate” (so Huttar⁷¹).

The date of this scholion is disputed. Payne follows a scholarly tradition that attributes it to Didymus Chalcenterus (ca. 63 BC to AD 10), a well-known representative of the Alexandrian school of classical philology that flourished just prior to the turn of the era.⁷² However, I regard such an early date as unlikely. Although it is true that the scholion belongs to the so-called *scholia vetera* or “old scholia” on Aeschylus, this does not mean that this particular scholion can be dated as early as the turn of the era and certainly not that it can be ascribed specifically to Didymus. Of these old scholia, Eleanor Dickey writes that they “contain material from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, including some that is almost certainly Alexandrian; it is sometimes argued that these scholia derive from a commentary by Didymus, but this remains unproven.”⁷³ It is theoretically possible that the scholion on *Eumenides* 42 belongs to the oldest stratum of the *scholia vetera*, but this is far from assured. It could just as well date from the late Roman period.

We need to emphasize that the meaning “murder” given to αὐθεντέω in this scholion is highly unusual. In fact, the only other place in all of ancient Greek literature where the verb might be taken to have this meaning is in the Job commentary of Olympiodorus Diaconus (ca. AD 500), but the text there is almost certainly corrupt.⁷⁴ I myself am inclined to believe that the Aeschylus scholion is late and represents an example of an “Atticistic hypercorrection,” that is, a mistake in usage by an Atticist purist who assumed—because the noun αὐθέντης in Attic meant “murderer” and because the verb αὐθεντέω is derived from αὐθέντης—that the proper Attic meaning of the verb must be

⁷⁰ Linda Belleville, “Women in Ministry: An Egalitarian Perspective,” in *Two Views on Women in Ministry*, ed. James R. Beck, rev. ed., Counterpoints (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2005), 96.

⁷¹ David K. Huttar, “ΑΥΘΕΝΤΕΙΝ in the Aeschylus Scholium,” *JETS* 44, no. 4 (2001), 623. Strangely, Huttar takes τοῦτο to be the object of αὐθεντήκοτα, rather than the subject of παρίστησιν, so that his translation reads, “vividly he describes one having just then initiated this thing.” If that were the meaning, we would expect to see here the genitive τοῦτου rather than τοῦτο (see the discussion under column 6 in the post-312 occurrences of αὐθεντέω below).

⁷² Payne, *Man and Woman*, 362.

⁷³ Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship: A Guide to Finding, Reading and Understanding Scholia, Commentaries, Lexica, and Grammatical Treatises, from Their Beginnings to the Byzantine Period*, American Philological Association Classical Resources (New York: Oxford, 2007) 36.

⁷⁴ See Ursula and Dieter Hagedorn, eds., *Olympiodor, Diakon von Alexandria, Kommentar zu Hiob* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984), where the reading αὐθεντήσοι [sic] ἑμαυτὸν (which does not fit grammatically in the sentence) is probably a corruption of αὐθέντης ἑμαυτοῦ, “murderer of myself.” Compare the variant reading αὐτόχειρ ἑμαυτοῦ preserved in the parallel textual tradition of the Job Catenae (see PG 93.316C).

“murder.”⁷⁵ In fact, however, there is no evidence that the verb ever occurred in Attic and no evidence that it ever had the meaning “murder” anywhere outside of the Aeschylus scholion itself. It seems unlikely to me that a philologist of the stature of Didymus Chalcenterus (who, in any case, was not an Atticist) would have made such a blunder.

The foregoing eight texts complete my survey of possible pre-Constantinian examples of *Ἀυθεντέω*.⁷⁶ Since in my view text (8) should probably be dated after 312, and since texts (1) and (7) are text-critically dubious, we are left with only five secure extrabiblical examples of the verb before 312, and these five seem to reflect quite a wide range of meanings. If my interpretations are right, those meanings include “have authority” (2), “be superior to” (3), “originate” (4), “rule” (5), and “act on one’s own” (6). Only two of these mirror the 1 Timothy 2:12 construction of being construed with the genitive [(3) and (5)]. Since the interpretation of most of these places is disputed, they provide a rather slim basis on which to establish the meaning of the verb in 1 Timothy 2:12.

Other Evidence Bearing on the Meaning of *Ἀυθεντέω* in 1 Timothy 2:12

Fortunately, however, a number of other kinds of evidence help us to establish the lexical sense of *Ἀυθεντέω* in 1 Timothy 2:12. Apart from the post-312 usage of the verb (which we will deal with separately), three other kinds of evidence can be helpful in this regard.

First, we have the evidence of the immediate biblical context. Even if the verb *Ἀυθεντέω* occurred nowhere else and had no known cognates, it would still be possible to guess from the context in 1 Timothy 2:12 that its meaning had to do with the positive exercise of authority. As

⁷⁵ See Wolters, “Semantic Study,” 169 (repr., 53–54). A late date is also assumed by the German classicist Zucker, who writes: “Sehr merkwürdig ist, daß noch in späterer Zeit das Verbum *Ἀυθεντεῖν* in attizistischem Sinn ‘Mörder sein’ heißen kann gegen die lebendige Sprache” (“It is very remarkable that in later times the verb *Ἀυθεντεῖν* can still mean ‘be a murderer’ in an Atticistic sense, against the living language”). See Friedrich Zucker, *AYΘENTHΣ und Ableitungen*, Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philologisch-historische Klasse, Band 107, Heft 4 (Berlin: Akademie, 1962), 16.

⁷⁶ My list omits Pseudo-Hippolytus, *De consummatione mundi* 7.5 (PG 10.909C), where the printed editions include the middle form *Ἀυθεντήσονται*. This work is not actually by the third-century church father Hippolytus of Rome (*pace* Baldwin, “Appendix 2,” 278) and is variously dated to the fourth, seventh, and ninth centuries. Apart from the disputed questions of authorship and date, it also needs to be pointed out that the reading *Ἀυθεντήσονται* is quite dubious; it is attested in only one of the three manuscripts that form the basis of the printed editions. The other two do not have a form of *Ἀυθεντέω*. See Paul A. de Lagarde, *Hippolyti Romani quae feruntur omnia graece* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1858), 96.

Andreas Köstenberger shows in his chapter, the combination διδάσκειν . . . οὐδὲ αὐθεντεῖν indicates that the two coordinate verbs are in all likelihood both positive terms. In other words, αὐθεντεῖν does not carry a pejorative sense. But the close parallel with διδάσκειν also suggests that αὐθεντεῖν has to do with authority, since the former verb generally refers to an authoritative activity in the New Testament. That is clearly the case in the present context, where the teaching in question immediately follows the admonition to learn “in all submission” (ἐν πάσῃ ὑποταγῇ). Another contextual clue that αὐθεντέω involves authority is the genitive case of its object (ἀνδρός), a construction that is most easily explained if αὐθεντέω is a verb of ruling. That teaching was generally associated with authority is reflected in the titles רַבִּי (רַבִּי) and רַבִּנִּי (רַבִּבּוֹנִי), both literally meaning “my lord,” which the New Testament translates as διδάσκαλος (see John 1:38 and 20:16). Similarly, Jesus can describe himself in relation to his disciples as their “Lord and Teacher” (ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ διδάσκαλος) in John 13:14.⁷⁷ Thus the immediate context suggests that αὐθεντέω has to do with the positive exercise of authority.

A second kind of evidence is that of the translations made in antiquity. Clearly, these ancient versions of 1 Timothy 2:12 provide an important clue to the meaning of αὐθεντέω in that verse. It turns out that, with one exception, all the direct translations I have been able to check agree in translating αὐθεντέω with a verb that is related to a noun designating someone in authority and that has the general meaning “be in authority over” or “rule.”⁷⁸ In other words, they faithfully reflected the denominative nature of the Greek verb as derived from αὐθέντης/“master.”

The Old Latin versions of the so-called Vetus Latina, dating from the third century on, have four different translations:

- VL 1: *praepositam esse* (related to *praepositus*, “commander”)
- VL 2: *dominare* (related to *dominus*, “lord”)
- VL 3: *dominari* (related to *dominus*, “lord”)

⁷⁷ Compare also the phrase τὸν αὐθέντην διδάσκαλον found in Pseudo-Methodius, *De Simone et Anna* (PG 18.360C). Similarly, note how the Latin *magister* can mean both “superior” and “teacher,” as can its derivatives in French (*maître*) and English (*master*).

⁷⁸ I have not been able to check the Georgian and Ethiopic translations.

- VL 4: *principari* (related to *princeps*, “ruler”)⁷⁹

To these we can add the following translations:

- Sahidic Coptic (second century): *erjoeis* (related to *joeis*, “lord”)⁸⁰
- Bohairic Coptic (third century): *ethreserjōj* (related to *jōj*, “head”)⁸¹
- Gothic (fourth century): *frauġinom* (related to *frauġa*, “lord”)⁸²
- Vulgate (fourth century): *dominari* (related to *dominus*, “lord”)
- Harklean Syriac (seventh century): *mštlw* (*meštlāw*) (related to *šalīlā*, “ruler”)⁸³

The only exception to this regular pattern in the ancient versions is the Peshitta, which has the translation *lmamrāhū* ‘*al*, literally “dare over” or “dare against,” which has been variously rendered as “be assuming over,” “lord it over,” and “be presumptuous over.” However, if we assume a slight inner-Syriac corruption and read the consonantal text as *lmmrnw* instead of *lmmrhw*, then the verb means “to be lord,” a denominative verb related to the noun *mārā*, “lord.” If this emendation is correct, then the Peshitta of this verse is no longer an outlier among the ancient versions but fits the pattern of the others very closely.⁸⁴

Some scholars claim that one or another of the ancient versions strengthens the case for a pejorative understanding of *ἀὐθεντέω*. However, with the exception of the Peshitta (which presents us with either an outlier or a corrupt text), the versions give no basis for this claim. Thus it has been asserted that the Latin *dominari* of the Vulgate carries a pejorative connotation, as in “domineer.”⁸⁵ But the Latin verb, though it can on occasion carry such a negative nuance, regularly has a neutral or positive sense, simply meaning “rule,” “reign,” or “govern.”

⁷⁹ See Hermann J. Frede, *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel*, vol. 25, *Epistulae ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos*, part 1, *Epistulae ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum* (Freiburg: Herder, 1975–1982), 474.

⁸⁰ G. Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect otherwise called Sahidic and Thebaic* (1911–1924; repr., Osnabrück: Zeller, 1969), 5:450.

⁸¹ See the apparatus in Horner, *Coptic Version*, 5:450.

⁸² W. Streitberg, *Die Gotische Bibel* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1971), 417.

⁸³ See Barbara Aland and Andreas Juckel, eds., *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung*, vol. 2, *Die paulinischen Briefe*, part 3, 1./2. *Thessalonicherbrief*, 1./2. *Timotheusbrief*, *Titusbrief*, *Philemonbrief* und *Hebräerbrief* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), 140.

⁸⁴ For details, see A. Wolters, “*ἀὐθεντέω* and Its Cognates in Biblical Greek,” *JETS* 52, no. 4 (2009): 726–27.

⁸⁵ See, for example, R. T. France, *Women in the Church’s Ministry: A Test Case for Biblical Interpretation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), 65n16 (“probably”).

As examples of its positive sense, consider the places where the Vulgate uses *dominor* to describe the rule of God (see Judg. 8:23; 2 Chron. 20:6; Ps. 58:14[59:13]; Dan. 4:14); the rule of the Messiah of Old Testament expectation (see Num. 24:19; Pss. 71[72]:8; 109[110]:2; Zech. 6:13); or the rule of Jesus Christ in the New Testament (see Rom. 14:9). A remarkable example of this positive use is found in one of the letters of Jerome, the translator of the Vulgate. In discussing the difference between a king and a bishop, he writes that “the former subdues by intimidation, the latter rules [*dominatur*] by serving.”⁸⁶ In Jerome’s usage, the ruling indicated by *dominor* is consistent with servant leadership.

Similarly, a pejorative meaning of ἀϑεντέω has been based not only on the Peshitta but also on the medieval Arabic versions of the text.⁸⁷ However, these Arabic versions are not only dated very late (ninth century and later) but are generally not based on the original biblical text. Thus the oldest published Arabic version of the Pauline epistles is dated to AD 867 and is based on a Syriac translation, not on the original Greek.⁸⁸ Such daughter translations are an unreliable guide to the semantic nuances of the Greek.⁸⁹

In addition to the literary context and the ancient versions, a third kind of evidence bearing on the meaning of ἀϑεντέω is Greek patristic exegesis. I am aware of four places where Greek-speaking church fathers shed significant light on our verb. Although three of these texts occur after 312, I have organized them together here because they represent commentary aimed at elucidating our understanding of the term in this passage and not just instances of the term in usage.

The first is in the commentary on 1 Corinthians by Origen (ca. 185–ca. 254), where he writes the following with respect to Paul’s statement in 1 Corinthians 14:34, “Let women be silent in the churches”:

⁸⁶ *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, part 1, *Epistulae I–LXX. Editio altera supplementis aucta*, ed. Isidorus Hilberg, CSEL 54 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996), 568: “ille terrore subicit, hic seruitute dominatur.”

⁸⁷ So Kenneth E. Bailey, “Women in the New Testament: A Middle Eastern Cultural View,” in *Theology Matters: A Publication of Presbyterians for Faith, Family and Ministry* 6 (2000): 8–9.

⁸⁸ See Sidney R. Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic: The Scriptures of the “People of the Book” in the Language of Islam*, Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), 133–35.

⁸⁹ The same applies to the ancient Armenian version, which scholars widely regard as being influenced by the Peshitta, so that its use as a witness to the meaning of the Greek is suspect. My thanks to Claude Cox for this information.

(9) When Miriam the prophetess spoke she was ruling [*ἄρχουσα ἦν*] over certain women. “For it is shameful for a woman to speak in church,” and “I do not permit a woman to teach”—not without qualification, but⁹⁰—“nor to *have authority* [*αὐθεντεῖν*] over a man.” I will demonstrate this point from elsewhere as well, even though that text stands as a rather secure statement about the woman not being the man’s leader in [the ministry of] the word [*περὶ τοῦ μὴ τὴν γυναῖκα ἡγεμόνα γίνεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ ἀνδρός*].⁹¹

Clearly, Origen here interprets *αὐθεντέω* in terms of being “a leader in the word,” parallel to the “ruling” implicit in Miriam’s prophesying. There is no suggestion of a pejorative meaning. One could argue that *γίνεσθαι* suggests an ingressive sense (“*become* a leader”), but Origen is unlikely to have had that specific meaning of the verb in mind. It is well known that *γίνομαι* often simply means “be” rather than “become.”⁹² Origen’s testimony is particularly valuable because he lived in the third century, not long after the apostolic age, and was a Greek father renowned for his biblical scholarship.

Second, we refer to a passage in a homily by John Chrysostom (ca. 347–407), in which he writes the following: (10) “And how can [Paul] say, when writing to Timothy, ‘But I do not permit a woman to teach, nor to have authority [*αὐθεντεῖν*] over a man’? [This applies] when the man also is godly, holds the same faith, and shares in the same wisdom. But when the man is an unbeliever, and deceived, [Paul] does not deprive her of the authority [*αὐθεντίαν*] of teaching.”⁹³ Here Chrysostom clearly interprets the meaning of *αὐθεντεῖν* in this passage as applying to the *αὐθεντία* of teaching.

A third patristic example comes again from Chrysostom, who quotes 1 Timothy 2:12 as being in apparent contradiction to what Paul writes to Titus, namely, that older women should be “teachers of the good” (*καλοδιδασκάλους*), “so that they can instruct [*σωφρονίζωσιν*] the younger women” (Titus 2:3–4):

⁹⁰ I read <οὐχ> ἀπλῶς. Compare οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἵνα διδάσκωσιν in line 24.

⁹¹ See C. Jenkins, “Origen on 1 Corinthians, IV,” *JTS* 10 (1909), 42, lines 19–23.

⁹² For example, in the New Testament of the NIV (1984), *γίνομαι* is translated by a form of the verb *to be* 145 times, far more often than by any other rendering. See Edward W. Goodrick and John R. Kohlenberger III, *The NIV Exhaustive Concordance* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1990), 1696–97.

⁹³ John Chrysostom, *In illud, Salutate Priscillam et Aquilam I*, 3 (PG 51.192.23–28).

(11) “But I do not permit a woman to teach.” But listen to what [Paul] added: “Nor to *have authority* [αὐθεντεῖν] over a man.” For to men it is permitted to teach both men and women from on high; to women he permits the word of exhortation at home, but nowhere does he allow them to preside [προκαθῆσθαι], or does he let them hold an extended discourse. For this reason he added the words “nor to *have authority* [αὐθεντεῖν] over a man,” “so that they can instruct” (he says) “the young women.”⁹⁴

In Chrysostom’s view, the addition of the words “nor to have authority over a man” further clarifies what the apostle meant by prohibiting women from teaching. What he meant was teaching that was done in public, was addressed to both men and women, was done “from on high” (ἄνωθεν), and could be characterized as “presiding” (προκαθῆσθαι). These last two features seem to describe what Chrysostom understood αὐθεντέω to mean. The striking qualification “from on high” probably means either “from the pulpit” or “from heaven,” and on either reading implies preaching authoritatively on God’s behalf. Similarly, the verb here translated “preside” (προκάθηναι) regularly means “to be in an office of leadership.”⁹⁵ Clearly, Chrysostom’s understanding of αὐθεντέω is anything but pejorative. For him, it describes an aspect of the high and noble task of preaching God’s Word in the public worship service.

A fourth patristic testimony is that of the *Cyrilli Lexicon*, a fifth-century lexicon traditionally ascribed to Cyril of Alexandria (ca. 375–444).⁹⁶ This lexicon listed mainly rare and obscure words, including such words found in the Greek Bible. To date, this lexicon has never been published, but a good number of its entries were later interpolated into the lexicon of Hesychius, where they have been duly identified as Cyrillian by its editors. One such entry reads as follows in Latte’s edition of Hesychius: (12) “N.T. *A8259 αὐθεντεῖν· ἐξουσιάζειν. (1 Tim. 2,12) AS.”⁹⁷ The meaning of αὐθεντέω is here explicitly equated with ἐξουσιάζω, “to exercise authority,” a verb that is neither pejorative nor

⁹⁴ John Chrysostom, *Hom. Tit. Homilia 4* (PG 62.683).

⁹⁵ So BDAG s.v. Christian writers especially used the verb of the governing role of the ecclesiastical ἐπίσκοπος (see also PGL s.v., 1).

⁹⁶ See Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship*, 100.

⁹⁷ *Hesychii Lexicon*, 279.

ingressive in its meaning. The asterisk means that the entry is interpolated from the *Cyrilli Lexicon*, and the other editorial annotations indicate that it concerns a New Testament word, specifically that found in 1 Timothy 2:12, and is attested in the manuscripts A and S of the *Cyrilli Lexicon*. That this entry is indeed found in the lexicon in question was kindly confirmed to me by Helmut van Thiel, who together with Nigel Wilson is preparing the *editio princeps* of the *Cyrilli Lexicon*.⁹⁸

Since this particular entry is a later interpolation in the lexicon of Hesychius, it has often been dismissed as suspect evidence for the meaning of αὐθεντέω in 1 Timothy 2:12.⁹⁹ However, it is, in fact, a valuable piece of evidence, since it shows how a prominent church father (or scholars working under his auspices) understood the rare verb in 1 Timothy 2:12.

Occurrences of Αὐθεντέω after AD 312

I have delayed discussion of this class of evidence because we must avoid attaching too much weight to it. It is a precarious undertaking to interpret the use of a verb in the first century in the light of its use hundreds of years later. Although we may safely assume some continuity of meaning between the early and later uses of the verb, we cannot discount the possibility, indeed the likelihood, that the word changed its meaning over the millennium and a half in which it is attested in the extant sources. We cannot assume that Greek speakers in the fifth century AD used the verb in the same way as those of the first century, just as English words in our day may not mean what they meant in Shakespeare's plays or the King James Version.

It would carry us far beyond the scope of this chapter if I were to cite each of the more than one hundred post-312 passages where the verb αὐθεντέω is attested, especially since many of these require philological commentary.¹⁰⁰ Instead, I will briefly outline the basic usage categories that my investigations have led me to distinguish and give references to the places where they are attested. For the two most common usages

⁹⁸In an email communication to me dated June 7, 2014.

⁹⁹See Knight, "ΑΥΘΕΝΤΕΩ," 148; Wilshire, "The TLG Computer," 129; H. Scott Baldwin, "An Important Word: Αὐθεντέω in 1 Timothy 2:12," in *Women in the Church: An Analysis and Application of 1 Timothy 2:9–15*, ed. Andreas J. Köstenberger and Thomas R. Schreiner, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005), 197n19; Payne, *Man and Woman*, 375n70.

¹⁰⁰I hope in the future to write a monograph in which I will discuss each passage separately.

(columns 1 and 3 below), I will give only a selection of representative examples but will supplement them with a full list of additional references to occurrences that can be dated to the fourth and fifth centuries.

I refer to my basic usage categories as “columns,” and I distinguish seven of them.¹⁰¹ To clarify my use of “column” in this connection, allow me to make a homely comparison. Imagine a standard one-year printed calendar that has one page for every month of the year. Furthermore, for every month, it has four horizontal bands representing the weeks of that month and seven vertical columns indicating the seven days of the week. These vertical columns correspond to the seven usage categories that I have distinguished, and the twelve pages of the calendar correspond to centuries, beginning with the first century BC. (Actually, for the analogy to work, my imaginary calendar has to include three extra months, since the last occurrence of ἀθεντέω recorded in the TLG is in the fourteenth century.) If one were to record the various occurrences of the verb ἀθεντέω on my hypothetical calendar, putting each in its appropriate column and (as far as possible) in its chronological month and week, the following picture would emerge. The first four months of the year would be largely blank, with only five definite occurrences scattered over four different columns. But in May Christianity gains public recognition and protection, and for the ensuing several months, the calendar records dozens of occurrences spread over each of the seven days of the week (columns). But from September on, the pages of the calendar become largely blank again, except for Saturdays (the seventh column).

Each of the seven usage categories that I have distinguished is defined by a single basic meaning or semantic content, supplemented by other relevant features, mainly whether the usage in question is transitive or intransitive. Note that for the first six columns, the three intransitive columns (1, 3, 5) are in each case matched by a corresponding transitive column (2, 4, 6). Although each occurrence of the verb in a given column will have the same basic meaning, a variety of different translations may be appropriate, depending on the context.

¹⁰¹ Actually, I distinguish eight columns, but since the sole occupant of the eighth is the Aeschylus scholion, I will ignore it here.

COLUMN 1

The first column represents what was probably the original meaning of *Ἀυθεντέω* as an obviously denominative verb, namely, “be an *Ἀυθέντης*” (that is, “be a master”). Here the verb is used in an intransitive sense, without an object, and can be translated as “be sovereign,” “have authority,” “reign,” or the like. This intransitive use of *Ἀυθεντέω* occurs some twenty-nine times.

The first example of this usage after 312 is found in the church father Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. 260–ca. 340):

(13) Therefore only this [Spirit] is included in the holy and thrice-blessed Trinity, since when the Savior commands his apostles to hand on the mystery of new birth in himself to all the Gentiles who believe in him, he commands them to do so in no other way than by “baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit”—the Father *being sovereign* [*Ἀυθεντοῦντος*] and bestowing grace, the Son administering this grace (for “grace and truth came through Jesus Christ”), the Holy Spirit (that is, the Paraclete) being the one who supplies according to the “diversities of gifts” in him.¹⁰²

It is noteworthy that here God the Father, as one of the persons of the Trinity, is the subject of *Ἀυθεντέω*. This is the first of many examples in this column where the subject of *Ἀυθεντέω* is a divine person, whether that divine person be God without qualification,¹⁰³ God the Father,¹⁰⁴ God the Son,¹⁰⁵ or God the Holy Spirit.¹⁰⁶ It need hardly be pointed out that in none of these cases is *Ἀυθεντέω* used in a pejorative sense, since no Christian writer would ascribe anything reprehensible to God. Nor is the verb used in an ingressive sense, since in the Christian view God’s sovereignty is from everlasting to everlasting. At no point does God “assume authority.”

In addition, in two places Jesus Christ as the incarnate Son of God serves as the subject of the verb used in this intransitive sense. When

¹⁰² Eusebius, *Eccl. theol.* 3.5.21.1 (PG 24.1013A).

¹⁰³ So Pseudo-Chrysostom, *In Psalmum* 92 (PG 55.615.4).

¹⁰⁴ See also Pseudo-Caesarius, *Erotapokriseis* 33.2 (PG 38.1021.27).

¹⁰⁵ See Epiphanius, *Panarion* 3.224.5 (§75.10) (PG 42.325A).

¹⁰⁶ See Pseudo-Athanasius, *Testimonia e Scriptura* (*De communi essentia Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*) 7 (PG 28.41C) and John Chrysostom, *Pent.* 2.1 (PG 50.464.35).

Christ is the subject, the context suggests the translation “assert [his] authority.” One such example is found in a poem by Romanus Melodus (sixth century), in which demons address Christ as follows: (14) “We were ruling the whole earth, we were holding everything captive. But you have come against us like a great sovereign, and you *assert your authority* [ἀϋθεντεῖς], driving us as Lord of all out of our possessions.”¹⁰⁷ Here too it is clear that when the verb has a divine subject, it carries no negative connotation. The same can be said of the other place where Christ is the subject.¹⁰⁸ If we add these examples to those mentioned earlier, we arrive at a total of eight examples of ἀϋθεντέω that have a divine subject, accounting for almost a third of the total in this column.¹⁰⁹

In many other examples, the subject is not a divine person or a person at all. Consider the following passage from Proclus of Constantinople (fifth century): (15) “How great the difference between law and grace is—how the one condemns, but the other forgives; the one punishes, but the other saves; the one is subservient, but the other *rules* [ἀϋθεντεῖ]; . . . the one holds the office of executioner, but the other exercises authority [ἐξουσιάζει] in the manner of a king.”¹¹⁰ Note how ἀϋθεντέω parallels the verb ἐξουσιάζω, “exercise authority,” and is used in an overtly positive sense.

Another instructive example of column 1 occurs in the tenth-century lexicon known as the *Suda*, where we find the following under the entry for the noun ἀϋθέντης: (16) καὶ Αϋθεντήσαντα, κύριον γενόμενον. Μὴ ὀφείλειν αὐτὸν αϋθεντήσαντα τοὺς ὑπὸ ζώνην συνέχειν. “And ἀϋθεντήσαντα [means] ‘having *become lord*.’ [As in:] ‘He must not, once he has *assumed command*, harass the senior bureaucracy.”¹¹¹ It is itself significant that the entry for the noun ἀϋθέντης includes the definition of ἀϋθεντέω, the verb derived from the noun, together with a sentence illustrating the *verb*’s use, which underlines the denominative nature of ἀϋθεντέω. Note also how this entry illustrates the ingressive

¹⁰⁷ Romanus Melodus, *Cantica* 22.17.8.

¹⁰⁸ See Romanus Melodus, *Cantica* 20.13.6.

¹⁰⁹ Compare also Joannes III Scholasticus, *Synagoga L Titulorum* 153, where the Christian Scriptures are said to “have authority” (αϋθεντεῖν). Vladimirus Benešević, ed., *Joannis Scholastici synagoga L titulorum ceteraque eiusdem opera iuridica*, vol. 1, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Abteilung, Neue Folge, Heft 14 (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1937), 153.

¹¹⁰ Proclus Constantinopolitanus, *Oratio XVII: Laudatio sancti protomartyris Stephani* (PG 65.815A).

¹¹¹ See Ada Adler, ed., *Suidae Lexicon*, Lexicographi Graeci 1 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1928), 412.

character of the aorist of this denominative verb. It can mean not only “be a master” but also, in the aorist, “become a master” or “assume authority.” However, the entry makes no suggestion that this assumption of authority is illegitimate.

It will be observed that the intransitive use of the verb represented by column 1 stands in continuity with the meaning we found in *BGU* 1208 (text [2] above). By my reckoning, there are fifteen additional examples of this use of *αὐθεντέω* meaning basically “be master.” Three of them can be dated to the fourth and fifth centuries.¹¹²

COLUMN 2

The second column is the transitive counterpart of the first, with the basic meaning “be master *of*” and thus “have authority *over*” or “be superior *to*” in some sense. As a verb of ruling, *αὐθεντέω* in this sense generally takes an object in the genitive case. There are only ten examples of this use of the verb after 312, but it is of the greatest interest for our purposes because the grammatical construction of 1 Timothy 2:12 puts its use of *αὐθεντέω* in this category. The closest parallels to that verse are found in the places where *αὐθεντέω* is construed with the genitive of the person, but such cases are very rare, occurring only five times after 312. And three of these are not really independent uses but rather allusions to the biblical text. We will briefly consider each one.

The first example is found in John Chrysostom’s homily on Matthew 12:46–47, where Jesus’s mother, Mary, asks to speak with him as he is preaching to the crowds. Chrysostom criticizes Mary’s initiative: (17) “For what she attempted showed excessive love of honor, for she wanted to advertise to the people that she *had* control and *authority* over her son [κρατεῖ καὶ αὐθεντεῖ τοῦ παιδός], not yet imagining anything extraordinary about him, which is why she approached him at an inopportune time.”¹¹³ Other places in Chrysostom’s homilies make it clear that he was not critical of Mary’s claim of parental authority over her son.¹¹⁴ Instead, he objected to her excessive love of honor (φιλοτιμία), which prompted her to make a public display of her parental authority

¹¹²See John Chrysostom, *Hom. Gen.* Homilia 4 (PG 54.595.1); Euthierius of Tyana, *Antilogia* 2 (PG 28.1340C); Pseudo-Chrysostom, *In Genesim* Homilia 3 (PG 56.533.20).

¹¹³John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* Homilia 44 (PG 57.465.1).

¹¹⁴See the immediate sequel of this passage and John Chrysostom, *Hom. Jo.* Homilia 21 (PG 59.130).

to the crowds whom Jesus was addressing. Furthermore, she made her claims on him at an inappropriate time (ἀκαίρως), not yet realizing the full extent of his mission.

The second and third examples of this construction occur in an anonymous document of the fourth century that purports to be a dialogue between a Montanist and an orthodox believer. In this dialogue, the orthodox interlocutor addresses the Montanist on the issue of whether women should prophesy and write books in their own name. He particularly had in mind the Montanist prophetesses Priscilla and Maximilla, who had done both of these things:¹¹⁵

(18) We [that is, the orthodox] do not reject the prophecies of women. Even the holy Mary prophesied, saying “From now on all generations will call me blessed.” And as you yourself have also said, the holy Philip had daughters who prophesied. Also Miriam, the sister of Aaron, used to prophesy. But we do not allow them to speak in church assemblies, nor to *take precedence over* men [ἀϋθεντεῖν ἀνδρῶν], so that they would even write books in their own name. For this is what it means for them to pray and prophesy “without being covered.” And she did not dishonor her head, that is, her husband. For surely Mary, the holy Mother of God, was not incapable of writing books in her own name! But she did not do so, in order not to dishonor her head by *taking precedence over* men [ἀϋθεντοῦσα τῶν ἀνδρῶν].¹¹⁶

In this passage, the orthodox interlocutor is clearly alluding to 1 Timothy 2:12 but seems to understand it in a rather distinctive way. For him, a prime example of what the apostle is prohibiting is for a woman to write books in her own name, thereby dishonoring or shaming (καταισχύνω) her husband. To act in such a way, moreover, is to act ἀκαταλύπτως (“without being covered”). This distinctive adverb alludes to 1 Corinthians 11:5, and our author apparently understands it metaphorically to mean “without being covered by male authority.”

¹¹⁵ See Anne Jensen, *God's Self-Confident Daughters: Early Christianity and the Liberation of Women*, trans. O. C. Dean Jr. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 154, 171–72.

¹¹⁶ The “Dialogue,” formerly attributed to Didymus the Blind, was first published in G. Flicker, “Widerlegung eines Montanisten,” *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 26 (1905): 448–58. A more recent edition of the Greek text, with an English translation, is found in Ronald E. Heine, *The Montanist Oracles and Testimonia*, Patristic Monograph Series 14 (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1989), 112–25 (here 124).

For a woman to engage in such behavior is for her to *αὐθεντεῖν* over men—particularly over her husband in the case of a married woman. Since it is difficult to see how a woman’s writing a book in her own name would be an example of “having authority” over men, I suspect that the author is here using the verb with a slightly different nuance, perhaps “take precedence over,” in the sense of stealing the limelight. This is reminiscent of the meaning “be superior to” that we found in the *Methodus mystica* (see [3] above).

In his life of Euthymius of Sardis, the ninth-century patriarch Methodius I writes that Euthymius was deposed as bishop of Sardis and subsequently rehabilitated, but nevertheless the church did not restore him to his former episcopal throne. For the rest of his life, (19) “he was not enthroned and did not *rule* the people of Sardis” (οὐδὲ ἡϋθένητησεν λαοῦ Σάρδεων).¹¹⁷

The final place where we find *αὐθεντέω* construed with the genitive of the person is in a very late (twelfth-century) historical work by Michael Glycas. The passage in question deals with the strange customs of foreign peoples and reads as follows: (20) “Among the Agilaei [read: Geli] the wives *have authority* over their husbands [*αὐθεντοῦσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτῶν*], and fornicate as much as they like, incurring no jealousy on the part of their husbands, and they engage in agriculture, the building trade, and every kind of men’s work.”¹¹⁸ This passage is the last of seven attested versions of essentially the same anecdote, found successively in Bardesanes, Pseudo-Clement of Rome, Eusebius, Pseudo-Caesarius, Georgius Monachus, and Georgius Cedrenus.¹¹⁹ By comparing the last two of these versions with that of Glycas, we learn that the otherwise unattested name Ἀγιλᾶιοι is actually a corruption of Γῆλοι (a people living on the southwestern shores of the Caspian Sea) and that *αὐθεντοῦσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτῶν* is Glycas’s rewording of what he had found in his sources, namely, ἄρχουσι δὲ τῶν οἰκείων ἀνδρῶν καὶ κυριεύουσιν, “and they govern their own husbands and rule over them.” Since *αὐθεντέω* was no longer a part of the living language in

¹¹⁷Methodius I, *Vita Euthymii Sardiani* 5. See J. Gouillard, “La vie d’Euthyme de Sardes: Une oeuvre du patriarche Méthode,” *Travaux et Mémoires* 10 (1987): 27.

¹¹⁸I. Bekker, ed., *Michaelis Glycae Annales*, CSHB 27 (Bonn: Weber, 1836), 270.10 (PG 158.280A).

¹¹⁹Most of these literary antecedents of the passage in Glycas are recognized by Kroeger and Kroeger, *I Suffer Not a Woman*, 93–94, 228n24.

the twelfth century, it is clear that Glycas is here substituting the now archaic biblical verb, which occurs in the context of male-female relations in 1 Timothy 2:12, for the roughly synonymous verbs of his sources.

Clearly, there is no basis for Catherine Kroeger's fanciful suggestion that ἀϋθεντέω here means "make sexual advances to."¹²⁰ Nor is there any reason to assume that it here has a pejorative connotation.¹²¹ Glycas, following his sources, is simply suggesting that among the "Agilaei," the traditional authority of husbands over their wives was reversed.

We learn from the foregoing that the specific construction used by Paul in 1 Timothy 2:12 was very rare in ancient Greek. In fact, apart from the two passages in Chrysostom and Methodius, the only other examples of this construction that do not depend on Paul's use of it are found in the astrological treatises *Methodus mystica* and *Tetrabiblos* (see texts [3] and [4] above).

In this column are also three examples of ἀϋθεντέω being construed with the genitive of the thing. (21) Constantine, in a letter cited by Eusebius, speaks of God as the judge of the athletic contest of life who "presides over the judging" (τῆς δὲ κρίσεως ἀϋθεντεῖ).¹²² (22) John Chrysostom, describing how Peter in Acts 1:5 takes the initiative in appointing a deacon to replace Stephen, says that "he as the first *has authority over the matter*" (πρῶτος τοῦ πράγματος ἀϋθεντεῖ).¹²³ (23) Pseudo-Philoponus speaks of ignorance that "*rules* [ἀϋθεντεῖ] the souls in the world of becoming."¹²⁴ These examples are not to be confused with ἀϋθεντέω meaning "initiate," which is also construed with an impersonal genitive (see column 6).

Finally, we find two places where the verb meaning "have authority over" takes an object (personal or impersonal) in the accusative rather than the genitive.¹²⁵ This completes the list of twelve occurrences in this

¹²⁰Kroeger, "Ancient Heresies," 13. See also Kroeger and Kroeger, *I Suffer Not a Woman*, 93–94.

¹²¹So Bruce W. Winter, *Roman Wives, Roman Widows: The Appearance of New Women and the Pauline Communities* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 118, citing as his authority the sixteenth-century Latin translation by J. Leunclavius ("*in potestate habent*").

¹²²Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 2.48 (PG 20.1025C). The Greek here is a translation of Constantine's original Latin, which is no longer extant. This example should possibly be classified under column 6.

¹²³John Chrysostom, *Hom. Act.* Homilia 3 (PG 60.37.13).

¹²⁴Pseudo-Philoponus, *In Aristotelis de anima libros commentaria*, ed. M. Hayduck (Berlin: Reimer, 1897), 487.

¹²⁵See the papyrus BGU 103.3 ("assume authority" [ἀϋθέντισον = ἀϋθέντησον] over a legal dispute) and the *Lexica syntactica* s.v. ἀ[ύ]θε[ν]τῶ ("be master of" slaves).

column. Note that it includes one further example in which the subject of *Ἀὐθεντέω* is a divine person.

COLUMN 3

This column represents the usage category that fits by far the largest number of occurrences of *Ἀὐθεντέω*. In fact, it accounts for almost half of all cases where the verb occurs (a total of fifty-one, by my count). This intransitive use of the verb essentially means “to act on one’s own” or “to act on one’s own authority.” This usage emphasizes exercising one’s *own* authority as distinct from that of another. Although the notion of authority is still present, it can be quite muted. The predominant notion is not that of mastery or authority but of doing something one-self (*αὐτός*), underscoring the meaning implicit in the first component of *Ἀὐθεντέω*, namely, *αὐθ-* (the elided and aspirated form of *αὐτο-*).¹²⁶ That this is the meaning intended is often reinforced by other words in the context, such as forms of *αὐτός*, “he himself,” *ἑαυτοῦ*, “on his own,” or *δι’ ἑαυτοῦ*, “by himself.” Often the context makes clear that there is an implicit contrast with an authority other than one’s own. Consider the following examples:

In the year 371, the church father Basil the Great writes to Athanasius concerning a letter Basil had written to the bishop of Rome (Damasus I) about intervening in a theological dispute:

(24) It seemed appropriate to us to write to the bishop of Rome, asking him to investigate matters here, and to give us his opinion, in order that, since it is difficult to have any men from there sent by a general synodical decree, he might himself *act on his own authority* in the matter [*αὐτὸν Ἀὐθεντῆσαι περὶ τοῦ πράγματος*], selecting men who are able to withstand the rigors of the journey.¹²⁷

Here *αὐτόν*, as the subject of the infinitive, is to be understood as the accusative of *αὐτός* in its intensive sense (Latin *ipse*). In his letter, Basil had urged Damasus to choose a delegation of men from the Latin West to investigate the theological controversy in the Greek East and to do so on his own authority, rather than on the authority of a synod.

¹²⁶Note that the noun *αὐθεντής* was sometimes written *αὐτοέντης*. See LSJ s.v.

¹²⁷Basil the Great, *Epistulae* 69.1,3 (PG 32.432A).

John Chrysostom writes on Romans 8:14: (25) “And it is not only the body, but also the soul itself which he puts under such control. For he does not want even the latter *to act on its own* [αὐθεντεῖν], and he thus puts even the soul’s authority under the power of the Spirit.”¹²⁸ Chrysostom argues that for the apostle, the soul as much as the body must be put under divine control. Here the Spirit’s authority contrasts with the soul’s. The soul does have its own authority (ἐξουσία), but that authority is subordinate to the power of the Spirit.

Ammonius Alexandrinus (fifth century), in his comment on Acts 10:19 (“While Peter was still thinking about the vision, the Spirit said to him . . .”), writes: (26) “Note that a person must not *act on his own*, by himself [ἐαυτῷ αὐθεντεῖν], and [thus] introduce innovations in the faith.”¹²⁹ Here ἐαυτῷ is used in the idiomatic sense “on one’s own” or “by oneself.”¹³⁰ Peter needed the direction of the Holy Spirit; he was not equipped to decide on the meaning of the vision on his own.

In another place, commenting on Acts 15:7–8, Ammonius writes: (27) “The disciples in Antioch were afraid to *act on their own* [αὐθεντήσαι]. But they were so concerned about even apparently trivial questions that the men of Antioch sent Barnabas and Paul to ask the men in Jerusalem.” In other words, these disciples did not want to make a unilateral, independent decision, without consulting the wider body of Christ. Here, too, the translation “assume authority” could certainly be defended (note the aorist tense).¹³¹ Either way, the term highlights the contrast between the authority of the local church in Antioch and the authority of the wider church as represented by the Council of Jerusalem.

Although αὐθεντέω in this usage does often describe an activity that is reprehensible, the meaning of the verb itself is morally neutral. To go one’s own way and exercise one’s own authority can be both a vice and a virtue, depending on the context or one’s point of view.

¹²⁸ John Chrysostom, *Hom. Rom.* Homilia 14 (PG 60.577B).

¹²⁹ Ammonius Alexandrinus, *Fragmenta in Acta Apostolorum*, in J. A. Cramer, *Catena graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vol. 3, *Catena in Acta SS. Apostolorum* (Oxford: Typographeum Academicum, 1838), 181 (PG 85.1537B).

¹³⁰ On this meaning, see BDAG s.v. ἐαυτοῦ 1, and L. Rydberg, “Ἐαυτῷ = ‘von selbst,’ ‘selbst,’ ‘auf eigene Faust,’” chap. 3 in *Fachprosa, vermeintliche Volkssprache und Neues Testament: Zur Beurteilung der sprachlichen Niveauunterschiede im nachklassischen Griechisch*, *Studia Graeca Upsaliensia* 5 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1967). While Baldwin correctly translated “to act independently by himself,” Payne changes this to “assume authority to oneself.” Baldwin, “Appendix 2,” 293; Payne, *Man and Woman*, 387.

¹³¹ See Payne, *Man and Woman*, 387.

That the meaning of *Ἀυθεντέω* in this usage is not pejorative is also clearly illustrated by the fact that, on ten different occasions in patristic sources, Jesus Christ is its subject. The first of these appears in the following passage from one of John Chrysostom's homilies, where he is commenting on the fact that Jesus prayed to his Father before raising Lazarus (John 11:41):

(28) Therefore he who had raised countless dead men with a mere word, also added a prayer when he was calling Lazarus. Afterwards, in order not to show himself inferior to his Begetter, he corrected their suspicion and added, "I said these things because of the crowd standing around, in order that they might believe that you sent me." And he neither does all things as one *acting on his own authority* (ὥς Ἀυθεντῶν), in order to correct their weakness, nor does he do all things with prayer, in order not to leave posterity with grounds for a misconception, as though he were weak and powerless. Instead, he mixes the first kind of cases with the second, and *vice versa*.¹³²

Chrysostom is arguing that the raising of Lazarus illustrates two ways in which Jesus proceeds when he performs a miracle. Sometimes he prays to his Father beforehand, but this can give people the mistaken idea that he is inferior to the Father, that he himself is too weak to do these mighty works. So sometimes, to correct that misconception, he acts on his own, using his own divine authority. In the case of raising Lazarus, he did both. When he called out, "Lazarus, come out!" he was exercising his own divine authority, not the Father's. As Chrysostom puts it in another place, when Christ called Lazarus, he "was acting with his own authority" (οἰκείᾳ Ἀυθεντείᾳ ἐποίει).¹³³ The verb *Ἀυθεντέω* expresses this independent exercise of authority, distinct from that of God the Father.

It is striking that, in this column, the verb *Ἀυθεντέω* is repeatedly used in patristic literature to describe Jesus's command to Lazarus to come out. Two further examples are found in Pseudo-Chrysostom, *In Martham, Mariam et Lazarum*, there too contrasted with performing a miracle with the help of prayer.¹³⁴ A fourth is found in a homily by

¹³² John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* Homilia 16 (PG 57.239.50).

¹³³ John Chrysostom, *Hom. Jo.* Homilia 64 (PG 59.357.58).

¹³⁴ PG 61.706.19, 57.

Leontius, presbyter of Constantinople.¹³⁵ Along the same lines is a place where the leper of Luke 5:12 is said to implore Jesus not to pray but to assert his own authority to heal.¹³⁶

Another patristic homily also features the use of ἀὐθεντέω to describe Jesus's authority as distinct from that of the Father. In this case, the preacher (perhaps Severian of Gabala) says of Jesus's healing of the leper in Matthew 8:3 that (29) "he *acts on his own* [ἀὐθεντεῖ], out of his own will," and then hastens to add, "But when I say this I am not introducing a separation between the will of the Son and the will of the Father."¹³⁷

This usage of ἀὐθεντέω in column 3 comes out very clearly in a patristic homily in which the preacher comments on Jesus's words "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up" (John 2:19). He explains, (30) "He did not say, 'The *Father* will raise it up' . . . but 'I will raise it up; *I act on my own*, by myself [ἐγὼ ἐγερῶ αὐτόν· ἐγὼ δι' ἑμαυτοῦ ἀὐθεντῶ], without being commanded."¹³⁸ Note the repeated emphatic ἐγὼ. Again, the preacher contrasts Jesus's authority with the Father's.¹³⁹

The usage of this column sheds a different light on a place where scholars have often understood ἀὐθεντέω to have a clearly pejorative connotation. The passage in question is found in Chrysostom's homilies on Colossians, where, in applying the words of Colossians 3:19 ("Husbands, love your wives, and do not be harsh with them"), he addresses first the husband and then the wife: (31) "Do not, however, because

¹³⁵ *In Mesopentecosten* 141. See Cornelis Datema and Pauline Allen, eds., *Leontii Presbyteri Constantinopolitani Homiliae*, CCSG 17 (Brepols-Turnhout: Leuven University Press, 1987), 320. The text here reads καὶ τοῦτο ὡς ζωοποιὸς ἡθέντησεν, where I take τοῦτο as an accusative of reference: "in this regard too [that is, in the raising of Lazarus], he acted on his own authority as life giver."

¹³⁶ See Pseudo-Chrysostom, *In stagnum Genesareth et in sanctum Petrum apostolum* (PG 64.52): "Lord, if you are willing, you are able to make me clean. I do not say, 'Ask!' but 'Assert your own authority' [ἀὐθέντησον]! I do not say, 'Pray!' but 'Heal!'"

¹³⁷ Pseudo-Chrysostom, *In illud: Quando subiciet omnia*, in S. Haidacher, ed. "Drei unedierte Chrysostomus-Texte einer Baseler Handschrift," ZKT 31, no. 1 (1907): 160. See also Pseudo-Chrysostom, *Contra haereticos* (PG 60.746.13), where the participle ἀθεντοῦσα is used to describe Jesus's ἐξουσία as distinct from that of the Father.

¹³⁸ Pseudo-Chrysostom, *On the Holy Passover*, in C. Baur, "Drei unedierte Festpredigten aus der Zeit der nestorianischen Streitigkeiten," *Traditio* 9 (1953): 108.

¹³⁹ See also Pseudo-Caesarius, *Erotapokriseis* 125.10 (PG 38.1021.27): "But if the Son *acts* completely on his own [ἀὐθεντῶν πάντη] even in the case of his greater works, how does he, in the case of lesser ones, need the permission or help (as you say) of the Father?" For the remaining two places in this column where Christ is the subject, see Pseudo-Ephraem Syrus, *Sermo adversus haereticos*, in K. G. Phrantzoles, *Ὁσίον Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἐργα* (Thessalonica: Tō Perivoli tis Panagias, 1988–95), 6.159.3.

your wife is subject to you, *act on your own* [μή . . . αὐθεντεῖ], nor do you, since your husband loves you, let it go to your head.”¹⁴⁰

The point is that a husband should not act unilaterally, without consulting his wife. That would be an example of being harsh with her. Scholars have often translated the imperative αὐθεντεῖ here as “act the despot” or the like.¹⁴¹ However, this is improbable since such a pejorative meaning of the verb has no parallel elsewhere. Although αὐθεντέω clearly describes a behavior on the husband’s part that Chrysostom forbids, this does not mean that the verb itself has an inherently pejorative meaning. To “act on one’s own” may be perfectly legitimate in certain contexts (as we saw in the places where Jesus is the subject), but in the context of a Christian marriage, it is not legitimate.

As noted above, this column represents the most common usage of αὐθεντέω in ancient Greek. It grew so common that the aorist participle αὐθεντήσας became, in effect, an adverbial expression meaning “on one’s own (authority).” When Jerome wrote (in Latin) that the apostle Peter, after reading Mark’s Gospel, delivered it *sua auctoritate* to the churches to be read (thus giving it his own apostolic imprimatur), this phrase was subsequently translated into Greek as αὐθεντήσας.¹⁴² In the Greek of the ninth and tenth centuries, the verb remained part of the living language mainly in this stereotyped form and meaning.¹⁴³ Many more examples of this column could be mentioned. I restrict myself here to putting in a footnote the references to all additional occurrences that can be securely dated to the fourth or fifth century.¹⁴⁴

As we saw above (6), this usage is also found once before 312 in the handbook of Moeris, where αὐτοδικεῖν is recommended as the proper Attic substitute for αὐθεντεῖν in the sense “act on one’s own” (in court).

¹⁴⁰ John Chrysostom, *Hom. Col.* Homilia 10 (PG 62.366.29).

¹⁴¹ So the translation by J. Ashworth in *NPNF1* 13.304, followed by Baldwin, “Appendix 2,” 286, and Payne, *Man and Woman*, 381–82. Similarly PGL s.v., 3. I myself formerly accepted the pejorative interpretation of αὐθεντέω here; see Wolters, “A Semantic Study,” 160n84 (repr., 63).

¹⁴² Jerome, *Vir. ill.* 8 (PL 23.654A). For the Greek text, see Oscar von Gebhardt, ed., *Hieronymus de viris illustribus in griechischer Übersetzung (der sogenannte Sophronius)*, TUGAL 14.1b (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1896), 8.

¹⁴³ See the examples referenced in note 8.

¹⁴⁴ See John Chrysostom, *Hom. Jo.* Homilia 66 (PG 59.367.45); John Chrysostom, *Hom. Col.* Homilia 10 (PG 62.376.1); Ammonius Alexandrinus, *Fragmenta in Acta* (PG 85.1552A); Pseudo-Chrysostom, *In illud: Simile est Regnum Caelorum Patri Familias* (PG 59.583.46); Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia ecclesiastica* 2.34.2 (PG 67.296); *Acts of Chalcedon*, ACO 2.1.2, 29; 2.1.3, 48; 2.3.3, 131.

COLUMN 4

Once again, this column is the transitive counterpart of the immediately preceding column. Consequently, rather than meaning “act on one’s own (authority)” with an implied contrast to another authority, ἀὐθεντέω in this column means “act on one’s own (authority) *against*” another authority. It always occurs in the form of an aorist active participle, and its object (in the accusative) is always a Roman authority. An appropriate translation is “overrule” or “defy (the authority of).”¹⁴⁵

This usage occurs rarely, only five times, in fact—four in the *Chronographia* of John Malalas (sixth century) and one in another historical work, the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Theodorus Lector (also sixth century). It does not occur before then and is not listed in *PGL* s.v. Here is a representative example: (32) “During his reign Albinus rebelled. The army, as it was waging war with the Gepids (having been sent by the previous emperor Didius), proclaimed him emperor, *defying the authority of* the Senate [ἀὐθεντήσας τὴν σύγκλητον].”¹⁴⁶ In each case, the defied authority is a representative of the Roman empire: either the Senate,¹⁴⁷ a Roman governor,¹⁴⁸ or a Roman emperor.¹⁴⁹

The defiance expressed by ἀὐθεντέω in this usage will be considered either positive or negative, depending on whether the authority defied is considered legitimate or not. So in modern times, for example, Luther’s defiance of papal authority will likely be considered positive by Protestants and negative by Catholics. The verb ἀὐθεντέω itself is neutral, just as the English words *overrule* or *defy* can describe both noble and ignoble actions.

Douwe Holwerda, a Dutch classicist who was also active as a biblical scholar, in effect put Paul’s use of ἀὐθεντέω in this column, although he was unaware of the examples I have adduced here. Drawing largely on the usage that I have classified as column 3, supplemented by one

¹⁴⁵ Payne translates these cases as “assume authority over.” *Man and Woman*, 389–90.

¹⁴⁶ Ioannes Thurn, ed., *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, vol. 35 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 12.19.

¹⁴⁷ Also in Malalas, *Chronographia* 13.33, and in his *De insidiis*, as excerpted by a later Byzantine emperor; see Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Excerpta de insidiis*, ed. C. de Boor (Berlin: Weidmann, 1905), 159.

¹⁴⁸ See Malalas, *Chronographia* 10.38. The governor here refers to Pilate, whose authority the Jews allegedly defied in crucifying Christ.

¹⁴⁹ Theodorus Lector (Anagnostes), *Historia ecclesiastica* 336. See Günther Christian Hansen, ed., *Theodoros Anagnostes Kirchengeschichte*, GCS (Berlin: Akademie, 1971), 96. The emperor in question is Theodosius II.

example from column 7, he proposed a novel exegesis of αὐθεντέω in 1 Timothy 2:12. He argued that the husband-wife relationship is akin to the legal guardian-ward relationship and that therefore the biblical text is about “a woman who liberates herself from her subordination to her husband and *begins to make her own decisions without consulting her husband*.”¹⁵⁰ This understanding of the text was subsequently adopted in the 2008 translation of the Bible into the Gronings dialect of Dutch, for which Holwerda worked on the Pauline epistles.¹⁵¹ Holwerda seems to have overlooked the fact that αὐθεντέω meaning “to act on one’s own” is nowhere attested as a transitive verb construed with the genitive case.

COLUMN 5

In this column, αὐθεντέω means “instigate” or “initiate” and is used intransitively.¹⁵² Only four examples of this intransitive usage survive, all of which occur in official imperial and ecclesiastical documents written originally in Latin. In each case, the present participle αὐθεντοῦντος corresponds to the Latin *auctore*. As in column 3, the notion of authority has receded into the background. No examples of this usage are attested before the fourth century.

In the Greek version of a letter by Pope Leo I to the empress Pulcheria in June 449, we read the following: (33) “Therefore, since I have learned through the report of my brother and fellow-bishop Flavian that a certain dispute against the pure faith of the Christians has arisen, *at the instigation* of Eutyches (Εὐτυχοῦς αὐθεντοῦντος), in the church of Constantinople . . . it behooves your Honor . . . to dispel the error.”¹⁵³ Here the Latin original of the letter has *Eutychete auctore*.¹⁵⁴ In a letter addressed to the same pope by the coemperors Valentinian and Mar-

¹⁵⁰ See his article “De betekenis van ‘authentēōo’” in Douwe Holwerda, *De Schrift opent een vergezicht: Gebundelde bijdragen tot de exegese van het Nieuwe Testament* (Kampen: Voorhoeve, 1998), 408. Originally published as “De woordenschat van het Griekse Nieuwe Testament (2),” in the Dutch church periodical *Opbouw* 24, no. 13 (1980): 99–101, <http://www.opbouwonline.nl/artikel.php?id=15007>. The Dutch text reads “dat het in die bijbeltekst gaat over een vrouw die zich van de onderworpenheid aan haar man vrijmaakt en haar dingen zelf gaat beslissen zonder haar man er in te kennen.”

¹⁵¹ See the Gronings *Bibel* (Heerenveen: Jongbloed, 2008), available online at www.liudger.org/nl/index/bibel.html.

¹⁵² This meaning (also found in column 6) is to be distinguished from the ingressive sense of the aorist tense of αὐθεντέω in the other columns. The former focuses on initiation in the sense of causation; the latter on initiation in the sense of beginning to have authority.

¹⁵³ Leo I, *Epistula* 30 in ACO 2.1.1, 46 (PL 54.788A).

¹⁵⁴ Leo I, *Epistula* 30 in ACO 2.4, 10 (PL 54.787A).

cian in September 450, we read the following: (34) “when all ungodly error has been removed through this Council [of Chalcedon] which has been summoned *at your instigation* [σοῦ αὐθεντοῦντος]. . . .”¹⁵⁵ Here the Latin original of the letter has *te auctore*.¹⁵⁶ Another letter to Leo, written in November 450 by the empress Pulcheria, speaks about the same council as being summoned (35) “at your instigation” (σοῦ αὐθεντοῦντος).¹⁵⁷ Here again the Latin original has *te auctore*.¹⁵⁸ The preceding three examples all belong to the correspondence between the imperial rulers and Pope Leo I during preparations for the Council of Chalcedon (451). Since Leo did not understand Greek, they carried on the correspondence in Latin. The Greek version is that found in the *Acts* of the Council of Chalcedon.

Finally, a dogmatic statement adopted at the first Council of Sirmium in 351 explains the phrase παρὰ κυρίου, “from the Lord,” in Genesis 19:24 with the words (36) αὐθεντοῦντος δηλαδή τοῦ πατρός, “that is, *on the Father’s initiative*.”¹⁵⁹ The historian Socrates Scholasticus tells us that this statement was originally written in Latin.¹⁶⁰ If this is correct, then it is probable that the original had the phrase *auctore patre*.¹⁶¹

In column 5, we see again that αὐθεντέω by itself is neither positive nor negative. It can refer to instigating unorthodox doctrine, an ecumenical council, or divine retribution. Particularly instructive is the last example, which speaks of God the Father initiating the raining of fire and brimstone on Sodom and Gomorrah. As a divine act of judgment, it is both terrible and above reproach. That God is said to initiate great suffering does not mean that the verb meaning “initiate” is being used in a pejorative sense. Furthermore, it is striking that the verb in this column occurs only in a Greek genitive absolute matching a Latin ablative absolute with *auctore*. This suggests that it was a standard

¹⁵⁵ Valentinian and Marcian, *Epistula* 10 in ACO 2.1.1, 10 (PL 54.900B).

¹⁵⁶ Valentinian and Marcian, *Epistula* 27 in ACO 2.3.1, 17 (PL 54.899A).

¹⁵⁷ Pulcheria, *Epistula* 9 in ACO 2.1.1, 9 (PL 54.908A).

¹⁵⁸ Pulcheria, *Epistula* 29 in ACO 2.3.1, 19 (PL 54.907A).

¹⁵⁹ The statement is anathema 18 of the Council, as quoted in Athanasius, *Syn.* 27.3 (PG 26.737D). This passage is cited twice in later writers: Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia ecclesiastica* 2.30.20–21 (PG 67.283A) and Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos, *Historia ecclesiastica* 9.33 (PG 146.345D).

¹⁶⁰ Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia ecclesiastica* 2.30.3–4.

¹⁶¹ That is in fact how the Greek is rendered back into Latin by Johann Lange, whose translation of Nicephorus is reprinted by Migne (PG 146.346D).

Greek equivalent of the Latin phrase in official communications in the bilingual Roman empire in the fourth and fifth centuries.

COLUMN 6

Once again this column is the transitive counterpart of the immediately preceding column. Under this heading, *ἀϋθεντέω* again means “initiate” or “instigate,” but now with an object in the genitive. That object always designates a belief or action (specifically *ἀσεβεία*, *αἵρεσις*, *τόλμημα*, or *ἐπιπορά*) initiated by a personal agent. Here, too, the notion of authority is muted. Only four independent examples of this usage occur after 312, although later authors quote two of them verbatim.

First, Athanasius reports a synodical decision of the Council of Alexandria in AD 363 concerning formerly Arian bishops who wished to return to the orthodox fold, which reads as follows:

(37) And they [the fathers of the Council] made the decision, which obtains here and everywhere, to the following effect: in the case of those who fell away and played a leading role in the impiety, to pardon them if they repent, but not to give them clerical status; but in the case of those who did not *instigate* the impiety [τοῖς δὲ μὴ ἀϋθεντοῦσι μὲν τῆς ἀσεβείας], but were dragged along because of necessity and force, it was decided that they should be granted pardon, but also that they should have clerical status.¹⁶²

The council made a clear distinction between the ringleaders of the “impiety” (that is, Arianism) and those who were forced by circumstance to follow them. The former are described as both “those who played a leading role in the impiety” (οἱ προϊστάμενοι τῆς ἀσεβείας) and “those who instigated the impiety” (οἱ ἀϋθεντοῦντες τῆς ἀσεβείας).

This synodical decision became part of canon law, and was twice quoted verbatim at the Second Council of Nicaea in AD 787.¹⁶³ On that occasion, the president of the Council, Tarasius, clarified the canonical rule, perhaps because, by the eighth century, *ἀϋθεντέω* was no longer in common use or simply because it was used here in an unusual sense: (38) “For the father [that is, Athanasius] does admit to the priesthood

¹⁶² Athanasius, *Ep. Rufin.* 3 (PG 26.1180C).

¹⁶³ Riedinger, Rudolf, ed., *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum: Series Secunda* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984–), 3.1, 82 and 84.

those who did not *instigate* the heresy [τοὺς μὴ αὐθεντήσαντας τῆς αἰρέσεως] but were dragged along and suffered violence. It was only the leaders or originators of the heresies [τοὺς προϊσταμένους ἢ γεννήτορας τῶν αἰρέσεων] whom he did not admit to the priesthood.”¹⁶⁴

Similarly, Basil the Great, in the fourth century, writes in one of his letters about a false accusation that had been made against him: (39) “Was I following others or was I myself taking the lead and *initiating* the brazen deed [αὐτὸς καταρχῶν καὶ αὐθεντῶν τοῦ τολμήματος]? Oh the shamelessness of these people, who so blithely blurt out anything!”¹⁶⁵

Didymus the Blind, also in the fourth century, writes the following in his commentary on Job 10:16: (40) “The text reads, ‘And again, you turn around and destroy me terribly.’ It means, ‘even if I am being hunted like a lion, with such great threats surrounding me, yet they themselves do not *initiate* the assault [οὐκ αὐθεντοῦσιν αὐτ[οῖς τῆς] ἐπιφορᾶς]. For it is your permission.’ For if God had not permitted it, the hunter would have no authority.”¹⁶⁶ In other words, creaturely agencies are not the ultimate source of the assaults on Job, but God’s permissive will.

It is on the basis of the usage of the verb in this column (along with creative interpretations of some of its cognates) that Kroeger and Kroeger defend their remarkable proposal that 1 Timothy 2:12 could be translated “I do not permit a woman to teach nor *to represent herself as originator of man*.”¹⁶⁷

This unusual usage of the verb, which is essentially restricted to four examples after 312, seems to have had an early predecessor in the Aristonicus text that we discussed above, where the genitive is λόγου, “speech” (see [4] above). Note that the usage described in this column needs to be distinguished from that of column 2, where the verb means “have authority over” and the object in the genitive is not a belief or action.

¹⁶⁴Riedinger, ed., *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum: Series Secunda*, 3.1, 84.

¹⁶⁵Basil the Great, *Epistulae* 51.1 (PG 32.389A). This place is later quoted as an example of the use of αὐθεντέω with the genitive in the medieval *Lexica syntactica*. See F. W. Sturz, *Etymologicum Graecae linguae Gudianum et alia grammaticorum scripta* (Leipzig: Weidel, 1818; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1973), 588.

¹⁶⁶See Didymus the Blind, *Didymus der Blinde: Kommentar zu Hiob*, part 3, *Kommentar zu Hiob Kap. 7, 20c–11*, ed. U. Hagedorn, D. Hagedorn, and L. Koenen (Bonn: Habelt, 1968), 285.

¹⁶⁷Kroeger and Kroeger, *I Suffer Not a Woman*, 101–4.

COLUMN 7

In this last usage category, *Ἀϋθεντέω* is part of the legal terminology that was devised in later Greek to give expression to the technical language of Roman jurisprudence. Consequently, it occurs only in discussions of Roman law. The meaning here is “give authorization,” regularly used intransitively. This use of the verb is found seven times in a passage of the *Institutionum graeca paraphrasis* of the sixth-century legal scholar Theophilus Antecessor. As its name implies, this volume is a paraphrase of Justinian’s *Institutiones*, a fundamental work of Roman jurisprudence. By comparing these two works, we can see how the use of *Ἀϋθεντέω* in the *Paraphrasis* corresponds to the Latin of the parent document. The passage containing *Ἀϋθεντέω* deals with the legal rights and responsibilities of a guardian toward a minor child who is his ward. In the following excerpt, I have placed in brackets the Latin terms to which *Ἀϋθεντέω* corresponds in three representative instances in the *Institutiones*:

(41) Since we have learned that a guardian was given for the administration of the ward’s affairs, you should know that he must *give authorization* [*Ἀϋθεντέῖν*; Latin *auctoritas*] in certain actions taken by the ward, and that anything done without his authorization is considered not to have been done at all. . . . The guardian ought to be present when he *gives his authorization* [*Ἀϋθεντέῖ*; Latin *auctor fieri*], if he judges this to be of benefit to the minor. But if he is present after a time, or is absent and gives it by letter, he does not *give authorization* [*Ἀϋθεντέῖ*; Latin *interposita auctoritas*] validly.¹⁶⁸

This legal usage took on a life of its own in the late Middle Ages, and it occurs very frequently in works of Byzantine jurisprudence, almost always (as here) in the context of defining the legal obligations of guardians to their wards. For the purposes of this essay, I have excluded further examples of this specialized legal sense from my survey (and my overall statistics). The sources in question, which together account for another seventy-seven occurrences of *Ἀϋθεντέω* in this column, include

¹⁶⁸ See J. H. A. Lokin, Roos Meijering, B. H. Stolte, and N. van der Wal, eds., *Theophili Antecessoris Paraphrasis Institutionum*, trans. A. F. Murison (Groningen: Chimaira, 2010), 144, 146, and P. Krueger, ed., *Iustiniani Institutiones*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1908), 1.21 (p. 26). The *Paraphrasis* has not yet been incorporated into the TLG.

the following: the *Basilica* (and its scholia), the *Prochiron*, the *Epanagoge*, and the *Peira* of Eustathius Romaeus. They range in date from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries.

In addition to these examples of this technical legal usage, there are two passages where ἀϋθεντέω fits the usage of this column but seems to occur in the passive voice, which implies that it had a transitive use as well. In principle, we could assign these to a separate “column 8,” a transitive counterpart of column 7. However, since there are only two examples (and some debate whether the forms in question are middle or passive), I will include them under column 7. The two places occur in the seventh-century historical work *Chronicon Paschale*:

(42) Indiction 7, year 2, sole consulship of Decius. In this year the Justinianic Codex was completed, and it was commanded to *be put into effect* [ἀϋθεντεῖσθαι] from the 16th day before Kalends of April of the current tax period.¹⁶⁹

(43) In the time of these consuls the Justinianic Codex was revised, with the addition to it of the constitutions subsequent to it. And with the lapsing of the former edition it was commanded to *be put into effect* [ἀϋθεντεῖσθαι], from the 4th day before Kalends of January in indiction 13.¹⁷⁰

In both cases, the reference is to a legal code being given the force of law. The infinitive ἀϋθεντεῖσθαι is best understood as a passive, not a middle.¹⁷¹ A close look at the Greek text also reveals that the language of the context is heavily Latinate. Almost every other word is either a Latin loanword or the standard Greek equivalent of a Latin technical term. In the light of this feature of the Greek, ἀϋθεντέω in this context is most probably the equivalent of the Latin *auctoro*, a correspondence noted in an eighth-century *Glossarium*.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ *Chronicon Paschale* 619.9 (PG 92.872A).

¹⁷⁰ *Chronicon Paschale* 634.1 (PG 92.896B).

¹⁷¹ It is considered a middle by E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (From B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)*, vol. 1 (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1887), s.v., 4, and by Baldwin, “Important Word,” 46, 50. However, it is rightly considered a passive in PGL s.v., 4, and in C. du Cange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae & Infimae Graecitatis, Tomus Primus* (Lyon, 1688), s.v. The only other place where a middle form of ἀϋθεντέω is attested is in Pseudo-Hippolytus, *De consummatione mundi*, but there the text is probably corrupt (see note 76 above).

¹⁷² Pseudo-Cyril, “Glossarium Graeco-Latinum,” in *Corpus glossariorum latinorum*, vol. 2, *Glossae latinograecae et graecolatinae*, ed. Georgius Goetz and Gottholdus Gundermann (Leipzig: Teubner, 1888), 250: “ἀϋθεντέω auctoro.”

OBSERVATIONS ON THE FOREGOING USAGE SURVEY

Our survey of post-312 usages of *αὐθεντέω* prompts a number of reflections. First of all, it appears that the verb was used in a fairly wide range of meanings, although most do have a connection with authority in some sense.

Second, we clearly see that some of the columns we have distinguished maintain a degree of continuity with the poorly attested use of the verb before Constantine. It turns out that the entry in Moeris (6) is an early example of column 3, and Aristonicus's scholion on the *Iliad* (4) anticipates the usage of column 6. Column 1 has two pre-312 antecedents ([2] and possibly [7]), and column 2 has three ([3] and [5] as well as 1 Tim. 2:12). On the other hand, columns 4, 5, and 7 have no attestations before 312 at all, which raises the suspicion that they represent later semantic developments. For our purposes, it is particularly significant that column 2 has the strongest connection between usages of *αὐθεντέω* before and after 312, which makes 1 Timothy 2:12 less of an outlier than the other pre-Constantinian occurrences of the verb. This overall lay of the land suggests that it is ill-advised to read 1 Timothy 2:12 primarily in the light of columns 5/6 with the basic meaning of "initiate" (so Kroeger and Kroeger) or in the light of columns 3/4 with the basic meaning of "act on one's own" (so Payne). Nor does it inspire much confidence in Holwerda's attempt to read something of column 7 back into the New Testament.

Despite the connections we have traced, it continues to be a very striking fact that little or no literary evidence for any of the seven columns appears before the age of Constantine. This dearth of attestation creates the impression that *αὐθεντέω* led a largely underground (that is, oral) existence before the fourth century, no doubt because it belonged to a subliterate register of the language.

As we pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, another striking feature of the post-312 use of *αὐθεντέω* is that it occurs only in the writings of Christians. Perhaps this is because, among Christians, the use of the verb in the New Testament enhanced its literary prestige. Its connection with the Bible may also explain why, although the verb is also found in various nonreligious contexts, a very large proportion

of its uses is found in homiletical, exegetical, or generally theological writings.

The frequent theological context may in turn explain to some extent another remarkable feature of the use of ἀϋθεντέω after 312: the unusually high incidence of cases where the subject of the verb is a divine person. As we saw, there are eight such cases in column 1, one in column 2, ten in column 3, and one in column 5. This adds up to a total of twenty occurrences. To these may be added the place where ἀϋθεντέω describes Christ's authority (see note 137). These examples cannot be made to fit either a pejorative or an ingressive interpretation.

At the same time, we are hard-pressed to find a pejorative meaning anywhere either. One might argue that column 4 includes examples of a pejorative use of ἀϋθεντέω since it refers to the defiance of authority, but here we need to bear in mind the linguistic maxim that reference must not be confused with meaning. A verb may *refer* to something negative without itself *meaning* something negative. The sentences "He perpetrated the crime" and "He did the crime" may both refer to the same reprehensible action, but only "perpetrate" is a verb with a pejorative meaning.

TWO DUBIOUS KINDS OF EVIDENCE

The foregoing has listed the various kinds of evidence that can be helpful in determining the meaning of ἀϋθεντέω in 1 Timothy 2:12. To round off our discussion, let me also briefly discuss two kinds of evidence that are less than helpful, namely, etymology and the speculative reconstruction of background.

It is a truism of contemporary semantics that etymology is a poor guide to meaning: "Appeal to etymology, and to word formation, is therefore always dangerous."¹⁷³ Nevertheless, discussions about the meaning of ἀϋθεντέω have shown that the warnings of linguists against relying on etymology for meaning often go unheeded. A striking example is provided by Catherine Kroeger, who initially argued for an erotic sense of ἀϋθέντης (and therefore of ἀϋθεντέω), partly on the basis

¹⁷³Peter Cotterell and Max Turner, *Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1989), 132. On the dangers of etymologizing, see the well-known discussion in James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 107–60.

of its supposed derivation from *αὐτός* and *έντος* (from *ἦμι*), which she said yielded an original meaning “to thrust out from oneself.”¹⁷⁴ A more recent (and less egregious) example is found in Philip Payne, who argues that *αὐθέντης* derives from *αὐτός* and *άνύω* (*sic*, with smooth breathing), allegedly yielding the original meaning “self-achieving,” which in his view can explain all the senses of *αὐθέντης* and its derivatives, including his preferred understanding of *αὐθεντέω* as meaning “assume authority.”¹⁷⁵

The trouble with such proposals, even apart from the dangers of falling into the etymological fallacy, is that in the case of *αὐθέντης* and its derivatives, scholars cannot agree on what the etymology is. Although everyone concurs that the root of the first part is *αὐτο-*, there is no consensus about the second part. The twentieth century saw a wide array of proposals. Thus Michel Bréal took the second part to be *ἦμι*, “let go,” and A. T. Robertson *έντεα*, “arms.”¹⁷⁶ The dominant theory since the nineteenth century has been that defended by P. Chantraine and others, which holds that the second element is *έντης*, said to be related to the Greek *άνύω* (with rough breathing), meaning “effect, accomplish.”¹⁷⁷ Another theory is that of Paul Kretschmer, who accepted *έντης* (but not *άνύω*) as a root of *αὐθέντης*/“master” but proposed the root *θείνω* for *αὐθέντης*/“murderer.”¹⁷⁸ He in turn was followed by J. H. Moulton and George Milligan, Carroll Osburn, and George Knight, while Friedrich Zucker later came to the same conclusion independently.¹⁷⁹ The more recent etymological dictionary of Greek by A. J. Van Windekens also rejects the dominant etymology and takes the second element of *αὐθέντης* in all its senses to be *θείς*.¹⁸⁰ Given this lack of scholarly consensus, as

¹⁷⁴ Kroeger, “Ancient Heresies,” 13.

¹⁷⁵ Payne, *Man and Woman*, 363–65. I am told that later printings of Payne’s book have corrected *άνύω* to *άνύω*.

¹⁷⁶ See Michel Bréal, “Étymologies,” *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 12 (1903), 7, and Robertson, *Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, 148.

¹⁷⁷ See Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, 138. This etymology is adopted in most lexical reference works, including many English dictionaries under “authentic.”

¹⁷⁸ P. Kretschmer, “Griechisches 6. *αὐθέντης*,” *Glotta* 3 (1912): 291–92.

¹⁷⁹ See J. H. Moulton and George Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the New Testament: Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-literary Sources* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1952), 91; Carroll D. Osburn, “*ΑΥΘΕΝΤΕΩ* (1 Timothy 2:12),” *ResQ* 25, no. 1 (1982): 4; Knight, “*ΑΥΘΕΝΤΕΩ*,” 154, 157n53; Zucker, “*ΑΥΘΕΝΤΗΣ*,” 12–14.

¹⁸⁰ A. J. Van Windekens, *Dictionnaire étymologique complémentaire de la langue grecque: Nouvelles contributions à l’interprétation historique et comparée du vocabulaire* (Leuven: Peeters, 1986), 26.

well as the dangers of etymologizing in general, it is best to deal with the semantics of ἀϋθεντέω without recourse to etymology.¹⁸¹

A second kind of dubious evidence is that of a speculatively reconstructed historical background for 1 Timothy 2:12. Since Paul in this text forbids women to teach and to exercise “authority” of some kind and tells them instead to be quiet and submissive, we can reasonably assume that he is addressing a situation at that time in Ephesus where women were doing (or proposing to do) what he is here prohibiting. But this reasonable assumption is often expanded into the broader claim that the women were doing these prohibited things in an aggressive or overbearing manner and by so doing were disturbing the church. However, the text, in fact, gives no evidence for such a reading. We have no reason to believe that the women in Ephesus were teaching and exercising authority in an aggressive or overbearing way. The women may very well have been teaching and exercising authority (or proposing to do so) in a responsible and nondisruptive manner, just as many women today are teaching and exercising authority in the church in a pastorally sensitive way.

The negative portrayal of the Ephesian women teachers as strident demagogues is, in fact, a speculative reconstruction of the situation in Ephesus at the time, and it certainly cannot be used as evidence that ἀϋθεντέω carries a pejorative sense. We find a representative example of just such an argument in I. Howard Marshall’s commentary on 1 Timothy 2:12. Although he acknowledges that there is almost no evidence for a pejorative meaning of ἀϋθεντέω elsewhere, he nevertheless concludes, largely on the basis of the putative behavior of the Ephesian women, that here the verb has a negative meaning.¹⁸² A similar approach was taken by Ulrike Wagener, whom Marshall cites.¹⁸³ But giving a word an

¹⁸¹ See Wolters, “Semantic Study,” 170n133 (repr., 65).

¹⁸² See I. Howard Marshall, in collaboration with Philip H. Towner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999), 456–60. As examples of a negative use, he mentions only the disputed papyrus B^{GU} 1208 (see text [2] above) and Chrysostom’s comment on Col. 3:19 (see text [31] above). Ironically, he was persuaded of the negative interpretation of ἀϋθεντικός in B^{GU} 1208 by Payne, who has since changed his mind on this point. Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 457n151; Payne, *Man and Woman*, 365–70.

¹⁸³ Ulrike Wagener, *Die Ordnung des “Hauses Gottes”: Der Ort von Frauen in der Ekklesiologie und Ethik der Pastoralbriefe*, WUNT, 2nd ser., 65 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1994), 100: “Obwohl das Wort an sich also keinen pejorativen Unterton haben muß, ist die Bedeutung durch den Kontext negativ festgelegt” (“Although therefore the word in itself need not have a pejorative connotation, its meaning is determined to be negative by the context”).

unusual sense on the basis of an imagined historical context is, at best, a highly precarious procedure.

Concluding Reflections

As I said at the outset, my basic thesis in this chapter is that αὐθεντέω in 1 Timothy 2:12 is very unlikely to have either a pejorative or an ingressive meaning. A number of converging lines of evidence have confirmed this thesis: cognates, immediate context, ancient versions, patristic commentary, and the broad usage of the verb elsewhere.

With respect to the alleged pejorative meaning, my investigations have confirmed earlier studies' conclusions that αὐθεντέω in general is used overwhelmingly in a positive or neutral sense.¹⁸⁴ It is significant that even authors like Wegener and Marshall, who defend a pejorative sense for the verb in 1 Timothy 2:12, acknowledge that this meaning is extremely rare elsewhere. The evidence adduced in this chapter shows that even the rare places where the verb is widely thought to be used pejoratively are susceptible of another interpretation. In any case, isolated examples from centuries later would hardly constitute significant evidence for New Testament usage.

A strong argument that αὐθεντέω regularly has a positive or neutral meaning is that it often occurs in Christian contexts with God or Jesus Christ as its subject. Furthermore, as we have seen, it is also frequently used of other revered persons or things (e.g., the apostle Peter, Pope Damasus I, Pope Leo I, grace as opposed to law, and the Christian Scriptures).

As for the ingressive meaning of αὐθεντέω, it certainly does on occasion convey such a connotation, but that connotation is not so much part of the meaning of the verb itself as of the aorist tense. Examples are found in texts (5), (16), and (24) above. Furthermore, as these three examples also show, even when "assume authority" is a possible translation of the aorist, this does not mean that someone is said to "assume (undelegated) authority (to oneself)," as Payne has argued.¹⁸⁵ Besides, such an interpretation is unlikely when the subject

¹⁸⁴See Knight, "ΑΥΘΕΝΤΕΩ," 150–51; Baldwin, "Important Word," 49; Wolters, "Semantic Study," 170–71.

¹⁸⁵See Payne, *Man and Woman*, 377, 386, 391, 393, 396.

is a respected Christian leader, and it is ruled out altogether when the subject is God or Jesus Christ.

As an overall conclusion, I would submit that the dictionaries of New Testament Greek, notably BDAG and L&N, should remove any suggestion of a pejorative or ingressive sense from their definitions of ἄρθεντέω. It is telling that the German original of the Bauer dictionary (from which its successive English editions have progressively departed) has defined ἄρθεντέω in all its editions as simply *herrschen*, a denominative verb that is normally used in a neutral or positive sense and carries no ingressive connotation.¹⁸⁶

Postscript

As this chapter was about to go to press, I became aware of an extensive article by my friend and colleague Prof. Cynthia Long Westfall that is based on an analysis of sixty occurrences of ἄρθεντέω and that often proposes an interpretation different from my own.¹⁸⁷ A basic assumption of Westfall's analysis is that "[a] word has a single basic semantic concept that accounts for extended, peripheral or marginal meanings."¹⁸⁸ However, in my judgment it is a methodological mistake to assume that a given lexeme has such a basic concept or *Grundbedeutung*. In the case of ἄρθεντέω, she argues that this basic semantic concept can be defined as "the autonomous use or possession of unrestricted force."¹⁸⁹ Here I would argue that this conceptual definition does not fit very well with many of the verb's occurrences; see, for example, those in this essay that I have numbered (3), (4), (5), (6), (15), (17), (18), (23), (25), (26), (27), and (33).

Westfall's analysis is based on the "systemic functional linguistics" of M. A. K. Halliday and others, and more specifically on the "Appraisal framework" developed by James Martin of the University of Sydney.¹⁹⁰ Much of her article is devoted to explaining the basic categories of these linguistic theories. However, as she herself candidly

¹⁸⁶ The most recent edition is W. Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur*, ed. Kurt und Barbara Aland, 6th ed. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1988).

¹⁸⁷ Cynthia Long Westfall, "The Meaning of ἄρθεντέω in 1 Timothy 2.12," *JGRChJ* 10 (2014): 138–73 (the actual date of publication was early 2015).

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 140.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 166–67, 171.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 147–48, 151–52.

points out, “[i]f these theories are not shared, or assumed for the sake of argument, the methodology will seem flawed and the conclusions will fail to convince.”¹⁹¹

Despite the title of her article, Westfall pays relatively little attention to 1 Timothy 2:12 itself. However, in her conclusion she does adopt the unusual view that 1 Timothy 2:12 is about the household, not the worship service, and that therefore the apostolic prohibition concerns domestic abuse, not church leadership.¹⁹²

Although I disagree with much of Westfall’s analysis, I commend her for bringing issues of theoretical linguistics into the discussion and look forward to seeing how her arguments will be received by those who are more knowledgeable about linguistics than I am.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 171.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 172–73.

A Complex Sentence

The Syntax of 1 Timothy 2:12

Andreas J. Köstenberger

While 1 Timothy 2:9–15 is loaded with exegetical conundrums, the crux of the passage is in many ways Paul’s statement in v. 12, “I do not permit a woman to teach or to exercise authority over a man, but to be in quietness” (or, in the original Greek, διδάσκειν δὲ γυναικὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω οὐδὲ αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός, ἀλλ’ εἶναι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ).¹

In the first chapter of the present volume, Steven Baugh shows that, while some contend for limiting the relevance of 1 Timothy 2:12 to the original context based on the ancient background of first-century Ephesus, such arguments fail to convince. The role of women in first-century Ephesus was not sufficiently peculiar to suggest that Paul

¹Unless otherwise noted, biblical quotations in this chapter are my translation. Also, I would like to acknowledge the substantial and prolific research assistance provided by Charles Bumgardner in preparing this revised essay. Chuck performed a large number of tasks, too many to mention here. He ran numerous TLG searches and assisted in the tabulation of results, helped update interactions with recent scholarly literature, assisted in making a variety of methodological improvements to this study, and more. Without Chuck’s help, I would not have been able to revise this essay as thoroughly as I have, and he deserves credit for raising the level of scholarship and for nuancing arguments so as to make them even more compelling.

intended to curtail the role of women in the *Ephesian* church but not elsewhere.

In the second chapter, Al Wolters gives the results of his careful analysis of all the extant instances of the word αὐθεντέω. Over against efforts to construe the connotation of the infinitive αὐθεντεῖν as pejorative, so that Paul is viewed as proscribing only women's *negative* exercise of authority (i.e., "to domineer" or "to seize authority"), Wolters has demonstrated on the basis of lexical analysis that there is no compelling evidence suggesting that the word was used with a negative connotation in any of the instances prior to Paul or contemporaneous to him. In fact, even with later instances commonly understood as pejorative, a good case can be made that they should more likely be understood nonpejoratively.²

At the same time, as Wolters himself acknowledges, word studies have their limitations, since it could be—and has been—argued that Paul used the word in a novel way or that an author could invest a basically positive or neutral term with a negative connotation in a particular statement.³ For this reason, it will be helpful to examine the word αὐθεντεῖν in its immediate syntactic context in 1 Timothy 2:12 and to investigate relevant biblical and extrabiblical syntactical parallels in order to confirm or disprove our understanding of Paul's words here. After a detailed study of the syntax of v. 12, the chapter will conclude with a discourse analysis of 1 Timothy 2:8–15 in an attempt to integrate the findings into the cohesive discourse unit of which v. 12 is a part.

The Significance of Syntactic Background Studies for the Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:12

Just as every nation has laws to direct the life of its citizens, so every language is governed by syntactic conventions that stipulate proper usage for that language. Unless a writer wants to be charged with breaking the

²Readers should particularly note Wolters's treatment (pp. 100–101) of the commonly adduced use of αὐθεντέω by John Chrysostom in *Hom. Col.* 10; Wolters demonstrates that the typical reading of the word as pejorative is likely flawed. A recent appeal to this passage to support a pejorative meaning is found in Aída Besançon Spencer, *1 Timothy*, New Covenant Commentary Series (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2013), 66n137.

³As Wolters notes, arguments along this line are found in I. Howard Marshall, in collaboration with Philip H. Towner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999), 456–60; and Ulrike Wägenar, *Die Ordnung des "Hauses Gottes": Der Ort von Frauen in der Ekklesiologie und Ethik der Pastoralbriefe*, WUNT, 2nd ser., 65 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1994), 100.

rules (and thus of writing improper Greek), he must conform to these standards of syntax.⁴ In the linguistic context he shares with his readers, he will need to engage syntax in a standard, accepted way, lest he be misunderstood. A proper understanding of the syntax of 1 Timothy 2:12, therefore, will go a long way toward determining the meaning of the clause διδάσκειν δὲ γυναῖκιν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω οὐδὲ αὐθεντεῖν ἄνδρός and the word αὐθεντεῖν in particular.

Detailed debate over the verse's syntax has been ongoing for some time. Philip B. Payne and Douglas J. Moo engaged in an exchange on syntactic and other matters related to this passage in the 1980s and early 1990s.⁵ My own contributions to this syntactic discussion commenced in the 1990s and continue with the present essay.⁶ Payne, most notably, and Linda Belleville as well, have continued to write on the syntactic questions involved in 1 Timothy 2:12,⁷ and others have also

⁴ Strikingly, although Kevin Giles finds himself in essential agreement with the present syntactic analysis of 1 Tim. 2:12, he maintains that "people, even apostles, break grammatical rules at times" and thus that the syntactic construction here investigated may function differently in 1 Tim. 2:12 than everywhere else in attested contemporaneous Greek literature. Kevin Giles, "A Critique of the 'Novel' Contemporary Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 Given in the Book, *Women in the Church*: Part 1," *EQ* 72, no. 2 (2000): 153.

⁵ The groundwork and outworking of this discussion are found in Douglas J. Moo, "1 Timothy 2:11–15: Meaning and Significance," *TrimJ*, n.s., 1, no. 1 (1980): 62–83, esp. 65–68; Philip B. Payne, "Libertarian Women in Ephesus: A Response to Douglas J. Moo's Article '1 Timothy 2:11–15: Meaning and Significance,'" *TrimJ*, n.s., 2, no. 2 (1981): 169–97; Douglas J. Moo, "The Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:11–15: A Rejoinder," *TrimJ*, n.s., 2, no. 2 (1981): 198–222, esp. 201–202; Philip B. Payne, "The Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:11–15: A Surrejoinder," in *What Does Scripture Teach about the Ordination of Women? Differing Views by Three New Testament Scholars* (Minneapolis: The Evangelical Free Church of America, 1986), 96–107; Philip B. Payne, "Οὐδὲ in 1 Timothy 2:12" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Evangelical Theological Society, Atlanta, GA, November 1986); Douglas J. Moo, "What Does It Mean Not to Teach or Have Authority over Men? 1 Timothy 2:11–15," in *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood: A Response to Evangelical Feminism*, ed. John Piper and Wayne Grudem (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 1991), 176–92, esp. 183.

⁶ Andreas J. Köstenberger, "Syntactical Background Studies to 1 Timothy 2.12 in the New Testament and Extrabiblical Greek Literature," in *Discourse Analysis and Other Topics in Biblical Greek*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and D. A. Carson, JSNTSup 113 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 156–79; Köstenberger, "A Complex Sentence Structure in 1 Timothy 2:12," in *Women and the Church: A Fresh Analysis of 1 Timothy 2:9–15*, ed. Andreas J. Köstenberger, Thomas R. Schreiner, and H. Scott Baldwin (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1995), 81–103; Köstenberger, "A Complex Sentence: The Syntax of 1 Timothy 2:12," in *Women in the Church: An Analysis and Application of 1 Timothy 2:9–15*, ed. Andreas J. Köstenberger and Thomas R. Schreiner, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005), 53–84; Köstenberger, "The Syntax of 1 Timothy 2:12: A Rejoinder to Philip B. Payne," *JBMW* 14, no. 2 (Fall 2009): 37–40; Köstenberger, "Surrejoinder by Andreas J. Köstenberger," in "Discussion of 1 Timothy 2:12 with Philip B. Payne and Andreas J. Köstenberger," *JBMW* 15, no. 2 (2010): 28–32; Köstenberger, "Hermeneutical and Exegetical Challenges in Interpreting 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, 2010), 17–22.

⁷ For Philip B. Payne, see "1 Tim 2.12 and the Use of οὐδὲ to Combine Two Elements to Express a Single Idea," *NTS* 54, no. 2 (2008): 235–53, a revision of his earlier "Οὐδὲ in 1 Timothy 2:12," presented at the Evangelical Theological Society Annual Meeting, Atlanta, GA, Nov. 21, 1986; Payne, "1 Timothy 2:12: Part II: Does οὐδὲ Separate Two Prohibitions or Conjoin Them?," in *Man and Woman, One in Christ: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Paul's Letters* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2009), 337–60; Payne, "Surrejoinder by Philip B. Payne," in "Discussion of 1 Timothy 2:12 with Philip B. Payne and Andreas J. Köstenberger," *JBMW* 15, no. 2 (2010): 28–29; Payne, "Οὐδὲ Combining Two Elements to Convey a Single Idea and 1 Timothy 2:12: Further Insights," *Missing Voices* (special edition journal produced by Christians for Biblical Equality, 2014): 24–34. Since Payne's *Man and Woman* and "Further Insights" provide his

contributed to the discussion.⁸ Payne's work has proved particularly vocal in the debate, and a few interpreters have followed his conclusions in whole or in part.⁹ However, he presents a novel view insufficiently grounded in previous grammatical and lexicographical work; in the present essay, I offer a proposal that is much more broadly based and is grounded in standard Greek grammars, Greek lexica, and my own syntactical investigation.

In the first edition of the present volume, this essay set forth certain syntactic considerations bearing on the interpretation of Paul's instruction in 1 Timothy 2:12. In the second edition, I added a section engaging scholarly responses to the first edition over the intervening ten years. In the present edition, while the core argument remains essentially the same, a number of developments will be evident. First, I have refined the methodology of the investigation due to further considerations explained below. Second, the greater availability of electronically searchable ancient Greek texts has allowed me to update the data supporting the major thesis of this essay with thirty-one new examples while narrowing the focus of inquiry from a four-century span of literature to first-century literature alone. Third, the present essay includes a new section interacting with the continued scholarly debate over certain aspects of the verse's syntax. In particular, this essay maintains that the syntactic construction in question has particular semantic implica-

latest published contribution to the discussion, I will interact primarily with these works, making reference to previous works where appropriate.

For Linda Belleville, see *Women Leaders and the Church: Three Crucial Questions* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2000), 176–77; Belleville, "Women in Ministry," in *Two Views on Women in Ministry*, ed. James R. Beck and Craig L. Blomberg, Counterpoints (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2001), 77–154, esp. 124–28; Belleville, "Teaching and Usurping Authority," in *Discovering Biblical Equality: Complementarity without Hierarchy*, ed. Ronald W. Pierce and Rebecca Merrill Groothuis, 2nd ed. (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2005), 217–19; Belleville, "1 Timothy," in *1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus, Hebrews*, ed. Philip W. Comfort, Cornerstone Bible Commentary 17 (Carol Stream, IL: Tyndale, 2009), 54–60.

⁸In particular, note J. M. Holmes, *Text in a Whirlwind: A Critique of Four Exegetical Devices at 1 Timothy 2.9–15*, JSNTSup 196 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000), 73–95; Richard Clark Kroeger and Catherine Clark Kroeger, *I Suffer Not a Woman: Rethinking 1 Timothy 2:11–15 in Light of Ancient Evidence* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1992), 83–84; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 458; William D. Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, WBC 46 (Nashville: Nelson, 2000), 128–29; Philip H. Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006), 223–24; Korinna Zamfir, *Men and Women in the Household of God: A Contextual Approach to Roles and Ministries in the Pastoral Epistles*, NTOA 103 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 230–31.

⁹E.g., Craig L. Blomberg, "Women in Ministry: A Complementarian Perspective," in *Two Views on Women in Ministry*, ed. James R. Beck, rev. ed., Counterpoints (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2005), 169; Gordon P. Hugenberger, "Women in Church Office: Hermeneutics or Exegesis?," *JETS* 35, no. 3 (1992): 344, 357–58; Robert L. Saucy, "Women's Prohibition to Teach Men: An Investigation into Its Meaning and Contemporary Application," *JETS* 37, no. 1 (1994): 90; Zamfir, *Men and Women in the Household of God*, 230–31.

tions—namely, that it mandates that the two activities indicated by διδάσκειν and αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός must be, in Paul’s consideration, either both positive or both negative—yet it also addresses in more detail the *relationship* between the two infinitives. Fourth, a new section on discourse analysis will provide important contextual support for and corroboration of the syntactic analysis. Thus, this chapter works in conjunction with the preceding chapters on the Ephesian background and the lexical evidence regarding αὐθεντεῖν to set a firm foundation for the ensuing chapters on the exegesis, hermeneutics, and application of 1 Timothy 2:12.

The syntax of 1 Timothy 2:12 can be laid out as follows:

- a negated finite verb (“I do not permit,” οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω)
- (which has as an object the implied subject of the joined pair of infinitives [“a woman,” γυναῖκί])
- governing a (preceding) infinitive (“to teach,” διδάσκειν),¹⁰
- which is connected by the coordinating conjunction οὐδέ (“or”)
- to a second infinitive (“to exercise authority,” αὐθεντεῖν) and its genitive object¹¹ (“over a man,” ἀνδρός);

¹⁰ Belleville argues that διδάσκειν . . . οὐδὲ αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός actually modifies γυναῖκί. “Teaching and Usurping Authority,” 217–18. While it is true that γυναῖκί is the implied subject—the potential (and prohibited) doer of the actions signified by διδάσκειν . . . οὐδὲ αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός—it is better to understand the two infinitives as complementing, or completing, the negated finite verb ἐπιτρέπω. Cf. BDF §392; Daniel Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1996), 598–99.

Belleville also considers διδάσκειν . . . οὐδὲ αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός to be the direct object of οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω. It is true that a complementary infinitive can be understood as a direct object in the sense that it completes a verbal idea—as noted by, e.g., H. E. Dana and Julius R. Mantey, *A Manual Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1957), 217–18; James L. Boyer, “The Classification of Infinitives: A Statistical Study,” *Grace Theological Journal* 6, no. 1 (1985): 6; James A. Brooks and Carlton L. Winbery, *Syntax of New Testament Greek* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1979), 140–41. However, it is more helpful to retain the separate category of “complementary infinitive”; as Wallace indicates, an infinitive functioning in this way is “part of the verbal idea: both helper verb and [infinitive] are necessary to communicate the verbal notion.” *Greek Grammar*, 599. See also the invaluable discussion in Guy L. Cooper (after K. W. Krüger), *Attic Greek Prose Syntax* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 1:784 (55.3.11), whose observations regarding the Attic dialect have implications for Koine:

In theory most infinitives following leading verbs are direct object accusatives, at least so far as the infinitives are to be considered as substantives having case functions. But it must be remembered that infinitives have a verbal as well as a substantive value and that they are, as a matter of fact, the form of the verb which formulaically follows on others, completing their meaning. . . . In fact there is much room to think of many dependent infinitives as more importantly complementary verbs than as standing in any distinct relationship of case.

One of the examples Cooper gives in support of the final statement in this quotation is from Plato, *Leg.* 719b (notice the negated ἐπιτρέπω construed with an infinitive): Σμικρῷ μὲν δὲ πρόσθεν ἄρα οὐκ ἤκουσμέν σου λέγοντος ὡς τὸν νομοθέτην οὐ δεῖ τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἐπιτρέπειν ποιεῖν ὃ ἂν αὐτοῖς ᾖ φίλον; (“Now did not we hear you saying a little while ago that the lawgiver would not permit the poets to compose just as they please?” [trans. R. G. Bury, LCL, 1926]).

¹¹ While scholars debate whether ἀνδρός is the object only of αὐθεντεῖν or of διδάσκειν as well, this question is not essential to the main argument of this chapter. It is unlikely, however, that the genitive ἀνδρός serves as an object for διδάσκειν since διδάσκειν normally takes the accusative for the thing taught or the

- this phrase is then contrasted by the adversative ἀλλά (“but”)
- with yet another infinitive (“to be,” εἶναι)¹²
- and a prepositional phrase serving as a predicate adjective (“in quietness,” ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ).

Of these elements, the essential syntactic pattern to be considered is as follows:

- (1) a negated finite verb + (2) infinitive + (3) οὐδέ + infinitive + (4) ἀλλά + infinitive.¹³

Syntactic Parallels to 1 Timothy 2:12 in the New Testament

Strictly speaking, there is only one close syntactic parallel to 1 Timothy 2:12 in the New Testament, Acts 16:21, which has the same construction: *a negated finite verb + infinitive + οὐδέ + infinitive*.¹⁴ However, if one allows for verbal forms other than infinitives to be linked by οὐδέ/μηδέ, we can identify forty-two further passages. These can be grouped into two patterns of usage for οὐδέ/μηδέ:

- Pattern 1: Two activities or concepts are viewed positively in and of themselves, but their exercise is prohibited or their existence is denied due to circumstances or conditions made clear by the context.

dative for the person being taught (or the accusative for both, if both are present), not the genitive. BDAG 241; Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 181–82. It is true that, as Smyth notes, “The case of an object common to two verbs is generally that demanded by the nearer.” Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, rev. Gordon M. Messing (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956), §1634 (p. 864). But in this instance, if ἄνδρος were modifying both verbs, it would most likely have been placed in the accusative case following διδάσκειν and then understood as an implied (though omitted) object in conjunction with αὐθεντεῖν, and this would especially seem to be true given the distance between the two infinitives. Ronald Fung helpfully points out a construction of this nature in John 14:17, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ὃ ὁ κόσμος οὐ δύναται λαβεῖν, ὅτι οὐ θεωρεῖ αὐτὸ οὐδὲ γινώσκει, where αὐτὸ serves as the object of θεωρεῖ and is also clearly implied to be the object of γινώσκει. “Ministry in the New Testament,” in *The Church in the Bible and in the World: An International Study*, ed. D. A. Carson (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1987), 199.

¹² Marshall rightly notes “a case of zeugma” here—“normally one would supply the governing verb from the first part of the sentence, but here . . . ἐπιτρέπω needs to be replaced by a stronger verb giving a positive command,” such as the βούλομαι Paul uses in 2:8 and implies in 2:9. *Pastoral Epistles*, 460n160.

¹³ Most of the examples selected for comparison in this chapter lack this final element (ἀλλά + infinitive), but its presence or absence does not substantially affect the thesis of this essay.

¹⁴ This syntactic pattern does not necessarily appear in this particular sequence. For example, in 1 Tim. 2:12, the first infinitive precedes the negated finite verb so that the order there is (2) → (1) → (3) → (4). This pre-positioning serves to highlight the first infinitive; see Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Some Notes on the Information Structure and Discourse Features of 1 Timothy,” rev. ed. (Dallas: SIL International, 2011), 8, 12, and cf. the nineteen instances of preceding infinitives in the Pauline writings: Rom. 7:18; 8:8; 1 Cor. 7:36; 14:35; 15:50; 2 Cor. 8:10; 11:30; 12:1; Gal. 4:9, 17; Phil. 1:12; 2 Thess. 1:3; 1 Tim. 2:12; 3:5; 5:11, 25; 6:7, 16; 2 Tim. 2:13. The central thesis of this essay, however, is not affected by whether the first infinitive precedes or follows the negated finite verb.

- Pattern 2: Two activities or concepts are viewed negatively, and consequently their exercise is prohibited or their existence is denied or they are to be avoided.

In both patterns, one of the conjunctions οὐδέ or μηδέ joins activities that the writer or speaker views either both positively or both negatively.¹⁵ The New Testament contains twenty-three examples of the first pattern and twenty examples of the second (see table 3.1).

At this point, it will be helpful to clarify some aspects of this essay's major thesis. First, the present investigation categorizes the examples based not merely on how the writer/speaker views the bare verb in isolation but on how the writer/speaker views the activity or concept indicated by each verb *as part of its larger verb phrase* (i.e., with accompanying objects, modifiers, etc.).¹⁶ With regard to 1 Timothy 2:12,

¹⁵ Payne consistently cites BDF §445 as an indication from a standard grammar that οὐδέ may indeed join positive and negative items, stating, e.g., "There is . . . no grammatical or syntactic rule that keeps οὐδέ from conjoining a positive activity with a negative activity. BDF §445 states that the use of οὐδέ in the 'correlation of negative and positive members is, of course, admissible.'" *Man and Woman*, 356; see also Payne, "1 Tim. 2.12 and the Use of οὐδέ," 251; Payne, "Further Insights," 25. However, Andrew Chapman's recent research in a yet-unpublished study exposes this appeal as a misreading of BDF. The pertinent section of BDF reads as follows:

445. Negative correlatives: οὔτε . . . οὔτε (μήτε . . . μήτε . . .); the connective after a negative clause is οὐδέ (μηδέ), after a positive καὶ οὐ. All of this remains the same as in classical. . . (3) The correlation of negative and positive members is, of course, admissible, though it is not common in the NT. E.g., Jn 4:11 οὔτε ἀντλημα ἔχεις καὶ φρέαρ ἐστὶν βαθύ (οὐδέ D sy^s, which seems to be better Greek).

Chapman rightly shows that the point Payne draws from the grammar is not what it intends to say. BDF is an abridgment; as the preface notes, "Blass's text was deliberately laconic in order to conserve space and Debrunner undertook to shorten what was already extremely terse" (xii). A fuller version of BDF §445 is found in Blass's *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, trans. Henry St. John Thackeray, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1905), 266 (§77.10, emphasis his):

The use of **correlative negative clauses** with οὔτε . . . οὔτε or μήτε . . . μήτε respectively, and of οὐδέ or μηδέ respectively as a **connecting particle** after **negative sentences** (and of καὶ οὐ, καὶ μή after **positive sentences**) remains the same as in classical Greek. . . . Of course a correlation of negative and positive members is allowable, though this is not a frequent construction in the N.T.: Jo. 4.11 οὔτε ἀντλημα ἔχεις καὶ τὸ φρέαρ ἐστὶν βαθύ (D and the Lewis Syr. have οὐδέ, which seems preferable).

Payne's reading is faulty at two points. For one, "correlation" is here in Blass a function of "οὔτε . . . οὔτε or μήτε . . . μήτε," not a function of οὐδέ—the latter is considered a connective particle, not a correlative particle. This has implications for Payne's larger thesis, as noted below. Second, by "correlation of negative and positive members," Blass is not referring to "a positive activity" and "a negative activity" joined by οὐδέ, and it is here in particular that Payne misreads BDF. The "members" in view are the two members of a set of correlative particles such as οὔτε . . . οὔτε. The "positive and negative members" in John 4:11, however, are οὔτε (negative) and καὶ (positive), which are in that verse unusually joined in a correlative relationship. Note that even if the example given supported Payne's point, it does not even engage an undisputed use of οὐδέ but οὐδέ as a textual variant.

¹⁶ This is a methodological refinement from previous iterations of this essay. So, for instance, in Matt. 7:6, it is not merely δότε ("give") and βάλητε ("throw") that are being joined but δότε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσίν ("give what is holy to the dogs") and βάλητε τοὺς μαργαρίτας ὑμῶν ἐμπροσθεν τῶν χοίρων ("throw your pearls before swine"). The table of scriptural examples (table 3.1) thus now includes the verb phrases (or the essential portions thereof) being compared by οὐδέ/μηδέ, not merely verbs isolated from a larger verb phrase (except, of course, for those verbs that are not part of a larger verb phrase).

this means that the two activities being compared there are not merely “teach” (διδάσκειν) and “exercise authority” (αὐθεντεῖν) but “teach” (διδάσκειν) and “exercise authority over a man” (αὐθεντεῖν ἄνδρος).

Second, the present investigation only adduces examples where the verbs (taking into consideration the syntactic accoutrements included in the verb phrase such as objects, modifiers, etc.) are *directly* being paralleled via οὐδέ/μηδέ and share the same grammatical subject. In previous iterations of this essay, I provided examples where οὐδέ/μηδέ coordinated any two or more items that each included a verbal form functioning *in any capacity*. Such items featured entire clauses with differing subjects (as in Matt. 7:18) and phrases with a participle being used substantivally as an object (as in 2 Cor. 7:12). In the present essay, I have omitted such examples to sharpen the focus of the comparison and provide more precise parallels to 1 Timothy 2:12.¹⁷

Third, while this essay uses the terms *positive* and *negative* to categorize the connotation a particular activity or concept would normally seem to have for a given writer/speaker, these terms apply in various degrees to various examples. Some verbs and verbal phrases will have a strongly positive connotation; others, a strongly negative connotation; and yet others, a connotation at various gradations between the two poles.¹⁸ In the present essay, for ease of comparison, when on occasion a given verb or verbal phrase seems fairly neutral in its connotation, it will be categorized as *positive*.

Fourth, when a writer/speaker prohibits an activity, he is, of course, viewing that activity, in a sense, negatively. What the present essay seeks to discover, however, is whether the writer/speaker views particular activities or concepts as positive or negative *apart from the circumstances*

¹⁷Previous examples that I have removed from this essay include Matt. 7:18; 22:46; Mark 6:11; Luke 12:33; 1 Cor. 15:50; 2 Cor. 7:12; 1 Pet. 2:22; and Rev. 12:8. It should be noted that Payne has lodged an objection to 2 Cor. 7:12 in particular as an example of οὐδέ joining positive and negative terms. *Man and Woman*, 356–57; “Further Insights,” 23–28. Although this essay’s refined focus eliminates 2 Cor. 7:12 from consideration, Payne’s objection that this verse joins a positive and negative term with οὐδέ should still be considered invalid. Here, οὐδέ is not merely joining two men (τοῦ ἀδικήσαντος and τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος), as Payne’s treatment presumes (“Further Insights,” 27), but two reasons (ἔνεκεν τοῦ ἀδικήσαντος and ἔνεκεν τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος). In this case, both of the linguistic units being joined with οὐδέ in 2 Cor. 7:12 (ἔνεκεν τοῦ ἀδικήσαντος . . . ἔνεκεν τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος) ought to be seen as negative in Paul’s view. That is, Paul denies that he wrote to the Corinthians for either of these two distinct reasons, and then he contrasts (ἀλλ’) the two reasons as a collection with the affirmed reason for which he wrote to them.

¹⁸This gradation in connotation does not, however, mean that categorization as negative or positive is “artificial,” as Payne suggests. “Further Insights,” 26.

involved in the prohibition. As explained in more detail below, sometimes activities that are generally considered positive may be prohibited because of circumstances adduced in the context. In the present essay, I am arguing that Paul views positively the activities indicated by διδάσκειν and αὐθεντεῖν ἄνδρός, but in 1 Timothy 2:12, he is disallowing these activities in the circumstance of women wishing to engage in them in the context of the local church.

Due to one or more of the above methodological refinements, I have recategorized some of the syntactic parallels to 1 Timothy 2:12 in previous essays, shifting them from one pattern (e.g., positive-positive) to the other (e.g., negative-negative). It is important to note, however, that this categorical shift does not invalidate the primary thesis of the essay: *that when οὐδέ joins two activities, they both carry the same connotation, whether negative or positive.* As an example, take Acts 4:18:

καὶ καλέσαντες αὐτοὺς παρήγγειλαν τὸ καθόλου μὴ φθέγγεσθαι
μηδὲ διδάσκειν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

So they [the Sanhedrin] called them [Peter and John] and charged them not to speak or teach at all in the name of Jesus.

In previous versions of this essay, the two activities indicated by the μηδέ-joined infinitives in this verse were categorized as an example of a positive-positive pattern. This categorization holds true when considering the bare infinitives; doubtless the Sanhedrin would view both “speaking” and “teaching” as positive. However, when the entire verb phrase is taken into account—speaking *in the name of Jesus* [φθέγγεσθαι . . . ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ] and teaching *in the name of Jesus* [διδάσκειν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ]—those prohibiting these activities (the Sanhedrin) would clearly see them as negative. This refinement in methodology thus necessitates a recategorization of Acts 4:18 as an example of a negative-negative pattern.¹⁹ The pertinent point is that, even with this shift, the Sanhedrin views the two activities coordinated by μηδέ in the same way.²⁰

¹⁹To be clear, it is not the case that “to speak or teach in the name of Jesus” is *inherently* negative, only that those prohibiting these activities are *viewing* them as negative.

²⁰To anticipate a point made below, note that these activities, though related, should be understood as distinct. “The ban concerns both ‘speaking’ and ‘teaching.’ The Sanhedrin prohibits both the public proclamation about Jesus as well as the regular explanation of the significance of his resurrection.” Eckhard Schnabel, *Acts*, ZECNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2012), 245.

Table 3.1 Patterns in the New Testament of οὐδέ/μηδέ Joining Negated Verbs

Pattern 1: Two activities or concepts are viewed positively in and of themselves, but their exercise is prohibited or their existence is denied due to circumstances or conditions adduced in the context.²¹

Matt. 6:26	οὐ σπείρουσιν (sow)	οὐδὲ θερίζουσιν (harvest) οὐδὲ συνάγουσιν εἰς ἀποθήκας (gather into barns)
Matt. 6:28	οὐ κοπιῶσιν (labor)	οὐδὲ νήθουσιν (spin)
Matt. 10:14	μὴ δέξεται ὑμᾶς (receive you)	μηδὲ ἀκούσῃ τοὺς λόγους ὑμῶν (listen to your words)
Matt. 13:13	οὐκ ἀκούουσιν (hear)	οὐδὲ συνίουσιν (understand)
Matt. 23:13	οὐκ εἰσέρχεσθε (enter)	οὐδὲ τοὺς εἰσερχομένους ἀφίετε εἰσελθεῖν (permit those who are entering to enter)
Mark 8:17	οὐπω νοεῖτε (understand)	οὐδὲ συνίετε (understand)
Mark 13:15	μὴ καταβάτω (go down)	μηδὲ εἰσελθάτω ἅραί τι ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ (enter to take anything out of his house)
Luke 12:24	οὐ σπείρουσιν (sow)	οὐδὲ θερίζουσιν (harvest; cf. Matt. 6:26)
Luke 12:27	οὐ κοπιᾷ (labor)	οὐδὲ νήθει (spin; cf. Matt. 6:28)
Luke 17:23	μὴ ἀπέλθῃτε (depart)	μηδὲ διώξῃτε (follow)
John 14:17	οὐ θεωρεῖ αὐτὸ (behold him)	οὐδὲ γινώσκει (know)
Acts 9:9	οὐκ ἔφαγεν (eat)	οὐδὲ ἔπιεν (drink)
Acts 16:21	οὐκ ἔξεστιν παραδέχασθαι (accept)	οὐδὲ ποιεῖν (practice)
Acts 17:24–25	οὐκ ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κατοικεῖ (dwell in temples made with hands)	οὐδὲ ὑπὸ χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων θεραπεύεται (be served with human hands)
Acts 21:21	μὴ περιτέμνουν αὐτοὺς τὰ τέκνα (circumcise)	μηδὲ τοῖς ἔθεσιν περιπατεῖν (walk in the customs)

²¹Previously, I included 1 Tim. 6:16 as an example of this pattern but have now excluded this text from the study as falling outside its parameters: instead of negated verbs joined by οὐδέ/μηδέ, it contains a negative *subject* (οὐδεὶς) and two nonnegated verbs. That said, Paul views the two verbs joined by οὐδέ in that verse in the same way.

Rom. 9:11	μήπω γεννηθέντων (be born)	μηδὲ πραξάντων τι ἀγαθὸν ἢ φαῦλον (do anything good or evil) ^a
Rom. 9:16	οὐ τοῦ θέλοντος (willing)	οὐδὲ τοῦ τρέχοντος (running)
Rom. 14:21	μὴ φαγεῖν κρέα (eat meat)	μηδὲ πιεῖν οἶνον (drink wine)
Gal. 1:16–17	οὐ προσανεθέμην σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι (consult with flesh and blood)	οὐδὲ ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀπο- στόλους (go up to Jerusalem to those who were apostles before me)
Col. 2:21	μὴ ἅψη (touch)	μηδὲ γεύσῃ μηδὲ θίγῃς (taste, handle)
1 Tim. 2:12	διδάσκειν οὐκ ἐπι- τρέπω (teach)	οὐδὲ ἀνθεντεῖν ἀνδρός (exercise authority over a man)
Heb. 10:8	θυσίας καὶ προ- σφοράς καὶ ὁλο- καυτώματα καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας οὐκ ἠθέλη- σας (desire sacrifices and offerings and whole burnt offerings and offerings for sin)	[θυσίας καὶ προσφοράς καὶ ὁλοκαυτώματα καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας] οὐδὲ εὐδόκησας (take pleasure in [sacrifices and offerings and whole burnt offerings and offerings for sin])
1 John 3:6	οὐχ ἑώρακεν αὐτὸν (has seen him)	οὐδὲ ἔγνωκεν αὐτόν (has known him)

^a The phrase *πραξάντων τι ἀγαθὸν ἢ φαῦλον* should be understood here as a figure of speech indicating a totality: having done nothing good or evil simply means having done nothing at all.

Pattern 2: Two activities or concepts are viewed negatively, and consequently their exercise is prohibited or their existence is denied or they are to be avoided.²²

Matt. 6:20	οὐ διορύσσουσιν (break in)	οὐδὲ κλέπτουσιν (steal)
Matt. 7:6	Μὴ δώτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσὶν (give what is holy to the dogs)	μηδὲ βάλητε τοὺς μαρ- γαρίτας ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν χοίρων (throw your pearls before swine)
Matt. 12:19	οὐκ ἐρίσει (quarrel)	οὐδὲ κραυγᾶσει (cry out)

²² Previously, I included Luke 3:14 as an example of this pattern but have now excluded this text from the study as falling outside its parameters: instead of negated verbs joined by *οὐδὲ/μηδέ*, it contains a negative *subject* (*μηδέν*) and two nonnegated verbs. That said, the speaker, John the Baptist, views the two verbs joined by *μηδέ* in that verse in the same way.

Luke 6:44	οὐ ἐξ ἀκανθῶν συλλέγουσιν σῦκα (gather figs from thornbushes)	οὐδὲ ἐκ βάτου σταφυλὴν τρυγῶσιν (pick grapes from briar bushes)
Luke 18:4	τὸν θεὸν οὐ φοβοῦμαι (fear God) ^b	οὐδὲ ἄνθρωπον ἐντρέπομαι (regard man)
John 4:15	μὴ διψῶ (thirst)	μηδὲ διέρχωμαι ἀντλεῖν (come to draw)
John 14:27	μὴ ταρασσέσθω (be troubled)	μηδὲ δειλιάτω (be afraid)
Acts 2:27	οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς ᾗδην (abandon my soul in Hades)	οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὁσίόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν (allow your Holy One to see decay)
Acts 4:18	μή φθέγγεσθαι . . . ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (speak in the name of Jesus)	μηδὲ διδάσκειν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (teach in the name of Jesus) ^c
2 Cor. 4:2	μὴ περιπατοῦντες ἐν πανουργίᾳ (walk in deceit)	μηδὲ δολοῦντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ (distort the word of God)
Gal. 4:14	οὐκ ἐξουθενήσατε (treat with contempt)	οὐδὲ ἐξεπτύσατε (scorn)
Phil. 2:16	οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον (run in vain)	οὐδὲ εἰς κενὸν ἐκοπίασα (labor in vain)
2 Thess. 2:2	μὴ ταχέως σαλευθῆναι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ νοδός (become unsettled quickly from your composure)	μηδὲ θροεῖσθαι (become alarmed)
2 Thess. 3:7–8 ^d	οὐκ ἡτακτήσαμεν ἐν ὑμῖν (act in a disorderly way among you)	οὐδὲ δωρεὰν ἄρτον ἐφάγομεν παρὰ τινος (eat anyone's bread without paying)
1 Tim. 1:3–4	μὴ ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν (teach error)	μηδὲ προσέχειν μύθοις καὶ γενεαλογίαις ἀπεράντοις (pay attention to myths and endless genealogies)
1 Tim. 6:17	μὴ ὑψηλοφρονεῖν (be arrogant)	μηδὲ ἠλπικένας ἐπὶ πλοῦτου ἀδηλόγητι (put hope in uncertain wealth)
Heb. 12:5	μὴ ὀλιγώρει παιδείας κυρίου (despise the discipline of the Lord)	μηδὲ ἐκλύου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχόμενος (lose heart by his rebuking)
Heb. 13:5	οὐ μή σε ἀνῶ (leave you)	οὐδ' οὐ μή σε ἐγκαταλίπω (forsake you)

1 Pet. 3:14	τὸν φόβον αὐτῶν μὴ φοβηθῆτε (be afraid of their intimidation)	μηδὲ παραχθῆτε (be disturbed)
Rev. 7:16	οὐ πεινάσουσιν (hunger)	οὐδὲ διψήσουσιν (thirst)

^b Although “fearing God” is certainly positive in a general sense, in the context of Luke 18, the unjust judge is boasting that he answers to no one in his judgments: on the one hand, he does not fear God; on the other, he does not regard man. *From the judge’s perspective*, then, both fearing God and regarding man are negative. If we considered Jesus’s or Luke’s perspective instead, both fearing God and having regard for man would be positive, and the syntactic pattern under investigation would still hold.

^c As noted above, both activities are here being viewed as negative *by the Sanhedrin*. As with Luke 18:4, if we considered Luke’s perspective instead, both activities would be viewed positively, and the syntactic pattern under investigation would still hold.

^d Payne highlights this passage as an example of οὐδέ connecting a positive and negative concept, contending that the second term is positive: “To eat food given as a gift (δωρεῶν) has positive connotations unless it is joined with the negative idea of idleness.” “Further Insights,” 28. In response, two linked considerations indicate that Paul should here be understood to view “eat anyone’s bread without paying” as negative: (1) ἡτακῆσμεν (from ἡτακτέω) is best understood to denote not the specific negative state of “being idle,” as Payne understands it, but the more general notion of “acting in a disorderly manner.” For support, see the seminal treatment in Ceslas Spicq, “Les Thessaloniens ‘inquiets’ étaient-ils des paresseux?,” *ST* 10, no. 1 (1956): 1–13; and more recently, BDAG 148a; Gordon Fee, *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 209–10. (2) Each of the three times Paul uses a word from the ἡτακτος word group in 2 Thess. 3:6–12, he immediately specifies the sort of disorderliness he means: (a) some were acting in a disorderly manner, that is, not according to received apostolic tradition (3:6); (b) Paul and company had not acted in a disorderly manner among the Thessalonians, that is, not eating anyone’s food without paying for it (3:7–8); and (c) some among the Thessalonians were acting in a disorderly manner, that is, doing no work at all but meddling instead (3:11). The construction in 3:7–8 is therefore an example of οὐδέ juxtaposing (not merging) a general concept with a more specific one, and both are being viewed as negative.

Doubtless, Paul did receive “meals without financially reimbursing each host,” as Payne observes. “Further Insights,” 28. The occasional meal is not so much in view, however, as is the overarching pattern of his ministry, which was to work to provide for his own needs, not to rely consistently on the largesse of the various local churches in which he ministered.

A couple of examples can illustrate the first pattern, wherein the writer or speaker denies or prohibits two activities viewed positively in themselves due to circumstances in the context. In Acts 21:21, the speakers tell Paul of reports that he forbids Jews living among Gentiles to carry out two activities they viewed positively, circumcising their children and living according to Jewish customs. And in Colossians 2:21, Paul quotes the maxim “Do not touch, do not taste, do not handle,” which legalistic Christians used to prohibit activities that he did not view negatively in and of themselves.

The following examples offer instances of the second pattern, wherein the writer or speaker prohibits or denies two activities that he or she views negatively. In John 4:15, the Samaritan woman expresses her desire to avoid two things she views negatively, thirsting and having

to come to the well to draw water. In Philippians 2:16, Paul states that he wants to avoid two activities he views negatively, running in vain and laboring in vain. A passage in the epistle under consideration, 1 Timothy 1:3–4, instructs Timothy to command certain ones to avoid two activities the author views negatively, teaching error and holding to myths and endless genealogies. Later in the same epistle, in 6:17, Paul charges Timothy to command the rich in his congregation to avoid two things he views negatively, being arrogant and setting their hope on the uncertainty of riches.

These examples set forth the New Testament evidence that οὐδέ joins terms denoting activities that the writer or speaker views either both positively or both negatively. The implication of this observation for 1 Timothy 2:12 is that there are only two acceptable ways of rendering that passage: (1) “I do not permit a woman to teach [understood pejoratively] or to domineer over a man,” or (2) “I do not permit a woman to teach or to exercise authority over a man.” In the first instance, the writer would view both “teaching understood pejoratively” and “domineering over a man” negatively. In the latter case, the writer would view both “teaching” and “exercising authority over a man” positively in and of themselves yet would prohibit both for reasons gleaned from the context.

Before deciding on one of the two patterns for 1 Timothy 2:12, a preliminary clarification needs to be made. We must draw a distinction, especially in the first pattern, between a writer viewing two activities or concepts positively in and of themselves and a writer prohibiting them due to particular circumstances. In the case of 1 Timothy 2:12, some have, at times, taken the writer’s “I do not permit” to mean that he views the two activities, διδάσκειν and ἀυθεντεῖν ἀνδρός, as themselves inherently negative, that is, in the sense of “teaching in a domineering way” or the like. However, one should keep in mind that it is possible for the writer, due to certain circumstances, to evaluate negatively the exercise of activities he generally views positively without tainting the two activities themselves.

For example, I may tell my pregnant wife that I do not want her to drive alone or be on the road at night. There is nothing wrong with driving alone or being on the road at night. It is just that, under the cir-

cumstances (my wife's pregnancy), I prefer that she not engage in these activities. Or you may tell your children not to climb a ladder or to go near a cliff. There is nothing inherently wrong with climbing a ladder or even going near a cliff. It is just that, since you fear for your children's safety, you forbid them from engaging in two activities otherwise viewed as permissible. In short, it remains a legitimate possibility for a writer, for certain circumstantial reasons, to deny someone the exercise of activities he otherwise views positively.

In the light of this clarification, 1 Timothy 2:12 could legitimately be seen as an example of the first pattern; that is, while the writer views two activities positively in and of themselves, he prohibits them due to contextually adduced circumstances. Since scholars debate whether αὐθεντεῖν in 1 Timothy 2:12 is positive ("to exercise authority") or negative ("to seize authority" or "to domineer"), and since the οὐ . . . οὐδέ construction in 1 Timothy 2:12 normally joins two activities that the writer views either both positively or both negatively, determining how Paul views διδάσκειν is pivotal for determining the connotation of αὐθεντεῖν. Arguably, Paul is here using διδάσκειν positively, and a case for this assertion will now be provided.

THE POSITIVE USE OF ΔΙΔΑΣΚΕΙΝ IN 1 TIMOTHY 2:12

Stepping back for a moment to consider the verb διδάσκω in its larger New Testament context, we find that the vast majority of its usages are positive. In fact, when the Evangelists use διδάσκω in connection with Jesus, they will at times clarify the content ("you . . . teach *the way of God*," Luke 20:21) or manner ("he was teaching them *as one who had authority*," Matt. 7:29) of his teaching, but more often than not, they speak of it in a rather absolute sense: Jesus "went about among the villages teaching" (Mark 6:6); he "taught in their synagogues, being glorified by all" (Luke 4:15); "the chief priests and elders of the people came up to him as he was teaching" (Matt. 21:23). In cases where the content is not specified, the context assumes a positive connotation.²³ With the teaching of Jesus's followers, however, the writer more often than not specifies the content: Peter and the other apostles "did not cease teaching

²³ "The vb. [διδάσκω] is used relatively frequently with no indication of the content. . . . The content is determined by the context." H.-F. Weiss, "διδάσκω, διδάσκαλος," *EDNT* 1:317.

and preaching *that the Christ is Jesus*" (Acts 5:42); Paul and Barnabas were "teaching and preaching *the word of the Lord*" (Acts 15:35).²⁴

Even more significant than the use of διδάσκω in the Gospels and Acts is Paul's usage of διδάσκω. Where he uses the term in an unqualified sense—that is, unaccompanied by qualifiers in the immediate context such as those denoting the content of someone's teaching—he views the activity positively. For example, in Romans 12:7, he speaks of "the one who teaches" (ὁ διδάσκων) without directly specifying the content of his teaching; given the broader context of discussing χαρίσματα, however, the teaching is clearly to be understood positively.

With the exception of 1 Timothy 2:12, however, Paul does not use διδάσκω in the letters to Timothy and Titus without directly specifying its content. In 1 Timothy 4:11, Timothy is to "command and teach *these things*" (παράγγελλε ταῦτα καὶ δίδασκε), with ταῦτα referencing Paul's previous instruction. In the roughly equivalent statement of 1 Timothy 6:2, Timothy is commanded, "Teach and urge *these things*" (Ταῦτα δίδασκε καὶ παρακάλει), with ταῦτα functioning similarly. Later, Paul instructs Timothy, "*what you have heard from me in the presence of many witnesses* entrust to faithful men who will be able to teach [διδάξαι] others also" (2 Tim. 2:2).²⁵ In all three of these instances, the activity of teaching is clearly viewed as positive. In Titus 1:11, Paul views a particular instance of teaching as negative: the false teachers in Crete "must be silenced, because they are upsetting whole households by teaching [διδάσκοντες] *what they ought not.*"

Because Paul directly specifies the content of the teaching in view for each instance of διδάσκω in his letters to Timothy and Titus other than in 1 Timothy 2:12, it is instructive to consider the related nouns διδασκαλία and διδάσκαλος.²⁶ The noun διδασκαλία is most often viewed positively

²⁴Although she overstates the case, this general phenomenon is likely what Belleville has in mind when she avers that διδάσκειν "demands an object (teach what or whom?) or a qualifier (teach how?). *Only Jesus teaches in an absolute sense.*" "1 Timothy," 60; emphasis added. See also Karl H. Rengstorf, "διδάσκω, κτλ.," TDNT 2:141.

²⁵Paul's apostolic teaching (ὃ ἤκουσας παρ' ἐμοῦ διὰ πολλῶν μαρτύρων) is not, technically speaking, grammatically construed with διδάξαι in a direct way but is clearly in view as the content of the teaching activity.

²⁶Of the twenty-one New Testament occurrences of διδασκαλία, fifteen occur in the letters to Timothy and Titus. Also, in the New Testament, only in the letters to Timothy and Titus is Paul described as a διδάσκαλος (1 Tim. 2:7; 2 Tim. 1:11), and only in 1 Tim. 3:2 and 2 Tim. 2:24 does the adjective διδακτικός occur. This reality points to the heightened significance of "teaching" in the letters to Timothy and Titus as a function of preserving sound doctrine.

and is usually paired with a descriptor or an indicator of content that reflects this connotation.²⁷ One time in the letters, however, in 1 Timothy 4:1, “teachings” (in the plural) are viewed negatively, as the modifier indicates: “teachings of demons” (διδασκαλίαις δαιμονίων). At times, διδασκαλία lacks a grammatical descriptor indicating its content, but the broader context demonstrates such unqualified uses to be positive as a rule and in some cases even to seem to act as a technical term that equates to proper teaching: “Give attention to the public reading of Scripture, to exhortation, to teaching” (1 Tim. 4:13); “Keep a close watch on yourself and on your [or ‘the’] teaching” (1 Tim. 4:16); “elders . . . who labor in preaching and teaching” (1 Tim. 5:17); “the name of God and the [or ‘his’] teaching” (1 Tim. 6:1); “in your teaching show integrity, dignity, and sound speech that cannot be condemned” (Titus 2:7–8).

In the letters to Timothy and Titus, the noun διδάσκαλος twice describes Paul: he is “a teacher of the Gentiles in faith and truth” (1 Tim. 2:7) and for the gospel “was appointed a preacher and apostle and teacher” (2 Tim. 1:11)—both clearly positive uses. Once in these letters, Paul uses διδάσκαλος with a negative connotation: people will accumulate for themselves teachers in accordance with their own desires (2 Tim. 4:3).

Overall, then, διδάσκω is nearly always positive in the letters to Timothy and Titus, and when lexically related words are used without qualifiers, they tend to be positive as well. Whenever Paul views teaching or teachers negatively, he provides clear contextual indicators to this effect or uses the verb ἐπεροδιδασκαλέω (1 Tim. 1:3; 6:3).²⁸

In addition, a look at the previous context in 1 Timothy is instructive. While 1 Timothy 2:12 is the first time Paul uses the verb διδάσκω in the letter, he earlier uses two related nouns positively, referencing

²⁷Examples include (1) ὑγιάνω (i.e., “healthy” or “sound” teaching) in 1 Tim. 1:10; 2 Tim. 4:3; Titus 1:9, 2:1; (2) κάλος (i.e., “good” teaching) in 1 Tim. 4:6; (3) κατ’ εὐσέβειαν (i.e., “the teaching which accords with godliness”) in 1 Tim. 6:3; (4) τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ (i.e., “the teaching of God our Savior”) in Titus 2:10; or (5) simply μου τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ (“my [Paul’s] teaching”) in 2 Tim. 3:10. Similarly, “all Scripture” clearly provides the content of διδασκαλία in 2 Tim. 3:16: “all Scripture is . . . profitable for teaching.”

²⁸Claire Smith highlights this point: “Paul takes deliberate steps in 1 Timothy to distinguish *false* teaching from *faithful* teaching. In 4:1, he uses the plural noun ‘teachings,’ not the usual singular ‘teaching,’ and explicitly identifies the message as the ‘teachings of demons’ (διδασκαλίαις δαιμονίων). Twice he uses a compound verb made up of ‘different’ and ‘teach’ [ἐπεροδιδασκαλέω], so there can be no doubt that the teaching activity he has in mind is ‘false teaching’ (cf. 1 Tim. 1:3, 6:3). So while διδάσκω vocabulary can be used in relation to false teaching (1 Tim. 1:3, 4:1, 6:3; 2 Tim. 4:3; Titus 1:11; cf. Col 2:22), if this is what Paul had in mind in 1 Timothy 2:12, it would be the *only* place where he used ‘teaching’ vocabulary for *false* teaching without that being made absolutely clear from the form of the word or from the context.” Claire Smith, “Unchanged ‘Teaching’: The Meaning of *didaskō* in 1 Timothy 2:12,” in *Women, Sermons and the Bible: Essays Interacting with John Dickson’s Hearing Her Voice*, ed. Peter G. Bolt and Tony Payne (Sydney: Matthias Media, 2014), Kindle edition, chap. 3.4.a; emphasis original.

“healthy teaching” (τῇ ὑγιαίνουσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ) in 1:10 and himself as διδάσκαλος in a positive sense in 2:7.²⁹ One negative reference to teaching precedes 1 Timothy 2:12, as clearly indicated with the compound form ἐτεροδιδασκαλέω (1:3). In 1:7, Paul utilizes the noun νομοδιδάσκαλος (“teachers of the law”), and while he may be speaking sarcastically in reference to the false teachers, the term itself is not negative.³⁰ This body of data considered as a whole makes a strong case that Paul views διδάσκειν in 1 Timothy 2:12 positively.³¹

Since, therefore, the term διδάσκειν is best understood to be used positively in 1 Timothy 2:12, and since οὐδέ coordinates terms that are viewed either both positively or both negatively, αὐθεντεῖν should be seen as denoting an activity that is viewed positively as well. The context confirms, then, Wolters’s claim that αὐθεντεῖν has a positive meaning. Thus, 1 Timothy 2:12 best fits the first syntactic pattern, in which the writer prohibits the exercise of two positive activities or denies the existence of two positive concepts due to circumstances or conditions adduced in the context.

The immediate context of the passage, 1 Timothy 2:11, supports this conclusion. Framed by the *inclusio* of ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ at the beginning of v. 11 and at the end of v. 12 are two corresponding pairs of terms: “learning” in v. 11 corresponds to “teaching” in v. 12, and being “in all submission” in v. 11 corresponds to “exercising authority” in v. 12.

11 γυνὴ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ
μανθανέτω
ἐν πάσῃ ὑποταγῇ·

²⁹ Van Neste notes that “the strong statement of Paul’s position as a teacher (διδάσκαλος, v. 7) connects naturally with a discussion of who should and should not teach (διδάσκω, v. 12).” Ray Van Neste, *Cobesion and Structure in the Pastoral Epistles*, JSNTSup 280 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 85.

³⁰ See Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 27.

³¹ These data also speak to an objection that Philip Towner raises. He agrees with the syntactic thesis proposed in this essay, namely, that οὐδέ as a coordinating conjunction normally joins elements that are both positive or both negative. However, he argues that the “assertion that the verb ‘to teach,’ when used absolutely in the NT, is always regarded positively by the respective writer is far too confident and somewhat artificial. The context, not just an expressed object, may supply the ‘content.’” *Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 223. Towner is, of course, right that the context may very well indicate what sort of teaching is in view in a particular use of διδάσκω or one of its cognates. In 1 Tim. 2:12, though, that very point is debated: some argue that false teaching is in view here, while others contend that sound teaching is in view but that women are still prohibited from engaging in it in certain contexts. Given the positive tenor of previous (and subsequent) uses of διδάσκω cognates in 1 Timothy (not to mention 2 Timothy), the context would seem to support a positive use of διδάσκειν in 2:12.

While the context is ultimately determinative, therefore, it does seem that, as a rule, Paul uses διδάσκω and its cognates in a positive sense unless a given context negatively qualifies the word. In other words, the burden of proof would seem to lie with the interpreter who wants to show that the term is negative in a given context (such as 1 Tim. 2:12) where the term lacks immediate qualification.

¹² διδάσκειν δὲ γυναικὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω,
οὐδὲ αὐθεντεῖν ἄνδρος,
ἀλλ' εἶναι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ.

¹¹ Let a woman in quietness
learn

in all **submission**;

¹² But *to teach*, I do not permit a woman,
neither **to exercise authority** over a man,

But to be in quietness.

Paul first expresses his desire for a woman to learn in all submission. Conversely, he then registers his prohibition of the opposite, a woman's teaching or being in authority over a man. He closes by reiterating his desire for a woman to learn in submission. "Learning" and "teaching" are contrasted, as are "all submission" and "having authority," and he casts the former terms in each contrastive pair as positive in the case of women and the latter ones as negative.³² If teaching in a negative sense—teaching false doctrine—were in view, one might expect Paul to enjoin teaching in a positive sense in v. 11. Since he contrasts "teach" with "learn," however, it appears that he is proscribing the activity as such for women in the context at hand. Thus, syntax and context join in suggesting that 1 Timothy 2:12 be rendered, "I do not permit a woman to teach or to exercise authority over a man."

Syntactic Parallels to 1 Timothy 2:12 in the LXX and First-Century Greco-Roman Literature

The study of syntactic parallels to 1 Timothy 2:12 in the New Testament has yielded significant insights. I have identified two patterns of the use of οὐδέ, both consisting of coordinated expressions of the same order. However, since the New Testament contains only one exact syntactic

³² Annette Merz argues that αὐθεντεῖν ἄνδρος is a negative concept, but in her understanding, this seems to be only in conjunction with a woman having authority over men in light of the cultural prejudices of the time. *Die fiktive Selbstauslegung des Paulus: Intertextuelle Studien zur Intention und Rezeption der Pastoralbriefe*, NTOA 52 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 294. It is agreed that αὐθεντεῖν ἄνδρος is being viewed negatively in 1 Tim. 2:12 as *an activity performed by women*, but I would argue that the activity itself is not intrinsically negative, as some translate it (i.e., "to domineer," "to wrongly assume authority")—a point Al Wolters details earlier in this volume. As well, Paul is not prohibiting this activity based on the cultural prejudices of his day, but grounds his prohibition in Scripture, as the rest of the passage shows, with no evident appeal to the cultural norms of his day and no indication that this prohibition was meant to raise the estimation of the church in the eyes of those around them.

parallel where οὐδέ links two *infinitives* governed by a negated finite verb, it seems desirable to extend the scope of this investigation to extrabiblical Greek literature contemporary with the New Testament era.

This further investigation was facilitated by the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG), a wide-ranging electronic database of extant ancient Greek literature. Although the syntactic construction of interest may be found as far back as Homer,³³ it is common enough that the scope of the present investigation is limited to the first century AD, a period that offers a large sample of syntactic parallels to 1 Timothy 2:12 for us to analyze.³⁴ The Greek text and English translation of these syntactic parallels are given in the appendix; here we provide a summary analysis of the data.

Confirming the earlier study of the use of οὐδέ in the New Testament, these extrabiblical instances suggest that the construction *negated finite verb + infinitive + οὐδέ + infinitive* is used to link two infinitives denoting concepts or activities that the ancient writer viewed either both positively or both negatively. We find the same two patterns of the usage with οὐδέ in extrabiblical literature: pattern 1, where two activi-

³³ *Od.* 14.89–92: οἷδε δέ τοι ἴσασι, θεοῦ δέ τιν' ἔκλυον αὐδὴν, κείνου λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον, ὃ τ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσι δικαίως μνᾶσθαι οὐδὲ νέεσθαι ἐπὶ σφέτερ', ἀλλὰ ἔκηλοι κτήματα δαρδάρπτουσιν ὑπέρβιον, οὐδ' ἐπὶ φειδώ. "But these men here, look you, know somewhat, and have heard some voice of a god regarding my master's pitiful death, seeing that they will not (οὐκ ἐθέλουσι) woo (μνᾶσθαι) righteously, nor (οὐδὲ) go (νέεσθαι) back to their own, but at their ease they waste our substance in insolent wise, and there is no sparing" (trans. Murray, LCL, 1919). In accordance with one of the two typical patterns that this construction follows, both ἐθέλουσι δικαίως ("woo righteously") and νέεσθαι ἐπὶ σφέτερ' ("go back to their own") are viewed as positive actions by the speaker, the swineherd Eumaeus, who is talking to a disguised Odysseus about the suitors of Odysseus's wife, Penelope. A similar construction (though the finite verb is negated with οὐκ ἐτί and not οὐκ) is found in *Od.* 9.95.

³⁴ Previous iterations of this essay relied upon searches in IBYCUS, a precursor to the present-day TLG, which contained significantly less ancient Greek literature. Those searches encompassed examples from the third century BC to the end of the first century AD. More detailed search parameters, in conjunction with the more robust TLG, have now provided such an abundance of matching syntactic constructions that I have narrowed the date range here to include only authors who wrote in the first century AD, with one exception: examples from the LXX have been retained due to its significance for New Testament writers and the early church. While the sample is certainly sufficient for the purpose of the present essay, it still does not encompass all extant examples from the first century AD that could be brought to bear on the syntactic construction in view in this essay. To make the results manageable, search parameters were limited to texts where οὐδέ (including the contracted form οὐδ') joins an infinitive that it follows by ten or fewer words to another infinitive that is twenty or fewer words away from the first infinitive. In addition, examples are limited to those in which the finite verb is negated with οὐ(κ/χι), and not in some other way (e.g., with οὐκ ἐτί). Finally, in contrast to the biblical examples presented above, I have limited my search to examples using οὐδέ, not μηδέ.

These non-New Testament texts have been selected in accordance with a methodology slightly more refined than that used in previous editions: pertinent texts engaging a copulative verb (usually with a negated predicate adjective) have been excluded since the essential syntax differs slightly. Included previously but now disallowed are Sir 18:6; Plutarch, *Comp. Arist. Cat.* 4.2.1; Plutarch, *Cons. Apoll.* 115.E.3; Plutarch, *E Delph.* 385.A.9; Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 706.D.5. Other texts syntactically similar to these now-excluded texts include Plutarch, *Amat.* 756.B.4; Plutarch, *Am. prol.* 497.A.11; Plutarch, *Lys.* 26.2; Strabo, *Geogr.* 11.4.8.

ties or concepts are viewed positively in and of themselves, but their exercise is prohibited or their existence is denied due to circumstances or conditions adduced in the context; and pattern 2, where two activities or concepts are viewed negatively, and consequently their exercise is prohibited or their existence is denied or they are to be avoided. Table 3.2 documents these two patterns (the numbers of the readings below correspond with the respective numbered readings in the appendix).

Table 3.2 Patterns in the LXX and First-Century Greco-Roman Literature of a Negated Finite Verb Governing Two Infinitives Joined by οὐδέ³⁵

Pattern 1: Two activities or concepts are viewed positively in and of themselves, but their exercise is prohibited or their existence is denied due to circumstances or conditions adduced in the context.

1. LXX: 1 Macc. 15:14	ἐκπορεύεσθαι (leave)	εἰσπορεύεσθαι (enter)
2. LXX: Isa. 42:24b	ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ πορεύεσθαι (walk in his ways)	ἀκούειν τοῦ νόμου αὐτοῦ (obey his law)
4. Dio Chrysostom, <i>Or.</i> 14.8	νεῦσαι (nod)	μεταβῆναι (change position)
5. Dio Chrysostom, <i>Or.</i> 40.39	τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν (maintain quietness)	ἀθορύβως ἀλλήλοις γειτνιάν (be neighbors to one another without uproar)
7. Dio Chrysostom, <i>Or.</i> 74.27	κατασχεῖν [τὴν ἀδικίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων] (check [the unrighteousness of men])	κωλύσαι τὴν ἀδικίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων (prevent the unrighteousness of men)
8. Dioscorides, <i>Mat. med.</i> 4.164.3	κατ' ἄνεμον ἵστασθαι (stand against the wind)	τὰς χεῖρας προσάγειν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς (put one's hands to one's eyes)
12. Josephus, <i>Ant.</i> 6.20	ἐπιθυμεῖν ἐλευθερίας (yearn for liberty)*	βούλεσθαι μὲν ἀπηλλαγθαι δεσποτῶν (long to be rid of your masters)
14. Josephus, <i>Ant.</i> 7.127	ἡρεμεῖν (remain quiet)	ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν (keep the peace)

³⁵ An asterisk indicates an infinitive that precedes the negated finite verb, as in 1 Timothy 2:12.

17. Philo, <i>Hypoth.</i> 7.19	συλλέγειν [μὴ ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων πόνων περιόντας αὐτοῖς] (gather [the fruits produced which do not accrue to them from their own toil])	ἀποτίθεσθαι μὴ ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων πόνων περιόντας αὐτοῖς (lay aside the fruits produced which do not accrue to them from their own toil)
18. Philo, <i>Post.</i> 84.5	ἀναπτῆναι . . . εἰς οὐρανὸν (fly up into heaven)*	πέραν θαλάσσης ἀφικέσθαι (go beyond the sea)*
19. Plutarch, <i>Quaest. nat.</i> 918.B	ρεῖν (flow)	κινεῖν τὴν αἴσθησιν (affect our perception)
22. Plutarch, <i>Quaest. rom.</i> 291.B	ἀρχὴν . . . λαβεῖν (hold office)	ἀρχὴν . . . μετελθεῖν (solicit office)
25. Plutarch, <i>Amat.</i> 750.E.4	παραμένειν (remain)	θεραπεύειν ἐφ' ὥρα τὸ λυποῦν καὶ ἀκμάζον (cultivate a deficient plant which has come to its prime)
26. Plutarch, <i>Amat.</i> 767.D.1	ἐρᾶν (love)	ἐρᾶσθαι (be beloved)
30. Plutarch, <i>Cat. Min.</i> 3.1	μελετᾶν (practice)	ἔπεισθαι (obey)
31. Plutarch, <i>Cim.</i> 9.1	ᾄδειν (sing)*	κιθαρίζειν (play the lyre)
34. Plutarch, <i>De esu</i> 994.F	τέμνειν (cut into)	κατακόπτειν (slice)
35. Plutarch, <i>Superst.</i> 169.D	χαίρειν (rejoice)	ἡδεσθαι (be glad)
40. Plutarch, <i>Demetr.</i> 4.3	φθέγξασθαι (open his lips)*	τῇ φωνῇ κατεπειν (warn orally)
41. Plutarch, <i>Suav. viv.</i> 1090.D	χαίρειν (delight)	θαρρεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι (be confident in their present situation)
43. Plutarch, <i>Publ.</i> 8.1	ἀλοᾶν (thresh)	χρῆσθαι (use)
45. Plutarch, <i>Pyrrh.</i> 33.6	ἀναλαβεῖν (recover [his weapon])	καταθέσθαι (sheathe [his weapon] again)
49. Plutarch, <i>Adul. amic.</i> 64.E.7–8	τὴν οἰκίαν φυλάττειν ὥς ὁ κύων (guard the house like a dog)	βαστάζειν ὥς ὁ ἵππος (carry a load like a horse); ἀροῦν τὴν γῆν ὥς οἱ βόες (plow the land like oxen)

51. Plutarch, <i>Rom.</i> 9.2	ἀναμιγνύναι (intermarry)	προσδέχεσθαι (receive as citizen)
57. Strabo, <i>Geogr.</i> 10.5.5	θάπτειν [νεκρόν] (bury [a corpse])	καίειν νεκρόν (burn a corpse)

Pattern 2: Two activities or concepts are viewed negatively, and consequently their exercise is prohibited or their existence is denied or they are to be avoided.

3. Dio Chrysostom, <i>Or.</i> 6.25	μισεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώ- πους (hate mankind)	φθονεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀγα- θοῦ τινος (grudge [mankind] the enjoy- ment of any blessing)
6. Dio Chrysostom, <i>Or.</i> 74.9	τοῖς νεωτέροις το- σοῦτων ἐτῶν νόμος ... συμβάλλειν (make a contract with persons younger than a specified age)	συναλλάσσειν πλὴν ἄχρι μεδίμνου κριθῶν (have business with a woman except to the extent of a measure of barley)
9. Epictetus, <i>Diatr.</i> 3.24.1	συνταπεινοῦσθαι (to be humiliated along with others)*	συνατυχεῖν (to share in their misfortune)
10. Josephus, <i>C. Ap.</i> 2.212	τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν πυρ- πολεῖν (burn up their country)	τέμνειν ἡμερα δένδρα (cut down their fruit trees)
11. Josephus, <i>Ant.</i> 2.116	περὶ τὰδελεφοῦ δεδι- έναι (be alarmed for their brother)	τὰ μὴ δεῖνὰ δι' ὑποψίας λαμβάνειν (harbor suspicions of dangers that did not exist)
13. Josephus, <i>Ant.</i> 6.344	φυγεῖν αὐτὸν (flee it [i.e., impending death])	φιλοψυχήσας προδοῦ- ναι μὲν τοὺς οἰκεί- ους τοῖς πολεμίοις (betray his people to the enemy by clinging to life); [φιλοψυχήσας] καθυβρίσαι δὲ τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ἀξίωμα (dis- honor the dignity of kingship [by clinging to life])
15. Josephus, <i>Ant.</i> 14.346	ὁ . . . Ὑρκανὸν ἀπολιπεῖν (desert Hyrcanus)*	παρακινδυνεύειν τὰδελφῶ (endanger his brother)

16. Josephus, <i>Ant.</i> 15.165	πολυπραγμονεῖν (meddle in state affairs) ^a	νεωτέρων ἄπτεσθαι (start a revolution)
20. Plutarch, <i>Quaest. rom.</i> 269.D	τῶν ἡμερῶν τὸν ἀκριβέστατον ἀρι- θμὸν διώκειν (follow out the most exact calculation of the number of days) ^b	τὸ παρ' ὀλίγον συκο- φαντεῖν (cast asper- sions on approximate reckoning)
21. Plutarch, <i>Quaest. rom.</i> 273.E	βαλεῖν πολέμιον (throw missiles at the enemy)	τρώσαι (wound [the enemy])
23. Plutarch, <i>Ages.</i> 32.3	ἐξαγαγεῖν [τὸν Ἀγησίλαον] (force [Agesilaus])	προκαλέσασθαι τὸν Ἀγησίλαον (tempt Agesilaus out of his positions)
24. Plutarch, <i>Alex.</i> 39.7	πολυπραγμονεῖν (meddle in affairs)	παραστρατηγεῖν (interfere in his campaigns)
27. Plutarch, <i>An seni</i> 792.E	φυγεῖν (avoid him)	ἀπείπασθαι τὸ θεραπεύειν καὶ προσαγορεύειν καὶ βοηθεῖν (grow weary of attending to him, speaking to him, and helping him)
28. Plutarch, <i>Brut. an.</i> 990.A–B	θιγεῖν (attack) ^c	λυπῆσαι τὴν γεῦσιν (give pain to the taste)
29. Plutarch, <i>Cor.</i> 27.3	κακουργεῖν (hurt [them])	λαμβάνειν ἐξ ἐκείνων οὐδέν (take anything from them)
32. Plutarch, <i>Def. orac.</i> 426.B	ποιεῖν ἀνεξόδους (make them unable to go out)	φρουρεῖν συγκλεί- σαντας τῇ ὕλῃ (keep them imprisoned by enclosing them with matter)
33. Plutarch, <i>Def. orac.</i> 432.A	θαυμάζειν (feel surprised)	ἀπιστεῖν ὀρώνας (feel incredulous)
36. Plutarch, <i>Tranq. an.</i> 474.A–B	ἐξαθυμεῖν (be disheartened)	ἀπαγορεύειν (be despondent)
37. Plutarch, <i>Tranq. an.</i> 475.D	ἐκταπεινοῦν [τὴν φύσιν] (debase [Nature])	καταβάλλειν τὴν φύσιν (depreciate Nature)

38. Plutarch, <i>Tranq. an.</i> 475.E	κακὸν . . . καὶ δειλὸν καὶ ταπεινόφρονα καὶ ἀγεννῆ καὶ φθο- νερὸν . . . ποιῆσαι τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀνδρώδη καὶ μεγα- λόψυχον (make the good and valiant and high-souled man base or cowardly, mean, ignoble, or envious)	παρελῆσθαι τὴν διάθε- σιν, ἥς ἀεὶ παρούσης πλέον ἢ κυβερνήτου πρὸς θάλατταν ὄφελός ἐστὶ πρὸς τὸν βίον (deprive us of that dis- position, the constant presence of which is of more help in facing life than a pilot in facing the sea)
39. Plutarch, <i>Vit. pud.</i> 531.D	μέχρι τούτου προελ- θεῖν (proceed as far as this)	εἰπεῖν . . . “ὅμοσον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ” καὶ “τὰ ψευδῆ μαρτύρησον” καὶ “ἀπόφηναι παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον.” (say . . . “Take an oath for me,” and “Give false testimony,” and “Pronounce an unjust verdict”)
42. Plutarch, <i>Pel.</i> 21.1–2	παραμελεῖν (neglect)	ἀπειθεῖν (disobey)
44. Plutarch, <i>Pyrrh.</i> 10.3.	τῷ Πύρρῳ προ- σπταῖσαι (have colli- sions with Pyrrhus)	ἀπολιπεῖν Μακεδόσι πάροικον ἐργώδη καὶ χαλεπὸν (leave behind in [Pyrrhus] an enter- prising and trouble- some neighbor for the Macedonians)
46. Plutarch, <i>Quaest. conv.</i> 692.A	ἐπιπτεσεῖν (bear down)	συνθλίψαι τὴν χαυ- νότητα τῆς χιόνος (compress the loose structure of the snow)
47. Plutarch, <i>Quaest. conv.</i> 709.E	συνακολουθεῖν (ac- cept [an introduction to an uncharactered person])	ὑπομένειν . . . μοχθη- ρὸν διὰ χρηστοῦ φίλον (let a good friend be the means of getting us a worthless one)
48. Plutarch, <i>Quaest. conv.</i> 711.E	ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν (harm us)*	[ἡμᾶς] κρατεῖν (get the best of us) ^d
50. Plutarch, <i>Reg. imp. apophth.</i> 185.A.1	καθεύδειν (sleep) ^e	ῥαθυμεῖν (be indolent)
52. Plutarch, <i>Rom.</i> 27.7	ἐξετάζειν (inquire)	πολυπραγμονεῖν (busy themselves)

53. Plutarch, <i>Sol.</i> 21.5	ἐναγίζειν . . . βοῶν (sacrifice an ox)*	συντιθέναί πλέον ἱματίων τριῶν (bury with the dead more than three changes of raiment); ἐπ' ἀλλότρια μνήματα βαδίζειν (visit tombs other than those of their own family)
54. Plutarch, <i>Sol.</i> 27.6	τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀγα- θοῖς μέγα φρονεῖν (be puffed up by the good things we have)	θαυμάζειν ἀνδρὸς εὐτυχίαν μεταβο- λῆς χρόνον ἔχουσαν (admire a man's felicity while there is still time for it to change)
55. Plutarch, <i>Ti. C. Gracch.</i> 1.2	ἀνελεῖν (kill)	ἀφεῖναι (release)
56. Plutarch, <i>Tim.</i> 37.2	θορυβεῖν (raise a clamor)	κωλύειν (hinder)

^a With little warrant, Payne views πολυπραγμανεῖν as positive in nature, basing his estimation on Ralph Marcus's translation of the word ("to take part in public affairs"; LCL, 1943) and on the fact that, of the three meanings LSJ provides for πολυπραγμανεῖν, two are positive. "1 Tim 2.12 and the Use of οὐδέ," 251. However, of the three possible meanings LSJ gives, the third (which Payne sees as positive) is immediately disallowed because it reflects a transitive use of the verb ("c[um] = with]. acc[usativo]., *to be curious after, inquire closely into*"). Given the larger political context of the passage and the correlation of πολυπραγμανεῖν with the clearly negative νεωτέρων ἄπτεσθαι, LSJ's "meddle in state affairs, intrigue" commends itself for this setting. And although Marcus translates the word fairly innocuously, others have brought it into English with a decidedly negative slant, e.g., "to meddle with public affairs." William Whiston, trans., *The Works of Josephus: Complete and Unabridged*, updated ed. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1987), 408. Two important works concerning πολυπραγμανεῖν are Victor Ehrenberg, "Polypragmosyne: A Study in Greek Politics," *JHS* 67 (1947): 46–67, and Jeannine K. Brown, "Just a Busybody? A Look at the Greco-Roman Topos of Meddling for Defining ἀλλοτριεπισκόπος in 1 Peter 4:15," *JBL* 125, no. 3 (2006): 549–68.

^b Payne argues that to "follow out the most exact calculation of the number of days" is positive, and thus Plutarch uses οὐδέ to join a positive and a negative concept. *Man and Woman*, 357–58. Contextually, however, the ground (ὅπου) for Plutarch's two prohibited (οὐ δεῖ) activities is that mathematicians of his day lacked the sufficient skill to provide precise calculations of the moon's movements. He therefore views negatively *both* the pursuit of precision in astronomical calculation, which lay beyond the skills of his day, *and* the casting of aspersions on approximations.

^c Payne argues that Plutarch here uses οὐδέ to join a positive and a negative concept, contending that θιγεῖν ("to touch") is "almost always positive." *Man and Woman*, 358. However, LSJ notes that θιγγάνω can be used in a negative sense ("in a hostile sense, *attack*"; 801); BDAG ("in a hostile sense"; [456b]) and *EDNT* ("of hostile touching"; [2:151]) agree, both citing the use of θιγγάνω in Heb. 11:28. In spite of Payne's questionable appeal to what the word "almost always" means, the context in the Plutarch passage suggests that the negative use of θιγγάνω is indeed in view; note specifically the connection with λυπησάι τὴν γεῦσιν ("to give pain to the taste") and the possibility that harm could be done (πρὶν ἢ βλαβῆναι).

^d Payne contends that the negative-negative pattern does not obtain here, in that κρατεῖν is a positive verb. "1 Tim 2.12 and the Use of οὐδέ," 252. However, when the object ἡμᾶς is taken into account, each verbal phrase is clearly negative: "The wine seems not to be *harming us* nor *getting the best of us*."

^e Payne argues that Themistocles here uses οὐδέ to join a positive and a negative concept, contending that κοθεύδειν ("to sleep") ought to be understood with a positive connotation. Payne supports this assertion by noting that in another of Plutarch's works (*Them.* 26.2–3), Themistocles

provides a “positive description of dreams,” which indicates, he argues, that Themistocles views sleep positively. *Man and Woman*, 357. This argument, however, completely ignores the context of the passage in view:

Themistocles while yet in his youth abandoned himself to wine and women. But after Miltiades, commanding the Athenian army, had overcome the barbarians at Marathon, never again was it possible to encounter Themistocles misconducting himself. To those who expressed their amazement at the change in him, he said that “the trophy of Miltiades does **not allow me to sleep or be indolent.**” (Plutarch, *Reg. imp. apophth.* 185.A.1)

Clearly, we are to understand Themistocles’s “misconducting himself” (ἀτακτοῦντι) not only in terms of his previously having “abandoned himself to wine and women” (ἐν πότοις ἐκυλινδεῖτο καὶ γυναιξίν) but also in terms of his changed behavior, refusing any longer “to sleep or be indolent” (καθεύδειν οὐδὲ ῥαθυμεῖν). The *change* is viewed as positive, which means sleeping and indolence are perceived as negative, in the same category as his former abandonment to wine and women.

Again, we may consider some examples of each pattern. Pattern 1 can be illustrated by the following instances. In one of his *Orationes*, Dio Chrysostom writes (in reading 4), “Nor, to take another instance, would you have denied that Xerxes was a free man, when on his retreat from Greece a storm arose and he while aboard the ship obeyed the captain in everything and *would not permit himself* against the captain’s judgment even *to nod or to change his position.*” This text provides an interesting parallel to 1 Timothy 2:12 in that Dio also uses the verb ἐπιτρέπω in conjunction with an indirect object. Xerxes would certainly have viewed nodding and changing position as positive actions but, due to the immediate circumstances, restricted himself from engaging in them by submitting to the ship captain’s judgment.³⁶ In another example, Josephus writes (in reading 12), “You ought not to be content to yearn for liberty . . . nor merely long to be rid of your masters.” While the writer views his readers’ yearning for liberty and their longing to be rid of their masters positively in and of themselves, he indicates in the context why these longings by themselves are insufficient unless accompanied by change in behavior.

A few examples of pattern 2 show instances where the writer views two activities or concepts negatively and consequently prohibits their exercise, denies their existence, or calls for avoiding them. Josephus writes (in reading 16), “Hyrchanus because of his mild character did not

³⁶ Some might argue that Paul in 1 Timothy 2:12, likewise, may restrict women from engaging in activities (teaching and exercising authority over men) only temporarily given their immediate circumstances but that a time may come when the circumstances will change and thus the prohibition may be lifted. In response, it should be noted that Paul in this context grounds his injunction in the order of creation and the scenario at the fall in vv. 13–14 rather than in a temporary set of circumstances, which underscores the continuing relevance of his prohibition on women teaching or exercising authority over men in 1 Timothy 2:12.

choose . . . to meddle in state affairs or start a revolution.” “Meddling in state affairs” and “starting a revolution” are both viewed negatively by the writer, who asserts that only Hyrcanus’s “mild character” kept him from engaging in these undesirable activities. In one of Plutarch’s works (in reading 48), the writer denies the existence of two negative effects of wine: “The wine seems not to be harming us or getting the best of us.”

A final example of pattern 2 falls outside the chronological parameters of the present study and was thus excluded in the data set investigated, but it is significant for its close syntactic parallelism with 1 Timothy 2:12. In Polybius’s *Histories* 30.5.8 (2nd century BC), we find this explanation about a policy that had kept the republic of Rhodes from making an alliance with Rome:

βουλόμενοι γὰρ μηδένα τῶν ἐν ταῖς ὑπεροχαῖς καὶ δυναστείαις
πελπίζειν τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπικουρίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν, οὐκ ἐβούλοντο
συνδυάζειν οὐδὲ προκαταλαμβάνειν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὄρκοις καὶ
συνθήκαις, ἀλλ’ ἀκέραιοι διαμένοντες κερδαίνειν τὰς ἐξ ἐκάστων
ἐλπίδας.

They wished that no ruler or prince should be entirely without hope of gaining their support or alliance; and they therefore did not choose to bind or hamper themselves beforehand with oaths and treaties; but, by remaining uncommitted, to be able to avail themselves of all advantages as they arose.³⁷

The essential syntax matches that of 1 Timothy 2:12 quite closely: a finite verb governing two infinitives joined by οὐδε, which are then contrasted with another infinitive by ἀλλά:

οὐκ ἐβούλοντο
συνδυάζειν
οὐδὲ
προκαταλαμβάνειν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὄρκοις καὶ συνθήκαις,
ἀλλ’ ἀκέραιοι διαμένοντες **κερδαίνειν** τὰς ἐξ ἐκάστων ἐλπίδας.
(Polybius)

³⁷Polybius, *Histories*, trans. Evelyn S. Shuckburgh (New York: Macmillan, 1889), 411.

... δὲ γυναικὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω
 διδάσκειν . . .³⁸
 οὐδὲ
 αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός,
 ἀλλ' εἶναι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ. (1 Tim. 2:12)

In the Polybius text, the Rhodians are viewing the parallel infinitives as both negative: for them to bind (συνδουάζειν) themselves and to hamper themselves beforehand (προκαταλαμβάνειν σφᾶς αὐτούς) with oaths and treaties would be potentially disadvantageous.

The Relationship between Διδάσκειν and Αὐθεντεῖν in 1 Timothy 2:12

In the ongoing discussion about the syntax of 1 Timothy 2:12, scholars have devoted significant attention to how the juxtaposition by οὐδέ of the two infinitives διδάσκειν and αὐθεντεῖν affects their meaning. Of particular note, Payne, in a somewhat novel proposal, has argued that Paul here intends οὐδέ to join the two infinitives in such a way that they are to be understood as a single idea, not as two separate ones.³⁹ Thus, he argues that the οὐδέ construction of 1 Timothy 2:12 should not be read as prohibiting women from, on the one hand, teaching and, on the other hand, “seizing authority” (his rendering of αὐθεντεῖν). Instead, he argues that Paul is using the οὐδέ construction of 1 Timothy 2:12 to prohibit women from engaging in the single idea conveyed by the combination of διδάσκειν and αὐθεντεῖν; neither activity is to be considered separately. The following quotations illustrate several ways Payne sets forth his understanding of this “single idea”:

- “1 Timothy 2:12 prohibits a woman from teaching in combination with seizing authority over a man.”⁴⁰
- “This οὐδέ construction makes best sense as a single prohibition of women teaching with self-assumed authority over a man.”⁴¹

³⁸ The infinitive διδάσκειν occurs at the very beginning of 1 Tim. 2:12 and is here transposed to show the syntactic parallelism with Polybius.

³⁹ This is the burden of Payne’s chapter “1 Timothy 2:12: Part II: Does Οὐδέ Separate Two Prohibitions or Conjoin Them?” in *Man and Woman*, 337–59. Linda Belleville argues similarly that the two infinitives joined by οὐδέ in 1 Tim. 2:12 comprise “a single activity” and communicate “a single coherent idea.” “1 Timothy,” 55, 59–60.

⁴⁰ Payne, “Further Insights,” 26.

⁴¹ Payne, *Man and Woman*, 359; cf. “Further Insights,” 32.

- “Paul writes, ‘I am not permitting a woman to seize authority to teach a man.’”⁴²
- “Paul was prohibiting women from assuming without authorization authority to teach men.”⁴³

Put negatively, “what Paul prohibits in 1 Timothy 2:12 is not two separate things, ‘to teach’ and ‘to assume authority without authorization (αὐθεντεῖν).’”⁴⁴ Consequently, Payne does not view Paul as prohibiting women from teaching men in the church, “as long as their authority is properly recognized, not self-assumed.”⁴⁵

Several points should be made in response. First, Wolters’s lexical study in the previous chapter indicates that Payne proposes an unlikely rendering of αὐθεντεῖν. Second, the syntactic investigation in the present chapter suggests that it would also be unlikely for an οὐδέ construction to construe a negatively viewed activity (seizing authority [as Payne understands αὐθεντεῖν] over a man) with a positively viewed activity (teaching).⁴⁶

In addition, Payne overreaches in his argument that Paul typically understands two “conceptually different expressions” joined with οὐδέ to be combined in such a way that they lose their distinctness.⁴⁷ Regarding 1 Timothy 2:12, he contends,

There is no unambiguous case where Paul joins two conceptually distinct verbs with οὐδέ to convey two separate ideas, so there is no clear support in Paul’s letters for treating 1 Tim 2:12 as two separate prohibitions, of women teaching (or of women teaching men) and of women having authority over men.⁴⁸

However, to postulate the presence of either “one single idea” or two completely distinct concepts in the οὐδέ constructions under consideration presents a false dichotomy and does not adequately address the normal use of οὐδέ in Koine Greek.⁴⁹

⁴² Payne, “Further Insights,” 24.

⁴³ Ibid., 26.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Payne, *Man and Woman*, 359; cf. “Further Insights,” 32.

⁴⁶ Payne sets aside this consideration by noting that this thesis is invalidated “when οὐδέ joins elements to convey a single idea” because one cannot then “properly speak about the author’s intention for the separate elements rather than the single idea that they convey together.” “Further Insights,” 26. However, my thesis does not focus on the author’s *intention* for the two elements joined by οὐδέ but the *connotation* which they hold for the author.

⁴⁷ Payne, *Man and Woman*, 341.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 359.

⁴⁹ As well, Marshall presents two options for the relationship between διδάσκειν and αὐθεντεῖν: either these two terms are separate (he cites Moo and the present study as favoring this option), or the former term

Payne appears to be forcing οὐδέ to function in a way that is foreign to its normal use as a coordinating conjunction. Syntactically, as a coordinating conjunction, οὐδέ serves simply to set forth a subsequent negation to a negation already given and is equivalent to “and not” or “nor” in English.⁵⁰ When conjunctive, as it is in 1 Timothy 2:12, οὐδέ typically follows a previous negative⁵¹ and extends the force of that negative to a second element.

Because οὐδέ is a coordinating conjunction, it is not unusual for it to join elements that are conceptually close enough for “one single idea” to encompass them both. However, strictly speaking, the *function* of οὐδέ is not to join two elements into a single idea, as Payne seems to argue. Whether or not the two elements may be encompassed within a single idea is more a function of their intrinsic relationship to each other than of the fact that they are coordinated with οὐδέ. There is, moreover, a difference between a single idea that *encompasses* two elements joined by οὐδέ (that is, an idea that is larger than either of the two elements) and a single idea that *combines* two elements joined by οὐδέ (that is, an idea that is more limited than either of the two elements) to the extent that they all but lose their distinctness.⁵²

In seeking to support his notion of an οὐδέ construction expressing a single idea, Payne points to an English-language idiom: the use of *and* to join two expressions and form a single idea, as in the phrases “hit ’n run” and “nice ’n easy.”⁵³ Four points may be offered in response. First, the examples Payne adduces are, as a rule, essentially terms in their own right, expressions used frequently enough to be considered English

represents “a closer definition of the previous one” (i.e., teaching as an act by which authority is exercised). *Pastoral Epistles*, 459–60. However, this analysis does not quite capture matters accurately.

⁵⁰ Winer, for instance, notes that “οὐδέ and μηδέ add negation to negation,” and that οὐ . . . οὐδέ and μή . . . μηδέ are used “when to one negation another is annexed, and negation strung on negation.” G. B. Winer, *A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek*, trans. W. F. Moulton, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1882), 612, 614. Thayer follows Winer, noting that “the connection of clauses negated by οὐτε is close and internal, so that they are mutually complementary and combine into a unity, whereas clauses negated [*sic*] by οὐδέ follow one another much more loosely, often almost by accident as it were.” Joseph Henry Thayer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, corr. ed. (New York: American Book Company, 1886), 461. BDAG simply notes that οὐδέ (when used as a coordinating conjunction) “joins neg. sentences or clauses to others of the same kind” (734b; emphasis added); although BDAG doesn’t explicitly specify here that οὐδέ not only joins sentences and clauses, but also phrases or even single words, it goes on to give examples where this is the case (Barn. 10:4; Matt. 6:20).

⁵¹ We see this structure in 1 Tim. 2:12: διδάσκειν δὲ γυναῖκι οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω οὐδὲ αὐθεντεῖν ἄνδρος.

⁵² I am grateful to Andrew Chapman for highlighting this distinction in a discussion of Payne’s work.

⁵³ Payne, *Man and Woman*, 344–45. In his 1986 paper, Payne drew the connection between this English idiom and 1 Tim. 2:12 rather tightly: “Paul’s statement may fairly be translated, ‘I am not permitting a woman to teach ’n domineer a man.’” “Οὐδέ in 1 Timothy 2:12,” 4. Note that Payne now prefers to translate αὐθεντεῖν as “to assume authority” rather than “to domineer.” *Man and Woman*, 361–97.

idioms and thus something different than an ad hoc joining of terms as found in 1 Timothy 2:12. Second, every example Payne sets forth joins two and only two words—unlike 1 Timothy 2:12—and this brevity facilitates a given expression becoming idiomatically understood to express a single idea. Third, as a related point, in Payne’s examples, the two elements joined are tightly bound together by *and* with no intervening words, while in 1 Timothy 2:12, δὲ γυναικὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω intervenes between διδάσκειν and οὐδὲ ἀνθενεῖν.⁵⁴

As a fourth consideration, and perhaps the most serious one, Payne is using a *positive* conjunction (*and*) to support a point about a *negative* conjunction (οὐδέ).⁵⁵ If he were arguing for a *positive* Greek conjunction joining two terms idiomatically to convey a single idea, his argument would be much more compelling. For instance, in Galatians 1:16, Paul notes,

εὐθέως οὐ προσανεθέμην σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι
I did not immediately consult with flesh and blood.

Here, σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι can legitimately be seen as a “single idea.” Is Paul saying that he did not consult with “flesh,” on the one hand, and “blood,” on the other? Clearly not. The phrase σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι is a good example of a Greek parallel to the English idiom to which Payne appeals. But note, it consists of two single words joined by a positive conjunction with no intervening words, and this in spite of the fact that Paul uses a *negated* verb (οὐ προσανεθέμην). What if Paul had used οὐδέ instead of καὶ?

εὐθέως οὐ προσανεθέμην σαρκὶ οὐδέ αἵματι
I did not immediately consult with flesh or blood.

We can instantly see that such a construction would not combine the two terms into a single idea, and in fact, it would feel unnatural to communicate such a concept that way. Yet this is the sort of thing Payne argues to be the case in 1 Timothy 2:12: that the negative conjunction

⁵⁴ As Holmes observes, “The Greek word order suggests that the Author [of 1 Timothy] begins with one prohibition in mind but adds another.” Holmes, *Text in a Whirlwind*, 89.

⁵⁵ Here, I gratefully acknowledge Andrew Chapman’s yet-unpublished work, which highlights the point that Payne’s English-language example engages a positive conjunction vs. the negative conjunction used in 1 Tim. 2:12.

οὐδέ serves to combine διδάσκειν and αὐθεντεῖν into a single idea that is more limited than either element individually. If, for the sake of argument, Paul was actually trying to combine διδάσκειν and αὐθεντεῖν into a more specific single idea, it would seem that he would need to use a positive conjunction like καί—not a negative conjunction like οὐδέ—which, in turn, would require reworking the syntax of his entire statement.⁵⁶

To sum up this point, it is important to keep in mind that οὐδέ functions as a coordinating conjunction in 1 Timothy 2:12, and as such—particularly as a *negative* conjunction—it does not combine two separate elements in the sense that it excludes any consideration of those elements individually.⁵⁷ While the elements may overlap conceptually and a larger “single idea” may legitimately be posited that *encompasses* or *includes* both elements, they retain a certain degree of distinctness.

Bringing this greater nuance into the present analysis of 1 Timothy 2:12 and given a proper understanding of διδάσκειν and αὐθεντεῖν, if we were to set forth an overarching “single idea” from the compound prohibition of 1 Timothy 2:12, it would be that women ought not to serve in authoritative church positions, whether by teaching men (as part of the entire congregation) or by ruling over men. These functions, both of which are reserved for male elders (cf. 1 Tim. 3:1–2), are closely

⁵⁶ A more accurate English-language parallel than the idiom “hit ‘n’ run” would be, for example, to say, “When a bear attacks you, I want you neither to walk nor to run but to stay still.” Note that walking and running are both verbs denoting movement (whether slow or fast), so they share some affinity. At the same time, they are clearly not the same, nor do they merge into one. (This example may even have an ascensive dimension, as in “nor even run” or “much less run.”) Then both verbs denoting movement are contrasted with “stay still,” designating lack of movement.

⁵⁷ Blomberg discusses the question of whether the two infinitives form a hendiadys. He contends that he has identified a “largely overlooked” “informal pattern throughout 1 Timothy of using pairs of partly synonymous words or expressions.” Blomberg concludes that the two terms are “closely related” (agreed) and “together help to define one single concept.” However, this may go a bit too far. Blomberg, for his part, finds it “overwhelmingly likely” that in 1 Tim. 2:12, Paul is referring to “one specific kind of authoritative teaching rather than two independent activities.” Pointing to related passages such as 1 Tim. 3:2; 5:17; and Titus 1:5–7, Blomberg contends that the import of the two verbs in 1 Tim. 2:12 is one thing only: women “must not occupy the office of elder/overseer.” “Neither Hierarchalist nor Egalitarian,” in *Two Views on Women in Ministry*, ed. Beck (2005), 363.

We should note, however, that virtually all the examples Blomberg uses are nouns, in contrast with the verbs in 1 Tim. 2:12. And pitting one kind of authoritative teaching against two independent activities represents a false dichotomy, failing to allow for partially overlapping concepts. To be sure, the parallels adduced by Blomberg suggest that 1 Tim. 2:12 clearly means—at least—that women ought not to serve in the office that epitomizes teaching and ruling authority. Yet it appears that Blomberg’s position, by reducing the issue solely to that of “no women elders/overseers,” is unduly minimalistic. The principles adduced by the quotations of Old Testament Scripture in 1 Tim. 2:13–14 suggest that 1 Tim. 2:12 is grounded in more foundational realities than a prohibition of women occupying a given office. For this reason, a more nuanced application of the passage is needed.

related while retaining a level of distinctness.⁵⁸ The functions are related in that the “teaching” Paul has in mind in 1 Timothy 2:12 stands in conjunction with “exercising authority”: it refers to teaching in the ecclesial context, which would amount to an instance of exercising authority over the congregation as a whole, including men.⁵⁹ It is accurate to understand teaching as included in the exercise of authority, not as entirely separate.⁶⁰ In other words, the two terms overlap partially, such that exercising authority is the broader concept and teaching is one way in which authority is exercised.⁶¹ Exercising authority is evidently the broader concept, for authority may be exercised in ways other than teaching: by making decisions binding upon the entire church, for instance, or by exercising church discipline. Conversely, the sort of teaching Paul has in mind always involves this exercise of authority. The two

⁵⁸ Claire Smith notes that “while the terminology is different, these activities of teaching and exercising authority are listed separately in Paul’s related discussion of overseers (3:2, 4; cf. 3:12) and elders (5:17).” “Unchanged ‘teaching,’” chap. 3.4.a.

⁵⁹ In terms of application, this principle would extend beyond teaching the full gathered congregation to teaching or preaching before a discrete subset of the congregation that included men, such as an adult Sunday school class. Paul clearly does not mean to prohibit women from *every* form of teaching, for he elsewhere indicates that the older women are to be “teachers of what is good” (καλοδιδάσκαλους), specifically in regard to “training” (σωφρονίζω) the younger women in proper Christian conduct (Titus 2:3–5). Such teaching would also by its nature involve the exercise of some level of authority within the ecclesial context—but not over men.

⁶⁰ In response to the second edition of this work, Hübner objects that the argument presented in this chapter “assume[s] a stark (and therefore erroneous) separation” between διδάσκειν and αὐθεντεῖν. However, he is exaggerating the degree to which I view the two terms as distinct, and the present treatment demonstrates in even greater detail my efforts to avoid treating the terms as unduly disjunctive. Also, Hübner contends that a negative view of διδάσκειν might simply involve the manner, not the content, of teaching and that glossing a possible negative rendering of διδάσκειν as “teaching error” misses the mark, but on the contrary, it should be noted that in the letters to Timothy and Titus, a false manner of teaching and a false content of teaching are of a piece and typically conceptually combined. This principle is demonstrated, for example, in one of Hübner’s own examples, Titus 1:11, where the false teachers are teaching “for shameful gain” and “that which they ought not to teach.” Hübner’s contention, then, that the “focus of 1 Tim 2:11–12 is on behavior and the action of teaching, not the content of teaching,” even if correct, does not ultimately provide traction for his argument, nor does it invalidate the thesis defended in this essay. Finally, Hübner’s argument seems to be grounded in a certain construal of the context, on which see the discourse analysis below. Jamin Hübner, “Translating αὐθεντέω (*authentēō*) in 1 Timothy 2:12a,” *Priscilla Papers* 29, no. 2 (2015): 22; this article overlaps with his forthcoming “Revisiting αὐθεντέω in 1 Timothy 2:12: What Does the Extant Data Really Show?,” *The Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 4 (2015).

⁶¹ This conclusion is shared by Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 130; Blomberg, “Neither Hierarchalist nor Egalitarian,” 363. Claire Smith rightly notes, “The activity denoted by διδάσκω carried authority, while having regard for the will and benefit of the student.” *Pauline Communities as “Scholastic Communities”: A Study of the Vocabulary of “Teaching” in 1 Corinthians, 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus*, WUNT, 2nd ser., 335 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 54. Although not all of her conclusions can be endorsed, Korinna Zamfir is right to affirm that “as a form of public speech in which doctrinal contents are conveyed to the community, *teaching is an expression of authority. The right to teach involves legitimacy and authority.*” Later, Zamfir correctly notes, “1 Tim 2,11–12 excludes women from teaching (men) since such practice is seen as an illegitimate exercise of authority. This is why the suggestion that the office of *episkopos* would be gender-inclusive and would presuppose female officials as teachers in the community is unlikely.” *Men and Women in the Household of God*, 160, 163–64; emphasis hers. See also Saucy, “Women’s Prohibition,” 81–84, who suggests “degrees of authority” depending on the teacher in view (i.e., Jesus, an apostle, an elder, a teacher who is not an elder).

activities he prohibits are thus clearly related and overlap to a degree, yet at the same time they retain their distinctness.

While the primary thesis that this chapter seeks to establish is that the two concepts connected by οὐδέ are viewed either both positively or both negatively, we can identify a number of subcategories of this basic pattern that specify the different *relationships* between two concepts connected by οὐδέ.⁶²

1. Synonymous concepts: Mark 8:17; John 14:27; Acts 2:27; Galatians 4:14; Philippians 2:16; 2 Thessalonians 2:2; Hebrews 10:8; 12:5; 13:5; 1 Peter 3:14.
2. Conceptual parallels: Matthew 6:28 = Luke 12:27; Matthew 7:6; 10:14; 12:19; Luke 6:44; 18:4; John 14:17; Acts 4:18; 17:24–25; Romans 9:16; 2 Corinthians 4:2.
3. Complementary concepts: Acts 9:9; Romans 14:21; Revelation 7:16.

⁶²Scholars have proposed various categories of the relationship between two concepts connected by οὐδέ. Belleville suggests (1) pairing synonyms, (2) pairing antonyms, (3) pairing closely related ideas, (4) defining a related purpose or goal, (5) moving from the general to the particular, and (6) defining a natural progression of related ideas. *Women Leaders and the Church*, 176–77; “Women in Ministry,” 126–27; “Teaching and Usurping Authority,” 218–19; “1 Timothy,” 55, 59–60. In her earlier works, Belleville placed 1 Tim. 2:12 in the category “defining a related purpose or goal,” thus rendering it “I do not permit a woman to teach *in order to* gain mastery over a man” or “I do not permit a woman to teach *with a view to* dominating a man.” *Women Leaders and the Church*, 177; “Women in Ministry,” 127; “Teaching and Usurping Authority,” 218–19; emphasis mine. In her latest treatment, she has shifted to seeing “moving from the general to the particular” as a more fitting category, hence, “I do not permit a woman to teach *in a domineering manner* over a man.” “1 Timothy,” 60; emphasis hers.

Limiting his inquiry to Paul and Luke-Acts, Payne finds four categories of the relationship between two concepts connected by οὐδέ: (1) joining two equivalent expressions to convey a single idea, (2) joining two naturally paired expressions to convey a single idea, (3) joining conceptually different expressions to convey a single idea, and (4) joining naturally paired ideas to focus on the same verb. He places 1 Tim. 2:12 in category (3): “I am not permitting a woman to teach and [in conjunction with this] to assume authority over a man.” *Man and Woman*, 338–39.

Spencer notes that “when *oude* joins two prohibited actions, the second action can intensify the first one, as in 1 Tim 6:16; Rom 8:7; 11:21. *Oude* may then be translated ‘certainly not,’ ‘moreover,’ ‘especially not.’” This is the way she understands οὐδέ in 1 Tim. 2:12: “but, to teach, a woman, I am not permitting, certainly not to domineer over a man, but to be in silence.” *1 Timothy*, 60n98.

Some have suggested that two concepts connected by οὐδέ can fit into an *exegetical*, or *explanatory*, category. Following this line of thinking, David P. Kuske thus renders 1 Tim. 2:12, “I do not permit a woman to be involved in the kind of teaching in which she has authority over a man.” See Kuske, “Exegesis of 1 Timothy 2:11–15,” *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 78, no. 4 (1981): 250–51; Kuske, “An Exegetical Brief on 1 Timothy 2:12,” *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 88, no. 1 (1991): 64–67. Similarly, Charles Powell suggests this rendering: “I do not permit a woman to teach, namely, to exercise authority over a man.” “Paul’s Concept of Teaching and 1 Timothy 2:12,” paper presented at the 49th annual meeting of the Evangelical Theological Society, Orlando, FL, November 1988. Wagener views οὐδέ as exegetical as well: “Das mit οὐδέ angeschlossene zweite Verbotsselement führt nun nicht inhaltlich etwas Neues ein, sondern expliziert und konkretisiert das Vorhergehende: Das διδάσκειν wird als ein αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός interpretiert und als solches verboten.” *Die Ordnung des ‘Hauses Gottes,’* 75–76. And Merz also takes an exegetical approach, although she puts a much greater weight on διδάσκειν than αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός: “Durch das nachklappende οὐδέ αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός wird dem διδάσκειν also nicht eigentlich ein weiteres Verbot hinzugefügt, sondern das Lehren einer Frau wird als angemäße Herrschaft über den Mann interpretiert.” *Die fiktive Selbstauslegung des Paulus*, 294–95.

4. Sequential concepts: Matthew 6:20; Matthew 6:26 = Luke 12:24; Matthew 13:13; Mark 13:15; Luke 17:23; John 4:15; Romans 9:11.
5. Ascensive concepts: Matthew 23:13; Acts 16:21.
6. Specific to general: Acts 21:21; 1 Timothy 2:12.
7. General to specific: Galatians 1:16–17; 1 Timothy 1:3–4; 6:17.⁶³

Adjudicating how αὐθεντεῖν relates to διδάσκειν is largely determined by how one interprets αὐθεντεῖν, which is why the first part of this study is so important. If αὐθεντεῖν is understood negatively as “to usurp authority” or “to domineer,” then it will be seen as one way in which teaching might be exercised. Since this understanding of αὐθεντεῖν is narrower than a positive one (i.e., *seizing* authority or *abusing* authority is a more limited idea than merely *having* or *exercising* authority), then the relationship between διδάσκειν and αὐθεντεῖν will be seen as general to specific. However, the syntactic investigation of this chapter indicates that αὐθεντεῖν is being viewed positively: “to exercise authority”; thus, the relationship between the two positive activities διδάσκειν and αὐθεντεῖν is best understood as “specific to general.”⁶⁴

Discourse Analysis of 1 Timothy 2:8–15

Having determined the most likely function of οὐδέ in 1 Timothy 2:12 as well as the probable understanding of the two infinitives διδάσκειν and αὐθεντεῖν used in conjunction with it, it will be helpful at the end of our study of the syntax of 1 Timothy 2:12 to set the passage within

⁶³Note that these categories can overlap, so they should not be understood as mutually exclusive but as indicating the most likely emphasis in the relationship between the two concepts linked by οὐδέ in a given text.

⁶⁴Steven E. Runge notes that Greek word order often moves from setting the general discourse frame in terms of what is known by the reader (in the present case, teaching) to what is yet to be established (women exercising authority over men), in keeping with the universal linguistic principle of moving from established to nonestablished information. *Discourse Grammar of the New Testament: A Practical Introduction for Teaching and Exegesis* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2010), 187–95, referring to Simon Dik, *The Theory of Functional Grammar*, part 1, *The Structure of the Clause*, FGS 9 (Providence, RI: Foris, 1989), 363. However, engaging another principle of information flow, note that the typical pattern of general-to-specific is here reversed; the implications of this are noted below at note 88.

One of the reasons Belleville rejects the meaning “to exercise authority” for αὐθεντεῖν is that it would reflect a specific-to-general relationship between διδάσκειν and αὐθεντεῖν, and she considers that to be an invalid option for οὐ . . . οὐδέ constructions. *Women Leaders and the Church*, 175–76; “Women in Ministry,” 125–26. Note, however, that Acts 21:21 provides a New Testament precedent for this pattern.

Furthermore, Merz also accepts the specific-to-general categorization in a conceptual sense: she sees the two infinitives as describing the same activity but αὐθεντεῖν describing that activity in a broader way than διδάσκειν. *Die fiktive Selbstauslegung des Paulus*, 294.

the context of the unit of which it is a part, that is, 1 Timothy 2:8–15. This will entail careful attention to various discourse features, including connectives, *inclusios*, repetition, and other syntactic patterns. In the text reproduced below, connectives are set in bold, gender references are underlined, and *inclusios* are set in italics.⁶⁵

⁸ Βούλομαι **οὖν** προσεύχεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ἐπαίροντας ὁσίους χεῖρας χωρὶς ὀργῆς καὶ διαλογισμοῦ.

⁹ ὥσαύτως [καὶ] γυναῖκας ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς, **μὴ** ἐν πλέγμασιν καὶ χρυσίῳ ἢ μαργαρίταις ἢ ἱματισμῷ πολυτελεῖ,

¹⁰ **ἀλλ’** ὃ πρέπει γυναίξιν ἐπαγγελλομέναις θεοσέβειαν, δι’ ἔργων ἀγαθῶν.

¹¹ γυνὴ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ μανθανέτω ἐν πάσῃ ὑποταγῇ·

¹² διδάσκειν **δὲ** γυναικὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω **οὐδὲ** αὐθεντεῖν ἄνδρός, **ἀλλ’** εἶναι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ.

¹³ Ἀδὰμ γὰρ πρῶτος ἐπλάσθη, εἴτα Εὔα.

¹⁴ καὶ Ἀδὰμ οὐκ ἠπατήθη, ἡ **δὲ** γυνὴ ἔξαπατηθεῖσα ἐν παραβάσει γέγονεν·

¹⁵ σωθήσεται **δὲ** διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας, ἐὰν μείνωσιν ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ καὶ ἁγιασμῷ μετὰ *σωφροσύνης*·

First Timothy 2:8–15 is a coherent unit of Paul’s first letter to Timothy.⁶⁶ It can be divided into three subunits: vv. 8–10, 11–12, and 13–15. Verses 8–10 are governed by Βούλομαι in v. 8 and provide men and women, in turn, with standard guidance that responds to particular issues in the congregational gatherings;⁶⁷ vv. 11–12 turn to a second issue

⁶⁵ I am grateful to Steven Runge for his helpful input on the following analysis.

⁶⁶ Contra, e.g., James D. Miller, *The Pastoral Letters as Composite Documents*, SNTSMS 93 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 69–73. Note the solid case made for the passage’s coherence in Van Neste, *Coherence and Structure*, 36–40.

⁶⁷ This passage presents standard guidance and not just ad hoc instruction suitable only to the Ephesian situation, which Paul indicates by his use of ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ (“in every place”). This phrase indicates Paul’s normal expectation for churches, in line with similar language elsewhere (1 Cor. 11:16: “If anyone is inclined to be contentious, we have no such practice, nor do the churches of God”; 1 Cor. 14:33b: “as in all the churches of the saints”).

connected with the propriety of women in the gathered congregation; and vv. 13–15 close the unit by discussing grounds for the injunction of vv. 11–12 and a way forward for women.

The larger literary unit that includes our focal verse (v. 12) thus commences in v. 8 with Paul's injunction directed toward men.⁶⁸ He introduces this injunction with Βούλομαι and the postpositive connective οὖν (cf. v. 1), which marks a transition from the preceding unit while signaling continuity. Specifically, it resumes the main line of thought regarding prayer from 2:1–2 after a detour into the supporting material of 2:3–7.⁶⁹ But it is not *merely* resumptive—it also indicates an inference from this material.⁷⁰ Because prayer eventuates in God's desired end of salvation, which is the subject of Paul's message and mission (2:1–7), Paul's burden in v. 8 (the illocutionary force of his statement) is that men in every Christian assembly (including the Ephesians) join in prayer, leaving anger and argument behind in favor of unity and freedom from contention.

In the transition to v. 9, Paul uses the connective ὡσαύτως to indicate that his injunction to women in v. 9 closely parallels his injunction to men in v. 8 (cf. 3:8, 11).⁷¹ As he had instructed men on their disposition and conduct in the assembly, Paul proceeds in vv. 9–10 to speak to the women, elaborating on modest dress and decorum with a μή . . . ἀλλά (not . . . but) pattern.⁷² His stated criterion is that of propriety with regard to gender: ὁ πρέπει γυναιξίν in keeping with godliness.⁷³

⁶⁸ Some debate whether the present unit begins with v. 8 or v. 9. Verse 8 is a bridge, connecting both with the injunction to pray in the previous material and with the following material through the extension of Βούλομαι to govern v. 9. Most commentators rightly opt for beginning the unit with v. 8. See Stephen Levinsohn, "Self-Instruction Materials on Non-narrative Discourse Analysis" (Dallas: SIL International, 2011), 39, 93.

⁶⁹ Levinsohn, "Information Structure," 11; cf. Runge, *Discourse Grammar*, 44–45.

⁷⁰ See the careful discussion of οὖν in the letters to Timothy and Titus in Jacob K. Heckert, *Discourse Function of Conjoiners in the Pastoral Epistles* (Dallas: SIL International, 1996), 91–104, with the present passage discussed on 103–4.

⁷¹ If the textual variant καί (not included in NA28) is original, the connection would be strengthened further.

⁷² Runge discusses the use of ἀλλά in "point/counterpoint sets" to "correct or replace" an incorrect expectation with a correct expectation. *Discourse Grammar*, 92–100. Stephen H. Levinsohn notes that "when ἀλλά links a negative characteristic or proposition with a following positive one, the negative proposition usually retains its relevance." *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek: A Coursebook on the Information Structure of New Testament Greek*, 2nd ed. (Dallas: SIL International, 2000), 114. For more on Paul's specific use of ἀλλά in his letters to Timothy and Titus, see Heckert, *Discourse Function*, 13–28.

⁷³ Levinsohn notes that the qualifying phrase ὁ πρέπει γυναιξίν επαγγελλόμεναις θεοσέβειαν in 2:9 serves to "slow down the argument and thus highlight the final constituent," which is δι' ἔργων ἀγαθῶν ("by good works"). Here, Paul introduces the "good work/s" motif that he continues to engage throughout the letter (1 Tim. 3:1; 5:10, 25; 6:18) and that is also present in 2 Timothy (2:21; 3:17) and Titus (1:16; 2:7, 14; 3:1, 8, 14). "Information Structure," 11.

The fronting of γυνή in v. 11 constitutes a topical frame indicating a change in subject.⁷⁴ By way of asyndeton,⁷⁵ v. 11 issues the imperative γυνή ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ μανθανέτω ἐν πάσῃ ὑποταγῇ. The plural forms γυναικας and γυναιξίν in vv. 9 and 10 now give way to the singular forms γυνή and γυναικί in vv. 11 and 12, most likely in order to prepare for the reference to Eve in v. 13 (note the shift back to γυνή in v. 14, another *inclusio*). The shift from plural to singular may also here serve to individualize the address.⁷⁶

Verse 12 opens with the larger unit's first instance of the connective δέ (see also vv. 14, 15) and further develops Paul's command in v. 11 regarding a woman learning in quietness and full submission.⁷⁷ Similar to his use of Βούλομαι in v. 8, Paul uses οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω in v. 12 to express his authoritative instruction (here in the form of a prohibition); both expressions serve as exhortations but are more mitigated and indirect than imperatives.⁷⁸

The οὐκ . . . ἀλλά structure in v. 12 echoes the similar point-counterpoint set in vv. 9–10. The infinitival constructions διδάσκειν and αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός in the first part of v. 12 most likely parallel the word order of μανθανέτω and ἐν πάσῃ ὑποταγῇ in the preceding verse by way of contrast. Paul is placing emphasis on the entire compound infinitival phrase (διδάσκειν . . . οὐδὲ αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός) by fronting part of it.⁷⁹ Further, within that focal phrase, the fronted component

⁷⁴ So Steven E. Runge, *Lexham Discourse Greek New Testament* (Bellingham, WA: Lexham, 2008); Runge, *Discourse Grammar*, 210: "draw[ing] attention to a change in topics."

⁷⁵ Levinsohn highlights two contexts in which asyndeton is used in nonnarrative text: when there is a close connection between information in the two juxtaposed passages and when there is no direct connection. *Discourse Features*, 118. The former is clearly the case here, given the continued focus on the deportment of women in an ecclesial setting.

⁷⁶ See Randall Buth, "Singular and Plural Forms of Address in the Sermon on the Mount," *BT* 44, no. 4 (1993): 446–47.

⁷⁷ On the developmental nature of δέ, see Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 112–14; Runge, *Discourse Grammar*, 31–36. See also the further interaction with and critique of Andrew Perriman below.

⁷⁸ A word should be said here about the relative potency of the different injunctions in the passage. Levinsohn rightly argues that different forms of exhortation have more or less potency ("relative directness, urgency, or degree of mitigation"). In discussing exhortations that are to be passed on to others (as in 1 Tim. 2:8–11), he considers third-person imperatives typically to have a strong degree of potency (e.g., μανθανέτω, v. 11), and considers the οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω of v. 12 to be "a very indirect form of exhortation" and "very mitigated in comparison with that of [v.] 11." "Self-Instruction Materials," 73, 79; "Information Structure," 12. In this connection, while the potency of an exhortation may vary from situation to situation, a less potent exhortation is not thereby rendered optional. Mitigated though it may be, Paul still takes the trouble to provide scriptural backing for his injunction, which highlights it as obligatory.

⁷⁹ Levinsohn notes, "if a complex constituent is in focus, it is normal for only part of it to precede the verb, with the rest of it occurring after the verb." *Discourse Features*, 57. Cf. also Levinsohn, "Information Structure," 12.

(διδάσκειν) receives even more weight due to its placement. Also, within v. 12, ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ is most directly related to διδάσκειν as its counterpart, which reinforces the notion that the primary weight in v. 12 falls on διδάσκειν. Finally, as noted earlier, the relationship between the two infinitives joined here by οὐδέ is specific-to-general, when the typical order would be general-to-specific. The specific-to-general pattern found here suggests that Paul is moving from the specific issue at hand to a broader area of concern.⁸⁰

Before moving to v. 13, it is necessary to address a particular challenge to the relevance of v. 12 to the discourse. Andrew Perriman has claimed that structurally, v. 12 has a “parenthetical character” and is “something of an afterthought, a rather hurriedly constructed interpolation.”⁸¹ Consequently, Perriman concludes that the ground (γάρ) given in vv. 13–14 does not support a prohibition against a woman teaching (since v. 12 is parenthetical in his view) but instead simply supports the need for a woman to learn (v. 11). Perriman’s argument has been rebutted elsewhere⁸² but requires comment here as well because of its relevance to the discourse structure of our passage.

The key flaw in Perriman’s argument is his unwarranted separation of v. 12 from v. 11, to which it is tightly bound. As visually demonstrated below, the following structural connections reveal the cohesion between v. 11 and v. 12: (1) the phrase ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ, which envelops vv. 11–12 as a literary *inclusio* and indicates that the two verses are to be understood as a unit;⁸³ (2) the clear correspondence between μανθανέτω (v. 11) and διδάσκειν (v. 12), as well as between ἐν πάσῃ ὑποταγῇ (v. 11) and αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός (v. 12).

⁸⁰ As Steven Runge explains, “Teaching would seem to be a narrower or more specific means of exercising authority compared to this broader action. . . . If the order of these had been reversed—exercising authority first, and teaching second—then Paul’s command would sound like a general prohibition with teaching as a specific or narrower example. In the present order, Paul begins with the specific action that ostensibly prompted him to write, and then goes on to broaden the exhortation in the balance of the verse. [The point to be made here concerns] the ‘general >> specific’ ordering compared to the other way around. The former is the expected order, the latter (what we find in 2:12) effectively expands what otherwise would have been a narrower command.” Steven Runge, personal correspondence, March 5, 2015.

⁸¹ Andrew Perriman, “What Eve Did, What Women Shouldn’t Do: The Meaning of αὐθεντεῖν in 1 Timothy 2:12,” *TynBul* 44, no. 1 (1993): 129–30.

⁸² Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 121; Van Neste, *Cohesion and Structure*, 37–38; and Thomas Schreiner’s essay in the present volume.

⁸³ Perriman notices the repeated ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ, but ignores its function as an *inclusio*. He later proposes a chiasm encompassing vv. 11–14, excluding v. 12, but has missed the smaller and clearer structure of vv. 11–12. Perriman, “What Eve Did,” 130–31.

γυνὴ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ
μανθανέτω

ἐν πάσῃ ὑποταγῇ·
 (command)
 οὐδὲ αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός,
 (prohibition)

διδάσκειν δὲ γυναικὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω

ἀλλ' εἶναι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ.

These indisputable structural connections demonstrate that the δέ in v. 12 does not, as Perriman claims, introduce a mere “afterthought” that can be safely ignored or marginalized.⁸⁴ Rather, Paul’s δέ here develops the injunction just given in v. 11. That is, v. 12 crucially fleshes out the negative implications of his positive injunction in v. 11 in both specific and general terms: women are not to teach or exercise authority over men. The clear connections between vv. 11 and 12 indicate that when Paul moves on to ground his instructions in the creation narrative in the following verses, he is not merely referring to v. 11 but to vv. 11–12 as a cohesive unit.

In v. 13, then, the causal γάρ strengthens Paul’s directions by appealing to the Genesis creation account, and the connective καί opening v. 14 adds a second observation regarding Adam: not only was he created first (v. 13), but he was also not deceived (the woman was; δέ). While v. 14 contrasts Adam and Eve, the connective δέ (rather than ἀλλά) juxtaposes the two assertions in v. 14 regarding Adam and Eve as distinct points. This stands in contrast to the use of ἀλλά in v. 12 replacing the preceding prohibited activities of teaching and exercising authority with being ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ. Just as v. 11 began with γυνή, so v. 14 ends with γυνή (another *inclusio*).

A final δέ in v. 15 extends the Genesis narrative frame of reference by referring to the woman’s “salvation” (i.e., preservation) through child-bearing (cf. Gen. 3:15), and the repetition of σωφροσύνης (yet another *inclusio*) from v. 9 brings closure to the unit. The transition from v. 14 to v. 15 is marked by the change of verb tense from aorist/perfect (v. 14) to future (v. 15), the change in person from third singular (v. 15a) to third plural (v. 15b), and the lack of an explicit subject in v. 15b.

⁸⁴Levinsohn views v. 12 as “parenthetic” but in a different sense than Perriman. Levinsohn observes that while v. 12 does not directly advance the discourse, nonetheless vv. 11–12 clearly function as a cohesive unit. Correspondingly, he understands vv. 13–14 to “strengthen the exhortations of 11–12,” not (as Perriman) just the exhortation of v. 11. “Information Structure,” 11–12.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

1. The passage is characterized by considerable cohesion. The entire unit revolves around what is appropriate for men and women in the congregation, both individually and in relation to each other. Both the injunction for men to pray without anger or dispute and the directives for women to dress modestly and to learn submissively are grounded in a concern to promote unity and avoid disruption of worship.
2. Also pervasive throughout the unit is a concern for upholding a proper authority structure, which is expressed, on the one hand, in learning or teaching and, on the other, in being in full submission or exercising authority.
3. While Paul mentions men in vv. 8 and 12, as well as Adam in vv. 13 and 14, the passage focuses squarely on women, with vv. 11 and 12 being the focal point (see below).
4. Paul repeatedly conveys what is or is not appropriate using the “not . . . but” pattern.
5. The heart of the unit is the command in v. 11 (asyndeton) for a woman to learn in quietness and full submission, further developed in v. 12 through its implications in terms of nonteaching and the nonexercise of authority over a man.
6. The twofold illustration in vv. 13–14 grounds the command from vv. 11–12 in the Genesis creation and fall narratives (causal γάρ, δέ), with v. 15 providing a way forward and bringing closure to the unit by way of the *inclusio* σωφροσύνης, which harks back to v. 9.

Conclusion

Having explored the New Testament syntactic parallels to 1 Timothy 2:12 and engaged in a discourse analysis of 1 Timothy 2:8–15, we can now draw the following conclusions. The identified patterns of the usage of οὐδέ imply that in 1 Timothy 2:12, the writer views the activities denoted by the two infinitives διδάσκειν and αὐθεντεῖν either both negatively or both positively. That is, the passage should be rendered either “I do not permit a woman to teach [error/wrongly] or to usurp a

man's authority" or "I do not permit a woman to teach or to have (or exercise) authority over a man."⁸⁵

The meaning of διδάσκειν in 1 Timothy 2:12 is therefore an important preliminary issue in determining the meaning of αὐθεντεῖν. As was argued above, the default lexical connotation of διδάσκω is positive unless the word is negatively qualified in a given context. When used in an unqualified way in the New Testament, it denotes an activity that the writer views positively and that should be rendered "to teach" (cf. esp. 1 Tim. 4:11; 6:2; 2 Tim. 2:2). If the writer had intended to indicate teaching that was intrinsically negative or harmful in 1 Timothy 2:12, he would in all likelihood have put his prohibition in different terms, using a form of ἐπεροδιδασκαλέω (as in 1 Tim. 1:3; 6:3) or some other contextual qualifier specifying the (inappropriate or heretical) content of the teaching (as in Titus 1:11).⁸⁶

Since the first part of 1 Timothy 2:12 prohibits an activity that Paul views positively (teaching), and since the coordinating conjunction οὐδέ indicates that Paul views the second activity correspondingly, αὐθεντεῖν should be regarded as being viewed positively as well. Thus,

⁸⁵ In a critique of the first edition of *Women in the Church*, egalitarian Alan Padgett finds this essay's major thesis "convincing" but favors reading both infinitives as conveying a negative connotation. Padgett supports his reading by asserting that "Köstenberger is wrong to assert that 'to teach' is always positive in Paul," citing 1 Tim. 1:7; 6:3; and Titus 1:11. I did not, however, assert that "'to teach' is always positive in Paul," but that "the term διδάσκειν . . . is consistently viewed positively in the New Testament, including the Pastorals, when used absolutely, that is, unaccompanied by contextual qualifiers such as those denoting the content of someone's teaching." Neither does Padgett note that the word used in 1 Tim. 1:7 is νομοδιδάσκαλος, not διδάσκειν (= his "to teach"); that the word used in 1 Tim. 6:3 is ἐπεροδιδασκαλέω, not διδάσκειν; and that I highlight Titus 1:11 as speaking of *false* teaching, as indicated by the context. Alan G. Padgett, "The Scholarship of Patriarchy (on 1 Timothy 2:8–15): A Response to *Women in the Church*," *Priscilla Papers* 11, no. 1 (Winter 1997): 24; Köstenberger, "A Complex Sentence Structure," in *Women and the Church* (1995), 89–90. Padgett is followed by Sarah Sumner, *Men and Women in the Church: Building Consensus on Christian Leadership* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2003), 253n21.

Marshall agrees with the overall syntactic findings of this investigation but contends that along with αὐθεντεῖν, διδάσκειν should be taken as negative in 1 Tim. 2:12. He grounds this contention in v. 13, where Eve's deception is noted; "this strongly suggests the conclusion that behind the present prohibition lies some particular false teaching by some women." Blomberg has answered this argument, noting that while women were clearly victimized by false teaching in Ephesus, "no passage ever suggests that they were numbered among the false teachers themselves." While Marshall recognizes this datum, he avers that "the implication of [Eve] being deceived is obviously that she held a false opinion and then sinned by acting on it"; it is still not clear, however, how "acting on a false opinion" equates to women propagating false teaching. Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 458, 458n156; Blomberg, "Neither Hierarchalist nor Egalitarian," 359.

⁸⁶ Marshall objects to this argument, arguing that using ἐπεροδιδασκαλεῖν here would have implied that while women were not permitted to engage in false teaching, men were allowed to do so. *Pastoral Epistles*, 458n157. Blomberg properly rebuts this argument by simply noting that the prohibition still could have been framed clearly enough so as to avoid this conclusion. "Neither Hierarchalist nor Egalitarian," 361n137. In addition, Wayne Grudem rightly points out that since Marshall himself argues that αὐθεντεῖν has a negative nuance of "exercising autocratic power," the same objection he makes regarding the hypothetical use of ἐπεροδιδασκαλεῖν would apply equally to his understanding of αὐθεντεῖν. Wayne Grudem, *Evangelical Feminism & Biblical Truth: An Analysis of More Than 100 Disputed Questions* (Sisters, OR: Multnomah, 2004), 316.

αὐθεντεῖν is best rendered as “to have (or exercise) authority,” not as the ingressive “to assume authority to oneself” or the pejorative “to domineer.” Further, a proper understanding of the function of οὐδέ and of the meaning of the infinitives διδάσκειν and αὐθεντεῖν leads the interpreter to understand Paul to be prohibiting two activities that are related yet distinct. Women are prohibited from serving in church positions that would place them in authority over men, whether by teaching them in the ecclesial context or by ruling over them in an authoritative church position.⁸⁷

Having determined the most likely function of οὐδέ in 1 Timothy 2:12 as well as the likely understanding of the two infinitives διδάσκειν and αὐθεντεῖν used in conjunction with it, we have set the passage within the context of the unit of which it is a part, that is, 1 Timothy 2:8–15. This exercise entailed careful attention to various discourse features, including connectives, *inclusios*, repetition, and other syntactic patterns. As a result, we concluded that the larger unit has a great deal of cohesion and that v. 12 is an integral part of the unit, not a throwaway parenthesis. Verse 12 contributes to the focus of 2:8–15 on the role of women in the ecclesial setting, providing the appropriate negative counterpart to Paul’s concern that women learn in submission to authority (v. 11) and helping to define what Paul means when he speaks of being “in quietness” in the congregation (given the *inclusio*

⁸⁷ Belleville’s “Teaching and Usurping Authority” sets forth one of the more influential egalitarian exegeses of 1 Tim. 2:11–15 and intersects with my work in this chapter at a number of points, so it may be helpful to provide here a summary response to her work. Contributions of other authors in the present volume stand against her appeal to the culture of Ephesus to limit the applicability of the passage to the specific situation that obtained in the Ephesian church (219–21; see Steve Baugh’s treatment in chap. 1), her treatment of αὐθεντεῖν as pejorative (210–17; see Al Wolters’s analysis in chap. 2), and her contention that modern translations of v. 12 have been wrongly manipulated to reflect a bias against women in leadership (209–10; see Denny Burk’s response in chap. 6). In addition, Tom Schreiner’s exegesis (chap. 4) argues at many specific points against the position Belleville stakes out.

As concerns my work in this chapter, Belleville raises two particular issues, which I contend are, in the final analysis, groundless. First, she objects (217–18) to my methodology of comparing verbs and not nouns correlated by οὐδέ. She makes this objection on the basis that in 1 Tim. 2:12, οὐδέ joins two infinitives (διδάσκειν and αὐθεντεῖν), and that infinitives are verbal nouns. I have addressed the verbal nature of complementary infinitives above (note 10), but here I will simply point out that I have taken pains to ransack first-century Greco-Roman literature not just for verbs or nouns joined by οὐδέ but very specifically for infinitives joined by οὐδέ, and I thus find Belleville’s objection difficult to fathom. Second, based on her analysis of relationships between items joined by οὐδέ (218–19), she objects that αὐθεντεῖν cannot mean “to exercise authority” because the relationship between διδάσκειν and αὐθεντεῖν would then be one moving from particular (teaching) to general (exercising authority). I have indicated above (note 72) that Belleville has apparently missed Acts 21:21 as a New Testament example of the relationship she rejects. I will add here that even if Acts 21:21 did not provide an example of a particular-to-general relationship, nothing in Greek grammar would prevent οὐδέ from connecting two grammatical items in that relationship.

of vv. 11–12). Structurally bound to v. 11, v. 12 partakes in the larger unit’s concern for Christian deportment, congregational unity, and proper authority structure. As well, Paul supports it by an appeal to the Genesis creation-fall narrative, signifying its enduring relevance to the church. Finally, while v. 12 highlights certain prohibitions on the role of women in the ecclesial context, v. 15 points the way forward by urging them to devote themselves to their domestic role.⁸⁸

The relevance of the present passage, and v. 12 in particular, for discussions regarding women’s roles in the church explains the considerable expenditure of energy in its interpretation. In keeping with recent linguistic scholarship, the present essay has engaged the data in this important verse through thorough contextual and syntactic analysis and by extensive recourse to relevant primary-source material. We have shown that Paul prohibits women’s exercise of ultimate authority in the church and, more specifically, that he prohibits teaching that would serve as a specific instance of that sort of exercise of authority (this allows for women teaching other women; cf. Titus 2:3–5). Thus, women should not serve in positions of ultimate teaching or ruling authority in the church. Conversely, we’ve also demonstrated that Paul is not barring women merely from teaching false content or from teaching in an improper manner. Nor is he prohibiting women merely from exercising authority in a negative way (usurping authority, domineering, etc.). The essays in the remainder of this volume will set this crucial finding within the context of the exegesis, hermeneutics, and application of 1 Timothy 2:9–15.

⁸⁸ For an in-depth study of v. 15, see my article “Ascertaining Women’s God-Ordained Roles: An Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:15,” *Bulletin of Biblical Research* 7 (1997): 107–44.

An Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:9–15

A Dialogue with Scholarship

Thomas R. Schreiner

As the third edition of this book and essay is published,¹ it seems that fundamentally new arguments regarding the role of women in the church are not being disseminated.² Hence, the content of this

¹I am especially grateful to Chuck Bumgardner and Aubrey Sequeira for their help in tracking down sources for the third edition of this essay. Also, unless otherwise indicated, the biblical text in this chapter represents my own translation.

²See, e.g., the work of Christian Haslebach, “Die Bedeutung und hermeneutischen Implikationen der Verweise auf die Schöpfungsordnung und den Fall Evas in 1. Timotheus 2” (ThM thesis, University of South Africa, 2013). Haslebach argues that Paul’s prohibition against women teaching and exercising authority over men applies differently to today’s circumstances than it did in the first-century Ephesian church. We must recognize, according to Haslebach, that all the letters are occasional and directed to particular circumstances, and such is particularly true of 1 Timothy. Paul often refers to Old Testament events to speak to issues the churches were facing, and thus his Old Testament appeals do not necessarily make his teachings normative for us in the same way in our culture today. When we recognize the role of women in Scripture and the many ministries in which they were involved, says Haslebach, the prohibition in 1 Timothy 2 stands out as contrary to the pattern. What Paul says here, then, is an exception to the way in which women typically acted or were treated in the early church. When we recognize the false teaching that the Ephesian church faced, we see that Paul gave these instructions because of the situation he was addressing. We shouldn’t construe the directives given in 1 Tim. 2:11–15 as timeless words for Christians of all times and all places, and the text shouldn’t be used to limit women in ministry today. By way of reply, I would suggest that Haslebach fails to break new ground in his thesis and repeats common arguments, which will be shown in the remainder of this essay to be unpersuasive.

chapter has not changed substantially. This is not to say that no new work has been done on individual issues such as the Ephesian background, the meaning of the word *authentēin*, or the syntax of 1 Timothy 2:12. In fact, the preceding chapters take careful note of such developments, and the authors contribute fresh scholarship by examining the relevant primary evidence. In such cases, I have updated the discussion to include recent publications and research and have revised the chapter as necessary to take into account the current state of scholarship.³

When I first began studying this issue in earnest, I wanted to believe that Scripture places no limitations on women in ministry and that every ministry position is open to them. As a student, I read many articles on the question, hoping that I could be convinced exegetically that all ministry offices should be opened to women. Upon reading the articles, though, I remained unconvinced intellectually and exegetically that the *new* interpretations of the controversial passages were plausible. Indeed, reading the egalitarian interpretations persuaded me that the complementarian view was true, since the former involved unlikely interpretations of the so-called problem passages. I remember saying to a friend who is a New Testament scholar, “I would like to believe the position you hold. But it seems as if you have to leap over the evidence of the text to espouse such a position.” He replied, “Tom, you are right. Take that leap. Take that leap.” Leaping over the evidence is precisely what I am unwilling to do. Thus, I remain unconvinced intellectually and exegetically that the egalitarian position is tenable.

The complementarian position seems unloving and discriminatory

³For recent work that supports the complementarian position, see James M. Hamilton Jr., “What Women Can Do in Ministry: Full Participation within Biblical Boundaries,” in *Women, Ministry, and the Gospel: Exploring New Paradigms*, ed. Mark Husbands and Timothy Larsen (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2007), 32–52; Benjamin L. Merkle, “Paul’s Arguments from Creation in 1 Corinthians 11:8–9 and 1 Timothy 2:13–14: An Apparent Inconsistency Answered,” *JETS* 49, no. 3 (2006): 527–48; Wayne Grudem, *Evangelical Feminism and Biblical Truth: An Analysis of More Than 100 Disputed Questions* (2004; repr., Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2012); Andreas J. Köstenberger and Margaret E. Köstenberger, *God’s Design for Man and Woman: A Biblical-Theological Survey* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2014); Benjamin Reaach, *Women, Slaves, and the Gender Debate: A Complementarian Response to the Redemptive-Movement Hermeneutic* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R, 2012); Claire Smith, *God’s Good Design: What the Bible Really Says about Men and Women* (Kingsford, Australia: Matthias Media, 2012); Jonathan Parnell and Owen Strachan, eds., *Good: The Joy of Christian Manhood and Womanhood* (Minneapolis: Desiring God, 2014); Peter G. Bolt and Tony Payne, *Women, Sermons and the Bible: Essays Interacting with John Dickson’s Hearing Her Voice* (Sydney: Matthias Media, 2014); and Gerhard H. Visscher, “1 Timothy 2:12–15: Is Paul’s Injunction about Women Still Valid?,” in *Correctly Handling the Word of Truth: Reformed Hermeneutics Today*, ed. Mees te Velde and Gerhard H. Visscher (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2014), 142–54, 168–70.

to many, and the general atmosphere of our society encourages people to liberate themselves from traditional views. American culture often lauds those who discard conventional positions and brands those who advocate new positions as courageous, creative, and thoughtful.⁴ On the other hand, those who hold the complementarian view may be thought of as contentious, narrow, and perhaps even psychologically hampered. These latter qualities are doubtless true of some who support the complementarian view, and yet it does not follow that the complementarian view is thereby falsified. The truth or falsity of both views must be established by an intensive exegesis of the biblical text.

Even though many are inclined to assume that the egalitarian position is correct, I will argue in this essay that interpretations of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 in defense of the egalitarian position fail to persuade exegetically.⁵ The burden of my essay is to interact with such research and to set forth reasons for questioning its validity.⁶ Scholars who embrace the feminist position and argue that the author of 1 Timothy 2 was wrong

⁴For an example of a new reading, see Sarah Sumner, whose basic thesis is that we are unsure what 1 Timothy means, that we cannot take it at face value, and that the simplest interpretation leads to clearly unbiblical conclusions. *Men and Women in the Church: Building Consensus on Christian Leadership* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2003), 210, 212, 227, 248, 251, 256, 257. Certainly, the biblical text does present us with difficulties, but Sumner exaggerates them and seems to conclude that we cannot grasp what the verses mean. Her hermeneutical despair should not be embraced, for debates exist over the meaning of many verses in the New Testament (e.g., debates about justification have continued since the Reformation), and yet we still believe that the Scriptures can be understood. Her four claims on p. 212 can be taken as an example. She says that if we understand the text at face value, then (1) v. 15 teaches that women are saved by bearing children instead of by the death of Christ; (2) women should receive teaching without evaluating it; (3) women cannot wear gold wedding rings, but men can; and (4) men are to raise hands when they pray, but women cannot. The following observations apply to Sumner's claims (I will expound on these comments in the remainder of this essay): (1) she fails to distinguish between cultural practices and principles; (2) the wording of v. 15 can be taken seriously without compromising the atoning death of Christ as the basis of salvation; (3) most of her examples contain *non sequiturs*. For example, when v. 11 speaks of women receiving teaching quietly, it scarcely follows logically that discernment and evaluation of such teaching is precluded. And a similar logical error appears in her view of raising hands—it doesn't follow that women are forbidden to raise their hands simply because men are exhorted to do so.

⁵For a history of interpreting the text examined in this essay, see Daniel Doriani, "Appendix 1: History of the Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2," in *Women in the Church: A Fresh Analysis of 1 Timothy 2:9–15*, ed. Andreas J. Köstenberger, Thomas R. Schreiner, and H. Scott Baldwin (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1995), 213–67. Johnson also surveys the contribution of commentators on 1–2 Timothy, paying special attention to their view of 1 Tim. 2:9–15. Luke Timothy Johnson, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 35A (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 20–54.

⁶In this essay, I interact mainly with evangelical feminists instead of radical feminists, for the latter tend to agree with my exegesis of 1 Tim. 2:11–15 but regard it as patriarchal. For the most notable contribution from the radical feminist position, see Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1983). On feminist scholarship on Jesus, see especially Margaret Elizabeth Köstenberger, *Jesus and the Feminists: Who Do They Say That He Is?* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2008). While Köstenberger focuses primarily on feminist scholarship on Jesus, much of her analysis of feminist exegesis and hermeneutics is relevant also for scholarship on Paul. See also the helpful essay by Philip H. Towner, "Feminist Approaches to the New Testament: With 1 Timothy 2:8–15 as a Test Case," *Jian Dao* 7 (1997): 91–111. Towner briefly surveys and analyzes the views of radical and biblical feminists on the interpretation of 1 Tim. 2:8–15.

or inconsistent are more exegetically straightforward and more intellectually convincing than those who contend that Paul did not actually intend to restrict women teaching men in 1 Timothy 2.⁷

The Life Setting for the Text

One of the central planks for the egalitarian view is the occasional nature of 1 Timothy. Too often, they argue, scholars have seen 1 Timothy as a manual of church structure, so that they understand the directives given as permanently binding on all churches.⁸ What scholars have not sufficiently appreciated, egalitarians contend, is that the Pastoral Epistles addressed specific situations, particularly the false teaching imperiling the churches.⁹ Thus, egalitarians maintain, we should not understand

⁷Paul K. Jewett, *Man as Male and Female: A Study in Sexual Relationships from a Theological Point of View* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1975), 112–13, 119. See also Annette Bourland Huizenga, *Moral Education for Women in the Pastoral and Pythagorean Letters: Philosophers of the Household*, NovTsup 147 (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Korinna Zamfir, *Men and Women in the Household of God: A Contextual Approach to Roles and Ministries in the Pastoral Epistles*, NTOA 103 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 217–18, 226–79; Johnson, *First and Second Letters to Timothy*, 208, 210; Raymond F. Collins, *1 and 2 Timothy and Titus: A Commentary*, NTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 74–75; Bridget Gilfillan Upton, “Can Stepmothers Be Saved? Another Look at 1 Timothy 2.8–15,” *Feminist Theology* 15, no. 2 (2007): 175–85. In a similar vein, Jouette Bassler does not regard what is said here as authoritative for today. See her “Adam, Eve, and the Pastor: The Use of Genesis 2–3 in the Pastoral Epistles,” in *Genesis 1–3 in the History of Exegesis: Intrigue in the Garden*, ed. Gregory A. Robbins, *Studies in Women and Religion* 27 (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1988), 43–65. Interestingly, Bassler also rejects the modern attempt to ameliorate what Paul says in order to make it fit with women in leadership in today’s world. She remarks, “This, however, involves reading twentieth-century sensibilities into the text, for a comprehensive prohibition of any leadership office seems clearly indicated by the words” (48–49). Benjamin Fiore rejects the writer’s teaching here as biased and advises not to follow his example. *The Pastoral Epistles: First Timothy, Second Timothy, and Titus*, SP 12 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2007), 71. Zamfir and Verheyden travel the same path, arguing that a later writer claiming to be Paul in 1 Timothy clamped down on what Paul permitted women to do in 1 Corinthians 11. See Korinna Zamfir and Joseph Verheyden, “Text Critical and Intertextual Remarks on 1 Tim. 2.8–10,” *NovT* 50, no. 4 (2008): 376–406. For a similar reading in many respects, see Brian J. Capper, “To Keep Silent, Ask Husbands at Home, and Not to Have Authority over Men (1 Corinthians 14:33–36 and 1 Timothy 2:11–12): The Transition from Gathering in Private to Meeting in Public Space in Second-Generation Christianity and the Exclusion of Women from Leadership of the Public Assembly, Parts 1 and 2,” *TZ* 61, nos. 2 and 4 (2005): 113–31, 301–19. Clarence Boomsma argues that even though Paul’s exegesis of the Genesis text in 1 Timothy 2 is flawed inasmuch as it does not represent the intended meaning of the text of Genesis, it was appropriate for the particular situation addressed in 1 Timothy. Thus, he claims that even though Paul’s “argument from Genesis 2 is without support in the text,” one should not conclude that Paul was in error or uninspired. He “rightly” misinterpreted the text of Genesis in order to correct an abuse by the women addressed in 1 Timothy 2. Boomsma concludes, therefore, that 1 Tim. 2:11–15, rightly interpreted, does not prohibit women from serving in church office today. *Male and Female, One in Christ: New Testament Teaching on Women in Office* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1993), 53–82; quotation on 58. It is hard to imagine how Paul’s argumentation in 1 Timothy 2 would convince the original recipients if Boomsma is correct. See the review by Albert Wolters, who critiques Boomsma’s thesis, showing that it squares neither with the text of 1 Tim. 2:11–15 nor with logic. *CTJ* 29, no. 1 (1994): 278–85.

⁸For an example of someone who rightly views the directives in 1 Timothy as universally binding, Stephen B. Clark, *Man and Woman in Christ* (Ann Arbor, MI: Servant, 1980), 192.

⁹This view is commonplace now. See Gordon D. Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy, Titus*, NIBCNT (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1988), 1–31; Fee, *Gospel and Spirit* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991), 54–55; Philip H. Towner, *The Goal of Our Instruction*, JSNTsup 34 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1989), 21–45; Sharon Hodgkin Gritz, *Paul, Women Teachers, and the Mother Goddess at Ephesus: A Study of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 in Light of the Religious and Cultural Milieu of the First Century* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991),

the letters as timeless marching orders for the church but must interpret them in light of the specific circumstances that occasioned them.

The emphasis on the specific situation and occasion of the letters is salutary. The Pastoral Epistles are not doctrinal treatises that float free from the circumstances that called them forth. In the case of 1 Timothy, Paul clearly wrote the letter, at least in part, to counteract false teaching (1:3–11, 18–20; 4:1–10; 5:11–15; 6:3–10, 20–21). Indeed, the transition between 1 Timothy 1:18–20 and 2:1 indicated by “therefore” (οὖν) shows that the following instructions relate to the charge to resist false teaching (cf. 1 Tim. 1:3, 18).¹⁰ The letter is designed to correct the abuses that heretics introduced into the community.

Nevertheless, caution should be exercised in explaining the nature of 1 Timothy. Even though the presence of heresy looms large, it does not follow that the false teaching explains every feature of the letter. Paul probably included some material for general purposes that did not address the deviant teaching directly. We could easily fall into the error of overemphasizing the ad hoc character of 1 Timothy.¹¹ After Paul had functioned as a missionary and church planter for so many years, he likely had a general vision of how churches should be structured.¹² Hence, his instructions were not entirely situational but reflected the pattern of governance that he expected to exist in his churches.¹³

Even if Paul wrote 1 Timothy entirely to address specific circumstances (which is doubtful), it would not logically follow from the

31–49, 105–16; Richard Clark Kroeger and Catherine Clark Kroeger, *I Suffer Not a Woman: Rethinking 1 Timothy 2:11–15 in Light of Ancient Evidence* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1992), passim; Ben Witherington III, *Women in the Earliest Churches*, SNTSMS 59 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 118; Sariah Yau-wah Chan, “1 Timothy 2:13–15 in the Light of Views Concerning Eve and Childbirth in Early Judaism” (PhD diss., Dallas Theological Seminary, 2006), 269–70.

¹⁰ So Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy*, 60–61.

¹¹ This mistake is found in Gordon D. Fee, “Reflections on Church Order in the Pastoral Epistles, with Further Reflection on the Hermeneutics of *Ad Hoc* Documents,” *JETS* 28, no. 2 (1985): 141–51. See the response by George W. Knight III, “The Scriptures Were Written for Our Instruction,” *JETS* 39, no. 1 (1996): 3–13.

¹² Robert W. Wall argues that the evidence is insufficient to support the conclusion that the writer responds to women who were a problem in the church. “1 Timothy 2:9–15 Reconsidered (Again),” *BBR* 14, no. 1 (2004): 83n4.

¹³ For further comments on this matter, see Andreas J. Köstenberger, “1 and 2 Timothy and Titus,” in *The Expositor’s Bible Commentary*, ed. Tremper Longman III and David E. Garland, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2005), 514n1, 530. Mounce maintains that while Paul’s remarks are directed to Ephesus, they are normative wherever the church worships. William D. Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, WBC (Nashville: Nelson, 2000), 107, 111–12. See also the essay that appeared in the first edition of the present work, T. David Gordon, “A Certain Kind of Letter: The Genre of 1 Timothy,” in *Women in the Church: A Fresh Analysis of 1 Timothy 2:9–15*, ed. Andreas J. Köstenberger, Thomas R. Schreiner, and H. Scott Baldwin (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1995), 53–63.

occasional nature of the letter that 1 Timothy has no application to the church today. It would be a mistake to argue as follows:¹⁴

1. Paul wrote 1 Timothy to counteract a specific situation in the life of the church.
2. Nothing written to a specific situation is normative for the church today.
3. Therefore, 1 Timothy contains no directives for the church today.

If we were to claim that documents written to specific situations do not apply to the church today, then much of the New Testament would not be applicable to us, since many New Testament books were addressed to particular communities facing special circumstances. Universal principles are tucked into books written in response to specific circumstances.

Of course, careful scholars who favor the egalitarian view do not argue that the directives in 1 Timothy are inapplicable merely because of the life situation that called them forth. They rightly insist that the life setting of the letter must inform our interpretation and application of specific passages. Thus, we must probe to see whether Paul's admonitions to women in 1 Timothy 2:9–15 are temporary directives in response to the impact of the false teachers. Can we show that Paul prohibited women from teaching or exercising authority over men solely on the ground of the false teaching afflicting the Ephesian church? There is little doubt that the heretics had influence on the women in the community (cf. 1 Tim. 5:11–15; 2 Tim. 3:6–7), and it is possible that the issues of women's adornment and teaching arose as a consequence of the adversaries' leverage.¹⁵ Yet merely saying that Paul proscribed women from teaching men because of the impact the false teachers had on women does not establish the egalitarian view. Instead, Paul may have responded to these specific problems with a general principle that is universally applicable. Whether he does in fact appeal to a universal principle and what that principle is must be established by an interpretation of the verses in question.

Naturally, if one could show that Paul prohibited women from teaching or exercising authority over men solely on the grounds of the

¹⁴ Sumner seems to embrace this reasoning. *Men and Women in the Church*, 258.

¹⁵ Contra Susan T. Foh, *Women and the Word of God* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1979), 122–23.

false teaching and its specific features, that would greatly strengthen the egalitarian position.¹⁶ For instance, Richard and Catherine Kroeger see the heresy as an amalgamation of Jewish-gnostic traditions and Ephesian devotion to Artemis.¹⁷ The false teachers, they argue, proclaimed that Eve held priority over Adam and enlightened Adam with her teaching.¹⁸ In 1 Timothy, then, Paul described Adam as created first and Eve as deceived to counterbalance the adversaries' exaltation of Eve. If this reconstruction is accurate, it enhances the thesis that Paul's instruction contains temporary restraints on women.¹⁹ Unfortunately, the Kroegers' reconstruction contains many methodological errors. Historians generally view gnosticism as developing in the second century AD, and while the Kroegers describe the heresy in first-century Ephesus as "proto-gnostic," they consistently appeal to later sources to establish the contours of the heresy.²⁰ The lack of historical rigor is evident.²¹ They have not grasped how one should apply the historical method in discerning the nature of false teaching in the Pauline letters.²²

¹⁶ Zamfir argues that the author prohibits women from teaching by appealing to creation, not because women were spreading the false teaching. *Men and Women in the Household of God*, 232–33.

¹⁷ Kroeger and Kroeger, *I Suffer Not a Woman*, especially 42–43, 50–52, 59–66, 70–74, 105–13. Cf. also Mark D. Roberts, "Woman Shall Be Saved: A Closer Look at 1 Timothy 2:15," *TSF Bulletin* 5, no. 2 (1981): 5; Ronald W. Pierce, "Evangelicals and Gender Roles in the 1990s: 1 Tim. 2:8–15: A Test Case," *JETS* 36, no. 3 (1993): 347–48, 353.

¹⁸ Sumner similarly suggests that v. 14 indicates that women may have been teaching the heresy, that they maintained that Eve was created first, that they believed Eve was enlightened, and that some worshiped the goddess in the church. *Men and Women in the Church*, 258, 260.

¹⁹ For a refutation of the view that Ephesus was influenced by an early form of feminism, see S. M. Baugh's essay in this volume and his essay in the two previous editions of this book as well (the essay in this volume is completely rewritten). For his essay in the second edition, see S. M. Baugh, "A Foreign World: Ephesus in the First Century," in *Women in the Church: An Analysis and Application of 1 Timothy 2:9–15*, ed. Andreas J. Köstenberger and Thomas R. Schreiner, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005), 13–38.

²⁰ Bruce Barron makes the same mistake of reconstructing the heresy on the basis of second-century gnosticism. "Putting Women in Their Place: 1 Timothy 2 and Evangelical Views of Women in Church Leadership," *JETS* 33, no. 4 (1990): 451–59. Barron reads into the text that Eve was the heroine for the false teachers (454), a claim that can only be substantiated by appealing to second-century writings. That this was a plank of the adversaries' teaching is scarcely clear from 1 Timothy itself. Even if one sees the opponents as gnostic in some sense, Werner G. Kümmel rightly remarks, "There is then not the slightest occasion, just because the false teachers who are being opposed are Gnostics, to link them up with the great Gnostic systems of the second century." *Introduction to the New Testament*, 17th ed. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1975), 379. Collins likewise maintains that there is no evidence suggesting that Paul was responding to liberated or charismatic women. *1 and 2 Timothy and Titus*, 70.

²¹ For three critical reviews of the Kroegers' work, see Robert W. Yarbrough, "I Suffer Not a Woman: A Review Essay," *Presb* 18, no. 1 (1992): 25–33; Albert Wolters, Review of *I Suffer Not a Woman: Rethinking 1 Timothy 2:11–15 in Light of Ancient Evidence*, by Richard Clark Kroeger and Catherine Clark Kroeger, *CTJ* 28, no. 1 (1993): 208–13; and S. M. Baugh, "The Apostle among the Amazons," *WTJ* 56, no. 1 (1994): 153–71.

²² See, e.g., John M. G. Barclay, "Mirror-Reading a Polemical Letter: Galatians as a Test Case," *JSNT* 31 (1987): 73–93; Jerry L. Sumney, *Identifying Paul's Opponents: The Question of Method in 2 Corinthians*, *JSNTSup* 40 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1990); Sumney, "Studying Paul's Opponents: Advances and Challenges," in *Paul and His Opponents*, ed. Stanley E. Porter; *Pauline Studies* 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 7–58. Unfortunately, the Tidballs fall into this same error. They posit devotion to Artemis and appeal to other cultural realities to defend the notion that Paul's advice is limited, claiming that we must interpret in

The work of Sharon Gritz is more restrained and sober than that of the Kroegers, though her conclusions are similar to theirs.²³ She posits that Paul restricted women from teaching men because of the infiltration of the cult of the mother goddess, Artemis, in Ephesus.²⁴ Even if her case were established, this would hardly prove that Paul limited his restriction on women to the particular situation, for he could have been giving a universal principle that was precipitated by special circumstances. The central weakness of Gritz's work, however, is that she fails to provide an in-depth argument for the influence of the Artemis cult in 1 Timothy.²⁵ She records the presence of such a cult in Ephesus and then simply assumes that it functions as the background to the letter. However, to say that sexual impurity (1 Tim. 5:11–14) and greed (1 Tim. 6:3–5) are signs of the Artemis cult is unpersuasive.²⁶ Many religious and nonreligious movements are plagued with these problems. Gritz needs to show that the devotion to myths and genealogies (1 Tim. 1:3–4), the Jewish law (1 Tim. 1:6–11), asceticism (1 Tim. 4:3–4), and knowledge (1 Tim. 6:20–21) indicate that the problem specifically concerned the Artemis cult.²⁷ Furthermore, Steven Baugh's essay in this vol-

light of the culture of the day instead of in a vacuum. Derek and Diane Tidball, *The Message of Women: Creation, Grace and Gender*, The Bible Speaks Today, Bible Themes (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2012), 257–60. However, while we must interpret in light of the cultural setting, we must be sure that the alleged cultural setting doesn't dwarf the message of the text. The problem with the Tidballs' reading is that the background they posit cannot be verified (as Baugh shows in the several editions of this book; see note 19). Instead, they impose it upon the text to justify their interpretation. We must avoid allowing alleged backgrounds to squelch the line of the argument in the text.

²³ Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 11–49, 105–16; cf. also Philip B. Payne, *Man and Woman, One in Christ: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Paul's Letters* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2009), 294–304; Linda L. Belleville, "1 Timothy," in *1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus, Hebrews*, Cornerstone Biblical Commentary, 17 (Carol Stream, IL: Tyndale, 2009), 61–62; Belleville, "Exegetical Fallacies in Interpreting 1 Timothy 2:11–15," *Priscilla Papers* 17, no. 3 (2003): 7; R. T. France, *Women in the Church's Ministry: A Test-Case for Biblical Hermeneutics* (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster, 1995), 63.

²⁴ In his essay in this volume, Baugh indicates that evidence is lacking to identify Artemis as a mother goddess. If she ever was identified as such, it occurred about a millennium before the New Testament was written and was forgotten by Paul's day.

²⁵ N. T. Wright suggests that Paul's prohibition is due to the Artemis cult in Ephesus, and hence Paul gives these instructions because women were dominating men. According to Wright, Paul is egalitarian; he forbids men from dominating women and women from dominating men. The prohibition in 1 Tim. 2:12, then, isn't a transcendent word for our culture today, and thus women may teach men and serve as leaders. N. T. Wright, *1 & 2 Timothy and Titus* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2009), 19; Wright, "The Biblical Basis for Women's Service in the Church," *Priscilla Papers* 20, no. 4 (2004): 9; Wright, *Surprised by Scripture: Engaging Contemporary Issues* (New York: HarperCollins, 2014), 80–81. Wright's fundamental approach is flawed, for as Baugh pointed out to me in a private email, it would be equally flawed to say that women dominated men in ancient Athens or Aphrodisias simply because the worship of Athena and Aphrodite dominated these cities respectively. For further discussion, Baugh's essay in this book should again be consulted.

²⁶ Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 114–16.

²⁷ For a sensible and cautious description of the opponents, see I. Howard Marshall, in collaboration with Philip H. Towner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles*, ICC (New York: T&T Clark, 1999), 140–52; cf. also Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, lxix–lxxvii. For a more recent essay where

ume disproves the notion that Artemis worship signified an early form of feminism, and thus Gritz's reconstruction of the situation doesn't accord with the extant evidence on ancient Ephesus.

Many scholars who reconstruct the situation behind the Pastorals should pay greater heed to the fragmentary nature of the evidence.²⁸ Robert Karris observes that "it seems extremely difficult to infer from the polemic the nature of the opponents' teaching."²⁹ He concludes that "the author of the Pastorals is quite tight-lipped about the teachings of his opponents."³⁰ Karris is probably too pessimistic about our ability to delineate the heresy, but some scholars are far too confident about their ability to reconstruct the life setting in some detail.

A more promising and cautious approach has been proposed by Philip Towner.³¹ He suggests that the problem in the Pastoral Epistles was a form of overrealized eschatology, analogous in many respects to a similar phenomenon in 1 Corinthians.³² The belief that the resurrection had already occurred (2 Tim. 2:18; cf. 1 Tim. 1:20) was not a denial of resurrection altogether, but it does signal that the opponents believed in a spiritual resurrection with Christ.³³ Such an overrealized eschatology could also explain their food prohibitions and dim view of marriage (1 Tim. 4:1–3).³⁴ Perhaps it could also account for the emancipation of women from previous norms (1 Tim. 2:9–15; cf. 1 Cor. 11:2–16; 14:33b–36). Towner's reconstruction is only a possibility. While it leaves some questions unanswered, it has the virtue of not depending on second-century evidence.³⁵ In addition, to describe the nature of the false teaching, he gleans evidence from within the Pastoral Epistles

Marshall reiterates and expands his interpretation of 1 Tim. 2:9–15, see I. Howard Marshall, "Women in Ministry: A Further Look at 1 Timothy 2," in *Women, Ministry, and the Gospel*, ed. Husbands and Larsen, 53–78.

²⁸ So Douglas J. Moo, "What Does It Mean Not to Teach or Have Authority over Men? 1 Timothy 2:11–15," in *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood: A Response to Evangelical Feminism*, ed. John Piper and Wayne Grudem (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 1991), 180–81.

²⁹ Robert J. Karris, "The Background and Significance of the Polemic of the Pastoral Epistles," *JBL* 92, no. 4 (1973): 550.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 562. Incidentally, I do not find persuasive Karris's own suggestion that the author used the typical polemic of philosophers against sophists.

³¹ Towner, *Goal of Our Instruction*, 21–45.

³² See Anthony C. Thiselton, "Realized Eschatology at Corinth," *NTS* 24 (1978): 510–26.

³³ For a similar suggestion, see William L. Lane, "1 Tim. iv.1–3: An Early Instance of Over-realized Eschatology?," *NTS* 11, no. 2 (1965): 164–67.

³⁴ Collins supports the notion that the Ephesians denigrated marriage. *1 and 2 Timothy and Titus*, 65.

³⁵ Depending on later evidence also mars J. Massyngberde Ford's suggestion that the heresy was an early form of Montanism; see "A Note on Proto-Montanism in the Pastoral Epistles," *NTS* 17, no. 3 (1970–71): 338–46.

themselves. By contrast, those who see the Artemis cult as prominent appeal to a movement not mentioned or even clearly implied in the Pastoral Epistles.

Bruce Winter has suggested that a new kind of woman was emerging in the Roman empire of the first century, and these kinds of women disrupted the gender status quo.³⁶ Towner also picks up on this idea in arguing for an egalitarian reading.³⁷ But Towner's appropriation of Winter doesn't clearly lead to an egalitarian conclusion, for Winter himself supports a complementarian understanding of the text, and thus it is quite surprising that Towner relies so heavily on Winter to support his egalitarian interpretation.³⁸ Towner actually indicates the weakness of his case, admitting that the evidence for women engaging in all aspects of ministry "is sparse,"³⁹ "slender," and "fragmentary,"⁴⁰ but he then goes on to argue that it is "inescapable" that women taught in "public settings."⁴¹ Towner ultimately goes beyond his own strictures and cautions in contending for women teachers in Ephesus. I have already noted that even if Winter's reading of the background were correct, it doesn't clearly or necessarily lead to egalitarianism. In addition, Alicia Batten raises questions about some elements of Winter's view, for the new woman posited by Winter isn't as clearly evident as he claims since Paul's advice on modesty and the domestic sphere reflect typical ethical exhortations in the Greco-Roman world.⁴²

Whatever the specific features of the heresy, we lack any firm evidence that the priority or superiority of Eve played any part in the false teaching. Nor is it clear that 1 Timothy 5:13 demonstrates that women were *teaching* the heresy.⁴³ Paul does not say there that "they were

³⁶ Bruce W. Winter, "The 'New' Roman Wife and 1 Timothy 2:9–15: The Search for a *Sitz im Leben*," *TynBul* 51, no. 2 (2000): 285–94.

³⁷ Philip H. Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: 2006), 195–97, 218–20, 222–24, 232, 234, 235.

³⁸ Perhaps Towner is unaware that Winter is a complementarian.

³⁹ Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 218.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 219.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 220.

⁴² "I do not think, for example, that one needs to posit a 'new woman' behind the text of 1 Tim. 2:9–15 as Bruce Winter does. . . . Winter argues that 'a new woman' had arisen in the first century BCE, who neglected her household duties and engaged in illicit liaisons . . . and that 1 Timothy as well as several other texts from Pauline communities were reacting to her activities. It seems to me rather, that 1 Timothy is simply echoing the longstanding male emphasis upon female modesty and place in the domestic realm, in which children are supposed to be women's true adornment." Alicia J. Batten, "Neither Gold nor Braided Hair (1 Timothy 2:9; 1 Peter 3:3): Adornment, Gender and Honour in Antiquity," *NTS* 55, no. 4 (2009): 497n73.

⁴³ Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 125. Contra Fee, *Gospel and Spirit*, 55; Witherington, *Women in the Earliest Churches*, 118; Linda L. Belleville, "Teaching and Usurping Authority: 1 Timothy 2:11–15," in *Discover-*

teaching things that were not fitting,” but that “they were *speaking* things that were not fitting.”⁴⁴ While Paul uses *teaching* and *speaking* synonymously in at least one instance in the Pastorals (Titus 2:1, 15), it is unclear in this context that Paul responds to women spreading false teaching. In other texts, Paul directly addresses false teaching (e.g., 1 Tim. 1:3–11; 4:1–5; 6:3–10), but the false teachers specifically named in the Pastorals are all men (1 Tim. 1:20; 2 Tim. 2:17–18; cf. 2 Tim. 4:14), and women are portrayed as being influenced by the heresy (1 Tim. 5:11–15; 2 Tim. 3:5–9) rather than as being its purveyors.⁴⁵ Towner is probably correct in concluding that an emancipation movement among women was a side effect rather than a specific goal of the agitators’ teaching.⁴⁶

Now it is certainly possible, even if 1 Timothy 5:13 doesn’t point in this direction, that some women began to engage in teaching because they had fallen prey to an overrealized eschatology.⁴⁷ If so, they may have believed that the resurrection had already occurred (2 Tim. 2:18) and thus that the distinctions between men and women were erased since the new age had dawned. Still, the suggestion that women were prohibited from teaching because they were mainly responsible for the false teaching cannot be clearly substantiated from the text. Paul almost certainly issued the prohibition against women teaching because some women had indeed begun to teach men, but it isn’t clear from the text that the women who were teaching were spreading the heresy.

Even if some women were spreading the heresy (which remains uncertain), we still need to explain why Paul proscribes only women from teaching. Since men are specifically named as purveyors of the heresy, would it not make more sense if Paul forbade all false teaching by both men and women? In this thinking, a prohibition against women alone seems to be reasonable only if *all* the women in Ephesus were duped by the false teaching and *all* the women sought to perpetrate it. This latter state of affairs is quite unlikely, for as Baugh shows in

ing *Biblical Equality: Complementarity without Hierarchy*, ed. Ronald W. Pierce and Rebecca Merrill Groothuis (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2004), 207. Nor does the description of the heresy as “profane and old-womanish myths,” as Mark Roberts translates 1 Tim. 4:7, imply that the false teachers were women. Contra Roberts, “Woman Shall Be Saved,” 5.

⁴⁴ The Greek word used is λαλέω, not διδάσκω.

⁴⁵ Cf. Towner, *Goal of Our Instruction*, 26, 39–40.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 39–40.

⁴⁷ Cf. Philip H. Towner, *1–2 Timothy and Titus*, IVPNTC (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1994), 75–76.

his essay, the notion that all the women in Ephesus were uneducated does not accord with the evidence. The description of women's attire in 1 Timothy 2:9 suggests the presence of some well-to-do women in the church, who would have had greater access to education. Also, it is likely that Priscilla was still in Ephesus (2 Tim. 4:19), and we know she was educated (Acts 18:26).⁴⁸

A Word on the Near Context

The first chapter of 1 Timothy demonstrates that the letter is in part a response to false teaching.⁴⁹ In 2:1–7 Paul emphasizes that God desires all, including kings and other governing authorities, to be saved. Perhaps the adversaries used their myths and genealogies to argue that salvation was impossible for some people. Thus, Paul asserts his apostolic authority (2:7) to emphasize God's intention in sending Christ as a ransom for all. Therefore, he enjoins believers to pray for the salvation of all.

A new section opens with v. 8, but the word “therefore” (οὖν) shows an intimate connection with vv. 1–7. The link between the two sections is strengthened when we observe that Paul calls on the men to pray (v. 8), presumably for the salvation of all those referred to in vv. 1–7.⁵⁰ Perhaps the anger and disputing that Paul forbids in v. 8 were precipitated by the teaching of the agitators, which caused the church to veer away from its purpose of praying for the salvation of unbelievers.⁵¹ Unfortunately, we lack sufficient information to know what caused the disputations. The words “I want” (βούλομαι) do not merely express Paul's personal preference for prayer and the avoidance of anger. Indeed, they immediately follow v. 7, which is a defense of Paul's apostolic authority. Thus, they express an authoritative command to pray.⁵²

⁴⁸ Marshall fails to see this point when he says that in this letter Paul also silenced the men who propagated the false teaching, and thus it makes sense that he applied the same injunction to women. “Women in Ministry: A Further Look at 1 Timothy 2,” 70. Such a reading fails to answer the vital question: why are *all* the women forbidden to teach? Surely, it wasn't the case that the false teachers conned *all the women*.

⁴⁹ Contra J. M. Holmes, *Text in a Whirlwind: A Critique of Four Exegetical Devices at 1 Timothy 2.9–15*, JSNTSup 196 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000), 117–39.

⁵⁰ The contrast between ἄνδρας in v. 8 and γυναῖκες in v. 9 shows that the former refers to males only.

⁵¹ Cf. Alan G. Padgett, “Wealthy Women at Ephesus: 1 Timothy 2:8–15 in Social Context,” *Int* 41, no. 1 (1987): 22.

⁵² So Donald Guthrie, *The Pastoral Epistles*, TNTC 14 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1957), 73–74; J. N. D. Kelly, *A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1963), 65; Ceslas Spicq, *Saint Paul: Les Épîtres pastorales*, 4th ed., 2 vols., *EBib* (Paris: Gabalda, 1969), 371–72; Norbert Brox, *Die Pastoralbriefe*, 4th ed., RNT (Regensburg: Pustet, 1969), 130; Martin Dibelius and Hans Conzelmann, *The*

When Paul calls on men to pray “in every place” (ἐν παντί τόπῳ), he is probably referring to house churches.⁵³ Thus, the directives here relate generically to a public church meeting where believers are gathered together.⁵⁴ The words “in every place” refer to all churches everywhere, not just those in Ephesus (cf. Mal. 1:11; 1 Cor. 1:2).⁵⁵ In any case, whether the reference is to house churches in Ephesus or to all churches everywhere, a public worship context is likely.⁵⁶ The public nature of the praying in v. 8 holds significance for vv. 9–15, which are also directed to public assemblies. We see this clearly in vv. 11–12, where women are prohibited from teaching or exercising authority over men. But George Knight questions whether vv. 9–10 are limited to public meetings since wearing appropriate clothing and good works are necessary at all times, not just in worship services.⁵⁷ Knight rightly observes that proper clothing and good works extend beyond worship services, while Paul’s exhortations on suitable attire probably stem from women wearing indecorous adornment at public meetings.⁵⁸ Thus the general

Pastoral Epistles, trans. Philip Buttolph and Adela Yarbro, Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972), 75; Jürgen Roloff, *Der erste Brief an Timotheus*, EKKNT (Zürich: Benziger, 1988), 130; George W. Knight III, *The Pastoral Epistles*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1992), 128; Gottlob Schrenk, *TDNT*, 1:632.

⁵³ Everett Ferguson, “Τόπος in 1 Timothy 2:8,” *ResQ* 33, no. 2 (1991): 65–73; Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy*, 70; Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 128; Padgett, “Wealthy Women,” 22; Douglas J. Moo, “1 Timothy 2:11–15: Meaning and Significance,” *TrinJ*, n.s. 1, no. 1 (1980): 62; Witherington, *Women in the Earliest Churches*, 119.

⁵⁴ C. K. Barrett, *The Pastoral Epistles*, New Clarendon Bible (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), 54; Robert D. Culver, “A Traditional View: Let Your Women Keep Silence,” in *Women in Ministry: Four Views*, ed. Bonnidell Clouse and Robert G. Clouse (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1989), 34.

⁵⁵ Walter Lock, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles*, ICC (Edinburgh: Clark, 1936), 30; Craig S. Keener, *Paul, Women and Wives: Marriage and Women’s Ministry in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1992), 123n19; Towner, *Goal of Our Instruction*, 205–6; Paul W. Barnett, “Wives and Women’s Ministry (1 Timothy 2:11–15),” *EQ* 61 (1989): 225, 236; Stephen Motyer, “Expounding 1 Timothy 2:8–15,” *VE* 24 (1994): 92.

⁵⁶ Marshall thinks the wording should not be limited to house churches. *Pastoral Epistles*, 444–50. See also Collins, *1 and 2 Timothy and Titus*, 65–66.

⁵⁷ Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 130–31; see also B. Ward Powers, *The Ministry of Women in the Church: Which Way Forward? The Case for the “Middle Ground” Interpretation of the New Testament* (Adelaide: S.P.C.K., 1996), 35–38, 42–53.

⁵⁸ J. M. Holmes argues that a congregational context is not in view since many features of the text in 1 Timothy 2 cannot be restricted to a congregational context. For example, prayers for all (vv. 1–2), the prohibition against anger (v. 8), and the call for proper dress and good works (vv. 9–10) cannot be limited to congregational meetings. *Text in a Whirlwind*, 36–72. Holmes’s explanation fails to persuade, for while congregational meetings are primarily in view in passages such as vv. 8–15, arguably the instructions there extend beyond such meetings.

Finally, it is also possible that vv. 11–14 address congregational meetings and vv. 8–10 do not. Paul may move fluidly between what happens in gathered meetings and what happens in life outside a congregational context. What is most damaging to Holmes’s thesis is the reference to learning and teaching in vv. 11–12. Teaching in the Pastoral Epistles refers to the transmission of tradition in congregational contexts, not to informal sharing. See especially Claire S. Smith, *Pauline Communities as “Scholastic Communities”: A Study of the Vocabulary of “Teaching” in 1 Corinthians, 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus*, WUNT, 2nd ser., 335 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 59–62; see also Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 224–26; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 455. Note also criticisms of Holmes’s view in Andreas Köstenberger’s book review, available

call to engage in good works is probably occasioned by the specific problem of women focusing improperly on attire in the gatherings of the community, even though Paul expects the good works to extend beyond church meetings. If the above observations are correct, there is no need to view vv. 9–10 as a shift away from public worship.⁵⁹

Women's Adornment (1 Tim. 2:9–10)

The text is ambiguous regarding the connection between vv. 8 and 9. Is Paul saying, “Likewise I want the women to pray with respectable adornment,” or, “Likewise I want the women to adorn themselves with respectable adornment”? Some scholars favor the idea that the infinitive “to pray” (προσεύχεσθαι) follows the implied verb “I want.”⁶⁰ In support of this view is the “likewise” (ὡσαύτως) linking vv. 8 and 9. Just as Paul wants the men to pray in a certain manner (“lifting up holy hands without wrath and disputing”), so too he wants the women to pray with respectable deportment. More likely, however, the infinitive “to adorn” (κοσμεῖν) completes the implied verb “I want.”⁶¹ The word “likewise” is a loose transition and does not indicate that the exact same activities are in mind (cf. 1 Tim. 3:8, 11; 5:25; Titus 2:3, 6). The connection between v. 8 and vv. 9–15, then, is as follows: In v. 8, Paul considers the problem men have when gathered for public worship (anger and disputing in prayer), while in vv. 9–15, he addresses two issues that have cropped up with the women in public gatherings (adornment and

online, RBL, January 28, 2001, http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/974_506.pdf. Holmes sustains her case from vv. 11–12 by saying that a congregational context is unnecessary, not required, and not demanded (74–75, 84–85, 87). But the question is not whether a congregational context is “required,” “demanded,” or “necessary.” The issue is whether such a context is most likely when Paul refers to learning and teaching. We can be quite confident that teaching occurred when the church gathered. Hence, one of the fundamental planks of Holmes’s view of the text remains unpersuasive.

⁵⁹ Cf. Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 126; Keener, *Paul, Women and Wives*, 103; Kelly, *Pastoral Epistles*, 66; Moo, “1 Timothy 2:11–15,” 63; Roloff, *Timotheus*, 132.

⁶⁰ Barrett, *Pastoral Epistles*, 55; Mary Evans, *Woman in the Bible: An Overview of All the Crucial Passages on Women's Roles* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1983), 101; Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 126; Gottfried Holtz, *Die Pastoralbriefe*, THKNT (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1972), 65–66; Keener, *Paul, Women and Wives*, 102; David M. Scholer, “1 Timothy 2:9–15 and the Place of Women in the Church’s Ministry,” in *Women, Authority and the Bible*, ed. Alvera Mickelsen (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1986), 200–201; Barnett, “Wives and Women’s Ministry,” 227–28; Witherington, *Women in the Earliest Churches*, 263n203.

⁶¹ So Ulrike Wagener, *Die Ordnung des “Hauses Gottes”: Der Ort von Frauen in der Ekklesiologie und Ethik der Pastoralbriefe*, WUNT, 2nd ser., 65 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1994), 73; Foh, *Women and the Word of God*, 122; Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 132; Moo, “1 Timothy 2:11–15,” 63; Roloff, *Timotheus*, 126; Towner, *Goal of Our Instruction*, 207; Brox, *Pastoralbriefe*, 132; Bassler, “Adam, Eve, and the Pastor,” 48; Kenneth L. Cukrowski, “An Exegetical Note on the Ellipsis in 1 Timothy 2:9,” in *Transmission and Reception: New Testament Text-Critical and Exegetical Studies*, ed. J. W. Childers and D. C. Parker, Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature, 3rd series, 4 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2006), 232–38.

teaching men). One should not conclude from the calls to men to pray and to women to adorn themselves properly that only men should pray in worship.⁶² First Corinthians 11:5 clarifies that women are allowed to participate by praying in public meetings.⁶³

What is meant by the word *γυναῖκας* in v. 9 and throughout the rest of this passage? Does it refer to women in general or more specifically to wives? If it refers to wives both here and in subsequent verses, then the passage does not necessarily forbid women from teaching publicly in church. It merely prohibits them from teaching and exercising authority over their husbands. The idea that 1 Timothy 2 refers to wives rather than to women in general has been argued at some length by Gordon Hugenberger.⁶⁴ He notes that 1 Peter 3:1–7 is quite similar to 1 Timothy 2:9–15, and the former refers to husbands and wives. Appropriate dress for women (v. 9), good works (v. 10), and childrearing (v. 15) apply outside worship contexts. Also, the phrase “every place” does not refer to public meetings in 1 Corinthians 1:2 and 1 Thessalonians 1:8, just as lifting one’s hands in prayer does not demand a public context. Thus, Paul does not necessarily have public worship in view. In addition, elsewhere in Paul the terms *γυνή* and *άνήρ* usually refer to wives and husbands, not to women and men in general. Further, he asserts that the parallels between Titus 2:4–5 and 1 Peter 3:1–7 are crucial for establishing the referent in 1 Timothy 2. In fact, Hugenberger thinks that the extensive verbal and conceptual parallels between 1 Timothy 2 and 1 Peter 3 “must be determinative for our exegesis” of 1 Timothy 2.⁶⁵ He believes it unthinkable that 1 Timothy would not address the family.

The burden of Hugenberger’s argument rests on parallel texts, which allegedly show that Paul refers to husbands and wives in 1 Timothy

⁶² Contra Culver, “Traditional View,” 35; Clark, *Man and Woman*, 194.

⁶³ Townner, *Goal of Our Instruction*, 207–8; Walter L. Liefeld, *1 and 2 Timothy, Titus*, NIVAC (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1999), 95.

⁶⁴ Gordon P. Hugenberger, “Women in Church Office: Hermeneutics or Exegesis? A Survey of Approaches to 1 Tim. 2:8–15,” *JETS* 35, no. 3 (1992): 341–60. For a similar view, see Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 125, 131, 133, 135, 136, 140; N. J. Hommes, “Let Women Be Silent in Church,” *CTJ* 4, no. 1 (1969): 13–14, 19–20. Cf. Barnett, “Wives and Women’s Ministry,” 232–33; Powers, *Ministry of Women in the Church*, 33–35. Jerome D. Quinn and William C. Wacker maintain that vv. 9–10 refer to all women, but v. 11 shifts to wives. *The First and Second Letters to Timothy: A New Translation with Notes and Commentary*, ECC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), 218, 221. Collins argues that husbands are in view in v. 12 but does not comment on the identity of men and women in earlier verses. *1 and 2 Timothy and Titus*, 69. Winter assumes that wives are in view in these verses but does not present evidence from the text of 1 Tim. 2:9–15 for his interpretation. The substance of Winter’s article is not affected by whether Paul refers to women or wives. “The ‘New’ Roman Wife,” 285–94.

⁶⁵ Hugenberger, “Women in Church Office,” 355.

2:8–15. He especially leans on the parallels between 1 Timothy 2:8–15 and 1 Peter 3:1–7, seeing the latter as “determinative” for the meaning of the former. However, despite some impressive parallels, the texts hardly correspond in every respect. For instance, the 1 Peter text refers, in part, to *nonbelieving* husbands (3:1).⁶⁶ And in 1 Peter 3:7 husbands receive instructions concerning their specific responsibilities to their wives (cf. Eph. 5:25–30, 33; Col. 3:19), while 1 Timothy 2 lacks any admonition to husbands regarding their relationship with their wives. Finally, it is obvious that Peter has husbands and wives in view in 1 Peter 3 since he says wives should be subject to *their own* (ιδίος) husbands (v. 1; cf. v. 5). It is precisely this kind of clarifying evidence that 1 Timothy 2:8–15 lacks, which is why most scholars detect a reference to men and women in general.

It is hardly impressive to say that elsewhere γυνή and ἀνὴρ refer to husbands and wives when the contexts of those texts plainly indicate a reference to husbands and wives and when such passages are not even debated with respect to this issue.⁶⁷ By way of contrast, the lack of such contextual qualifications in 1 Corinthians 11:2–16 shows that Paul is referring not just to husbands and wives but also to men and women in general.⁶⁸ In Colossians 3:18–19, Paul could conceivably be referring

⁶⁶ So Timothy J. Harris, “Why Did Paul Mention Eve’s Deception? A Critique of P. W. Barnett’s Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2,” *EQ* 62, no. 4 (1990): 336.

⁶⁷ Some examples will illustrate how clear the evidence is: “the married woman” (ἡ ὑπανδρος γυνή, Rom. 7:2); “each man should have his own wife” (τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα, 1 Cor. 7:2); “to the married” (τοῖς γεγαμηκόσιν, 1 Cor. 7:10); “if any brother has a wife” (ἀδελφὸς γυναῖκα ἔχει, 1 Cor. 7:12); “her husband” (ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς, 1 Cor. 7:39); “let them ask their own husbands at home” (τοὺς ιδίους ἀνδρας, 1 Cor. 14:35); “I betrothed you to one husband” (ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ, 2 Cor. 11:2); “More are the children of the desolate one than of the one having a husband” (τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἀνδρα, Gal. 4:27); “wives being subject to their own husbands” (αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖς ιδίοις ἀνδράσιν, Eph. 5:22); “husband of one wife” (μίας γυναικὸς ἀνδρα, 1 Tim. 3:2; cf. 1 Tim. 3:12; 5:9; Titus 1:6); “Instruct the young women to be lovers of their husbands [φιλάνδρους], . . . being subject to their own husbands” (τοῖς ιδίοις ἀνδράσιν, Titus 2:5). I could cite more examples but have provided only a few so as not to unduly prolong the point.

⁶⁸ It is possible to argue for a complementarian view and see husbands and wives in 1 Tim. 2:9–15. So John R. Master and Jonathan L. Master, “Who Is the ‘Woman’ in 1 Timothy 2?,” *McMaster Journal of Theology and Ministry* 10 (2008/9): 3–21. They adduce evidence from Genesis and Philo in particular to buttress their case, but such evidence doesn’t determine the issue, for the context of the text in question must be the primary consideration. They also think husbands and wives are in view in 1 Timothy 2 since Adam and Eve are mentioned and since Paul concludes by speaking of childbirth. We have insufficient space to examine the evidence here in detail, but I would suggest, as in the case made against Hugenberger above, that 1 Timothy 2 and 1 Corinthians 11 lack the clues signifying a reference to husbands and wives. Referring to Adam and Eve is hardly decisive since they were the first man and woman. Yes, they were husband and wife, but 1 Timothy 2 discusses not their marital relationship, but the order of their creation and their fall into sin. Again, the context here focuses on what is proper in the gathered assembly, not how a husband and wife relate to one another. Nor does the reference to childbearing indicate that the passage refers to husbands and wives. Childbearing comes up because it signifies the role of women in distinction from men and because most women were mothers in the ancient world. It doesn’t follow logically from this, however, that Paul is directing his instructions exclusively to husbands and wives. We need to remember that context is the primary criterion for determining the referent, and Paul speaks to what women are permitted to do

to men and women in general, but the context (the next passage deals with relations between parents and children, 3:20–21) and the call to “love your wives” (3:19) reveal that he has husbands and wives in view. The very lack of such specificity in 1 Timothy 2:8–15 has rightly led most commentators to see a reference to men and women in general. Hugenberg demands that the Pauline (and Petrine) usage elsewhere must obtain here, but he fails to notice the significant contextual differences between these other texts and 1 Timothy 2 and ends up imposing these other texts onto the interpretation of 1 Timothy 2.⁶⁹

Hugenberg fittingly observes that appropriate dress, good works, and childrearing (better, childbearing) apply generally. And yet this recognition calls into question his thesis that Paul is addressing only wives, for it is quite improbable that Paul would be concerned about the adornment of wives but not the dress of single women.⁷⁰ Issues of adornment were probably occasioned by dress at public worship, even if they extended beyond that sphere. While Hugenberg cites parallel texts to question the worship context here, his thesis is improbable if “in every place” (v. 8) refers to public meetings. What makes a public worship context likely is not only the words “in every place” but also the activities occurring there: prayer (v. 8) and teaching (vv. 11–12).

The flow of thought of 1 Timothy as a whole commends a public setting. False teachers are threatening the church, and Paul charges Timothy to stem the tide of their influence. First Timothy 2:8–15 is followed by an exhortation to appoint overseers and deacons (1 Tim. 3:1–13), two offices that relate to public ministry in the church. The apostle’s instructions are designed to make the church a bulwark against the false teaching (1 Tim. 3:14–15). Indeed, Paul immediately returns to the threat of false teaching and the need to resist it in 1 Timothy 4.⁷¹

when the church is gathered. He doesn’t have one set of instructions on this score for married women and another for those who are unmarried. Zamfir rightly says that the instructions aren’t limited to husbands and wives since the author addresses the community. *Men and Women in the Household of God*, 227–28.

⁶⁹ Hugenberg is correct, strictly speaking, in saying that the Greek article or possessive pronoun is not necessary for a reference to husbands and wives. “Women in Church Office,” 353. However, even though an article or possessive pronoun is not demanded, the lack of such and the generality of the context have persuaded most scholars that Paul is speaking of men and women in general. What Hugenberg fails to appreciate is that Paul provides no determinative clues (as he does in all his other texts referring to husbands and wives) that he intends husbands and wives here.

⁷⁰ So Ben Wiebe, “Two Texts on Women (1 Tim 2:11–15; Gal 3:26–29): A Test of Interpretation,” *HBT* 16, no. 1 (1994): 57; cf. Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 107, 111–12; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 444, 452.

⁷¹ If Paul wanted to discuss the relationship between husbands and wives, he probably would have linked it with his advice to slaves in 1 Tim. 6:1–2 (cf. Eph. 5:22–6:9; Col. 3:18–4:1).

It seems improbable, contrary to Hugenberg, that Paul would insert teaching on husbands and wives at home in the midst of his polemic against false teachers.⁷² I conclude with most commentators that a reference to husbands and wives in 1 Timothy 2:8–15 is quite improbable.⁷³ Instead, Paul gives instructions regarding proper behavior for men and women in public meetings of the church.

Coming back to the larger issue of women's adornment, advocates of the egalitarian view often raise this question in discussions about the legitimacy of women teaching men. For example, Alvera Mickelsen says, "Those who believe that verse 12 forever bars all women of all time from teaching or having authority over men usually ignore the commands in the other six verses in this section. This is a classic case of 'selective literalism.' If this passage is universal for all Christian women of all time, then no woman should ever wear pearls or gold (including wedding rings) or have braided hair or expensive clothing."⁷⁴ David Scholer argues that in the culture of Paul's day, proper adornment for women was linked to submission to husbands.⁷⁵ He insists that women's adornment (vv. 9–10) must be applied in the same way as the prohibitions against women teaching (vv. 11–12).⁷⁶ One cannot legitimately claim that teaching prohibitions are normative whereas women's adornment is culturally relative. Those who prohibit women from teaching men should, to be consistent, also forbid women from wearing any jewelry. Neither can they escape, he reasons, by saying that submission is the principle that undergirds the wearing of appropriate attire, so that the wearing of jewelry is permitted as long as one has a submissive spirit. This passage inextricably links suitable adornment

⁷²In addition, Hugenberg's evidence is not decisive. While 1 Thess. 1:8 and 2 Cor. 2:14 have a wide reference, 1 Cor. 1:2 probably refers more narrowly, as Gordon D. Fee notes, to public Christian meetings. *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987), 34. Ultimately, the context is decisive for the particular interpretation of the phrase.

⁷³E.g., Ronald Y. K. Fung, "Ministry in the New Testament," in *The Church in the Bible and in the World: An International Study*, ed. D. A. Carson (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1987), 200–201; Moo, "1 Timothy 2:11–15," 63–64; Towner, *Goal of Our Instruction*, 212; Witherington, *Women in the Earliest Churches*, 119; Linda Belleville, "1 Timothy," 53, 58.

⁷⁴Alvera Mickelsen, "An Egalitarian View: There Is Neither Male nor Female in Christ," in *Women in Ministry: Four Views*, ed. Clouse and Clouse, 201.

⁷⁵David Scholer, "Women's Adornment: Some Historical and Hermeneutical Observations on the New Testament Passages," *Daughters of Sarah* 6, no. 1 (1980): 3–6; Scholer, "1 Timothy 2:9–15," 200–202; cf. Fee, *Gospel and Spirit*, 57–58, 61; Keener, *Paul, Women and Wives*, 103–7.

⁷⁶So also Philip B. Payne, "Libertarian Women in Ephesus: A Response to Douglas J. Moo's Article, '1 Timothy 2:11–15: Meaning and Significance,'" *TrinJ*, n.s. 2, no. 2 (1981): 189–90; Fee, "Reflections on Church Order," 150.

and submission, so that one cannot surrender the former and maintain the latter. Scholer concludes that a careful interpretation of the text in its historical-cultural setting neither proscribes a woman from wearing jewelry nor from teaching men, but that those who uphold the complementarian view have inconsistently enforced the proscription on teaching men while ignoring the verses on proper adornment.⁷⁷

These scholars raise crucial questions that I will address in my explanation of these verses. We begin, though, by noting what the verses actually say. Paul calls upon the women to “adorn themselves with respectable deportment” (v. 9). The word καταστολῇ (“deportment”) probably refers to both suitable clothing and suitable behavior.⁷⁸ The rest of verses 9–10 elaborates on proper deportment. It consists of modesty and discretion with respect to dress instead of enticing and ostentatious clothing. Immodest attire that reflects a lack of mature judgment includes braided hair, gold, pearls, and expensive clothing. Women who profess godliness should focus on good works rather than outward adornment.

Precisely what is Paul’s intention here? Scholer and others rightly conclude that a proscription of all jewelry solely on the basis of these verses falls into the error of excessive literalism. We should not rule out too quickly, though, the possibility that we have ignored these verses because they indict our culture.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, we have an important clue to Paul’s intention in the words “expensive clothing” (ἱματισμῷ πολυτελεῖ).⁸⁰ The proscription is not against the wearing of clothing but luxurious adornment, an excessive devotion to beautiful and splendid attire.⁸¹ As Baugh shows in his essay in this volume, Greco-Roman mor-

⁷⁷ For Scholer’s interpretation of the text as a whole, see “1 Timothy 2:9–15,” 193–219.

⁷⁸ So Dibelius and Conzelmann, *Pastoral Epistles*, 45–46; Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 126; Guthrie, *Pastoral Epistles*, 74; Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 133; Moo, “1 Timothy 2:11–15,” 63; Collins, *1 and 2 Timothy and Titus*, 66; contra Lock, *Pastoral Epistles*, 31, who sees only a reference to dress.

⁷⁹ Johnson remarks, “It is, indeed, unfortunate that the negative reaction by readers to the verses that follow also tends to color everything in this chapter, for Paul’s statements here have important implications not only for a Christian appreciation of simplicity in the face of cultures that define and value in terms of appearance (above all, in the case of women!), but also for a way of addressing the issues of economic and ecological oppression implicit (both then and now) in the production of luxurious clothing and adornment.” *First and Second Letters to Timothy*, 204.

⁸⁰ The Kroegers’ suggestion—based on a fresco in Pompeii of Dionysian worshipers disrobing—that the women in Ephesus may have been disrobing during worship is an example of mirror reading and parallelomania at its worst. *I Suffer Not a Woman*, 74–75.

⁸¹ So Barnett, “Wives and Women’s Ministry,” 226, 228; Clark, *Man and Woman*, 194; Culver, “Traditional View,” 35; Susan T. Foh, “A Male Leadership View: The Head of the Woman Is the Man,” in *Women in Ministry: Four Views*, ed. Clouse and Clouse, 80; Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 127; Guthrie, *Pastoral Epistles*, 75; Keener, *Paul, Women and Wives*, 103; Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 135; Moo, “What Does It

alists of Paul's day commonly echoed his words about women's adornment, for they criticized luxurious and seductive attire.⁸² Indeed, they shared Paul's emphasis on "modesty" (σωφροσύνη). First Peter 3:3 supports this interpretation, a similar text that, if read literally, prohibits all wearing of clothing, which is scarcely Peter's intention. Peter's words on attire help us understand Paul's instructions on braids, gold, and pearls. Paul's purpose is not to ban these altogether but to warn against expensive and extravagant preoccupation with one's appearance. James Hurley suggests that the command is directed against the elaborate hairstyles worn by fashionable women and wealthy courtesans.⁸³ Probably Paul was indicting the plaiting of hair with gold since braiding hair was common, enhancing the thesis that what is being forbidden is an excessive devotion to outward adornment.⁸⁴ In the Greco-Roman world, writers commonly issued polemics against ostentation of wealth.⁸⁵ Even Judaism did not absolutely forbid the wearing of jewelry.⁸⁶ In conclusion, the text does not rule out all wearing of jewelry by women but forbids ostentation and luxury in adornment.⁸⁷

It is likely as well that these words on adornment contain a polemic against seductive and enticing clothing.⁸⁸ This connotation is suggested

Mean?," 182; Thomas C. Oden, *First and Second Timothy and Titus* (Louisville: John Knox, 1989), 94; Padgett, "Wealthy Women," 23; Scholer, "1 Timothy 2:9–15," 201–2; Witherington, *Women in the Earliest Churches*, 119–20.

⁸² This interpretation is borne out by the recent careful study by Annette Bourland Huizenga, "Epitomizing Virtue: Clothing the Christian Woman's Body," in *Christian Body, Christian Self: Concepts of Early Christian Personhood*, ed. Clare K. Rothschild and Trevor W. Thompson, WUNT 284 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 261–81.

⁸³ James B. Hurley, *Man and Woman in Biblical Perspective* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1981), 199.

⁸⁴ So Keener, *Paul, Women and Wives*, 105; cf. Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 135; Collins, *1 and 2 Timothy and Titus*, 67–68.

⁸⁵ Juvenal, *Sat.*, 6.352–65, 457–73; Plutarch, *Mor.* 142A–B. Hence, Quinn and Wacker rightly remark that the sentiments expressed here were a commonplace in the Greco-Roman world. *First and Second Letters*, 219.

⁸⁶ Gen. 24:22; Ex. 35:22; b. *Šabb.* 64b; Jos. Asen. 18.6. See Keener, *Paul, Women and Wives*, 103–4.

⁸⁷ Motyer suggests that Paul speaks against the self-assertiveness of women, but this isn't evident in Paul's words here. "Expounding 1 Timothy," 94.

⁸⁸ Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 449–50; Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 114–15; Keener, *Paul, Women and Wives*, 103–6; Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 135–36; Moo, "What Does It Mean?," 182; Scholer, "1 Timothy 2:9–15," 201–2; Scholer, "Women's Adornment," 6; Oden, *First and Second Timothy*, 95; Towner, *Goal of Our Instruction*, 208; Towner, *Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 208–210; Witherington, *Women in the Earliest Churches*, 119–20. Gritz, without warrant, takes this as evidence of the influence of the Artemis cult. Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 126–27. Hoag claims that the evidence from the *Ephesiaca* by Xenophon of Ephesus shows that the Ephesian women were adorning themselves and braiding their hair for the sake of Artemis, and Paul calls upon them to transfer their loyalty to the one true God and dissociate themselves from Artemis in their dress. Gary G. Hoag, "Decorum and Deeds in 1 Timothy 2:9–10 in Light of *Ephesiaca* by Xenophon of Ephesus," *ExAud* 27 (2011): 134–60. Space is lacking to treat Hoag's view in detail, but the admonitions relative to dress given here, as noted above, were typical in the Greco-Roman world, and 1 Timothy gives no textual evidence that the Ephesians' devotion to Artemis generated such rebukes. If the readers were descending into such paganism, it is astonishing that Paul doesn't even mention it, which

by the words “modesty and discretion” (αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης, v. 9).⁸⁹ In both Jewish and Greco-Roman literature, sexual seductiveness is linked with extravagant adornment.⁹⁰ Thus, we can draw two principles from these verses: Paul is prohibiting not only extravagant and ostentatious adornment but also clothing that is seductive and enticing.⁹¹ These words are still relevant in our culture, for materialism and sexually seductive attire plague us as well.

As we have already noted, some scholars argue that suitable clothing was linked with submission to one's husband in Paul's day. Scholer, in particular, cites a number of texts to support this view.⁹² Nonetheless, that these two themes are wedded to the extent that Scholer argues is unpersuasive. In 1 Peter 3:1–6, for instance, the two themes stand side by side, but it goes beyond the evidence of the text to say that submission is expressed by one's attire. And the other texts that Scholer cites specify the vice of unchastity with regard to women, not insubordination or lack of submission.⁹³ For them, the wife's devotion to and honor of her husband probably relate to faithfulness to the marriage bed rather than submission.⁹⁴ In any case, 1 Timothy 2:9–10 says not even a word about lack of submission, and while v. 11 mentions submissiveness, it doesn't link submission with attire. Thus reading this theme into the verses on adornment is questionable.

Scholer's conclusion that a principal application of 1 Timothy 2 would be illegitimate remains unconvincing. We rightly apply the principle in other biblical texts without requiring that Christians adopt the literal practice Paul used to communicate the principle in his day. For

makes Hoag's reading quite improbable. For further criticisms of Hoag's view, see Lyn Nixon, “Response to Hoag,” *ExAud* 27 (2011): 161–68.

⁸⁹ Some scholars limit the proscription to extravagance and see no indictment of sensuality: Holmes, *Text in a Whirlwind*, 65, 69; Johnson, *First and Second Letters to Timothy*, 200, 204; Zamfir, *Men and Women in the Household of God*, 363–65. But see Winter's discussion of the evidence supporting a reference to sensuality. “The ‘New’ Roman Wife,” 285–94. Wall likewise maintains that σωφροσύνη is best rendered by the word “modesty.” “1 Timothy 2:9–15 Reconsidered,” 86n11.

⁹⁰ T. Reu. 5.1–5; T. Jud. 12.3; T. Jos. 9.5; 1 En. 8.1–2; Jdt. 10:3–4; Rev. 17:4; 18:16. For citations from Greco-Roman literature, see Scholer, “Women's Adornment,” 4–5.

⁹¹ See Batten, “Adornment, Gender and Honour,” 484–501. Pierce strays from the text in suggesting that humility is enjoined here. His view that humility is the “primary focus” of not only this text but all the texts relating to leadership in 1 Timothy is mistaken. “Gender Roles,” 352. Although the women in Ephesus may have been conducting themselves in inappropriate ways because of pride, 1 Tim. 2:9–15 does not specifically pinpoint lack of humility as a problem. Nor does the passage on the appointment of elders and deacons (1 Tim. 3:1–13) highlight pride as the central issue for leaders.

⁹² Scholer, “Women's Adornment,” 3–6.

⁹³ Cf. *ibid.*, 4–5.

⁹⁴ I am not denying that these authors expected submission; I am only questioning whether this submission was regularly associated with adornment.

instance, we are not *required* to drink wine for stomachaches today (1 Tim. 5:23), but the principle behind Paul's admonition still applies to us, which means we should use an antacid or some other medicine when suffering from stomach problems. So, too, in American culture we do not typically express our affection with a holy kiss (1 Cor. 16:20). We should not conclude from this that we *must* greet one another with a holy kiss. Nor should we argue that if we do not literally practice the holy kiss, then this verse does not apply to us. The verse teaches the principle that we should greet one another with warm affection, and in our culture, this may be expressed by a handshake or hug. The admonitions in vv. 9–10 contain the principle that women should not dress ostentatiously or seductively. The intention of the text is not to ban the wearing of all jewelry. This raises, of course, the question as to how the principle in vv. 11–12 should be applied today. Perhaps women can teach men today without violating the principle undergirding these verses. Such an application of this passage is certainly possible, and thus we must interpret it carefully to identify the timeless principle present in these verses.

Should a Woman Teach or Exercise Authority over a Man? (1 Tim. 2:11–12)

Scholars debate virtually every word in vv. 11–12. Thus, I will attempt to construct my argument piece by piece, although it is impossible to interpret the parts without appealing to the whole, and so I must broach other issues in the midst of analyzing individual elements. Verse 11 is translated as follows: “A woman should learn quietly with all submission.” The alternation from the plural “women” in vv. 9–10 to the singular “woman” in vv. 11–12 reveals that the latter is generic and includes all women. We see the reverse shift from the third person singular to the third person plural in v. 15.

Paul enjoins all women to learn (μανθανέτω). Scholars have often pointed out that this injunction represents an advance over some traditions in Judaism that forbade women from learning.⁹⁵ The exhorta-

⁹⁵ Barnett, “Wives and Women’s Ministry,” 229; Foh, *Women and the Word of God*, 124; Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 128; Hurley, *Man and Woman*, 200; Oden, *First and Second Timothy*, 96; Ben Witherington III, *Women in the Ministry of Jesus*, SNTSMS 51 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 6–10; Towner, *Goal of Our Instruction*, 313–14n78. As Towner points out, this calls into question Jewett’s view that Paul’s instructions here simply reflect a rabbinic worldview (see note 7). Hugenberger wisely warns against overly simplistic versions of what the rabbis taught. “Women in Church Office,” 349. On this last

tion implies a belief in the intellectual capability of women and their ability to profit from instruction and education. Certainly those of the complementarian position should encourage women to grow in their knowledge of the Scriptures and even to study the Bible academically if the Lord calls them to do such. Philip Payne takes this point in other directions, noting that the injunction for women to learn is the only command in this text.⁹⁶ However, when we analyze the verb “I permit” (ἐπιτρέπω), it will be argued that this observation is linguistically naïve, even if it is rhetorically impressive. Still, many aver that the injunction to learn implies that the women could teach after they learn. Therefore, it is claimed that the only reason for the prohibition on women teachers was lack of education or the influence of the false teachers.⁹⁷

Several things need to be said in response to the above observations. Even though egalitarians rightly detect a commendation of women learning in v. 11, their exegesis obscures the thrust of the command by abstracting the imperative verb from the rest of the sentence. Paul does not merely say, “Women must learn!” He says, “Women must learn quietly and with all submission.” The command focuses not on women learning but on the *manner* and *mode* of their learning, that is, quietly and with all submissiveness.⁹⁸ An illustration might help. If I were to say to my son, “You must drive the car carefully and wisely,” the sentence assumes that driving the car is permissible and suitable for my son. Nevertheless, my instruction focuses not on permission to drive the car but on the *manner* in which he drives it. Similarly, Paul undoubtedly commends women to learn, and yet his central concern is the manner in which they learn.

point, see also Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 452; Quinn and Wacker, *First and Second Letters*, 215; Craig L. Blomberg, “Neither Hierarchalist nor Egalitarian: Gender Roles in Paul,” in *Two Views on Women in Ministry*, ed. James R. Beck and Craig L. Blomberg, Counterpoints (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2001), 332–33; Townner, *Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 214.

⁹⁶ Philip B. Payne, “The Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:11–15: A Surrejoinder,” in *What Does the Scripture Teach about the Ordination of Women? Differing Views by Three New Testament Scholars* (Minneapolis: Evangelical Church of America, 1986), 96. More recently, Payne has nuanced this matter: “The one grammatical imperative in this passage is ‘let a woman learn in quietness and in all submission.’” *Man and Woman*, 314.

⁹⁷ Gilbert Bilezikian, *Beyond Sex Roles: What the Bible Says about a Woman’s Place in Church and Family*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2006), 136–39, 179–80; Evans, *Woman in the Bible*, 101; Keener, *Paul, Women and Wives*, 107–8, 112; Padgett, “Wealthy Women,” 24; Payne, *Man and Woman*, 314–17; Aída Besançon Spencer, “Eve at Ephesus: Should Women Be Ordained as Pastors according to the First Letter of Timothy 2:1–15?,” *JETS* 17, no. 4 (1974): 218–19.

⁹⁸ So Hurley, *Man and Woman*, 201; Moo, “1 Timothy 2:11–15,” 64; Witherington, *Women in the Earliest Churches*, 263n207; Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 119; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 453.

Neither is it convincing to say that permission to learn implies that women can teach once they have sufficient learning.⁹⁹ Such exegesis overlooks what we have just pointed out, that the command concentrates not on the fact that women should learn but on the manner in which they should do so. Moreover, Paul could easily have said in v. 12, “But I do not permit a woman to teach a man until she is sufficiently educated.” Instead, v. 12 says that women should not teach or exercise authority over men. Egalitarians imply from the injunction to learn a permission to teach, but v. 12 prohibits this very activity.¹⁰⁰

We must consider the two adverbial phrases in v. 12 regarding the mode in which women are to learn. First, Paul says they should learn “quietly” (ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ). Most scholars today argue that this word does not actually mean “silence” here but refers to a quiet demeanor and spirit that is peaceable instead of argumentative.¹⁰¹ The use of the same word in 1 Timothy 2:2 supports this thesis, for there the context clearly implies not absolute silence but rather a gentle and quiet demeanor. The parallel text in 1 Peter 3:4 also inclines us in the same direction, since the “gentle and quiet spirit” of the wife in the home scarcely means absolute silence. In addition, if Paul wanted to communicate absolute silence, he could have used the noun σιγή (“silence”) rather than ἡσυχία (“quietness”). The resolution of this question is not of prime importance for the debate before us, for it does not drastically change the meaning of the text either way. Some prefer “silently” on the basis of the context of v. 12, which proscribes women from teaching and exercising authority over men, instead calling them to be ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ.¹⁰² It is argued that the most natural antonym to teaching in this context is “silence,” and the word group for ἡσυχία does bear the meaning “silence” in some texts (e.g., Luke 14:4; Acts 22:2). The question comes down to what the word means in this specific context,

⁹⁹ Rightly Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 118.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Moo, “What Does It Mean?,” 184.

¹⁰¹ Barnett, “Wives and Women’s Ministry,” 229; Clark, *Man and Woman*, 195; Evans, *Woman in the Bible*, 101; Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy*, 84; Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 129; Holtz, *Die Pastoralbriefe*, 69; Keener, *Paul, Women and Wives*, 108; Payne, *Man and Woman*, 314–15; Witherington, *Women in the Earliest Churches*, 120; Wiebe, “Two Texts on Women,” 58; Motyer, “Expounding 1 Timothy,” 93–95; Quinn and Wacker, *First and Second Letters*, 222; Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 118–19; Holmes, *Text in a Whirlwind*, 76–77; Wagener, *Die Ordnung des “Hauses Gottes,”* 99.

¹⁰² So Zamfir, *Men and Women in the Household of God*, 226–27; Fung, “Ministry,” 197–98; Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 139; Moo, “1 Timothy 2:11–15,” 64; Moo, “The Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:11–15: A Rejoinder,” *TrinJ*, n.s. 2, no. 2 (1981): 199; Moo, “What Does It Mean?,” 183.

and it seems more likely that Paul refers to a quiet and nonrebellious spirit instead of absolute silence, for the primary issue is demeanor and attitude—one's submissive spirit.¹⁰³

Second, women should learn ἐν πάσῃ ὑποταγῇ (“in all submission”). Probably the word “all” has an elative sense, meaning “with entire submissiveness.”¹⁰⁴ To what should the women submit? It has been suggested that women are to be submissive to God,¹⁰⁵ the congregation in general,¹⁰⁶ sound teaching,¹⁰⁷ the contemporary social structure,¹⁰⁸ or the women's teachers.¹⁰⁹ We are aided in answering this question by the parallels between vv. 11 and 12. Verses 11 and 12 constitute an *inclusio*; v. 11 begins with “quietly,” and v. 12 concludes with “quietly.” The permission for women to “learn” is contrasted with the proscription for them “to teach,” while “all submissiveness” is paired with “not to exercise authority over a man.” The submission in view, then, is likely to men, since v. 12 bans women from exercising authority over men. Yet the context of v. 12 (more on this below) suggests that the submission of all women to all men is not in view, for not all men taught and had authority when the church gathered. Thus, we should not separate submission to what is taught from submission to those who taught it. Women were—with entire submissiveness—to learn from the men (pastors and elders) who had authority in the church and manifested that authority through their teaching.¹¹⁰

The δέ introducing v. 12 is a development marker that clarifies more precisely the command in v. 11.¹¹¹ The two verses are closely tied together and perhaps even chiasmic.¹¹² At the very least, we find an *inclusio*

¹⁰³ In the first edition I argued that Paul had *silence* in mind, but it now seems to me that *quietness* is preferable.

¹⁰⁴ Roloff, *Timotheus*, 135n125. Johnson rightly remarks that submission relates not only to attitude but to “a structural placement of one person below another.” *First and Second Letters to Timothy*, 201.

¹⁰⁵ Oden, *First and Second Timothy*, 97.

¹⁰⁶ Evans, *Woman in the Bible*, 101.

¹⁰⁷ Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 130; Andrew C. Perriman, “What Eve Did, What Women Shouldn't Do: The Meaning of ΑΥΘΕΝΤΕΩ in 1 Timothy 2:12,” *TynBul* 44, no. 1 (1993): 131.

¹⁰⁸ Townner, *Goal of Our Instruction*, 214.

¹⁰⁹ Padgett, “Wealthy Women,” 24.

¹¹⁰ So Barnett, “Wives and Women's Ministry,” 230; Dibelius and Conzelmann, *Pastoral Epistles*, 47; Fung, “Ministry,” 198; Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 139; Moo, “1 Timothy 2:11–15,” 64; Moo, “What Does It Mean?,” 183; Roloff, *Timotheus*, 135; Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 120; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 454.

¹¹¹ Spencer's view that the δέ is a signal to the church that the prohibition in v. 12 is temporary since it contradicts v. 11 is quite arbitrary. “Eve at Ephesus,” 219. Rightly Evans, *Woman in the Bible*, 102.

¹¹² Cf. Fung, “Ministry,” 336n186; Moo, “1 Timothy 2:11–15,” 64; Barnett, “Wives and Women's Ministry,” 228–29; Harris, “Eve's Deception,” 340; Witherington, *Women in the Earliest Churches*, 120. I question whether there is a chiasm here because, if it was true chiasm, the idea of exercising authority should have preceded teaching in v. 12. Instead, the two verses are closely related, bound together with

here, with the phrase ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ (“quietly”) introducing v. 11 and concluding v. 12. “Women should learn quietly” (ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ μανθανέτω, v. 11) but are not permitted “to teach” (διδάσκειν, v. 12).¹¹³ They are to learn “in all submission” (ἐν πάσῃ ὑποταγῇ, v. 11) but are not “to exercise authority over a man” (αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός, v. 12). These correspondences and antitheses between vv. 11 and 12 undermine Andrew Perriman’s view that v. 12 is parenthetical.¹¹⁴ Verse 12 follows on the heels of v. 11 and clarifies its meaning.

The verb “I do not permit” (ἐπιτρέπω, v. 12) has been the subject of controversy. It is often said that the verb reflects only a temporary prohibition. Appealing to the verbal form as a first singular present active indicative, scholars conclude that Paul is not permitting women to teach or exercise authority over men *for a restricted period of time*.¹¹⁵ Some also claim that the intrinsic meaning of ἐπιτρέπω demonstrates its temporary nature, for the verb never indicates elsewhere a universally applicable command. Indeed, as noted above, some even capitalize on the indicative form and state that the only imperative in the text is in v. 11.

This latter point should be taken up first, for it is misleading and betrays a wooden view of Greek by implying that one can only have commands if the imperative mood is used. On the contrary, Paul often uses present indicatives in cases where the context reveals that he intends a command. For instance, in 1 Timothy 2:1 the call to pray for all people is introduced by a present indicative (παρακαλῶ, “I exhort”; cf. Rom. 12:1; 1 Cor. 1:10; Eph. 4:1; Phil. 4:2; 2 Tim. 1:6). So, too, Paul introduces the directive for men to pray without wrath and disputing using a present indicative (βούλομαι, “I want,” 1 Tim. 2:8; cf. 1 Tim.

an *inclusio*. Another problem with seeing a chiasm is that the scholars cited above do not agree on the chiasmic arrangement.

¹¹³Roloff says that learning silently with all submissiveness (v. 11) is opposed to teaching in v. 12. *Timothy*, 138.

¹¹⁴Perriman, “What Eve Did,” 129–30, 139–40. Perriman says that the shift from the imperative μανθανέτω to the indicative ἐπιτρέπω signals the parenthetical nature of v. 12. His argument falters because he fails to see that an indicative may introduce a command. Nor is there any evidence that Perriman has considered the close relationship between vv. 11 and 12 in his study. For a rejection of Perriman’s view, see also Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 121, and Köstenberger’s chapter in this volume.

¹¹⁵Bilezikian, *Beyond Sex Roles*, 138–39, 180; Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy*, 72; Kroeger and Kroeger, *I Suffer Not a Woman*, 83; Oden, *First and Second Timothy*, 97–98; Padgett, “Wealthy Women,” 25; Payne, *Man and Woman*, 320–23; Roberts, “Woman Shall Be Saved,” 5; Witherington, *Women in the Earliest Churches*, 120–21; Wiebe, “Two Texts on Women,” 59; Liefeld, *1 and 2 Timothy, Titus*, 109; Belleville, “1 Timothy,” 57.

5:14; Titus 3:8). The assertion that v. 11 contains the only command in the text, therefore, should be firmly rejected.¹¹⁶

But does the present tense reflect a temporary prohibition, or is it merely Paul's personal opinion? Once again, the answer is negative on both counts.¹¹⁷ Paul gives numerous injunctions in the first singular present active indicative that are universal commands. For instance, he introduces the command to present one's body to God as a living and holy sacrifice with a first singular present active indicative (παρκαλῶ, "I exhort," Rom. 12:1), and this command obviously applies universally. In many other instances, such universal commands exist with present active indicatives in the first person (e.g., Rom. 15:30; 16:17; 1 Cor. 1:10; 4:16; 7:10; 2 Cor. 10:1; Eph. 4:1; Phil. 4:2; 1 Thess. 4:1, 10; 5:14; 2 Thess. 3:6, 12; 1 Tim. 2:1, 8; 5:14; 2 Tim. 1:6; Titus 3:8). The point is not that the first person present active indicative form in 1 Timothy 2:12 *proves* that the command is universal and timeless. My point is more modest. Those who appeal to the form of the word as if it established the temporary nature of the prohibition exceed the evidence. The form does no such thing, and such a thesis must be established on other grounds.

More promising, at first glance, is the contention that ἐπιτρέπω intrinsically contains the idea of a temporary limitation. That the verb may be constrained to a specific situation is obvious in a number of passages (Matt. 8:21; Mark 5:13; John 19:38; Acts 21:39, 40; 26:1; 27:3; 28:16). Nevertheless, this argument is again dubious. We plainly see the specificity of the situation in these passages not from the verb itself but from the context in which it occurs. For instance, in Matthew 8:21, a man asks Jesus for permission to bury his father before following Jesus, and we know that this request relates to a specific, time-constrained situation. But this reality scarcely arises from the verb ἐπιτρέπω itself; we know this because a person can bury his or her father only once.¹¹⁸ Other contexts do not necessarily limit ἐπιτρέπω to a specific

¹¹⁶Rightly Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 106, 122–23; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 443, 454.

¹¹⁷See Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1996), 525–26; Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 122–23; Blomberg, "Gender Roles in Paul," 361; Moo, "1 Timothy 2:11–15," 65; Moo, "Rejoinder," 199–200; Moo, "What Does It Mean?," 185; Towner, *Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 217.

¹¹⁸Most of the examples cited have the aorist tense, while 1 Tim. 2:12 has the present tense (cf. 1 Cor. 14:34). This fact should not be assigned too much weight, though, for scholars have too often said that the aorist tense refers to once-for-all action.

situation (cf. 1 Cor. 14:34; 16:7; Heb. 6:3; Ignatius, *To the Ephesians* 10.3; 1 Clement 1.3; *Ant.* 20.267).¹¹⁹ Neither the tense of the verb nor the verb's intrinsic meaning can determine whether what is permitted or forbidden is universal. Rather, the verb's context is decisive.

For example, if I say to my daughter, "You are not permitted to drive the car one hundred miles per hour," it is obvious (or should be!) that this is a universal prohibition. But if I say, "You are not permitted to go into the street," it is plain that this is a temporary restriction given to a two-year-old girl who is not yet able to handle herself safely in the street. The context, not the term *permitted*, determines the universal or temporary force of the prohibition. In conclusion, the mere presence of the word ἐπιτρέπω cannot be used to establish the temporary nature of the restriction, nor can it establish that we have a universal principle for all time.¹²⁰ Only the context can resolve that question, and v. 12 alone lacks sufficient evidence to answer it (though see the above-mentioned parallel wording in vv. 1 and 8). That said, I will argue below that v. 13 establishes the prohibition as universal.

Two things are forbidden for a woman: teaching and exercising authority over a man.¹²¹ The emphatic position of "to teach" at the beginning of v. 12 does not show that the verse is a parenthesis.¹²² Instead, Paul uses the placement of the verb to emphasize that although women are permitted to learn, they must not teach. Teaching here involves the authoritative and public transmission of tradition about Christ and the Scriptures (1 Cor. 12:28–29; Eph. 4:11; 1 Tim. 2:7; 2 Tim. 3:16; James 3:1).¹²³ The rest of the Pastoral Epistles makes clear that the teaching

¹¹⁹ Paul isn't merely giving his personal opinion in v. 12, as Smith rightly observes. *Pauline Communities as "Scholastic Communities,"* 345–46.

¹²⁰ Rightly Scholer, "1 Timothy 2:9–15," 203n28.

¹²¹ Holmes reads the aspect of the present infinitives to say that women cannot *continuously* teach or *continuously* exercise authority. Hence, women are allowed to teach, but they cannot teach too frequently or go on and on in their teaching. *Text in a Whirlwind*, 92–96. This understanding of the aspect of the infinitive is flawed, and Holmes fails to take into account other evidence in her analysis. Two examples of infinitives that follow the indicative παρακαλῶ illustrate the point. When Paul exhorts the Romans to watch out for (σκοπεῖν) those causing dissension (Rom. 16:17), he hardly means, "Watch out frequently but not all the time for those creating such problems." Paul exhorts Euodia and Syntyche to be in harmony (φρονεῖν) in the Lord (Phil. 4:2). This can scarcely mean that they should frequently but not always be in harmony (see also Phil. 1:12; 1 Tim. 2:1; Titus 3:8; 1 Pet. 2:11). It is possible, of course, that what is enjoined in the infinitive is limited in its application. But such a limitation is gleaned from the context, not the aspect of the infinitive. Holmes (30) cites Moisés Silva, who advises against making one's interpretation "depend" on the aspect of a verbal form, but Holmes proceeds to ignore that advice, and the faulty conclusions she draws demonstrate that she should have heeded it.

¹²² Contra Perriman, "What Eve Did," 130.

¹²³ Contra Witherington, *Women in the Earliest Churches*, 121. Rightly Fung, "Ministry," 198; H. Greeven, "Propheten, Lehrer, Vorsteher bei Paulus: Zur Frage der 'Ämter' im Urchristentum," ZNW 44, nos. 1–2

in view is the public transmission of authoritative material (cf. 1 Tim. 4:13, 16; 6:2; 2 Tim. 4:2; Titus 2:7). The elders in particular are to labor in teaching (1 Tim. 5:17) so that they can refute the false teachers who advance heresy (1 Tim. 1:3, 10; 4:1; 6:3; 2 Tim. 4:3; Titus 1:9, 11). It is crucial that the correct teaching and the apostolic deposit be passed on to the next generation (2 Tim. 1:12, 14; 2:2).

Paul probably gave the prohibition against women teaching because some women were teaching both men and women when the church assembled.¹²⁴ The object of the infinitive “to teach” (διδάσκειν) is “man” (ἄνδρός), indicating that women teaching men is what is forbidden.¹²⁵ Some argue that the distance between the two infinitives means that ἄνδρός is the object of αὐθεντεῖν but not also of διδάσκειν, yet they exaggerate this distance.¹²⁶ Those who advocate the egalitarian position point out that Timothy was taught by his mother and grandmother (2 Tim. 1:5; 3:15); that Priscilla and Aquila taught Apollos (Acts 18:26);

(1952–53): 19–23; Clark, *Man and Woman*, 196; Moo, “1 Timothy 2:11–15,” 65–66; Moo, “What Does It Mean?,” 185–86; Towner, *Goal of Our Instruction*, 215; Robert L. Saucy, “Women’s Prohibition to Teach Men: An Investigation into Its Meaning and Contemporary Application,” *JETS* 37, no. 1 (1994): 86–91; Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 124–26; Blomberg, “Gender Roles in Paul,” 338. On the whole matter of teaching, instruction, and education, see the important work by Smith, *Pauline Communities as “Scholastic Communities.”* Hommes misunderstands the nature of teaching by comparing it to mutual discussion. “Let Women Be Silent,” 7–13. Chan, contrary to what is argued here, sees no authority in teaching. “1 Timothy 2:13–15,” 20, 272–74. Such a reading fails to see the role of elders and overseers and the importance of authoritative teaching in the Pastorals in general and in 1 Timothy in particular. Pierce argues that New Testament teaching was more authoritative, involving a master-discipleship role not practiced today. He observes, in contrast, that we understand teaching today as the imparting of information. “Gender Roles,” 349. This last observation reveals the weakness of much modern biblical teaching. More should be occurring than the impartation of information, since mind and heart should not be so rigidly separated. Pierce overplays the master-disciple dimension of the elder/overseer, but in any case, Paul believed that elders and overseers were *necessary* for the life of the churches in his day (cf. Acts 14:23; 20:17, 28; Phil. 1:1; 1 Tim. 3:1–7; 5:17, 19; Titus 1:5–9). Elders as leaders in local churches were apparently common during New Testament times (Acts 15:2, 4, 6, 22, 23; 16:14; 21:18; James 5:14; 1 Pet. 5:1, 5). I see no reason not to have the same pattern today.

¹²⁴ Rightly Foh, *Women and the Word of God*, 125; Foh, “Male Leadership View,” 81; Fung, “Ministry,” 198; Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 140; Moo, “Rejoinder,” 201; Saucy, “Women’s Prohibition,” 79–97. As Holtz correctly observes, the object “man” shows that not all teaching or exercise of authority is prohibited. *Die Pastoralbriefe*, 69. Thus, Harris’s claim that this text gives no qualifications regarding women teaching is mistaken. “Eve’s Deception,” 342. The context also shows that public meetings are in view, and it is legitimate to consult (although not impose) other texts to construct the boundaries of the commands given here. Of course, how to apply this instruction in practical situations is not always easy. See Saucy, “Women’s Prohibition,” 79–97.

¹²⁵ Ἄνδρός is the object of both infinitives. Rightly Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 123; Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 142; Moo, “Rejoinder,” 202; Moo, “What Does It Mean?,” 186. Contra Payne, *Man and Woman*, 353–56; Fung, “Ministry,” 198–99. The singular ἄνδρός scarcely shows that a single man is in view, as Perriman and Payne claim. Perriman, “What Eve Did,” 142; Payne, “Interpretation,” 104. The word, like γυνή, is used generically.

¹²⁶ Mounce raises the possibility that women are prohibited only from teaching men who are overseers. But he proceeds to itemize a number of devastating objections against this notion: (1) the object specified in v. 12 is not “overseer” but “man”; (2) the object of submission in v. 11 does not require that ἄνδρός in v. 12 is equivalent to an overseer; (3) verses 13–14 address the relationship between males and females, not females and overseers. *Pastoral Epistles*, 124.

that women are permitted to teach elsewhere (Titus 2:3); and that all believers are to teach one another (Col. 3:16).¹²⁷ But complementarians do not doubt that women can teach children or other women. In fact, Titus 2:3–4 speaks specifically of women teaching other women, and thus the appeal to women teaching in that passage hardly violates what Paul says in 1 Timothy 2:12. Neither does Priscilla and Aquila's private teaching of Apollos contradict Paul's teaching here, for that is profoundly different from the public and authoritative teaching in view in the Pastoral Epistles. Furthermore, Colossians 3:16 (cf. 1 Cor. 14:26) does not refer to authoritative public teaching¹²⁸ but to the informal mutual instruction that occurs among all the members of the body. Unfortunately, some churches ban women from doing even this, although it is plainly in accord with Scripture. Yet this mutual instruction differs significantly from the authoritative transmission of tradition that Paul has in mind in the Pastoral Epistles. Such authoritative teaching is typically a function of the elders/overseers (1 Tim. 3:2; 5:17), and it is likely that Paul is thinking of them here.¹²⁹ Thus, women are proscribed from functioning as pastors/elders/overseers,¹³⁰ but Knight correctly observes that this verse also prohibits them from the public and authoritative teaching of men.¹³¹ Working this out in practice doesn't mean that women are always prohibited from addressing a mixed audience of men

¹²⁷ Bilezikian, *Beyond Sex Roles*, 133–34; Payne, *Man and Woman*, 328–34; Scholer, “1 Timothy 2:9–15,” 206–7; Belleville, “1 Timothy,” 57.

¹²⁸ Sumner fails to attend to the meaning of the verse in context, and so she objects that if we apply the verse today, women could not teach piano lessons to men, speak on the radio, or write books. *Men and Women in the Church*, 227, 241. The context, however, addresses the issue of the gathered church, not every conceivable interaction between men and women.

¹²⁹ Barnett, “Wives and Women's Ministry,” 230–31; Clark, *Man and Woman*, 199; Foh, “Male Leadership View,” 81; Brox, *Pastoralbriefe*, 134; Moo, “Rejoinder,” 212. Contra Fee, *Gospel and Spirit*, 63; Harris, “Eve's Deception,” 341. Harris says that the prohibition involves function, not merely office, and there is some truth to this. Nevertheless, 1 Tim. 3:2 and Titus 1:9 suggest that elders had to have the ability to teach, although some invested more time in teaching than others (1 Tim. 5:17). Padgett argues that deacons functioned as teachers. “Wealthy Women,” 25. Contra Padgett, the evidence that those appointed in Acts 6 were deacons is uncertain. Even if they were, the text does not establish that teaching was a requirement for deacons. It is telling that being apt to teach, which is required for elders (1 Tim. 3:2; 5:17; Titus 1:9), is not mentioned with respect to deacon qualifications. Further, just because some deacons teach, it doesn't follow logically that all deacons are also therefore qualified to teach.

¹³⁰ The Tidballs argue that the appeal to the pastoral office made here is anachronistic. *Message of Women*, 264. That is a larger discussion (see also note 123). For a defense of the appeal to the pastoral office, see also Benjamin L. Merkle and Thomas R. Schreiner, eds., *Shepherding God's Flock: Biblical Leadership in the New Testament and Beyond* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 2014). Incidentally, what is said here doesn't rest on the word “office.” The issue is that pastors/elders/overseers were appointed as leaders in churches. The Tidballs finally appeal to experience to defend their reading.

¹³¹ Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 141–42. So also Craig S. Keener, “Women in Ministry: Another Egalitarian Perspective,” in *Two Views on Women in Ministry*, ed. Beck and Blomberg (2001), 40–41, 53. Keener, however, thinks that this point demonstrates the weakness of the complementarian view.

and women. There are certainly contexts where this is appropriate.¹³² Women should not, however, ever serve as pastors and elders.

A more powerful objection against the complementarian position is the assertion that prophecy is just as authoritative as teaching (1 Cor. 12:28; Eph. 2:20; 4:11).¹³³ Since it is clear that women in the early church could prophesy in the public assembly (Acts 2:17–18; 21:9; 1 Cor. 11:5), many conclude that they should also be permitted to teach. In response, Wayne Grudem has distinguished between prophecy and teaching, saying that the latter is based on the apostolic deposit for the church and is more authoritative. Prophecy involves spontaneous revelations in which truth is mixed with error so that leaders need to sift through the content of the prophecies.¹³⁴ According to Grudem, the nonauthoritative nature of New Testament prophecy explains why women can prophesy but not teach, and he rightly highlights how the nature of prophecy differs in some respects from teaching.¹³⁵ Nevertheless, Grudem is probably incorrect regarding the nonauthoritative character of New Testament prophecy, though that matter cannot be adjudicated here. In any case, the gifts of prophecy and teaching are still distinct.¹³⁶ Prophecy is more vertical in nature, while teaching is

¹³² For discussion regarding practical application for today, see Saucy, “Women’s Prohibition,” 79–97. Walter Liefeld would contest the view defended here, for apparently he does not think that any leaders should be present in the church. “Women and the Nature of Ministry,” *JETS* 30, no. 1 (1987): 49–61; Liefeld, “A Plural Ministry View: Your Sons and Your Daughters Shall Prophesy,” in *Women in Ministry: Four Views*, ed. Clouse and Clouse, 127–53. I cannot discuss this issue here, but based on Acts 11:30; 14:23; 15:2, 4, 6, 22–23; 16:4; 20:17, 28; 21:18; Phil. 1:1; 1 Tim. 3:1–13; 5:17, 19; Titus 1:5–9; James 5:14; 1 Pet. 5:1–5, it seems plain that the offices of elder/overseer and deacon existed in the early church. For critiques of Liefeld, see Culver, “Traditional View,” 154–59, and Foh, “Male Leadership View,” 162. For a defense of the importance of church office, see T. David Gordon, “‘Equipping’ Ministry in Ephesians 4?,” *JETS* 37, no. 1 (1994): 69–78.

¹³³ Fee, *Gospel and Spirit*, 63; Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 132; Payne, *Man and Woman*, 328; Scholer, “1 Timothy 2:9–15,” 207; James G. Sigountos and Myron Shank, “Public Roles for Women in the Pauline Church: A Reappraisal of the Evidence,” *JETS* 26, no. 3 (1983): 285–86; Belleville, “1 Timothy,” 57–58; Kevin Giles, “*Women in the Church*: A Rejoinder to Andreas Köstenberger,” *EQ* 73, no. 3 (2001): 230–31. For Giles’s review of the first edition of this book, see “A Critique of the ‘Novel’ Contemporary Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 Given in the Book, *Women in the Church*: Parts 1 and 2,” *EQ* 72, nos. 2–3 (2000): 151–67, 195–215; Giles, “*Women in the Church*: A Rejoinder to Andreas Köstenberger,” 225–43. For a convincing response to Giles, see Andreas J. Köstenberger, “*Women in the Church*: A Response to Kevin Giles,” *EQ* 73, no. 3 (2001): 205–24.

¹³⁴ Wayne Grudem, “Prophecy—Yes, but Teaching—No: Paul’s Consistent Advocacy of Women’s Participation without Governing Authority,” *JETS* 30, no. 1 (1987): 11–23.

¹³⁵ I previously endorsed Grudem’s view. See Thomas R. Schreiner, “The Valuable Ministries of Women in the Context of Male Leadership,” in *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood*, ed. Piper and Grudem, 217.

¹³⁶ Cf. Smith, *Pauline Communities as “Scholastic Communities,”* 239–40, 252; Barnett, “Wives and Women’s Ministry,” 233; Moo, “1 Timothy 2:11–15,” 75; Moo, “Rejoinder,” 206–7; Gerhard Friedrich, *TDNT*, 6:854; Karl H. Rengstorff, *TDNT*, 2:158; Greeven, “Propheten,” 29–30; Towner, *Goal of Our Instruction*, 215. Sigountos and Shank disagree with this distinction, even though some of the evidence they adduce actually supports it. “Public Roles,” 285–86, 289–90. Their contention that teaching was disallowed for women in the Greco-Roman world for cultural reasons while prophecy was permissible is unpersuasive.

more horizontal. The former involves spontaneous revelation and in that sense is more charismatic; teaching unpacks the scriptural tradition and explicates what has already been revealed to hearers. Prophecy applies to specific situations and is less tied to the consciousness of the individual than teaching. Moreover, 1 Corinthians 11:2–16 shows that women with the prophetic gift should exercise it in such a way that they do not subvert male leadership.¹³⁷ This does not mean that the prophecies given by women are any less authoritative than those of men. It does signal that women can exercise the gift of prophecy without overturning male headship, whereas 1 Timothy 2:11–15 demonstrates that women cannot regularly teach men without doing so.¹³⁸

Not only does Paul forbid women from teaching men, but he also says that they should “not exercise authority over” (ἀϋθεντεῖν) them. Scholars have vigorously debated the meaning of ἀϋθεντεῖν. The most likely rendering is “exercise authority.”¹³⁹ Henry Scott Baldwin argued in the first two editions of this book that the verb must be separated from the noun in constructing the definition of the term.¹⁴⁰ Al Wolters demonstrates in his very careful study in this volume that the meaning “exercise authority” is almost certainly correct. It is evident upon

¹³⁷See my “Head Coverings, Prophecies and the Trinity: 1 Corinthians 11:2–16,” in *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood*, ed. Piper and Grudem, 124–39. Keener misunderstood my discussion on the nature of the Old Testament prophecy practiced by Deborah, Huldah, and other women. *Paul, Women and Wives*, 244–45. I didn’t argue that their prophecies were less authoritative but that they exercised their prophetic gift in such a way that they did not subvert male leadership. “Ministries of Women,” 216–17.

¹³⁸See Köstenberger and Köstenberger, *God’s Design for Man and Woman*, 65–69, who argue that a prophet or prophetess’s authority rested in the word from God that he or she proclaimed rather than in a particular permanent political or religious office. Blomberg thinks that prophecy includes preaching, so that women can preach as long as they are under male authority. “Gender Roles in Paul,” 344–45. I understand 1 Tim. 2:12 to prohibit women from preaching or from functioning in any regular way as the teacher of men, but there are contexts in which it is appropriate for a woman to address both men and women. Prophecy involves the reception and communication of spontaneous revelations from God (1 Cor. 14:29–32), but preaching expositions what has been divinely preserved in Scripture.

¹³⁹See Henry Scott Baldwin’s article in the first two editions of this volume. For the second edition of Baldwin’s article, see H. Scott Baldwin, “An Important Word: Ἀϋθεντέω in 1 Timothy 2:12,” in *Women in the Church: An Analysis and Application of 1 Timothy 2:9–15*, ed. Andreas J. Köstenberger and Thomas R. Schreiner, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005), 39–51. Baldwin’s appendix on the term ἀϋθεντέω in the first edition is also well worth consulting: “Appendix 2: ἀϋθεντέω in Ancient Greek Literature,” in *Women in the Church: A Fresh Analysis of 1 Timothy 2:9–15*, ed. Andreas J. Köstenberger, Thomas R. Schreiner, and H. Scott Baldwin (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1995), 269–305. On ἀϋθεντέω, see also George W. Knight III, “ΑΥΘΕΝΤΕΩ in Reference to Women in 1 Timothy 2.12,” *NTS* 30, no. 1 (1984): 143–57; Leland E. Wilshire, “The TLG Computer and Further Reference to ΑΥΘΕΝΤΕΩ in 1 Timothy 2.12,” *NTS* 34, no. 1 (1988): 120–34; A. J. Panning, “ΑΥΘΕΝΤΕΙΝ—A Word Study,” *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 78 (1981): 185–91; Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 128; Moo, “1 Timothy 2:11–15,” 66–67; Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 134; Barnett, “Wives and Women’s Ministry,” 231–32; Padgett, “Wealthy Women,” 25; Fung, “Ministry,” 198.

¹⁴⁰See his essay in the first two editions of this book. See also David K. Huttar, “ΑΥΘΕΝΤΕΙΝ in the Aeschylus Scholium,” *JETS* 44, no. 4 (2001): 615–25; Al Wolters, “A Semantic Study of Ἀϋθεντής and Its Derivatives,” *JGRChJ* 1 (2000): 145–75. See also Wolters, “Review of *I Suffer Not*,” 211; Yarbrough, “Review,” 28.

reading Wolters that many scholars bypass or distort the evidence in constructing a meaning for the infinitive. Moreover, the near context also suggests that αὐθεντεῖν means “exercise authority,” for it functions as the antonym to “all submissiveness” in v. 11.¹⁴¹ Catherine Kroeger proposed the interpretation “engage in fertility practices” for the verb in 1979,¹⁴² but the evidence for this meaning was virtually nonexistent, and her interpretation has not gained acceptance.¹⁴³ The Kroegers went on to suggest that the sentence should read, “I do not allow a woman to teach nor to proclaim herself the author or originator of a man.”¹⁴⁴ This suggestion is faring little better than the first and shows no signs of gaining any adherents.¹⁴⁵ Leland Wilshire’s 1988 study led most scholars to believe that he was adopting the meaning “exercise authority” as the most probable in 1 Timothy 2:12.¹⁴⁶ In a subsequent article, he complains that Paul Barnett wrongly read this conclusion out of his work.¹⁴⁷ If there is any deficiency here, it lies with Wilshire rather than Barnett, for a number of scholars have understood Wilshire’s 1988 article in this way.¹⁴⁸ In a later article Wilshire suggests that the meaning

¹⁴¹ Knight, “AYΘENTEΩ,” 152.

¹⁴² Catherine C. Kroeger, “Ancient Heresies and a Strange Greek Verb,” *Reformed Journal* 29, no. 3 (1979): 12–15.

¹⁴³ Cf. Zamfir, *Men and Women in the Household of God*, 228–29, especially n56; Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 134; Moo, “1 Timothy 2:11–15,” 67; Carroll D. Osburn, “AYΘENTEΩ (1 Timothy 2:12),” *ResQ* 25, no. 1 (1982): 1–8; Panning, “AYΘENTEIN,” 185–91; Chan, “1 Timothy 2:13–15,” 274–89.

¹⁴⁴ Kroeger and Kroeger, *I Suffer Not a Woman*, 103. Linda Belleville proposes a reading similar to the Kroegers’ in some respects, but her analysis of the grammar is mistaken. She says that the two infinitives “to teach” and “to exercise authority” function as nouns, but she does not point out that they function as complementary infinitives to the verb phrase “I do not permit.” Further, she argues that the verb “teach” modifies the noun “woman,” but actually the noun “woman” functions as part of the object clause of the verb “permit” and as the subject of both infinitives in the object clause. Belleville ends up with two unusual proposals for the meaning of the verse: (1) “I do not permit a woman to teach in order to gain mastery over a man,” and (2) “I do not permit a woman to teach with a view to dominating a man.” She understands the Greek word οὐδέ to designate in the correlative clause a related purpose or goal. “Teaching and Usurping Authority,” 217–19; cf. Belleville, “1 Timothy,” 59–60. Such a reading is grammatically problematic and misunderstands the word οὐδέ, for introducing any notion of purpose here misconstrues the force of the correlative. Since Belleville demonstrates a misunderstanding of the syntax of 1 Tim. 2:12, her attempt to define the word αὐθεντεῖν must be judged as unconvincing.

¹⁴⁵ For criticisms, see Perriman, “What Eve Did,” 132–34; Leland E. Wilshire, “1 Timothy 2:12 Revisited: A Reply to Paul W. Barnett and Timothy J. Harris,” *EQ* 65, no. 1 (1993): 54; Wolters, “Review of *I Suffer Not*,” 210–11. Payne lists five different possible meanings for the verb, but the very variety of his proposals suggests the implausibility of his suggestions. In addition, most of his proposals assign a negative meaning to the infinitive “to teach,” which I argue below is mistaken. “Interpretation,” 108–10. More recently, he has argued that the term means “assume authority.” Payne, *Man and Woman*, 361–97. For this reading, see also the NIV 2011. For convincing responses, see the essays by Al Wolters and Denny Burk in this volume.

¹⁴⁶ Wilshire, “The TLG Computer,” 120–34.

¹⁴⁷ Wilshire, “1 Timothy 2:12 Revisited,” 44.

¹⁴⁸ For scholars who interpreted Wilshire thus, see Barnett, “Wives and Women’s Ministry,” 231–32; Moo, “What Does It Mean?,” 497n18; Wolters, “Review of *I Suffer Not*,” 211. Perriman rightly observes that the meaning “exercise authority” was the drift of Wilshire’s essay despite his protests. “What Eve Did,” 134–35. In his later article, Wilshire says that αὐθεντεῖν meant “authority” only in the second and third centuries. “1 Timothy 2:12 Revisited,” 50. But in his previous article he said, “There are, however, a series

in 1 Timothy 2:12 is “instigate violence.”¹⁴⁹ This latter suggestion is flawed,¹⁵⁰ as Wolters shows in his article in this volume. In his latter study, Wilshire speculates that the problem with women was violence or conflict, but the text gives no indication that women were actually involved in such. Indeed, v. 8 says it was the men who were involved in arguing and disputation, whereas Wilshire concludes that the problem of disputing and arguing, which Paul limits to men in v. 8, was actually the main problem with the women! Wilshire’s view also fails to explain how the alleged prohibition against violence is related to teaching, and thus his proposal makes little sense in context. Perhaps I can be forgiven for thinking that the evidence actually leads to the conclusion Wilshire seemed to suggest in 1988. His preference for another translation led him to write an article that lacked the high quality of his 1988 piece.¹⁵¹

Some scholars have said that ἀϋθεντεῖν cannot mean “exercise authority” because Paul would have used the more common ἐξουσιάζειν (“to exercise authority”), κυριεύειν (“to exercise authority”), or ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν (“to have authority”) if he had wanted to communicate this idea.¹⁵² They claim that the hapax legomenon ἀϋθεντεῖν reveals that a distinct meaning is in view. This argument is not as convincing as it might appear. Αϋθεντεῖν and ἐξουσιάζειν have overlapping semantic fields. A review of Baldwin’s data shows that the two words are used synonymously in at least eight different contexts, and Wolters’s study points

of citations immediately *before, during*, and after the time of Paul where some sort of meaning connected with ‘authority’ is found for the word ἀϋθεντέω.” Wilshire, “The TLG Computer,” 130; emphasis mine. After I had written the above comments, Paul W. Barnett published an article in which he justifies his interpretation of the first Wilshire article along lines similar to what I have argued here. Barnett, “*Authentein* Once More: A Response to L. E. Wilshire,” *EQ* 66 (1994): 159–62.

¹⁴⁹ Wilshire, “1 Timothy 2:12 Revisited,” 43–55.

¹⁵⁰ So Perriman, “What Eve Did,” 136; Barnett, “Response,” 161–62.

¹⁵¹ Perriman’s own suggestion is that ἀϋθεντεῖν means the “active wielding of influence,” which emphasizes the taking of authority. He compares this to Eve’s actions influencing Adam with the result that he transgressed. So, too, women teachers who are uneducated should not take authoritative action because they will lead men into sin. “What Eve Did,” 136–41. The problems with Perriman’s analysis are numerous. His interpretation depends on v. 12 being parenthetical, which is dubious. Wolters points out that assuming or taking authority fits best with the aorist tense, but here Paul uses the present tense (see his essay in this volume). The context doesn’t justify the nuance Perriman assigns to ἀϋθεντεῖν, for he does not adequately explain the correlation between “teach” and “exercise authority.” Moreover, Köstenberger has shown that the activities conveyed by the two infinitives in v. 12 are to be construed positively in and of themselves—though, of course, Paul forbids them for women over men for the reasons given in vv. 13 and 14 (see his essay in this volume). Perriman imports into this text the idea that women were prohibited from teaching because of ignorance or lack of education, but the passage never states or implies either of these qualifications.

¹⁵² Perriman, “What Eve Did,” 135; Kroeger and Kroeger, *I Suffer Not a Woman*, 84; Mickelsen, “Egalitarian View,” 202; Scholer, “1 Timothy 2:9–15,” 205; Towner, *Goal of Our Instruction*, 216; Wiebe, “Two Texts on Women,” 59–60; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 458; Belleville, “Teaching and Usurping Authority,” 209–17.

in the same direction. The expression “have authority” (ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν) does not convey the same meaning as “exercise authority” since it focuses on possession of authority instead of use (cf. Rom. 9:21; 1 Cor. 7:37; 9:4, 5, 6; 11:10; 2 Thess. 3:9). And one might get the impression that Paul frequently uses the verbs ἐξουσιάζω and κυριεύω for “exercise authority,” but he uses the former only three times (1 Cor. 6:12; 7:4 [twice])¹⁵³ and the latter on only six occasions (Rom. 6:9, 14; 7:1; 14:9; 2 Cor. 1:24; 1 Tim. 6:15). The statistical significance of selecting αὐθεντεῖν instead of ἐξουσιάζειν or κυριεύειν, therefore, is overrated.¹⁵⁴

Moreover, ἐξουσιάζω clearly has a negative sense in Luke 22:25 but a positive one in 1 Corinthians 7:4. Thus, one cannot say that Paul had to use this verb to indicate a positive use of authority. What indicates a positive or negative use of authority is the context.¹⁵⁵ The verb κυριεύω is hardly a better choice. When used of God or Christ, it has a positive meaning (Rom. 14:9; 1 Tim. 6:15), but elsewhere in Paul it bears a negative meaning (Rom. 6:9, 14; 7:1; 2 Cor. 1:24; cf. Luke 22:25). Neither ἐξουσιάζω nor κυριεύω necessarily conveys an intrinsic positive concept of exercising authority. The context determines whether the exercise of authority is positive or negative. Scholars can make too much, therefore, of a distinct verb being used in 1 Timothy 2:12. Surely, we need to investigate carefully the meaning of the term in extrabiblical literature, so we know the semantic range of the term. In doing so, Wolters shows that αὐθεντέω has a positive meaning along the lines of “exercise authority” in extrabiblical literature. Nevertheless, in context, αὐθεντεῖν could possibly have a negative meaning. We should not rule out the possibility that the context might incline us toward the meaning “domineer” or “play the tyrant” rather than “exercise authority.”¹⁵⁶ But we shall see shortly that the context constrains us to using the definition “exercise authority” in 1 Timothy 2.

¹⁵³ So Moo, “What Does It Mean?,” 186; cf. also Blomberg, “Gender Roles in Paul,” 362.

¹⁵⁴ Liefeld fails to consider this data in his commentary. *1 and 2 Timothy, Titus*, 99.

¹⁵⁵ Andreas J. Köstenberger observes that scholars on both sides have attempted to assign exclusive meanings to words—in the case of αὐθεντεῖν, either positive or negative—on the basis of extrabiblical literature. Köstenberger correctly comments that these studies are helpful in establishing the semantic range of a word, but they cannot definitively establish the meaning of a term in a specific context. “Gender Passages in the NT: Hermeneutical Fallacies Critiqued,” *WTJ* 56, no. 2 (1994): 264–67.

¹⁵⁶ In favor of “domineer,” see Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy*, 73; Harris, “Eve’s Deception,” 42; Keener, *Paul, Women and Wives*, 109; Osburn, “ΑΥΘΕΝΤΕΩ,” 1–12; Towner, *Goal of Our Instruction*, 215–16; Witherington, *Women in the Earliest Churches*, 121–22; Boomsma, *Male and Female*, 71–72; Motyer, “Expounding 1 Timothy,” 95–96; Towner, *Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 221.

The relationship between the two infinitives “to teach” and “to exercise authority” should also be explored. Philip Payne has argued that these two infinitives joined by the word “neither” (οὐδέ) communicate a single coherent idea.¹⁵⁷ Andreas Köstenberger, in a wide-ranging and impressive study of both biblical and extrabiblical literature, demonstrates that Payne’s database was too small and that he misinterpreted the evidence.¹⁵⁸ The two ideas are closely related, but Paul intends two distinct (albeit related) injunctions.¹⁵⁹ Women are forbidden both to teach and to exercise authority over men.¹⁶⁰ Köstenberger’s study also reveals that in constructions with οὐδέ, the two items proscribed are viewed either both negatively or both positively. Thus, the verse means either “I do not permit a woman to teach falsely or domineer over a man” or “I do not permit a woman to teach or exercise authority over a man.” The latter option is demanded in the present passage, for the passage gives no evidence that the infinitive διδάσκειν should be rendered “to teach falsely.”¹⁶¹ If Paul had wanted to communicate that he was specifically prohibiting false teaching, he would have used ἐπεροδιδασκαλεῖν (“to teach false doctrine”), a term he uses to convey this very idea in 1 Timothy 1:3 and 6:3. Alternatively, he would have given some other clear contextual clue (such as an object clause or an adverb) to indicate that the teaching in view was false teaching.¹⁶² The verb διδάσκω (“I teach”)

¹⁵⁷ Payne, *Man and Woman*, 348–53; cf. Boomsma, *Male and Female*, 72–73; Motyer, “Expounding 1 Timothy,” 96; Belleville, “Teaching and Usurping Authority,” 217–19; Tidball and Tidball, *Message of Women*, 252, 261. Even though Hurley and Saucy differ on the interpretation of the text, they affirm that these are not two distinct commands here. Hurley, *Man and Woman*, 201; Saucy, “Women’s Prohibition,” 90. Belleville thinks Paul forbids women from teaching in a dominating way. *1 Timothy*, 60. Zamfir also defends the notion that the two verbs convey the same idea, but contrary to Payne, she argues that teaching in general is prohibited since teaching was an office in the ancient world. *Men and Women in the Household of God*, 230–31.

¹⁵⁸ See his chapter in this volume. See also Payne’s study, which includes a response to Köstenberger. *Man and Woman*, 337–59. For a convincing response, see Andreas Köstenberger, “The Syntax of 1 Timothy 2:12: A Rejoinder to Philip B. Payne,” *JBMW* 14, no. 2 (2009): 37–40. The conversation between Köstenberger and Payne continues, as we see in Köstenberger’s chapter.

¹⁵⁹ So also Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 131; Moo, “1 Timothy 2:11–15,” 68; Fung, “Ministry,” 199. Fung fails to convince with his suggestion that the phrase “nor is she to exercise authority over men” is parenthetical. The Kroegers offer the idea that οὐδέ and the words that follow may introduce the object of the infinitive διδάσκειν, but this suggestion is baseless, and they ultimately back away from it. *I Suffer Not a Woman*, 37–38, 79–80, 189–92. On this question, they did not pay heed to Walter L. Liefeld’s remarks in his response to Catherine Kroeger in *Women, Authority and the Bible*, ed. Alvera Mickelsen (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1986), 246.

¹⁶⁰ Geer cites Köstenberger but misunderstands his essay and actually argues contrary to what Köstenberger says. See Thomas C. Geer Jr., “Admonitions to Women in 1 Tim. 2:8–15,” in *Essays on Women in Earliest Christianity*, ed. Carroll D. Osburn, vol. 1, 2nd printing, corrected (Joplin, MO: College Press, 1995), 294.

¹⁶¹ So also Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 134–35; Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 128–30; Keener, “Women in Ministry,” 41.

¹⁶² Sumner, appealing to a book review by Padgett, maintains that 1 Tim. 6:3 and Titus 1:11 demonstrate the weakness of Köstenberger’s view. *Men and Women in the Church*, 253n21. But her note fails to ac-

has a positive sense elsewhere in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim. 4:11; 6:2; 2 Tim. 2:2).¹⁶³ The only exception is Titus 1:11, where the context clarifies that Paul is referring to false teaching.¹⁶⁴ But 1 Timothy 2 gives no indication that Paul is limiting his proscription to false teaching.¹⁶⁵ Thus the verse should be translated as follows: “But I do not permit a woman to teach or to exercise authority over a man, but [I want her] to be quiet.”

The Reason for the Prohibition (1 Tim. 2:13)

Why does Paul command women to learn quietly and submissively and forbid them from teaching or exercising authority over men? He provides the reason in 1 Timothy 2:13: “For Adam was formed first, then Eve.” The second creation account (Gen. 2:4–25) is clearly the text Paul has in mind, for there we find the narrative of Adam being created before Eve.¹⁶⁶ The use of the word *πλάσσω* (“form”; cf. Gen. 2:7, 8, 15, 19) instead of *ποιέω* (“make”; cf. Gen. 1:26–27) also indicates that Paul is referring to the second creation account in Genesis.¹⁶⁷ The proscription on women teaching men, then, stems not from the fall

knowledge or show any awareness of the fact that Köstenberger demonstrated in his essay why these texts do not violate his thesis.

¹⁶³ Witherington disagrees with Köstenberger, saying that context determines the meaning of “to teach” here and shows that it is negative. Ben Witherington III, *Letters and Homilies for Hellenized Christians: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on Titus, 1–2 Timothy and 1–3 John*, vol. 1 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2006), 228. But as noted earlier, the context gives no clear indication that the women were spreading the false teaching in contrast to the men.

¹⁶⁴ Marshall agrees with Köstenberger that *οὐδέ* refers to two activities that should be interpreted either both positively or both negatively, but he concludes that both infinitives should be interpreted negatively. Women are not to teach men falsely or domineer over them. The context, he argues, reveals that improper teaching is in view, and he thus maintains that if the author had explicitly said that women could not teach falsely, then it would imply that men could teach false doctrine. *Pastoral Epistles*, 458–60; cf. also Towner, *Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 223–24. In a more recent essay, however, Marshall demurs from what he said previously. “Women in Ministry: A Further Look at 1 Timothy 2,” 68. Contrary to Marshall, the context provides no clear evidence that the writer has false teaching by women in view. The verb *διδάσκω*, as pointed out earlier, has a positive meaning elsewhere in the Pastoral Epistles. Marshall commits a non sequitur when he says that if the text stated that women could not teach false doctrine, then it would imply that men could. To the contrary, if I say, “Students must not drink poison,” we should hardly conclude that nonstudents are permitted to ingest poison. Marshall’s attempt to interpret both of the infinitives negatively fails, and hence it follows that both infinitives refer to positive activities in and of themselves, as Köstenberger argues.

¹⁶⁵ Contra Kroeger and Kroeger, *I Suffer Not a Woman*, 60, 81; rightly Wolters, “Review of *I Suffer Not*,” 210. They still maintain this view even though Liefeld, himself an egalitarian, rightly protested in his response to Catherine Kroeger that *διδάσκειν* does not mean “to teach error.” In *Women, Authority and the Bible*, 245.

¹⁶⁶ J. L. Houlden is mistaken, therefore, in saying that 1 Tim. 2:13 represents contemporary Jewish exegesis of Gen. 3:16–19. *The Pastoral Epistles: 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus*, TPINT (Philadelphia: Trinity, 1976), 71. Paul appeals to Genesis 3 in v. 14, not v. 13.

¹⁶⁷ Chan holds that Paul doesn’t mean the order in which Adam and Eve were created, instead restricting himself to the roles they played in creation, but this argument is scarcely clear and should be rejected. “1 Timothy 2:13–15,” 305–6.

and cannot be ascribed to the curse. Paul appeals to the created order, the good and perfect world God made, to justify the ban on women teaching men.¹⁶⁸ Gordon Fee has recently seemed to suggest that Paul is not appealing to the created order here,¹⁶⁹ but his objections fly in the face of the clear meaning of the text. The created order is invoked; the question is whether this constitutes vv. 11–12 as a universal principle.

Those who adhere to the egalitarian position argue that the γάρ (“for”) introducing vv. 13–14 indicates not *reasons* why women should refrain from teaching but *illustrations* or *examples* of what happens when women falsely teach men.¹⁷⁰ This understanding of the γάρ is unconvincing. When Paul gives a command elsewhere in the Pastoral Epistles, the γάρ that follows almost invariably states the reason for the command (1 Tim. 4:7–8, 16; 5:4, 11, 15, 18; 2 Tim. 1:6–7; 2:7, 16; 3:5–6; 4:3, 5–6, 9–10, 11, 15; Titus 3:1–3, 9, 12).¹⁷¹ So, too, Paul gives a command in vv. 11–12 and then enunciates the reasons for the command in vv. 13–14.¹⁷² Frankly, this is just what we would expect, since even in ordinary speech, reasons often follow commands. The implausibility of the egalitarian view is sealed when we hear how v. 13 is supposed to function as an example. Alan Padgett interprets the verse in a highly allegorical manner to yield an illustrative sense, even though such an allegory is scarcely apparent in the text.¹⁷³ Padgett says that the

¹⁶⁸ So Barnett, “Wives and Women’s Ministry,” 234; Barrett, *Pastoral Epistles*, 56; Clark, *Man and Woman*, 191; Culver, “Traditional View,” 36; Foh, *Women and the Word of God*, 127; Foh, “Male Leadership View,” 82; Fung, “Ministry,” 201; Hurley, *Man and Woman*, 205; Joachim Jeremias, *Die Briefe an Timotheus und Titus: Der Brief an die Hebräer*, Das Neue Testament Deutsch 9 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968), 19; Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 142–43; Moo, “1 Timothy 2:11–15,” 68; Moo, “Rejoinder,” 203; Moo, “What Does It Mean?,” 190–91; Roloff, *Timotheus*, 138; Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 131–32; Quinn and Wacker, *First and Second Letters*, 226.

¹⁶⁹ Fee, *Gospel and Spirit*, 61–62.

¹⁷⁰ Chan, “1 Timothy 2:13–15,” 289–97; Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 136; Mickelsen, “Egalitarian View,” 203; Padgett, “Wealthy Women,” 25; Payne, *Man and Woman*, 399–405; Scholer, “1 Timothy 2:9–15,” 208; Witherington, *Women in the Earliest Churches*, 122.

¹⁷¹ See especially the evidence Moo has marshaled in support of this thesis. “Rejoinder,” 202–3.

¹⁷² Contra Fee, 1 *Timothy*, 73, evidence is lacking that the reasons provided in vv. 13–14 support vv. 9–10 as well as vv. 11–12.

¹⁷³ Padgett, “Wealthy Women,” 26–27; cf. Perriman, “What Eve Did,” 140. For a more restrained use of typology, see Wiebe, “Two Texts on Women,” 60–61. Spurgeon also reads the text typologically by drawing on the early chapters of Genesis, saying that, in Paul’s estimation, Adam and Eve would be restored in their relationship to one another and to God if they continue in faith, holiness, and sound judgment. See Andrew B. Spurgeon, “1 Timothy 2:13–15; Paul’s Retelling of Genesis 2:4–4:1,” *JETS* 56, no. 3 (2013): 543–56. Spurgeon’s reading is creative and fascinating, but it isn’t apparent that the subject of the third person plural in 1 Tim. 2:15 is Adam and Eve (see the discussion of v. 15 below). Most importantly, we lack any clear indication in 1 Timothy that Paul teaches that the relationship of Adam and Eve will be restored. The “if” clause in v. 15 is closely tied to the promise of salvation for the woman and doesn’t promise restoration for both Adam and Eve. I would suggest that Spurgeon imposes his interpretation of Genesis 2–4 on 1 Timothy instead of relying on the flow of the argument in 1 Tim. 2:9–15. For an interpretation that is similar to Spurgeon’s in some respects, especially in interpreting the text typologically and in see-

text is typological; Eve functions as a type of the rich Ephesian women and Adam as a type of the teachers. Thus, the teachers, like Adam, are formed first in the spiritual sense of being older in the faith and possessing a more accurate understanding of the Old Testament. While certainly a creative reading of the text, it does not qualify as plausible exegesis. Rather, such an approach is reminiscent of Philo's allegories on the Old Testament.¹⁷⁴

The complementarian view has the virtue of adopting the simplest reading of the text.¹⁷⁵ Paul maintains that the Genesis narrative gives a reason why women should not teach men: Adam was created first and then Eve. In other words, when Paul read Genesis 2, he concluded that the order in which God created Adam and Eve signaled an important difference in the role of men and women. Thus, he inferred from the order of creation in Genesis 2 that women should not teach or exercise authority over men. It is customary nowadays for egalitarian scholars to claim that appeals to Genesis cannot justify a distinction between the roles of men and women.¹⁷⁶ But many remain unpersuaded by their exegesis because it seems quite apparent both from 1 Timothy 2:13 and 1 Corinthians 11:8–9 that Paul interpreted Genesis 2 to posit role differences between men and women.¹⁷⁷ A difference in role or function in no way implies that women are inferior to men.¹⁷⁸ Even the Son submits to the Father (1 Cor. 15:28), and yet he is equal to the Father in essence, dignity, and personhood.¹⁷⁹ It is a modern, democratic, Western

ing a reference to Eve in v. 15a and to Adam and Eve in v. 15b, see Jesse Scheumann's unpublished paper, "Saved through the Childbirth of Christ (1 Tim 2:15): A Complementarian View of Eve's Creation, Fall, and Redemption," which he kindly sent to me.

¹⁷⁴ Rightly Collins, *1 and 2 Timothy and Titus*, 70–71. Holmes's interpretation of 1 Tim. 2:13–15 is quite strained. She posits that vv. 13–15 represent Jewish tradition, seeing them as the faithful saying of 3:1. She also maintains that the *yōp* in v. 13 is redundant. What Paul says about women in the previous verses, according to Holmes, reminds him of the faithful saying that is transmitted in vv. 13–15. *Text in a Whirlwind*, 250–99. Contra Holmes, it is unclear that vv. 13–15 contain the faithful saying. It is much more natural to see v. 13 as providing a reason for the injunction in v. 12, instead of seeing a redundant *yōp*. Thus Blomberg rightly describes Holmes's view as "tortuous." "Gender Roles in Paul," 365n151. See also the remarks of Köstenberger in his online review, *RBL*, January 28, 2001, http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/974_506.pdf.

¹⁷⁵ Quinn and Wacker remark that the brevity of the words in v. 13 demonstrates that the truth presented here was both familiar and intelligible. *First and Second Letters*, 227.

¹⁷⁶ E.g., Bilezikian, *Beyond Sex Roles*, 166–71; Keener, *Paul, Women and Wives*, 116; Kroeger and Kroeger, *I Suffer Not a Woman*, 18. Contra Zamfir, *Men and Women in the Household of God*, 240, Paul does not teach here that men are superior to women.

¹⁷⁷ On 1 Cor. 11:8–9, see my comments in "Head Coverings," 133–34.

¹⁷⁸ Contra Robert Falconer, "1 Timothy 2:14–15: Interpretive Notes," *JBL* 60, no. 4 (1941): 375; A. T. Hanson, *The Pastoral Epistles*, NCBC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1982), 73; Brox, *Pastoralbriefe*, 134–35; Spica, *Epîtres pastorales*, 380; Holtz, *Die Pastoralbriefe*, 70; Houlden, *Pastoral Epistles*, 65; Kelly, *Pastoral Epistles*, 68.

¹⁷⁹ For further discussion on this point, see Schreiner, "Head Coverings," 128–30.

notion that diverse functions suggest distinctions in worth between men and women. Paul believed that men and women were equal in personhood, dignity, and value but also taught that women had distinct roles from men.

Egalitarians fail to provide a convincing explanation for v. 13.¹⁸⁰ For example, Mary Evans says that the relevance of v. 13 for v. 12 is unclear and that v. 13 merely introduces the next verse about Eve.¹⁸¹ Gordon Fee asserts that the verse is not central to Paul's argument.¹⁸² Timothy Harris says that the verse "is difficult to understand on any reading."¹⁸³ Craig Keener thinks that the argument here is hard to fathom.¹⁸⁴ David Scholer protests that the text is unclear and that Paul cites selectively from Genesis.¹⁸⁵ Stephen Motyer says that if we accept the complementarian position of vv. 13–14, we nullify logic and justice.¹⁸⁶ It seems that obscurity is in the eye of the beholder, for the church has historically deemed the thrust of the verse quite clear. The creation of Adam first gives a reason why men should be the authoritative teachers in the church.¹⁸⁷ Egalitarians often say that the argument from the order of creation falters because it would also imply that animals have authority over humans since they were created first.¹⁸⁸ This objection is not compelling. For it is obvious in Genesis that only human beings are created in God's image (Gen. 1:26–27) and that they are distinct from animals. Paul, as a careful reader of the Hebrew narrative, under the inspiration of the Spirit, detected significance in the order of creation for the roles of men and women. James Hurley notes that the reasoning would not have been obscure to people of Paul's time, for they were quite familiar with primogeniture.¹⁸⁹

William Webb protests, however, that arguments from primogeni-

¹⁸⁰ Towner admits that the egalitarian view faces "the daunting challenge of plausibility" but suggests that women's role in spreading the false teaching determines the meaning. *Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 228.

¹⁸¹ Evans, *Woman in the Bible*, 104.

¹⁸² Fee, *Gospel and Spirit*, 58.

¹⁸³ Harris, "Eve's Deception," 343.

¹⁸⁴ Keener, *Paul, Women and Wives*, 116.

¹⁸⁵ Scholer, "1 Timothy 2:9–15," 208–13.

¹⁸⁶ Motyer, "Expounding 1 Timothy," 97–98. He finally resolves the issue by accepting the Kroegers' understanding of v. 13 (100).

¹⁸⁷ Marshall suggests that the author may have been responding to myths and genealogies claiming that the new age inaugurated by the resurrection made women equal to or dominant over men. In response, the author cited the text of Genesis. *Pastoral Epistles*, 463. Unfortunately, we have no evidence that such claims were being made.

¹⁸⁸ Cf., e.g., Jewett, *Male and Female*, 126–27.

¹⁸⁹ Hurley, *Man and Woman*, 207–8.

ture are flawed.¹⁹⁰ In Scripture, God often overrides the principle of primogeniture (e.g., choosing Jacob instead of Esau), and hence primogeniture cannot be a transcultural principle. Indeed, according to Webb, primogeniture is tied to ancient agricultural societies, and we must not impose the agrarian culture of the past onto contemporary cultures. Webb suggests that the intimations of patriarchy in the garden represent not a God-ordained order but a literary foreshadowing of the curse. As such, the writer accommodates himself to the readers by describing the social conditions that existed in Moses's day as if such conditions were actually present in paradise.

Webb's criticisms of appealing to primogeniture are not compelling, for he misunderstands the position. In referring to primogeniture, complementarian scholars are scarcely suggesting that the cultural practice of primogeniture should be enforced today, nor do they think that Paul is endorsing primogeniture *per se*. Nor would they deny the many examples from the Old Testament, adduced by Webb, in which God overturned primogeniture. Instead, they appeal to primogeniture to explain that Paul's readers would have easily understood the notion of the firstborn having authority. When Paul said that women should not teach because Adam was created first, the readers of 1 Timothy would not have scratched their heads with perplexity and amazement. To the original readers, the priority of Adam in creation would naturally have suggested his authority over Eve. Paul does not endorse primogeniture *per se* in 1 Timothy 2:13; he appeals to the creation of Adam first in explaining why women should not teach men.

For Webb to convince, he needs to explain why Paul refers to God creating Adam first in writing a letter to the city of Ephesus (not simply to an agricultural community). Paul's prohibition of women teaching or exercising authority has nothing to do with the cultural limitations of primogeniture that Webb mentions: land-based cultures, elderly parents, large families, age, sibling rivalry, parental death, and survival/success of lineage. But Paul does maintain that Adam being created first—not all other dimensions of primogeniture mentioned in the Old Testament!—supports the notion that men rather than women are to

¹⁹⁰ William J. Webb, *Slaves, Women and Homosexuals: Exploring the Hermeneutics of Cultural Analysis* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2001), 135–45.

teach and exercise authority. At the end of the day, Webb does not take seriously what Paul states as his argument.

Even more troubling is Webb's claim that the Genesis account contains "whispers of patriarchy" because the writer of Genesis accommodates what he says to the patriarchal society in which he lives.¹⁹¹ Webb thereby concedes that patriarchy is present in the creation account, but he attempts to explain it away as accommodation. The creation narrative is hardly comparable to biblical writers who use the language and culture of their own day in prophesying about the future, as Webb suggests. Webb's position implies that the biblical writers distorted the true nature of paradise since they suggested that it was patriarchal, when in fact, according to Webb, it was not. Webb's "whispers of patriarchy" in paradise and his attempt to explain such as accommodation illustrate his commitment to sustain an egalitarian reading of the text, even at the cost of finding fault in paradise.¹⁹²

Even egalitarians acknowledge that role differences were common in ancient societies. The original readers would have understood Paul, then, to be defending such role differences and to be doing so on the basis of the created order. In other words, Paul thought such differences were good and proper and not the result of sin or the fall. Scholer's observation that Paul cites Genesis selectively is irrelevant.¹⁹³ Douglas Moo rightly observes that the Old Testament is *always* cited selectively.¹⁹⁴ The question is how the citation fits into the flow of the argument in which it is used.

Some scholars contend that Paul's interpretation here is forced and illogical.¹⁹⁵ This position at least has the virtue of understanding the Pauline intention and meaning, even though his argument is rejected as inferior. My purpose is not to engage in an apologetic for

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 142–43.

¹⁹² For further criticisms of Webb's approach, see Thomas R. Schreiner, "William J. Webb's *Slaves, Women and Homosexuals*: A Review Article," *SBJT* 6, no. 1 (2002): 46–64; Wayne Grudem, "Should We Move beyond the New Testament to a Better Ethic? An Analysis of William J. Webb, *Slaves, Women and Homosexuals*: Exploring the Hermeneutics of Cultural Analysis," *JETS* 47, no. 2 (2004): 299–346. William Webb has responded to my review in "The Limits of a Redemptive-Movement Hermeneutic: A Focused Response to T. R. Schreiner," *EQ* 75, no. 4 (2003): 327–42. See now the incisive critique of Webb by Reaach, *Women, Slaves, and the Gender Debate*.

¹⁹³ Scholer, "1 Timothy 2:9–15," 208–13.

¹⁹⁴ Moo, "What Does It Mean?," 498n32.

¹⁹⁵ Hanson, *Pastoral Epistles*, 72; Jewett, *Male and Female*, 116, 126; Krijn A. van der Jagt, "Women Are Saved through Bearing Children (1 Timothy 2.11–15)," *BT* 39, no. 2 (1988): 205.

the Pauline position here; it should simply be noted that evangelicals have a higher view of biblical authority than these scholars. We should note, however, that these scholars agree exegetically with the complementarian position, even though, because of their philosophical commitments, they perceive that this passage contradicts Pauline teaching elsewhere.

Many scholars suggest that the reason women could not teach men or exercise authority over them is because the women were promulgating the heresy Paul addresses in this letter or were uneducated.¹⁹⁶ This theory cannot be exegetically validated because it reads something into the text that is not present there. Paul could easily have said that the women were prohibited from teaching and exercising authority over men because they were spreading the heresy or were uneducated.¹⁹⁷ Yet he does not breathe a word about these matters.¹⁹⁸ And Baugh, in his essay in this volume, reveals the flaws in the notion that women in Ephesus were uneducated. In any case, Paul appeals to the created order. Those scholars who posit that false teaching or lack of education stimulated the prohibition ignore the reason the text actually gives (the created order) and insert something absent from the text (false teaching and lack of education) to explain the proscription. I do not deny that women were influenced by the false teaching (1 Tim. 5:11–15; 2 Tim. 3:6–9), and it is even possible (though far from certain) that some of the women were teaching the heresy.¹⁹⁹ But Paul doesn't ground his prohibi-

¹⁹⁶ Barron, "Women in Their Place," 455; Bilezikian, *Beyond Sex Roles*, 136–39; Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 137–38; Kroeger and Kroeger, *I Suffer Not a Woman*, 113, 117, 120–25; Mickelsen, "Egalitarian View," 204; Payne, *Man and Woman*, 334–35; Scholer, "1 Timothy 2:9–15," 218; Paul M. Zehr, *1 & 2 Timothy, Titus*, Believers Church Bible Commentary (Scottsdale, PA: Herald, 2010), 70.

¹⁹⁷ Rightly Moo, "Rejoinder," 203; Moo, "What Does It Mean?," 193; Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 134. Matthias Becker also strays from the text in seeing the prohibition in v. 12 as necessitated by the fall of woman into sin. "Ehe als Sanatorium: Plutarchs *Coniugalia Praecepta* und die Pastoralbriefe," *NovT* 52, no. 3 (2010): 262–63.

¹⁹⁸ Royce Gordon Gruenler argues that the subordination of women can be traced to the missionary situation in 1 Timothy. "The Mission-Lifestyle Setting of 1 Tim. 2:8–15," *JETS* 41, no. 2 (1998): 215–38. So also Liefeld, *1 and 2 Timothy, Titus*, 114; Wall, "1 Timothy 2:9–15 Reconsidered," 83, 101; Towner, *Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 193; W. Hulitt Gloer and Perry L. Stepp, *Reading Paul's Letters to Individuals: A Literary and Theological Commentary on Paul's Letters to Philemon, Titus, and Timothy*, Reading the New Testament 10 (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2008), 61. These scholars do not provide an intensive exegesis of the text, nor do they persuasively demonstrate that the prohibition is due to mission. Once again, Paul could have easily communicated such an idea, but he says nothing about the prohibition arising from the mission of the church. Köstenberger remarks that such an interpretation wrongly imports Titus 2:4–10 and 1 Cor. 9:20 into the present context. "1 and 2 Timothy and Titus," 520. It is hardly convincing to say that we can assume that Paul issues the prohibition because of the missionary situation even if he doesn't mention it. Contra Marshall, "Women in Ministry: A Further Look at 1 Timothy 2," 61n26.

¹⁹⁹ Towner cautions that the evidence is insufficient to prove that women were teaching the heresy. *Goal of Our Instruction*, 39, 216.

tion in women teaching falsely. If both men and women were involved in the heresy (and we know that men were certainly involved), why does Paul forbid only the women from teaching men?²⁰⁰ If the reason for the limitation was participation in the heresy or lack of education, then we would expect Paul, as a good egalitarian, to prohibit all men and women who were spreading the heresy or who were uneducated from teaching. This point is particularly important because we know without a doubt from the Pastoral Epistles that men were spreading the heresy (1 Tim. 1:20; 2 Tim. 2:17–18; 3:5–9), and obviously the men teaching falsely were not allowed to teach. On the other hand, Paul forbids women in general from teaching. As Don Carson says about another text, the Pauline limitation on women would be sensible only if “*all* the women and *only* women . . . were duped—which perhaps I may be excused for finding hard to believe.”²⁰¹

Philip Towner says the real point of the passage is that one must adapt to societal norms and institutions.²⁰² Once again, though, he leaps over the argument Paul gives to provide one not stated in the text. Towner’s view is attractive, yet Paul’s appeal to creation shows that he is not simply associating the proscription with societal norms but is rooting it in the created order. Richard Longenecker avers that redemption transcends creation, and thus creational norms are not necessarily binding.²⁰³ Again, this would neatly solve the problem, but it stumbles on the stubborn fact that Paul himself apparently did not believe that redemption in Christ overturned the created order. We must bypass Paul, then, to say that redemption transcends creation in the relationship between men and women. Those who erase the distinction in roles between men and women in the present age are probably guilty of falling prey to a form of overrealized eschatology, for the creation order established with reference to men and women will be terminated in the coming age (cf. Matt. 22:30).

Others protest that complementarians are selective in what they

²⁰⁰ Rightly Moo, “Rejoinder,” 203.

²⁰¹ D. A. Carson, “‘Silent in the Churches’: On the Role of Women in 1 Corinthians 14:33b–36,” in *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood*, ed. Piper and Grudem, 147.

²⁰² Towner, *Goal of Our Instruction*, 219, 221. For an argument that is similar in some respects, see Wiebe, “Two Texts on Women,” 71–79.

²⁰³ Richard N. Longenecker, *New Testament Social Ethics for Today* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1984), 70–93.

accept as universally valid.²⁰⁴ We do not, for instance, command all younger widows to marry (1 Tim. 5:14), and little is said today about the applicability of instructions regarding widows in 1 Timothy 5:3–16. We all have blind spots, and thus we need to beware of bracketing out texts that we find distasteful. Perhaps we have not been serious enough about applying 1 Timothy 5:3–16 to our culture. But if we have been avoiding the message of that passage, it does not logically follow that we can also jettison the prescriptions in 1 Timothy 2:9–15. Our responsibility in such a situation is to obey both texts. We cannot engage in a full exegesis of 1 Timothy 5:3–16 here, but one apparent principle in the text is that godly widows in financial need who can no longer support themselves need to be supported by the church. If widows in our churches need financial help, then the church should provide it. Bruce Waltke rightly observes that we must glean Paul's authorial intent in his advice to younger widows (1 Tim. 5:11–15).²⁰⁵ He recommends marriage for the younger widows in order to restrict sexual sin (cf. 1 Cor. 7:9). One principle here is that believers should not pledge themselves to a life of celibacy without taking into account the strength of their sexual desires. Paul commends the single state (1 Corinthians 7), but even then he recognizes that sexual desires may be one indication that one should marry (vv. 2, 9). In any case, Paul grounds the prohibition in 1 Timothy 2:12 in an appeal to creation, indicating that the command has universal validity.

Ronald Pierce, in dependence on Sherwood Lingenfelter, asserts that women are often banned from ministry on the basis of v. 13 because we assume that Paul is using Western logic when he is actually using "practical logic."²⁰⁶ Lingenfelter says that Paul taps into the "generative core of beliefs" of his culture to justify his prohibition. But how does labeling this "practical logic" show that the prohibition is no longer applicable? If this also represents Paul's "generative core of beliefs," on what basis do we discard it today? Interestingly, Pierce slides from this observation to the thesis that Paul wanted women to practice humility and patience as they slowly moved from their lowly status to their new

²⁰⁴ Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy*, 77; Fee, *Gospel and Spirit*, 59–61; Scholer, "1 Timothy 2:9–15," 214; France, *Women in the Church's Ministry*, 71–72.

²⁰⁵ Bruce K. Waltke, "1 Timothy 2:8–15: Unique or Normative?," *Crux* 28 (1992): 26.

²⁰⁶ Pierce, "Gender Roles," 350.

liberty in Christ.²⁰⁷ But Pierce reads this latter idea into the text, for it is hardly apparent from vv. 13–14 that Paul envisions a time when the restriction in v. 12 will be lifted.²⁰⁸

One might object, however, that not all commands rooted in creation are normative.²⁰⁹ Paul commends food and marriage as good since they are grounded in creation (1 Tim. 4:1–5), yet we know from 1 Corinthians 7 and from Romans 14–15 and 1 Corinthians 8–10 that in some situations he counsels believers to abstain from marriage and from certain foods. Does this not indicate that an appeal to creation is not necessarily normative? Actually, such an objection suffers from a subtle equivocation. What Paul argues in 1 Timothy 4:1–5 is that marriage and all foods are good, *not that one must get married and must eat all foods*. Thus, the fact that some believers are called to celibacy or should abstain from certain foods in particular situations hardly constitutes an exception to the argument from creation in 1 Timothy 4:1–5. In 1 Corinthians 7, Paul continues to maintain that marriage is good and counters the idea that Christians must eschew marriage and sexual relations. Moreover, in Romans 14–15 and 1 Corinthians 8–10, those who abstain from certain foods are considered to be weak in faith, and the strong must abstain occasionally so as not to offend the weak. What would violate the principle of 1 Timothy 4:1–5 is if one were to argue that Christians should always avoid marriage and certain foods because they were inherently defiling, and this is precisely what the false teachers in the Pastoral Epistles were saying.

Even if we were to accept the analogous argument from 1 Timothy 4:1–5, so that the argument from creation in 1 Timothy 2:11–13 admits exceptions, the conclusion egalitarians want to draw from the parallel

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 350–51.

²⁰⁸ Indeed, Pierce is actually the one who falls prey to “Western” ways of thinking, for his whole thesis depends on the view that Gal. 3:28 sits awkwardly with the restrictions in 1 Tim. 2:11–15. He finds this tension difficult because he has imbibed the modern democratic view of equality, which perceives any differences in function as a threat to equality. This egalitarian perspective differs remarkably from the biblical worldview, in which equality of personhood did not rule out differences in role and function.

²⁰⁹ See here the argument of John Jefferson Davis, “First Timothy 2:12, the Ordination of Women, and Paul’s Use of Creation Narratives,” *Priscilla Papers* 23, no. 2 (2009): 5–10. Davis rightly shows that Paul applies the argument from creation in different ways, but it doesn’t logically follow from this observation that the argument from creation in 1 Tim. 2:13 no longer applies today. In fact, as I explain above, when New Testament writers root admonitions in creation, the command stands as a transcendent norm that applies to all cultures and all times. Kevin Giles also rejects arguments from creation, but he fails to engage the texts exegetically. Giles, *The Trinity and Subordinationism: The Doctrine of God and the Contemporary Gender Debate* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2002), 170–79.

does not follow logically. For at least in the case of 1 Timothy 4:1–5, the principle of the goodness of the created world stands. In contrast, in the case of 1 Timothy 2:13, egalitarians would have to argue that the prohibition of women teaching men is the exception, whereas the norm permits them to do so. In 1 Timothy 2, then, the appeal to the created order would justify *the exception*, not the rule. The parallel from 1 Timothy 4:1–5 falters on this analysis because in that text, the created order is invoked to support the *rule*, not the exception. In other words, Paul supports the idea that women cannot teach men by invoking the created order, and yet egalitarians who would use this argument do not say that women may in some exceptional circumstances teach men (analogous to the argument in 1 Tim. 4:1–5). Instead, they insist that prohibiting women from teaching men is the exception. The analogy from 1 Timothy 4:1–5, therefore, is turned around. And if women can usually teach men, we are left wondering why Paul even gives an argument from creation. In principle, one could argue similarly that the prohibitions against polygamy and homosexuality are exceptional, even though an argument from creation is used to support the commands (Matt. 19:4–6; Rom. 1:26–27). The fundamental problem with this suggestion, then, is that it appeals to alleged exceptions and provides no explanation as to why Paul gives an argument from creation.²¹⁰ This seems to be a clear case of evading the positive reason given for the prohibition.

Perhaps we can preserve the principle of the command in v. 12 without denying women the right to teach men. After all, it was argued that the principle underlying vv. 9–10 permits women to wear jewelry and clothing that is not seductive or ostentatious. However, the principle in v. 12 cannot be separated from the practice of teaching or exercising authority over men.²¹¹ There are some instances in which the principle and practice (e.g., polygamy and homosexuality) coalesce. This is one

²¹⁰ John Stott argues that submission to authority is transcultural but teaching is a cultural expression of the principle that does not apply the same way in our culture. *Guard the Truth: The Message of 1 Timothy and Titus* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1996), 78–80. Köstenberger rightly responds that “v. 13 provides the rationale for vv. 11–12 in their entirety rather than only the submission-authority principle. Moreover, teaching and ruling functions are inseparable from submission-authority, as is made clear in the immediately following context when it is said that the overseer must be ‘husband of one wife’ (i.e., by implication male; 3:2) as well as ‘able to teach’ (3:2).” “1 and 2 Timothy and Titus,” 520.

²¹¹ So Moo, “What Does It Mean?,” 191; Köstenberger, “Gender Passages,” 270.

of those cases. Public teaching of men by women and the concomitant authority it gives them violate the principle of male leadership.

The Argument from the Woman Being Deceived (1 Tim. 2:14)

If v. 13 is a strong argument for the complementarian view, egalitarians claim that v. 14 is quite problematic for the complementarian position.²¹² For instance, Towner notes that the complementarian view would seem to lead to the conclusion that women are more easily deceived than men.²¹³ Bruce Barron says that the complementarian position cannot explain how Adam was not deceived, for he was as guilty as Eve.²¹⁴ And if Adam sinned rebelliously with his eyes wide open, and Eve sinned because she was deceived, then why would this qualify men to teach women? The more serious sin would be Adam's blatant rebellion, which would thus lead us to expect that men would be disqualified from teaching.

Egalitarians believe they have a much more credible solution to the meaning of this verse. They argue that the reference to Eve's deception points either to women being responsible for the heresy in 1 Timothy or to the influence of false teachers on women who lacked education.²¹⁵ They suggest, for instance, that Adam knew of God's prohibition in the garden firsthand, while Eve only knew the command secondhand. Thus, Eve sinned because she was ignorant of God's command, and so too the women in Ephesus were being deceived by the false teachers and, in turn, were propagating the heresy. They could not teach until they were adequately educated.

Doubtless the verse is difficult, but I would like to suggest that defenders of the egalitarian view present a weaker interpretation of the

²¹²Note, for example, how Fee says that Paul's real purpose in citing the Genesis narrative emerges here. *1 Timothy*, 74; *Gospel and Spirit*, 58; cf. Witherington, *Women in the Earliest Churches*, 123; Evans, *Woman in the Bible*, 104. One wonders, then, why he bothered appealing to the order of creation at all. Fung observes that if v. 13 is merely an introduction to the substantial argument, it could have easily been jettisoned. "Ministry," 338n204.

²¹³Towner, *Goal of Our Instruction*, 217; Barron, "Women in Their Place," 455.

²¹⁴Barron, "Women in Their Place," 455.

²¹⁵Bilezikian, *Beyond Sex Roles*, 136–37; Perriman, "What Eve Did," 139; Evans, *Woman in the Bible*, 105; Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 140; Harris, "Eve's Deception," 345, 347–50; Keener, *Paul, Women and Wives*, 117; Kroeger and Kroeger, *I Suffer Not a Woman*, 237–42; Scholer, "1 Timothy 2:9–15," 195–200, 210–11; Spencer, "Eve at Ephesus," 219–20; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 458, 466–67; Belleville, "1 Timothy," 61; Witherington, *Letters and Homilies*, 228–29; Payne, *Man and Woman*, 399–415. Of course, not every scholar here describes the situation in precisely the same way, but the common elements in their reconstructions are striking.

text than defenders of the complementarian interpretation.²¹⁶ It cannot be stressed enough that v. 14 scarcely justifies the thesis that women were *teaching* the heresy, although it is certainly possible that Paul gave the prohibition because some women were teaching men.²¹⁷ Neither Genesis nor Paul suggests that Eve taught Adam. Instead, both texts affirm that she was deceived (cf. Gen. 3:13).²¹⁸ The texts emphasize what transpired in Eve's heart—deception—not that she wrongly taught Adam.²¹⁹ Verse 14, therefore, provides no clues that Paul forbade women from teaching because they were spreading the heresy. It only justifies the claim that the women of Ephesus—like Eve—were *influenced* by false teaching and thus fell into sin. At most, then, egalitarians can only reasonably argue that Paul prohibited the women in Ephesus from teaching because they were temporarily deceived by the false teachers; only later could they function as teachers by acquiring sound doctrine. But again, it must be emphasized that v. 14 does not provide any evidence that women were promulgating false teaching.

Neither does the appeal to the Genesis narrative in v. 14 support the idea that women were disallowed from teaching merely because they were duped by false teaching or were uneducated.²²⁰ If Eve was at a disadvantage in the temptation, as some egalitarians declare, because she received the commandment from God secondhand through Adam, then this implies that Adam somehow muddled God's command in giving it to Eve. If he gave it to her accurately and clearly, then we are back to the view that Eve (before the fall!) could not grasp what Adam clearly said, which would imply that she was intellectually inferior.²²¹

²¹⁶ Sumner wrongly implies that v. 14 more naturally supports the egalitarian view, and she does not interact with the problems I raised in the first edition of this book against such a claim. *Men and Women in the Church*, 256–57.

²¹⁷ Rightly Hugenberger, “Women in Church Office,” 349–50; Moo, “Rejoinder,” 217; Moo, “What Does It Mean?,” 189–90.

²¹⁸ The prepositional prefix in the term ἐξαπατάω could indicate that Eve was completely deceived, whereas the verb used in reference to Adam is simply ἀπατάω. More likely, though, the shift to ἐξαπατάω is stylistic, and no significance should be ascribed to the change. Cf. Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 144; Moo, “1 Timothy 2:11–15,” 69. In support of this latter conclusion, Gen. 3:13 LXX uses the verb ἀπατάω.

²¹⁹ Mounce says that Eve could not have deceived Adam because Adam was with her during the temptation, according to Gen. 3:6. *Pastoral Epistles*, 141.

²²⁰ Rightly Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 134, 139.

²²¹ Webb affirms the traditional interpretation that women were deceived as correct but argues that the passage does not apply in the same way today because women were deceived due “to a combination of factors such as upbringing, . . . age, experience, intelligence, education, development of critical thinking, economic conditions, and personality.” *Slaves, Women and Homosexuals*, 230. Webb's view does not explain convincingly how such factors could apply to Eve in the garden. He also wrongly concludes that deceit is due to lack of education, when Scripture actually ties deception to human sin (cf. Rom. 7:11; 16:18;

But if Adam bungled what God said, so that Eve was deceived by the Serpent, the argument of 1 Timothy 2:11–15 makes little sense in its historical context. For then Eve was deceived because Adam muddled God’s instructions. And if Eve sinned because a man communicated God’s command inaccurately, then why would Paul recommend here that men should teach women until the latter get their doctrine right? If a man teaching a woman got the human race into this predicament in the first place, Paul’s appeal to Eve’s being deceived would not fit the argument he is attempting to make in 1 Timothy 2.

What I am suggesting is that while egalitarians often charge that complementarians cannot handle v. 14, their position is actually much harder to defend. The verse cannot be used to say that women were teaching the heresy. Nor does it make sense to say that women were deceived because they lacked knowledge. Such a view would pin the blame on Adam as a teacher, not Eve. If such were Paul’s understanding of the events associated with the fall, his admonition that men should teach women (even temporarily) on the basis of the Genesis narrative would be incoherent.

Moreover, the author of Genesis is not suggesting that Eve stood at a disadvantage because she was ignorant of or poorly instructed in God’s command (Gen. 3:2–3). What Genesis 3 indicates (and Paul is a careful interpreter of the account here in 1 Tim. 2:14) is that the Serpent deceived Eve, not Adam.²²² We should not read into the narrative that Eve had any disadvantage in terms of knowledge during the temptation. A person can be deceived because of lack of knowledge or education, but Genesis does not attribute Eve’s deception to her being uneducated. Indeed, the idea that sin originated because of ignorance is a Platonic view, not a biblical one. The Serpent deceived Eve by promising her that she could function as a god, independent of the one true God (Gen. 3:4–6). Eve was deceived not because she had an intellectual deficiency but because of a moral failing.

In conclusion, egalitarians cannot provide an interpretation of v. 14

1 Cor. 3:18; 2 Cor. 11:3; Eph. 5:6; James 1:26). Webb strays from what Paul actually says, resorting to a multitude of explanations that Paul never mentioned or implied.

²²² Marshall thinks my interpretation is “a counsel of despair.” “Women in Ministry: A Further Look at 1 Timothy 2,” 70. But he misunderstands what I propose, for I don’t say Eve wasn’t deceived. The point is that she was deceived first by the Serpent.

that makes sense of the contexts of both Genesis 2–3 and 1 Timothy 2:9–15. What we need to probe is the significance of this verse in the context of 1 Timothy 2. Some scholars, relying on parallels in Jewish tradition, suggest that Eve was sexually seduced by the Serpent.²²³ But this is unwarranted.²²⁴ The appeals to Jewish parallels are unpersuasive since the latter postdate the New Testament.²²⁵ And the word ἐξαπατάω (“I deceive”) elsewhere in Paul carries no hint of sexual seduction (cf. Rom. 7:11; 16:18; 1 Cor. 3:18; 2 Cor. 11:3; 2 Thess. 2:3). The parallel from 2 Corinthians 11:3 is particularly illuminating, for Paul fears that the entire church will fall prey to the same deception Eve did. His concern is scarcely that the whole church will fall into sexual sin.

Others argue that Paul aims to highlight that Adam sinned rebelliously with full knowledge, for the text says that “Adam was not deceived,” whereas Eve was deceived and committed transgression.²²⁶ The verse thereby signals that Adam was responsible as the leader and the religious teacher. This interpretation is surely a possibility, and it has the virtue of taking the words “Adam was not deceived” straightforwardly. Nevertheless, it is hard to see how this argument would function as a reason for men teaching women. An appeal to Adam sinning willfully and Eve sinning mistakenly (because she was deceived) would seem to argue against men teaching women, for at least the woman wanted to obey God, while Adam sinned deliberately.²²⁷ This view would be strengthened if the corollary were also drawn: Paul implies that women are more prone to deceit than men. Yet most of the modern adherents of this view are reluctant to draw this latter conclusion.²²⁸

Historically, interpreters commonly held that Paul is forbidding women from teaching because they are more liable to deception and

²²³ Wagener, *Die Ordnung des “Hauses Gottes,”* 105–06; Dibelius and Conzelmann, *Pastoral Epistles*, 48; Houlden, *Pastoral Epistles*, 71–72; Holtz, *Die Pastoralbriefe*, 70; Anthony Tyrell Hanson, “Eve’s Transgression: 1 Timothy 2.13–15,” in *Studies in the Pastoral Epistles* (London: SPCK, 1968), 65–77; Hanson, *Pastoral Epistles*, 73; Roloff, *Timotheus*, 139; cf. Falconer, “Interpretive Notes,” 376.

²²⁴ For a helpful survey of references to Eve in the Old Testament and Jewish literature, see Chan, “1 Timothy 2:13–15,” 55–195.

²²⁵ Zamfir, *Men and Women in the Household of God*, 246–47; Towner, *Goal of Our Instruction*, 313–14n78; cf. Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 139; Witherington, *Women in the Earliest Churches*, 123; Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 142; Quinn and Wacker, *First and Second Letters*, 228.

²²⁶ Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 139; Guthrie, *Pastoral Epistles*, 77; Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 143–44; Moo, “Rejoinder,” 204.

²²⁷ Cf. Fung, “Ministry,” 201–2.

²²⁸ An exception here is Clark, *Man and Woman*, 202–4. Cf. also Zamfir, *Men and Women in the Household of God*, 245–48.

more easily led astray than men are.²²⁹ This interpretation is usually dismissed out of hand today because it is so shocking to modern sensibilities. Our task, though, is to interpret texts according to the intention of the author, and thus we must be careful not to reject an interpretation merely because it offends our sense of justice. For those who hold a high view of biblical authority, the text must reign over and correct what we think is “fair.” This interpretation, then, is possible and less speculative than those advanced by egalitarians. Still, we should reject this interpretation since it implies that women are ontologically and intellectually inferior. Others have also raised serious objections against this view.²³⁰ For example, since Paul commends women who teach other women and children elsewhere in the Pastorals (2 Tim. 1:5; 3:15; Titus 2:3–4), it is unlikely that Paul would do so if women are prone to deceit by nature, for then their error would be passed on to children and other women. Moreover, if women are inherently more susceptible to deceit, it calls into question the goodness of God’s creation.

Paul Barnett intriguingly suggests that the point of the text is that not Adam but Eve was deceived first.²³¹ In this view, the word “first” (πρῶτος) is implicitly understood from v. 13. Timothy Harris objects that the text does not say that Eve was deceived first, and this weakens Barnett’s suggestion.²³² But the likelihood of Barnett’s proposal increases when we recall that Paul was writing to Timothy, who was quite familiar with his theology. Paul would be reminding Timothy that Eve transgressed first, and yet Adam was held responsible for the sin that

²²⁹ Jewett, *Male and Female*, 61; Clark, *Man and Woman*, 203–4; Culver, “Traditional View,” 36–37; Hanson, *Pastoral Epistles*, 73 (but he says that this proves the letter is not Pauline); Holtz, *Die Pastoralbriefe*, 71–72; Kelly, *Pastoral Epistles*, 68; Moo, “1 Timothy 2:11–15,” 70 (but he changed his mind on this point; see “Rejoinder,” 204); Johnson, *First and Second Letters to Timothy*, 208; Collins, *1 and 2 Timothy and Titus*, 71–72. Daniel Doriani argues a variant of this view, maintaining that God made the sexes differently, so that men and women have different strengths and weaknesses; men are more inclined to doctrinal formulations and women to nurturing relationships. “A History of Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2,” 213–67, esp. 256–67. I accepted Doriani’s view in the first edition of this book. Thomas R. Schreiner, “An Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:9–15: A Dialogue with Scholarship,” in *Women in the Church: A Fresh Analysis of 1 Timothy 2:9–15*, ed. Andreas J. Köstenberger, Thomas R. Schreiner, and H. Scott Baldwin (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1995), 145–46. But it now seems to me that this view also strays from the text, even if one agrees that such differences exist between men and women. For criticisms of Doriani’s view, see Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 466; Blomberg, “Gender Roles in Paul,” 366n156.

²³⁰ For arguments against the idea that women are more prone to deception, see Barnett, “Wives and Women’s Ministry,” 234; Evans, *Woman in the Bible*, 104–5; Foh, *Women and the Word of God*, 127; Fung, “Ministry,” 201–2; Harris, “Eve’s Deception,” 346; Hurley, *Man and Woman*, 215; Moo, “What Does It Mean?,” 190; Payne, *Man and Woman*, 410–15.

²³¹ Barnett, “Wives and Women’s Ministry,” 234; cf. also Ann L. Bowman, “Women in Ministry: An Exegetical Study of 1 Timothy 2:11–15,” *BSac* 149, no. 594 (1992): 206.

²³² Harris, “Eve’s Deception,” 346.

was imputed to the whole human race (Rom. 5:12–19). By referring to Eve sinning first, Paul subtly reminds Timothy that Adam bore primary responsibility for sin entering the world (note that in Genesis 3 God approached Adam first after the sin), and this confluence of factors reveals the reality of male headship. In this scenario, then, v. 14 would function as a second argument for male leadership in teaching.²³³

We can supplement what Barnett says with the following notes.²³⁴ Paul emphasizes that it was Eve (not Adam) who was deceived *by the Serpent*. Thus, we need not conclude that Adam was undeceived in every respect. The notion that Adam sinned without deceit is hard to understand, for it seems that all sin involves deceit. Do people sin with their eyes wide open, fully understanding the nature and consequences of their sin? Paul's purpose is more restricted here. He wants to focus on the fact that the Serpent approached and deceived Eve, not Adam. The significance of the Serpent targeting Eve is magnified when we observe that Adam was apparently with Eve during the temptation (Gen. 3:6).²³⁵ In approaching Eve, then, the Serpent subverted the pattern of male leadership and interacted only with the woman.²³⁶ Adam was present throughout and did not intervene. The Genesis temptation, therefore, stands as the prototype of what happens when male leadership is abrogated.²³⁷ Eve took the initiative in responding to the Serpent, and Adam let her do so.²³⁸ Thus, the appeal to Genesis 3

²³³ See Stephen H. Levinsohn, who discusses the use of conjunctive καί between 1 Tim. 2:13 and v. 14, where “it conjoins the two sentences that are introduced by γάρ. It is these sentences *together* that strengthen the previous verse.” *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek: A Coursebook on the Information Structure of New Testament Greek*, 2nd ed. (Dallas: SIL International, 2000), 124; emphasis his.

Craig L. Blomberg intriguingly suggests that v. 14 should be read with v. 15 instead of functioning as a second reason for the injunction in v. 12. On this reading, Paul says that the woman will be saved even though Eve was initially deceived. “Not beyond What Is Written: A Review of Aida Spencer’s *Beyond the Curse: Women Called to Ministry*,” *CTR* 2 (Spring 1988): 414. This view has at least three weaknesses: (1) The καί in v. 14 naturally links v. 14 with v. 13. (2) The structure of v. 13 nicely parallels v. 14, for both verses compare and contrast Adam and Eve in an A-B-A'-B' pattern. (3) Blomberg's view does not account well for the reference to Adam in v. 14; any reference to Adam is superfluous if the concern is only the salvation of women, but the reference to both Adam and Eve fits with the specific argument in v. 12 that women are not to teach men. In my view, Blomberg does not answer these objections convincingly in his “Gender Roles in Paul,” 367. Cf. Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 142.

²³⁴ Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy*, 74; Fee, *Gospel and Spirit*, 59; cf. Moo, “1 Timothy 2:11–15,” 69. I realize Fee would not agree with the conclusions I draw from his observation.

²³⁵ Rightly Scholer, “1 Timothy 2:9–15,” 210; Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 125, 131, 141; see also Köstenberger, “1 and 2 Timothy and Titus,” 518–19.

²³⁶ As Oden reports, the rabbis believed that the fall also included a reversal of the creation order, in that Eve took the leadership over Adam. *First and Second Timothy*, 100.

²³⁷ For a suggestion that is similar in some respects, see Fung, “Ministry,” 202; Hurley, *Man and Woman*, 214–16; Moo, “Rejoinder,” 204.

²³⁸ Wall maintains that Eve functions typologically, illustrating the experience of women who move from sin to salvation. Women who are freed from their sin are no longer deceived or slaves of sin. Now such

reminds readers of what happens when humans undermine God's ordained pattern.²³⁹

Women Being Saved through Childbirth (1 Tim. 2:15)

Verse 15 reads, "But she shall be saved through childbirth, if they remain in faith and love and sanctification along with discretion." Susan Foh's opinion that the verse is "a puzzle and a sort of non sequitur" is unsatisfying, for the verse functions as the conclusion to the paragraph and must be integrated with the rest of the argument.²⁴⁰ On the other hand, some scholars think that this verse is climactic, the key to the whole text.²⁴¹ This latter opinion goes to the other extreme.²⁴² It is better to take the verse as providing a qualification to v. 14 and as rounding out the argument.²⁴³

Many questions emerge from this verse.²⁴⁴ What is the subject of the verbs σωθήσεται ("she shall be saved") and μείνωσιν ("they remain")? Does the verb σωθήσεται refer to spiritual salvation, spiritual preservation, or physical preservation through childbirth? To what does the noun τεκνογονία ("childbirth") refer: the birth of Christ, bearing children, or rearing children?²⁴⁵ What is the precise meaning in this context of the preposition διὰ? Does this text teach salvation by works? How does it fit with the rest of the paragraph?

women can live modestly, and since they are freed from sin, they are qualified to teach. "1 Timothy 2:9-15 Reconsidered," 81-103. Wall's exegesis fails to convince. He mistakenly (see below) understands v. 15 as the climax of the paragraph (94). Moreover, it is quite unlikely that the subject of σωθήσεται in v. 15 is Eve (94). Paul would not use the future tense if Eve were the subject. The text focuses not on Eve but on the Christian women in Ephesus. Most important, even if we accept Wall's view that Eve is the subject (which is quite doubtful), the notion that v. 15 ends up trumping the admonition in v. 12 is scarcely clear. We have no evidence in the text that the salvation and modesty of women relativize the command in v. 12. Wall ultimately appeals to the rest of the canon to support his view, but he mistakenly thinks that the private instruction given to Apollos by Priscilla and Aquila (Acts 18:26) and the encouragement of women to prophesy (1 Cor. 11:5) contradict the complementarian interpretation of 1 Timothy 2 (99-100). He fails to see that 1 Tim. 2:12 refers to public and official teaching and that prophecy and teaching are two distinct gifts. In any case, the women who prophesy in 1 Cor. 11:2-16 are to do so in a manner that reflects submission to male headship. Wall's exegesis is creative, but his creativity is the problem, for it is difficult to believe that the original readers could have understood the text in the way he suggests. Marshall also questions the viability of Wall's interpretation. Marshall, "Women in Ministry: A Further Look at 1 Timothy 2," 71n54.

²³⁹ Cf. Moo, "What Does It Mean?," 190.

²⁴⁰ Foh, *Women and the Word of God*, 128.

²⁴¹ Keener, *Paul, Women and Wives*, 118; Scholer, "1 Timothy 2:9-15," 196; France, *Women in the Church's Ministry*, 60; Wall, "1 Timothy 2:9-15 Reconsidered," 11.

²⁴² Rightly Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 143.

²⁴³ Cf. Clark, *Man and Woman*, 207; Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 141; Stanley E. Porter, "What Does It Mean to Be 'Saved by Childbirth' (1 Timothy 2.15)?," *JSNT* 49 (1993): 93.

²⁴⁴ Of course, the verse is difficult and debated. One should not conclude that the understanding of vv. 11-14 that I have argued for in this chapter pivots on the interpretation of v. 15 proposed below.

²⁴⁵ For Jewish traditions on childbirth, see the helpful survey of Chan, "1 Timothy 2:13-15," 196-254.

We will begin by examining the meaning of the verb σωθήσεται. Some understand it to mean “preserve,” so that the verse says that women shall be preserved safely through childbirth.²⁴⁶ Craig Keener defends this interpretation by appealing to parallels in Greco-Roman literature, where women often prayed for safety in childbirth; the verb σώζω (“save”) most commonly bears the idea of physical preservation.²⁴⁷ More recently, Moyer Hubbard provides an intriguing and well-argued defense of this interpretation.²⁴⁸ Still, this reading should be rejected for at least two reasons. The fact that Christian women have often died in childbirth raises serious questions about this interpretation.²⁴⁹ More important, σώζω always has the meaning of spiritual salvation in the Pastoral Epistles (cf. 1 Tim. 1:15; 2:4; 4:16; 2 Tim. 1:9; 4:18; Titus 3:5) and the other Pauline writings.²⁵⁰ Keener commits the error of giving more weight to the meaning of the term in extrabiblical writings than to its meaning in Paul’s writings. In addition, since σώζω always refers to eschatological salvation in Paul, it is not compelling to say that women “are saved” from the error of usurping authority over men by keeping to their proper function.²⁵¹ Once again, scholars are supplying a definition for σώζω that does not accord with Pauline usage. In addition, v. 12 is too far from v. 15 for this latter interpretation to be plausible.²⁵²

²⁴⁶ NASB; Barrett, *Pastoral Epistles*, 56–57; Barron, “Women in Their Place,” 457; Jewett, *Male and Female*, 60; Keener, *Paul, Women and Wives*, 118–19.

²⁴⁷ Keener, *Paul, Women and Wives*, 118–19.

²⁴⁸ Moyer Hubbard, “Kept Safe through Childbearing: Maternal Mortality, Justification by Faith, and the Social Setting of 1 Timothy 2:15,” *JETS* 55, no. 4 (2012): 743–62. See also Christopher Hutson, “‘Saved through Childbearing’: The Jewish Context of 1 Timothy,” *NovT* 56, no. 4 (2014): 392–410. Contra Hubbard (744n7), I would argue that all the Pauline texts he cites have to do with spiritual salvation, but space is lacking to defend that view here. I will also explain below how what Paul teaches here does not contradict salvation by grace.

²⁴⁹ Cf. Evans, *Woman in the Bible*, 106; Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 141; Hilde Huizenga, “Women, Salvation, and the Birth of Christ: A Reexamination of 1 Timothy 2:15,” *Studia Biblica et theologica* 12, no. 1 (1982): 21; Oden, *First and Second Timothy*, 100. Hubbard takes the promise as proverbial, which leaves space for exceptions. “Kept Safe through Childbearing,” 758–59. Such a reading is possible, but it isn’t evident that the words here are proverbial, and they are more naturally taken as a promise.

²⁵⁰ So Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 141; Fung, “Ministry,” 203; Houlden, *Pastoral Epistles*, 72; David R. Kimberley, “1 Tim. 2:15: A Possible Understanding of a Difficult Text,” *JETS* 35, no. 4 (1992): 481–82; Krijn van der Jagt, “Women Are Saved through Bearing Children: A Sociological Approach to the Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:15,” in *Issues in Bible Translation*, ed. Philip C. Stine, UBS Monograph Series 3 (New York: United Bible Societies, 1988), 293; Lock, *Pastoral Epistles*, 31; Moo, “1 Timothy 2:11–15,” 71; Moo, “What Does It Mean?,” 192; Payne, *Man and Woman*, 418; Porter, “Saved by Childbirth,” 93–94; Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 144–45; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 467; Zamfir, *Men and Women in the Household of God*, 260–61. Cf. Chan, “1 Timothy 2:13–15,” 313–22.

²⁵¹ So S. Jebb, “A Suggested Interpretation of 1 Ti 2.15,” *ExpTim* 81, no. 7 (1970): 221–22; Hurley, *Man and Woman*, 222. Contra this interpretation, see Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy*, 75; Hanson, *Pastoral Epistles*, 74; Kimberley, “1 Tim. 2:15,” 482; Porter, “Saved by Childbirth,” 95; Roloff, *Timotheus*, 141.

²⁵² The same error is committed by Roberts, who adopts a nonsoteriological definition for σώζω. Roberts’s interpretation is even more arbitrary. He says that by giving birth to the Messiah (and continuing in the faith), women will be saved from their subordinate role and thus can be restored to teaching men.

Therefore, we cannot simply sweep aside the difficulty of this verse by finding a different meaning for σῶζω; the verse does say that a woman will be spiritually saved through bearing children.²⁵³

Perhaps we can explain the biting edge of this verse by investigating the meaning of the word τεκνογονίας. In the history of the church, interpreters commonly detected a reference to the birth of Christ.²⁵⁴ Supporters of this reading invoke the near context, which qualifies the reference to the deceit and transgression of Eve (v. 14) with the promise that she will be saved by the childbirth, that is, the birth of Christ. Since Paul has just cited Genesis 3 in 1 Tim. 2:14, it is argued that he would naturally have turned to the promise of salvation through the seed promised in Genesis 3:15. The singular “she” could be ascribed to Eve as the representative of all women or to Mary, who gave birth to

“Woman Shall Be Saved,” 6–7. There is no evidence, however, that Paul contemplated that the “saving” in v. 15 involved liberation from the injunctions in vv. 11–12! Nor is it persuasive to interpret childbearing allegorically in terms of producing virtues. So Kenneth L. Waters Sr., “Saved Through Childbearing: Virtues as Children in 1 Timothy 2:11–15,” *JBL* 123, no. 4 (2004): 703–35. Marshall rightly rejects this latter view. “Women in Ministry: A Further Look at 1 Timothy 2,” 71n54. See also Kenneth L. Waters, “Revisiting Virtues as Children: 1 Timothy 2:15 as Centerpiece for an Egalitarian Soteriology,” *LTQ* 42, no. 1 (2007): 37–49.

²⁵³ Andreas J. Köstenberger suggests that the verb σῶζω refers to spiritual preservation in this particular text (cf. NASB here and in 1 Tim. 4:16), not spiritual salvation. He argues that Paul has in mind protection from Satan and the deception he engenders. He cites a number of other texts in the Pastoral Epistles where protection from Satan is in view. “Ascertaining Women’s God-Ordained Roles: An Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:15,” *BBR* 7 (1997): 107–44. It is possible that σῶζω refers to spiritual preservation, but in my judgment, it is not very likely. Σῶζω elsewhere in Paul signifies eschatological salvation, not merely preservation (Rom. 5:9, 10; 8:24; 9:27; 10:9, 13; 11:14, 26; 1 Cor. 1:18, 21; 3:15; 5:5; 7:16 [2x]; 9:22; 10:33; 15:2; 2 Cor. 2:15; Eph. 2:5, 8; 1 Thess. 2:16; 2 Thess. 2:10). One could object that the way the term is used elsewhere does not determine its usage in a particular context. Such an observation is, of course, true. Still, the normal way Paul uses a term is the way we should understand it unless good contextual reasons suggest otherwise. When we examine the Pastorals, Paul clearly uses the term σῶζω to designate spiritual salvation (1 Tim. 1:15; 2:4; 2 Tim. 1:9; 4:18). Indeed, in the Pastorals, Paul often uses the nouns σωτήρ (1 Tim. 1:1; 2:3; 4:10; 2 Tim. 1:10; Titus 1:3, 4; 2:10, 13; 3:4, 6) and σωτηρία (2 Tim. 2:10; 3:15) to refer to spiritual salvation. While some scholars think that σῶζω does not refer to spiritual salvation in 1 Tim. 2:15 and 4:16, I would argue that their primary objection is not lexical but theological, for in every other instance in Paul, the reference is to spiritual salvation, and in the Pastorals he emphasizes spiritual salvation with the nouns “Savior” and “salvation.” Many of these scholars worry that assigning such a definition in 1 Tim. 2:15 and 4:16 would contradict salvation by faith alone. But understanding spiritual salvation as eschatological fits with the future tense elsewhere in Paul (e.g., Rom. 5:9, 10; 2 Tim. 4:18). Nor is there any reason to think that what Paul says here contradicts what he says about salvation being by faith alone. Cf. Thomas R. Schreiner and Ardel B. Caneday, *The Race Set before Us: A Biblical Theology of Perseverance and Assurance* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2001). We could still retain a part of Köstenberger’s view by saying that Paul has eschatological salvation in mind, and those duped by Satan will not be saved on the last day (cf. 1 Cor. 5:5; 1 Tim. 1:20; see also Eph. 6:11; 2 Tim. 2:26). But even this point is not clearly supported in the text, for 1 Tim. 2:9–15 never names Satan explicitly (though Satan is implied in v. 14), and hence it is unclear that the salvation in view in v. 15 is deliverance from Satan. More likely, Paul intends salvation from sin in general. So also Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 147; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 469–70; Marshall, “Women in Ministry: A Further Look at 1 Timothy 2,” 71.

²⁵⁴ For references in the early Fathers, see Porter, “Saved by Childbirth,” 90n8. Recent advocates of this view include Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 146–47; Lock, *Pastoral Epistles*, 33; Padgett, “Wealthy Women,” 29; Payne, *Man and Woman*, 418–41; Roberts, “Woman Shall Be Saved,” 6–7; Spencer, “Eve at Ephesus,” 220; Oden, *First and Second Timothy*, 101–2; Huizenga, “Birth of Christ,” 17–26; Geer, “1 Tim. 2:8–15,” 298–99; Liefeld, *1 and 2 Timothy*, Titus, 102; Belleville, “1 Timothy,” 62–63.

the Messiah. Proponents also cite the definite article τῆς (“the”) preceding τεκνογονίας to defend the idea that Paul was thinking of the birth of Christ.²⁵⁵

To say that the salvation in this passage comes through the birth of Christ would certainly remove the unpalatable flavor of this verse. This view, unfortunately, is quite improbable. Anthony Hanson says that it “is more romantic than convincing.”²⁵⁶ Donald Guthrie trenchantly observes that Paul “could hardly have chosen a more obscure or ambiguous way of saying it.”²⁵⁷ One must also slide from seeing the subject of σωθήσεται as Eve to Mary, but to read the latter into the verse is highly arbitrary.²⁵⁸ Moreover, even if we accept Mary as the subject, the meaning still poses problems. Mary was not saved by virtue of giving birth to Jesus, nor does Paul elsewhere say that salvation comes through the incarnation. The noun τεκνογονία emphasizes the actual giving birth to a child, not the result or effect of childbirth.²⁵⁹ Those who posit a reference to Jesus’s birth have subtly introduced the notion that salvation is secured as a *result* of giving birth to him, whereas the text speaks not of the result of birth but of the actual birthing process. Furthermore, the presence of the article cannot sustain a defense of the christological interpretation. The article is notoriously perplexing in Greek since it has a wide range of uses and is thereby difficult to categorize definitively. Thus, we should be wary of concluding that the presence of the article indicates particular reference to Christ’s birth.²⁶⁰ The article is probably generic in any case.²⁶¹ A reference to the birth of Christ, although immensely attractive, must be rejected. Neither is it persuasive to see in the word τεκνογονία the idea of rearing children.²⁶²

²⁵⁵ Huizenga, “Birth of Christ,” 22; Oden, *First and Second Timothy*, 102; Payne, *Man and Woman*, 417–41.

²⁵⁶ Hanson, *Pastoral Epistles*, 74.

²⁵⁷ Guthrie, *Pastoral Epistles*, 78; cf. Evans, *Woman in the Bible*, 107; Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy*, 75; Foh, *Women and the Word of God*, 128; Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 141; Hurley, *Man and Woman*, 222; Kelly, *Pastoral Epistles*, 69; Moo, “1 Timothy 2:11–15,” 71; Porter, “Saved by Childbirth,” 92; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 469.

²⁵⁸ Keener, *Paul, Women and Wives*, 118; Porter, “Saved by Childbirth,” 92; Dibelius and Conzelmann, *Pastoral Epistles*, 48; Brox, *Pastoralbriefe*, 136.

²⁵⁹ Cf. Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy*, 75.

²⁶⁰ For a lucid discussion of the article, with warnings about misuse, see D. A. Carson, *Exegetical Fallacies*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1996), 79–84.

²⁶¹ See Porter, “Saved by Childbirth,” 92; Moo, “Rejoinder,” 206.

²⁶² Cf. Falconer, “Interpretive Notes,” 377; Moo, “1 Timothy 2:11–15,” 71–72; Brox, *Pastoralbriefe*, 136; Barrett, *Pastoral Epistles*, 56–57; Jeremias, *Timotheus*, 19; Hanson, *Pastoral Epistles*, 74; Spicq, *Épîtres pastorales*, 383–84.

The word τεκνοτροφέω (“I bring up children”) was available, and Paul used it in 1 Timothy 5:10 to communicate this idea, while by contrast he used the verbal form τεκνογονέω (“I bear children”) in 1 Timothy 5:14 for the bearing of children.²⁶³

The significance of διὰ is also a matter of debate. E. F. Scott tried to soften the scandal of the verse by saying that a woman shall be saved “in spite of” or “even though” having children.²⁶⁴ He excludes any notion of women being saved “through” having children. Unfortunately, this interpretation violates the semantic range of διὰ, and thus Scott’s proposal has been consistently rejected.²⁶⁵ Neither is it persuasive to see διὰ referring to attendant circumstances, so that women will be saved “in the experience” of childbirth.²⁶⁶ This interpretation is dictated by theology rather than syntax.²⁶⁷ Probably Paul intends the common instrumental sense of διὰ here (cf. Titus 3:5).²⁶⁸ Shortly, I shall take up how this fits with Paul’s theology of salvation.

Who is the subject of the verbs σωθήσεται and μείνωσιν, and why does the tense switch from the singular to the plural? As argued above, we can eliminate the options that Eve or Mary is the subject of σωθήσεται. The context clarifies that nonbelievers are excluded, for they will not be spiritually saved. Thus, the implied subject refers to the Christian women of Ephesus and by extension to all Christian women everywhere.²⁶⁹ The switch from the third singular to the third plural is admittedly awkward.²⁷⁰ Thus, some have suggested that the third plural refers to the children of the women or to husbands and wives.²⁷¹ It is too jarring, though, to detect a sudden reference to children or husbands here. Instead, the third singular at the beginning of the sen-

²⁶³ So Holtz, *Die Pastoralbriefe*, 70–71; Huizenga, “Birth of Christ,” 18; Kimberley, “1 Tim. 2:15,” 482; Payne, *Man and Woman*, 426; Porter, “Saved by Childbirth,” 95–96.

²⁶⁴ E. F. Scott, *The Pastoral Epistles* (New York: Harper & Bros., n.d.), 28.

²⁶⁵ Cf. Evans, *Woman in the Bible*, 107; Guthrie, *Pastoral Epistles*, 78; Moo, “1 Timothy 2:11–15,” 71; Porter, “Saved by Childbirth,” 96–97.

²⁶⁶ Cf. Falconer, “Interpretive Notes,” 376; Roloff, *Timotheus*, 141–42; BDAG “διὰ” (A.3.c), 224; Moyer, “Kept Safe through Childbearing,” 756–57.

²⁶⁷ So Porter, “Saved by Childbirth,” 97.

²⁶⁸ So Porter, “Saved by Childbirth,” 97–98; Dibelius and Conzelmann, *Pastoral Epistles*, 48; van der Jagt, “Bearing Children: A Sociological Approach,” 292; Moo, “1 Timothy 2:11–15,” 72.

²⁶⁹ See Porter, “Saved by Childbirth,” 101; Dibelius and Conzelmann, *Pastoral Epistles*, 48; Brox, *Pastoral-briefe*, 137; Moo, “1 Timothy 2:11–15,” 71; Collins, *1 and 2 Timothy and Titus*, 76–77.

²⁷⁰ But the idea that v. 15b stems from another source is unpersuasive, contra Falconer, “Interpretive Notes,” 378; Hanson, *Pastoral Epistles*, 74; rightly Porter, “Saved by Childbirth,” 98.

²⁷¹ For a reference to children, see Houlden, *Pastoral Epistles*, 72–73; Jeremias, *Timotheus*, 19. Brox sees a reference to husbands and wives. *Pastoralbriefe*, 137.

tence refers to women generically, and thus Paul shifts to “women” plural in the latter half of the verse.²⁷² This explanation fits with the structure of the passage as a whole, where Paul begins by speaking of women in the plural (vv. 9–10), shifts to the singular (vv. 11–15a), and then reverts to the plural.²⁷³ We may also account for the singular in v. 15a by the reference to Eve in vv. 13–14, for the latter is understood as representative of all Christian women.

The discussion so far has simply established that the verse says what it appears to say on first glance, and thus the theological and contextual questions posed earlier remain.²⁷⁴ If women are saved by bearing children, then does this not amount to salvation by works and contradict Pauline theology?²⁷⁵ Understanding the historical situation will aid us in answering this question. The false teachers, in trumpeting an over-realized eschatology, prohibited marriage and certain foods (1 Tim. 4:1–5). If they banned marriage, then they probably also criticized bearing children.²⁷⁶ Paul selected childbearing, then, as a specific response to the shafts from the false teachers. Referring to childbearing is also appropriate because it represents the fulfillment of the woman’s domestic role as a mother in distinction from the man.²⁷⁷ Paul, then, probably

²⁷² So Barrett, *Pastoral Epistles*, 57; Fung, “Ministry,” 204; Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 144; Holtz, *Die Pastoralbriefe*, 72; Porter, “Saved by Childbirth,” 98–99; Scholer, “1 Timothy 2:9–15,” 196; Towner, *Goal of Our Instruction*, 221; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 471.

²⁷³ The same shift occurs with “men.” Paul begins with ἄνδρας in v. 8 and shifts to ἀνδρὸς in v. 12. The latter is obviously generic.

²⁷⁴ Pierce suggests that v. 15 promises “partial healing” for women in childbirth and gives “them hope that deliverance from the curse of male dominance is also possible.” “Gender Roles,” 351, 353. This is an unconvincing interpretation. It has already been argued that the verb σωθήσεται in the Pauline literature refers not to healing but to eschatological salvation. Thus, it does not refer to mitigating the pain of childbearing in this age. To say that the verse offers hope of deliverance from male dominance is puzzling, since nothing is said about that subject in the verse. It is certainly understandable that some would see the admonitions in these verses as having temporary validity, but one looks in vain anywhere in 1 Tim. 2:9–15 for any hint that the text is actually promising eventual deliverance from male dominance. Nowhere is male leadership criticized.

²⁷⁵ So Barron, “Women in Their Place,” 457; Hanson, *Pastoral Epistles*, 74; Huizenga, “Birth of Christ,” 197–98; Hurley, *Man and Woman*, 221; Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 145; Payne, *Man and Woman*, 426–27; Oden, *First and Second Timothy*, 100.

²⁷⁶ Many scholars have rightly seen that the reference to childbirth was precipitated by the impact of the false teachers. See Barron, “Women in Their Place,” 457; Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy*, 74–75; Fee, *Gospel and Spirit*, 59; Gritz, *Mother Goddess*, 143; Harris, “Eve’s Deception,” 350; Jeremias, *Timotheus*, 19; Kelly, *Pastoral Epistles*, 70; Kimberley, “1 Tim. 2:15,” 484–86; van der Jagt, “Bearing Children: A Sociological Approach,” 293–94; Kroeger and Kroeger, *I Suffer Not a Woman*, 171–77; Moo, “What Does It Mean?,” 192; Padgett, “Wealthy Women,” 28; Scholer, “1 Timothy 2:9–15,” 197–98; Bassler, “Adam, Eve, and the Pastor,” 55–56; Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 146. It should be noted that Barron, the Kroegers, and Kimberley unfortunately read gnosticism into the text from the second century AD.

²⁷⁷ So Barnett, “Wives and Women’s Ministry,” 235; Clark, *Man and Woman*, 207; Evans, *Woman in the Bible*, 107; Falconer, “Interpretive Notes,” 377; Perriman, “What Eve Did,” 140–41; Hurley, *Man and Woman*, 222–23; Kelly, *Pastoral Epistles*, 69; Padgett, “Wealthy Women,” 28; Roloff, *Timotheus*, 141; Scholer, “1 Timothy 2:9–15,” 197.

highlighted childbearing by synecdoche as representing the appropriate role for women. This interpretation rounds out the passage because a woman should not violate her role by teaching or exercising authority over a man; instead, she should take her proper role as a mother of children. One could argue that the reference to women bearing children is culturally limited to the domestic and maternal roles of Paul's day.²⁷⁸ More likely, Paul saw in the woman's function of giving birth a divinely intended and ongoing difference of function between men and women.

This does not mean that all women must have children in order to be saved.²⁷⁹ Though the underlying principle is timeless, Paul is hardly attempting to be comprehensive here. He has elsewhere commended the single state (1 Corinthians 7). He selects childbearing because it is the most notable example of the divinely intended difference in roles between men and women and because many women throughout history have had children. Thus, Paul generalizes from the experience of women by using a representative example of women maintaining their proper role. To select childbearing again indicates that the argument is transcultural, for childbearing is not limited to a particular culture but is a permanent and ongoing difference between men and women. The fact that God has ordained that women and only women bear children signifies that the differences in roles between men and women are rooted in the created order.

When Paul says that women will be saved by childbearing, he means, therefore, that they will be saved by adhering to their ordained role.²⁸⁰ Such a statement is apt to be misunderstood (and often has been), and thus a further comment is needed. Paul says that women will be saved "if they remain in faith and love and sanctification along with discretion." Thereby Paul shows that it is insufficient for salvation for Christian women merely to bear children; they must also persevere in faith, love, holiness, and presumably other virtues.²⁸¹ The reference to "discretion" (σωφροσύνης) harkens back to the same word in v. 9 and also functions to tie the entire text together.²⁸² Paul does not imply

²⁷⁸ E.g., Scholer, "1 Timothy 2:9–15," 197.

²⁷⁹ Contra Huizenga, "Birth of Christ," 18.

²⁸⁰ Fung, "Ministry," 204.

²⁸¹ For a careful analysis of the conditional clause used here, see Porter, "Saved by Childbirth," 99–101.

²⁸² Cf. Barnett, "Wives and Women's Ministry," 235 (although the chiasm he detects is not clear to me). Collins says it is the "epitome of feminine virtue." *1 and 2 Timothy and Titus*, 77.

that all women must bear children to be saved (cf. v. 10). His purpose is to say that women will not be saved if they do not practice good works. One indication that women are doing good works is if they do not reject bearing children as evil but bear children in accord with their proper role.

Many will object that this boils down to salvation by works and contradicts Pauline theology. A contradiction with Pauline theology would only exist, though, if the text were claiming that one must do these good works in order to *earn or merit* salvation or that works constitute the ground of one's salvation. Elsewhere Paul insists that good works are necessary for salvation (e.g., Rom. 2:6–10, 26–29; 1 Cor. 6:9–11; Gal. 5:21).²⁸³ Paul is not asserting in 1 Timothy 2:15 that women *merit* salvation by bearing children and doing other good works. He has already clarified that salvation is by God's mercy and grace (cf. 1 Tim. 1:12–17). Paul uses the term σωθήσεται rather loosely here, without specifying in what sense women are saved by childbearing and doing other good works. Since Paul often argues elsewhere that salvation is gained not on the basis of our works (e.g., Rom. 3:19–4:25; Gal. 2:16–3:14; 2 Tim. 1:9–11; Titus 2:11–14; 3:4–7), I think it is fair to understand the virtues described here as a result of new life in Christ.²⁸⁴ Any good works of the Christian, of course, are not the ultimate basis of salvation, for the ultimate basis of salvation is only the righteousness of Christ granted to us.

The same problem arises in 1 Timothy 4:11–16.²⁸⁵ There Paul exhorts Timothy to live a godly life—"be an example for believers in speech, in conduct, in love, in faith, in purity" (v. 12)—and to keep instructing believers in the truth of the gospel. Paul sums up these instructions to Timothy in v. 16a: "Pay heed to yourself and to your teaching; remain in them." In other words, Timothy is to keep practicing the virtues specified in v. 12 and to continue instructing the church. In v. 16b Paul supplies a reason as to why Timothy should be virtuous

²⁸³ For an investigation of this issue in more detail, see Thomas R. Schreiner, "Did Paul Believe in Justification by Works? Another Look at Romans 2," *BBR* 3 (1993): 131–58; Schreiner, "Justification apart from and by Works: At the Final Judgment Works Will Confirm Justification," in *The Role of Works at the Final Judgment*, ed. Alan P. Stanley (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2013), 71–98.

²⁸⁴ So Witherington, *Women in the Earliest Churches*, 124.

²⁸⁵ Witherington also notices the parallel, and he comments that those spoken of were already Christians. *Women in the Earliest Churches*, 124.

and keep teaching: “For by doing this, you will save both yourself and your hearers.” Once again Paul uses the verb σωζω with reference to spiritual salvation. Paul certainly does not mean that Timothy and his hearers will be “physically preserved” if they live godly lives and continue in godly instruction. One could protest that Paul is teaching salvation by meritorious works here, since he says that Timothy and his hearers will be saved *if* they live godly lives and continue in right instruction. But this would be a mistake. What Paul means is that abiding in godly virtues and obeying apostolic instruction are necessary for salvation; they are necessary because they function as the evidence of new life in Christ. Those who fall away have no assurance that they belong to the redeemed community (cf. 1 Cor. 9:24–10:22). Indeed, the New Testament often teaches the necessity of doing good works or persevering to the end in order to realize salvation (cf., e.g., Heb. 2:1–4; 3:7–19; 5:11–6:12; 10:26–31; 12:25–29; James 2:14–26; 2 Pet. 1:5–11; 1 John 2:3–6).²⁸⁶

The parallel text in 1 Timothy 4:11–16 indicates that it is too simplistic to wave aside the reference to salvation by bearing children as salvation by meritorious works. Upon examining the context and historical situation carefully, we see that Paul selected childbearing because of his deep concern over the false teachers who denigrated marriage and the maternal role of women. He added other virtues in the conditional clause to prevent misunderstanding. The genuineness of salvation is evidenced not by childbirth alone but by a woman living a godly life and conforming to her God-ordained role. These good works are necessary to obtain eschatological salvation.

Conclusion

I can scarcely claim that I have given the definitive and final interpretation of this passage. I would argue, however, that 1 Timothy 2:9–15 yields a coherent and comprehensible meaning. Paul has instructed women to adorn themselves appropriately with good works, not with ostentatious or seductive clothing. Moreover, women should not arrogate an official teaching role for themselves and serve as elders/pastors/overseers. They

²⁸⁶ For how this fits with Christian assurance, see Schreiner and Caneday, *Race Set before Us*; D. A. Carson, “Reflections on Christian Assurance,” *WTJ* 54, no. 1 (1992): 1–29.

should learn submissively and quietly from the elders instead. Women are prohibited from teaching or exercising authority because of the creation order. The creation of Adam before Eve signaled that men are to teach and exercise authority in the church. Moreover, the events in Genesis 3 confirm the necessity of male leadership. Eve, beguiled by the Serpent, took leadership in responding to the Serpent. Adam, although he was with Eve, failed to intervene and exercise proper leadership. Instead, he allowed Eve to respond improperly to the Serpent. Even though Eve was the first to sin, Paul assigned the responsibility for sin primarily to Adam (Rom. 5:12–19). Women, Paul reminds his readers, will experience eschatological salvation by adhering to their proper role, which is exemplified in giving birth to children. Of course, adhering to one's proper role is insufficient for salvation; women must also practice other Christian virtues in order to be saved.

Our problem with the text is in the main not exegetical but practical. What Paul says here is contrary to the thinking of the modern world. We are confronted here with a countercultural word from the Scriptures. This countercultural word should modify and correct both our thinking and our behavior. In the next chapter, we will explore the basis for applying Paul's teaching to our modern world. These are not idle topics, for the happiness and strength of the church today will be in direct proportion to our obedience to the biblical text.

Familiar Paths and a Fresh Matrix

The Hermeneutics of 1 Timothy 2:9–15

Robert W. Yarbrough

In the two previous editions of this book (1995, 2005), my chapters on the hermeneutics of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 alluded to the fact that from New Testament times until the mid-twentieth century, this passage was thought to support the doctrine that men, not women, should be appointed as the primary pastoral leaders of Christian congregations. I use “primary pastoral leaders” to refer to those appointed to the pastoral office in a congregational setting. They are the father figures in “the household of God, which is the church of the living God” (1 Tim. 3:15).¹ In Scripture, Old Testament and New, primary leadership positions are typically assigned to men, both in the home and in the assembly of God’s people. Churches throughout history, guided by Scripture, generally followed suit.

This does not mean that women did not or could not exercise leadership. In all sorts of ways, in marriage and religious institutions and

¹Unless otherwise indicated, Scripture quotations in this chapter are taken from the ESV.

beyond, in Scripture and through history, women have taken initiative and guided and shown the way and informed and instructed—in short, they were and are leaders as well as followers. The hermeneutics of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 as explored in this essay is not about abolition, prevention, or curtailment of women’s leadership or their exclusion from all teaching and ministry in any capacity whatsoever. Instead, I attempt to recognize and appropriate the meaning of the biblical precedent and precept of men’s *primary* leadership responsibility as pastoral teachers and overseers (cf. Paul’s “teach” and “exercise authority” in 1 Tim. 2:12) in God’s household, the church.

Such an understanding of this 1 Timothy 2 passage is fairly termed the “historic” reading, as earlier editions of this chapter pointed out. It is still upheld by the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox communions, which together represent close to 60 percent of the world Christian population.² It also continues to be observed in practice by the majority, perhaps even the vast majority, of evangelical and charismatic congregations around the world. This does not make it right, but it does suggest that it is premature to devalue the historic reading and practice on the assumption that a feminist reading and practice (see below) are the inevitable wave of the future. Perhaps they are, but world church demographics do not reflect a rapidly expanding feminine hegemony when it comes to primary pastoral leadership.

The rise of feminist hermeneutics³ has cast 1 Timothy 2:9–15 in a different, even sinister light. For many academic interpreters and those who follow their lead in Western churches, of course, the Bible is not regarded as “holy” Scripture or “the Word of God.”⁴ What the Bible may say in 1 Timothy is no more authoritative than what it says anywhere else. But even in circles that largely uphold Scripture, 1 Timothy 2 is being interpreted in ways that revise the historic understanding. In the second edition of this book, I pointed to three factors that contribute to this shift: (1) Western culture’s evolving convictions about gender identity and women in particular, so that views of what modernists

²See Patrick Johnstone, *The Future of the Global Church* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2001), 104–7.

³For a wide-ranging update and analysis, see Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, ed., *Feminist Biblical Studies in the Twentieth Century: Scholarship and Movement* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014).

⁴See, e.g., A. E. Harvey, *Is Scripture Still Holy? Coming of Age with the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2012). His answer is largely negative.

or postmodernists wish are projected back into New Testament times; (2) the putative meaning of Galatians 3:28, so that “there is no male and female” (Gal. 3:28) is taken to nullify role distinctions in ministry positions observed in the New Testament; and (3) an alleged tie between women’s subordination and slavery, so that not to ordain women is somehow tantamount to their slave-type subjugation. I argued that these understandings or moves are ill founded and that none deserves to serve as grounds for setting aside the historic understanding of this passage.

In the decade since this book’s last edition, established hermeneutical paths have deepened and widened. At the same time, significant developments support the continued plausibility of the historic reading of 1 Timothy 2:9–15. This essay will note (1) representative works that follow three familiar paths, and (2) what amounts to a fresh matrix for the interpretation of this passage at the present time and in coming years among an emerging community of scholars and practitioners. In closing, I will offer a contextual reading of the passage.

Familiar Paths

HOUSEHOLD CODES

In recent years, scholarship touching on 1 Timothy 2:9–15 has continued to articulate positions arrived at in past decades. An example is Klaus Berger’s treatment of 1 Timothy 2.⁵ He entitles his discussion of the chapter “Haustafel.”⁶ This German word refers to household rules or codes of conduct that were expressed by some ancient writers. Berger views any part of the chapter touching on men and women as completely indebted to Aristotle and to Stoic views as the “Haustafeln” (plural) articulated them. Perhaps for this reason, while he comments in some depth on the chapter’s teaching on prayer and on 2:5–6, which speaks of “one mediator” and “ransom,” he offers only one sentence to explain the whole of 2:9–15: “In 2:9–15 the obligations of the housewife are cited, as these correspond to the tractates on household management” found in the household codes.⁷ Missing

⁵Klaus Berger, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*, 2nd ed. (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2012), 797–99.

⁶*Ibid.*, 797.

⁷*Ibid.*

is any recognition that these “codes” bear little resemblance in literary form, theological substance, or social outlook to the 1 Timothy 2:9–15 passage (see below). The familiar path Berger wanders is to nullify this “text of terror”⁸ by dissolving it into a presumed extra-biblical parallel.

Don Browning follows a similar path.⁹ He admits that “nothing similar [to Ephesians 5, which contains Paul’s key teaching on husband and wife in Christ] can be found in Aristotle or, for the most part, in other pagan philosophical writings on marriage and family.”¹⁰ Yet he rejects the core of the Ephesians 5 proposal because of its ties to Aristotle’s views on women and the formal similarity between Aristotle and Paul that both enjoin (a form of) subordination.

Other scholars achieve the same result using different parallels. E. Mouton and E. Van Wolde, for example, deny the passage any transcultural import because it appropriates Genesis 2–3 for a context-specific issue.¹¹ U. Wägener locates the culprit in the social setting of the church two generations after Paul, when disciples of Paul first moved to rob their Christian sisters of their freedom in Christ.¹² S. Fuhrmann glimpses in 1 Timothy 2:15 a power struggle between contrasting gender ideologies some two or three generations into the Christian movement.¹³ A. Y. Collins moves the setting of 1 Timothy perhaps three generations later still, into the mid-second century.¹⁴ She affirms the hypothesis that 1 Timothy is in large measure a reaction to Marcion, who purportedly permitted women’s leadership in churches.

Robert Wall with Richard Steele faults 1 Timothy 2:9–15 in terms of “the history of its effects with the church as a text of terror,”¹⁵ arguing that “1 Tim 2:9–15 is such a text, especially when received with

⁸E. Mouton and E. van Wolde, “New Life from a Pastoral Text of Terror? Gender Perspectives on God and Humanity in 1 Timothy 2,” *Scriptura* 111, no. 3 (2012): 583–601.

⁹See Don Browning, “The Problem of Men,” in *Does Christianity Teach Male Headship? The Equal-Regard Marriage and Its Critics*, ed. David Blankenhorn, Don Browning, and Mary Stewart Van Leeuwen, Religion, Marriage, and Family (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 3–12.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 7.

¹¹Mouton and van Wolde, “Pastoral Text of Terror?,” 583–601.

¹²U. Wägener, “(Un-)Ordnung im Haushalt Gottes? Wie Schüler des Paulus die Freiheit ihrer Glaubensschwester bekämpfen,” *BK* 65, no. 4 (2010): 223–27.

¹³S. Fuhrmann, “Saved by Childbirth: Struggling Ideologies, the Female Body and a Placing of 1 Tim 2:15a,” *Neot* 44, no. 1 (2010): 31–46.

¹⁴A. Y. Collins, “The Female Body as Social Space in 1 Timothy,” *NTS* 57, no. 2 (2011): 155–75.

¹⁵Robert W. Wall with Richard B. Steele, *1 and 2 Timothy and Titus*, Two Horizons New Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2012), 86.

its history of patriarchal interpretation that has denied God's call of gifted women to Christian ministry or has restricted them to domestic chores."¹⁶ K. N. Caldwell thinks the traditional interpretation of the passage only applies when the teaching proscribed in 1 Timothy 2:12 is being conducted by incompetent women; in a different situation, Paul's directive would not apply.¹⁷

All of these studies share the view that the text can be explained by, and loses its perceived bite because of, background considerations, whether in ancient times or since. We cannot respond here to all of these appeals to parallels or other extratextual considerations, but Klaus Berger's use of the household codes requires a few comments.¹⁸ The *Haustafeln* passages in the New Testament are generally regarded as Ephesians 5:22–6:9; Colossians 3:18–4:1; and 1 Peter 2:18 (or 13)–3:7. These verses contain extensive apostolic teaching¹⁹ on human relationships in society and in the home. Since the early churches were house churches, their prescriptions applied to ecclesial settings as well. In recent generations, many scholars, like Berger, have concluded that these teachings should not be accorded apostolic authority, as if passed along from Christ to his followers and to the church, for Christians to abide by currently.

Rather, these passages contain "rules . . . based on a hierarchical and patriarchal structure cemented by the principle of obedience. As such, they represent a concession on the part of the early Church to the social ethic of the 1st cent."²⁰ Accordingly, they do not consist of timeless divine counsel for God's people; rather, they enshrine human convictions that we are now free to reject as unacceptable for contemporary Christians. Although the *Haustafeln* pertain to marriage and not church order per se, they may also be germane (as Berger's classification shows) to interpreting a passage like 1 Timothy 2:9–15, because if the New Testament can be shown to be culturally captive in its male-female notions regarding marriage, it is but a short step to conclude

¹⁶ Ibid., ix.

¹⁷ K. N. Caldwell, "When Phoebe, Priscilla and Junia Arrive at Ephesus: Three Women Who Defied Three Prohibitions," *ATJ* 44 (2012): 39–55.

¹⁸ Discussion below expands on some ideas mooted earlier in Robert W. Yarbrough, "Women and Ministry: Fidelity to Scripture in the Unity of the Faith," *Presb* 35, no. 2 (Fall 2009): 77–79.

¹⁹ Many dispute, of course, the Petrine or Pauline authorship of these writings. In that case, the verses may be viewed as containing counsel that is at best secondary for insight into earliest Christian belief and practice. This is not the view taken here.

²⁰ Richard Soulen, *Handbook of Biblical Criticism*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta: John Knox, 1981), 91. The fourth edition (2011) is essentially unchanged (94).

that apostolic precedent and doctrine are no longer binding for order in God's household the church either (cf. 1 Tim. 3:15).

Yet several observations deserve consideration:

(1) The massive reference work *Neuer Wettstein II/I* lists eight classical parallels said to reflect the "philosophical doctrines of obligation as they stand behind the '*Haustafeln*.'"²¹ But these extrabiblical *Haustafeln* passages are quite different from the New Testament passages in form and substance. For example, none of the extrabiblical parallels contains vocative verbs of address to subjects—Aristotle does not deign to speak directly to men, much less to women, children, and slaves, as Paul and Peter do.

(2) In fact, M. Eugene Boring has noted, "There are . . . no close formal parallels [in ancient literature] to the *Haustafeln* that first made their appearance in Christian circles in Col 3:18–4:1."²² Far from the typical assertion that New Testament writers adopted an established literary form, it turns out that they pioneered it. This raises the question of whether there is any real connection between the extrabiblical *Haustafeln* and the alleged New Testament imitations, apart from the kind of conceptual similarities Samuel Sandmel warned about long ago.²³

(3) Novel, likewise, is the christological substructure and theological anthropology found in the New Testament passages. Both the substance of what the New Testament passages say and their rationale for saying it are far removed from Aristotle or Stoic thought.

(4) The presumed functions of the *Haustafeln* require careful sifting. Is it really true that their presence in Ephesians, Colossians, and 1 Peter (Berger's relegation of 1 Timothy 2 to the *Haustafeln* bin is less common) represents the tip of an iceberg that reveals the early church's deep concern to "reassure the Greco-Roman world that the church was not subversive of good order as defined by the culture"?²⁴ Do we have any

²¹ Georg Strecker and Udo Schnelle with Gerald Seelig, eds., *Neuer Wettstein: Texte um Neuen Testament aus Griechentum und Hellenismus*, vol. 2, part 1, *Texte zur Briefliteratur und zur Johannesapokalypse* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1996), 752 (cf. 752–57). The passages are Philo, *Decal.* 165–167; Aristotle, *Pol.* 1.3.1253b1–14; 1.3.1254a22–23; 1.3.1254b9–16; Epictetus, *Ench.* 30; Epictetus, *Diatr.* 2.17.30–33; 2.14.7–8; Stobaeus, 4.27.2.

²² M. Eugene Boring, "Household Codes," in *The New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. 2 (Nashville: Abingdon, 2007), 905.

²³ Samuel Sandmel, "Paralleomania," *JBL* 81 (1962): 1–13. Sandmel claims to have seen reference to the term "parallelomania" and its (mal)practice in a French book from about 1830 (*ibid.*, 1).

²⁴ This function for the *Haustafeln* is suggested by Peter Davids in commenting on 1 Peter in *Zondervan Illustrated Bible Backgrounds Commentary*, vol. 4, *Hebrews to Revelation*, ed. Clinton Arnold (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002), 133.

evidence that that “world” read the New Testament Epistles in the first place? And was that world not scandalized by New Testament belief and behavior anyhow? The New Testament stress is on fulfilling God’s will, not on assuaging pagan perception.

Eugene Boring affirms forcefully, “The New Testament codes are always presented in the context of letters addressed to a particular situation, do not purport to give valid rules for every time and place, and must be reinterpreted anew in every situation.”²⁵ Or again, “Commands to be subordinate . . . do not establish any particular social order as given by God.”²⁶ In this view, the church is largely on its own interpersonally, taking its cue from the surrounding culture, since God has left it without direction at critical points in marriage, childrearing, employment relations (or in relating to slaves, still potentially relevant since an estimated twenty million people or more²⁷ live in slavery at this moment), and ecclesial order.

But we may be wise to shy away from the reductionism involved in much current application of the New Testament *Haustafeln* form, for reasons cited above. Evidence for this assertion comes from other quarters too.²⁸ While some scholars use the *Haustafeln* to suggest that the New Testament at least permits and may even mandate abandonment of apostolic church precedent with respect to the teaching of 1 Timothy 2:9–15, these arguments remain unpersuasive because scholars have exaggerated the analogy drawn between this text and Hellenistic parallels, asking it to bear a weight it cannot sustain.

NON-PAULINE AUTHORSHIP OF THE PASTORALS AND CONSEQUENCES
Scholarship on 1 Timothy 2:9–15 also follows traditional tracks on the matter of authorship. Since, in the view of many, Paul did *not* write this epistle, what this text says either matters little or can be readily circum-

²⁵ Boring, “Household Codes,” 906.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Annie Kelly sets the number at twenty million. Kelly, “Modern-Day Slavery: An Explainer,” *The Guardian*, April 3, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2013/apr/03/modern-day-slavery-explainer>. Kelley Calkins puts it at 29.8 million. Calkins, “10 Statistics on Slavery Today,” *The Borgen Project*, February 4, 2014, <http://borgenproject.org/10-statistics-on-slavery-today>. Contemporary slavery may be even more brutal than many of its New Testament-era forms; cf. Raymond F. Collins, who points out differences between nineteenth-century American slavery and slavery in the Roman world. *1 and 2 Timothy and Titus: A Commentary* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 55n16.

²⁸ See, e.g., M. Y. McDonald, “Reading the New Testament Household Codes in Light of New Research on Children and Childhood in the Roman World,” *SR* 41, no. 3 (2012): 376–87.

vented. Wall describes the effect of the current consensus of skepticism on Pauline authorship of the Pastorals as follows:

if the Pastoral Epistles were authored by nameless pseudepigraphers who only selectively remembered and reinterpreted Paul's apostolic legacy for a post-Pauline setting in which a de-apocalypticized, politically domesticated, and patriarchal "household of God" had become the ecclesial norm, then their instruction, which was designed for a more repressive time and another kind of faith community, seems irrelevant for readers shaped by a postmodern *Zeitgeist*.²⁹

In a recent illustration of this consensus, Donald Hagner rejects Paul's authorship, calling 1 Timothy "the most artificial" of the three Pastoral Epistles.³⁰ He characterizes it as primarily just church regulations, a document that "lacks the closeness between the author and Timothy that one might expect if the author were Paul."³¹ At best, some verses in the letter "preserve traditional elements in continuity with the teaching of Paul."³² But as far as 1 Timothy 2:11–12 is concerned, Hagner pits this passage against "the Pauline Letters . . . that provide evidence that women were active in the church."³³ This is a forced juxtaposition, for it assumes what no one argues: that 1 Timothy 2:11–12 means that women were inactive in the church. He terms application of these verses' teaching to women in pastoral leadership today as "ludicrous."³⁴ Those unwilling to entertain possible male-female distinctions in church leadership have but two options: to "reunderstand" the passage by limiting its application to that particular cultural setting or to "reject the teaching as conditioned by first-century culture, as in the case of the NT teaching about slavery (cf. 6:1–2)."³⁵ For it makes "little sense in contemporary society" and is "ultimately damaging to the witness of the church."³⁶

This now-conventional modern academic approach wields decisive force for many in institutions of higher learning, for students who at-

²⁹ Wall with Steele, *1 and 2 Timothy and Titus*, 1.

³⁰ Donald A. Hagner, *The New Testament: A Historical and Theological Introduction* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2012), 635.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid., 636n59.

³⁵ Ibid., 635–36.

³⁶ Ibid., 636.

tend there, and for churches whose leaders are trained by those institutions. But two cautions may be noted.

First, recent scholarship reasonably upholds the Pastorals' Pauline origin for various empirical reasons. Some are recounted by Klaus Berger, who defends the Pastorals' Pauline authorship and also dates them early in Paul's missionary career (ca. the early to mid-AD 50s) rather than later in the AD 60s.³⁷ A wider range of evidences was detailed recently by Eckhard Schnabel, who extends arguments advanced earlier in commentaries by scholars such as Gordon Fee, Luke Timothy Johnson, George Knight, William Mounce, Philip Towner, and Ben Witherington III.³⁸ Schnabel has also updated and expounded on arguments made in New Testament introductions, such as those by Donald Guthrie, D. A. Carson and Douglas Moo, and the trio of Andreas Köstenberger, L. Scott Kellum, and Charles Quarles.³⁹ Armin Baum has taken up linguistic and vocabulary objections to Paul's authorship of the Pastorals and shown them to be at best inconclusive.⁴⁰ Examining a wider range of data, Myriam Klinker-De Klerck concludes that "the literal acceptance of the author's claim [to have written the Pastorals] seems to be the more attractive position, not least because it seems to create the fewest problems. There are, therefore, plenty of reasons for reconsidering the authenticity of these unique letters."⁴¹ To the list of scholars who have upheld Pauline authorship she adds J. van Bruggen, Bo Reicke, and R. Fuchs.⁴² A collection of essays that makes tolerable sense of the Pastorals as witness to Paul's life, praxis, and theology appeared in 2010.⁴³

Second, if facile dismissal of the Pastorals as Pauline is ill-advised

³⁷ Berger, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*, 790–94.

³⁸ Eckhard J. Schnabel, "Paul, Timothy, and Titus: The Assumption of a Pseudonymous Author and of Pseudonymous Recipients in the Light of Literary, Theological, and Historical Evidence," in *Do Historical Matters Matter for Faith? A Critical Appraisal of Modern and Postmodern Approaches to Scripture*, ed. James K. Hoffmeier and Dennis R. Magary (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2012), 383–403.

³⁹ Donald Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, 4th ed. (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1990) 607–49; D. A. Carson and Douglas J. Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2005), 337–50, 554–68; Andreas J. Köstenberger, L. Scott Kellum, and Charles L. Quarles, *The Cradle, the Cross, and the Crown: An Introduction to the New Testament* (Nashville: B&H Academic, 2009), 638–42.

⁴⁰ Armin Baum, "Semantic Variation within the Corpus Paulinum: Linguistic Considerations concerning the Richer Vocabulary of the Pastoral Epistles," *TynBul* 59, no. 2 (2008): 271–92.

⁴¹ Myriam Klinker-De Klerck, "The Pauline Epistles: Authentic Pauline Writings," *EuroJTh* 17, no. 2 (2008): 106.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 106n2.

⁴³ Andreas J. Köstenberger and Terry L. Wilder, eds., *Entrusted with the Gospel: Paul's Theology in the Pastoral Epistles* (Nashville: B&H Academic, 2010).

from the standpoint of a sizable body of scholarship, equally dubious is Hagner's avowal that the historic understanding of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 makes "little sense in contemporary society" and is "ultimately damaging to the witness of the church."⁴⁴ What society and which church? We have already noted the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox understandings of 1 Timothy 2:9–15. Also, the meteoric growth in the global church has taken place under predominantly Bible-believing auspices.⁴⁵ In these cases, belief in Paul's authorship of his canonical letters (and the historic understanding of 1 Tim. 2:9–15) is the rule rather than the exception. Perhaps 90 percent or more of the nominal global church does not question or fret over Paul's authorship of 1 Timothy or the fact that most pastors in most churches are men.

Meanwhile, what has happened in societies where social experiments with gender roles have bled over into theology and church practice, so that following biblical teaching regarding female pastors becomes "ludicrous"? What happens when women become the primary pastoral leaders in local churches? The answer varies, of course. There are happy results at times, and I know many women labor faithfully and effectively as primary pastoral leaders. But there are other stories, too. Mary Anderson, senior pastor of Incarnation Lutheran Church in Columbia, South Carolina, reflected on the matter on the fortieth anniversary of her denomination's (Evangelical Lutheran Church in America) ordination of women:

Forty years ago women began to move slowly into the pulpits of Lutheran churches in America just as congregational members were starting to move out of the pews. I don't know that this phenomenon is strictly a coincidence. No doubt our feminist freedoms and our resistance to traditional institutions of all kinds had some unintentional collisions along the way. Through these decades both trends have increased so that in 2010, more ordained women, along with many of their male colleagues, are serving congregations that are surviving rather than thriving.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Hagner, *The New Testament*, 636.

⁴⁵ See Johnstone, *The Future of the Global Church*, especially chaps. 5, "Christianity: Renewal Growth," and 6, "Christianity: The Evangelical Explosion."

⁴⁶ Mary Anderson, "The Fortieth Anniversary of Women's Ordination in the Lutheran Church," *Dialog: A Journal of Theology* 49, no. 4 (Winter 2010): 354.

In this case, as well as in other mainline denominations, women's ordination has not had the anticipated results. The idea was that since women are becoming more prominent in society, it is imperative to appoint women as church leaders. In this way the church will keep in step with society and attract more people. It has not worked out that way. Denominations that have ordained women⁴⁷ have generally seen annual reductions in attendance year by year.⁴⁸ Today in the United States, "one in eight adults in America are regularly attending an evangelical church, but fewer than one in 25 Americans show up to a mainline church nearly every week."⁴⁹ There has also been a pattern of women's ordination presaging affirmation of same-sex relations by Christians, clergy included.⁵⁰

The reality may be rather what the late Presbyterian theologian John Leith wrote: "We have to learn once again that people do not go to church to hear about politics or about the feminist movement or about the black caucus or about conflict management. They come to hear about what God has done for human beings and for their salvation, to hear about the Christian hope in the presence of death."⁵¹ Clearly, an iconoclastic approach to New Testament documents and application of teaching from passages such as 1 Timothy 2:9–15 does not always conduce to this.

In addition, we must bear in mind a missiological element. In countries where Catholics or Orthodox are dominant—and evangelical and Pentecostal movements send missionaries to many of these countries, like Mexico or Romania—other church groups are often viewed as cults. In these countries, if minority churches appoint women to be pastoral leaders, it gives the majority just one more justification to say, "See,

⁴⁷ I.e., mainline Protestant churches like the United Church of Christ, the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Presbyterian Church (USA), the Episcopal Church, and the United Methodist Church.

⁴⁸ On the most recent trends, see, e.g., Gregory Smith, et al., *America's Changing Religious Landscape* (Pew Research Center, May 12, 2015), <http://www.pewforum.org/2015/05/12/americas-changing-religious-landscape/>. The data show that between 2007 and 2014, while "Evangelical Protestant" churches declined by 0.9 percent, "Mainline Protestant" churches declined by 3.4 percent.

⁴⁹ Ed Stetzer, "In a dramatic shift, the American church is more evangelical than ever," *Washington Post*, May 14, 2015, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2015/05/14/in-a-dramatic-shift-the-american-church-is-more-evangelical-than-ever>.

⁵⁰ On gay ordination, see, e.g., S. Donald Fortson III, "The Road to Gay Ordination in the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)," *Christianity Today*, May 12, 2011, <http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2011/mayweb-only/gayordinationpcusa.html>. In all the mainline churches mentioned, gay ordination was preceded by ordination of women.

⁵¹ John H. Leith, *Crisis in the Church: The Plight of Theological Education* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 112.

these ‘Christians’ are really not even part of the historic tradition.” In Muslim countries, the criticism might be, “These people are just imposing Western culture on their own Scriptures—just like they want to do in our culture.” Reserving positions of primary pastoral leadership for men *avoids* a significant stumbling block to biblical witness.

The Presbyterian Church (USA), in which Donald Hagner is ordained, discovered this several years ago in a painful way. The September 20, 2011, edition of *Christian Century* reported the following under the headline “Mexican Presbyterians cut ties to PCUSA over gays.” The report stated:

The National Presbyterian Church of Mexico has voted to end its 139-year relationship with the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), in response to the U.S. church’s decision earlier this year to allow the ordination of sexually active gays and lesbians.

According to Presbyterian News Service, the decision came on a 116 to 22 vote of the Mexican church assembly on August 19. It was feared that the action would jeopardize the work of 11 U.S. church mission co-workers in Mexico, including service along the U.S.-Mexican border and short-term congregational mission trips to Mexico.

Mexican delegates at the special three-day assembly also voted not to reestablish any relationship with the U.S. church unless the change is rescinded.

The delegates, representing nearly 2 million members, also reconfirmed the church’s policy against the ordination of women by a resounding margin, 158 to 14. In addition, the assembly voted 103 to 55 not to allow any grace period for presbyteries that had, on their own, already begun ordaining women. That vote means that any presbytery which has already ordained women must immediately revoke those ordinations.

For a long time Western Protestants centering in colleges, universities, some seminaries, and liberal denominations have been insisting on the normativity of hermeneutical outlooks that call into question biblical affirmations (like Paul’s authorship of the letters that bear his name or the apparent early church practice of enlisting men, not women, as pastors) and change church doctrine on male and female (extending to

the affirmation of same-sex relations). With the explosion of church growth in other parts of the world in recent decades, the majority world church in the global South is now poised to push back. Mexican Presbyterians may not be the last to do so.

JESUS THE CONSTRAINED EGALITARIAN

A third staple in evangelical feminist interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 is the underlying insistence that Jesus was an egalitarian. Philip B. Payne exemplifies this view. Jesus treated men and women equally.⁵² He was “unconcerned with gender differences in the kingdom of God.”⁵³ He taught “the equality of the sexes” and rebelled against “the social structures oppressing women.”⁵⁴ “Nothing in Jesus’s teachings advocates male/female role distinctions or the subordination of woman.”⁵⁵ This implies that the apparently universal New Testament practice of appointing men as primary pastoral leaders, a practice dominant in the church all throughout its history, was at best a failure to follow Jesus’s example and ideal. However, even Jesus did not reflect this ideal at a critical point. Why did he not appoint six men and six women to the apostolate, or even ten and two?

It is precisely here that Jesus the egalitarian and rebel against patriarchal patterns had to pull his punch. In his era, Payne thinks, “strong cultural objections and moral suspicions would undoubtedly” have been raised if the Twelve had been a gender mixture.⁵⁶ “Married women could hardly leave their families for such a long period” (although Jesus warned against choosing family over him; Luke 14:26), “and single women would have been even more suspicious.”⁵⁷ In a word, “to have chosen women disciples would have raised legitimate suspicion undermining the gospel.”⁵⁸ Jesus was the protoegalitarian of the New Testament church, but even the Son of God could not buck his patriarchal culture. All of this is relevant to Paul and 1 Timothy 2:9–15, for Paul considered himself supremely the “servant” and “apostle” of Christ.

⁵²Philip B. Payne, *Man and Woman, One in Christ: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Paul's Letters* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2009), 57.

⁵³*Ibid.*, 58.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 59.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

⁵⁸*Ibid.*

Like many evangelical feminists, Payne would have us view Paul's teaching and practice against the backdrop of Jesus's.

But was Jesus an egalitarian? And was he culturally hand tied when it came to selecting the primary pastoral leaders in the community he founded?

Much mainstream scholarship has trended more recently in the direction of the view expressed in an article by John H. Elliott titled, "Jesus Was Not an Egalitarian: A Critique of an Anachronistic and Idealist Theory."⁵⁹ It should be noted that Elliott is a feminist himself. He writes:

The currently-advanced theory that Jesus was an egalitarian who founded a "community of equals" is devoid of social and political plausibility and, more importantly, of textual and historical evidence. Moreover, it distorts the actual historical and social nature of the nascent Jesus movement and constitutes a graphic example of an "idealist fallacy." The biblical texts to which proponents of the egalitarian theory appeal show Jesus and his followers engaged not in social revolution, democratic institutions, equality, and the eradication of the traditional family, but in establishing a form of community modeled on the family as redefined by Jesus and united by familial values, norms, and modes of conduct.⁶⁰

Elliott's conclusion, while it needs expanding, stands in line with Margaret Elizabeth Köstenberger's observation regarding current feminist scholarship and the challenge it poses to egalitarian interpretation. She writes:

if there is any consensus among non-evangelical feminist scholarship at all, it is that the notion of the "feminist Jesus" must be abandoned, because it is not borne out by the biblical data. Evangelical feminists are placed in a difficult position, because this is . . . exactly what they are arguing: Jesus was a prototype of Galatians 3:28, a "neither-male-nor-female" type of man, who propagated a gender-blind vision of God's people in the church with no distinc-

⁵⁹ *BTB* 32, no. 2 (2002): 75–91.

⁶⁰ Abstract, *Biblical Theology Bulletin*, accessed August 28, 2013, <http://btb.sagepub.com/content/32/2/75.abstract>.

tions in role or leadership. Feminists today are essentially “a house divided.”⁶¹

This is not to deny that evangelical feminists share substantial unity, especially regarding what they stand *against* (historic church teaching and practice). It is to say that part of the strength of evangelical feminism has been its ability to draw on mainstream, nonevangelical scholarship to support its interpretation of the Gospels and Jesus. But that support has now eroded (and it was never overwhelming) when it comes to Jesus’s egalitarian views and aims. Even other feminists do not find an egalitarian Christ in the Gospels.

This is illustrated in the old and new editions of the well-known reference work *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*. In the 1992 edition, David Scholer found a parity between women and men in the Gospels, “structures of leadership and authority” that were “somewhat fluid and unstructured” and in which “women did exercise leadership and authority,” presumably just like men did.⁶² As evidence Scholer mentions the eight women in the Gospels who were “disciples and proclaimers” and twelve women “known by name among Paul’s coworkers.”⁶³ The Jesus movement was egalitarian in key respects from the outset.

In the new edition, F. Scott Spencer writes that “Jesus and the Gospels’ openness to women should not be exaggerated in contradistinction to first-century patriarchal Mediterranean society. Jesus was not, and historically could not have been, a ‘feminist’ by modern standards.”⁶⁴ Jesus affirmed “traditional service roles for women” and “the opportunities that Jesus afforded women for active participation in his mission may be compared with women’s rich involvement in ancient Jewish and Greco-Roman religious life.”⁶⁵ This does not even sound radically countercultural, much less feminist in any modern sense.

⁶¹ Margaret Elizabeth Köstenberger, *Jesus and the Feminists: Who Do They Say That He Is?* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2008).

⁶² David M. Scholer, “Women,” in *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels: A Compendium of Contemporary Biblical Scholarship*, ed. Joel B. Green, Scot McKnight, and I. Howard Marshall (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1992), 886.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ F. Scott Spencer, “Women,” in *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels: A Compendium of Contemporary Biblical Scholarship*, ed. Joel B. Green, Jeannine K. Brown, and Nicholas Perrin (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2013), 1004.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

And what about the question of the Christ being checkmated by his culture when it came to selecting community leaders, the Twelve? This seems unlikely on many counts, but we will mention just three here: Christ's perfection, his authority, and his practice.

Christ was sinless, most Christians would assert on the basis of the Bible,⁶⁶ and his sinlessness extended to his dealings with women. This point merits reflection. The Gospels attest to a man with at times rock-star status facing immense pressure, surrounded by adoring crowds including many women, some of them close friends like Mary and Martha. Some women pay the bills to support his operation (Luke 8:3) and travel in his entourage, in contrast to Payne's suggestion (above) that this would have been too risky. On the road in this situation over so many weeks and months, many single men and women (and not a few married) at some point would reach out for diversion and relief in the form of sexual companionship. How lonely must Christ have become at times? How tempting would a female soul mate have been? Yet he never sinned in a furtive glance or voyeuristic reverie or edgy conversation or in any other way. Has any man in any culture in the history of humanity ever achieved that feat? We may reasonably doubt this.

For those who regard this portrayal of Jesus in his sinlessness as credible, it can be said that Christ in his dealing *with* people and vision *for* people transcended culture, beginning with the sterling quality of his own character, soul, and actions. This may support the conclusion that his choice of twelve men was not a cultural compromise but an expression of his perfect wisdom and will—a *design*, if you will—that spans the centuries and cultures of human existence and will endure until Christ returns to consummate what his life, death, and exaltation set in motion.

This notion is affirmed in three recent books that feature the word *design* in their titles. Two are written by women; the third is coauthored by a woman.⁶⁷ (It needs to be acknowledged that some of the most eloquent voices calling egalitarian thought into question are women's

⁶⁶ See, e.g., John 8:46; 2 Cor. 5:21; Heb. 4:15.

⁶⁷ Claire Smith, *God's Good Design: What the Bible Really Says about Men and Women* (Kingsford, Australia: Matthias Media, 2012); Andreas J. Köstenberger and Margaret Elizabeth Köstenberger, *God's Design for Man and Woman: A Biblical Theology of Manhood and Womanhood* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2014); Carrie Sandom, *Different by Design: God's Blueprint for Men and Women* (Fearn, Ross-shire, Scotland: Christian Focus, 2012).

voices; on this, see more below.) Carrie Sandom gives particular attention to Jesus and the four Gospels and makes this summary comment:

all four of [the Gospels] show that the women have a role in testifying to the resurrection and proclaiming the good news of the gospel. But it's also clear from Jesus' earthly ministry that men are to take the lead and have a distinct role, one that women do not share. Jesus upheld the equality of men and women but also reaffirmed that their roles within the nuclear family and the family of God [i.e., the covenant community] were not the same. In doing so, He reestablished God's ordering of relationships and design for men and women and affirmed the equality, diversity and complementarity of men and women.⁶⁸

Jesus was not culturally captive but perfectly qualified to call people to something above and beyond their own and every human-bound place and time. His sinless perfection, extending even to that bedeviled zone of male lust and opportunistic flirtatiousness, gave him moral authority and credibility to do this. His wisdom gave him guidance to appoint, or not appoint, men and women to the respective duties he deemed optimal for them, for their own and the kingdom's flourishing.

A second consideration regarding Christ and cultural limitation regards his authority. Douglas Sean O'Donnell in a recent Matthew commentary states:

This theme of authority is found throughout Matthew. Eight examples should suffice. First, in his teachings, Jesus often employs terms like King, Lord, Master in reference to himself. . . . Second, he claims to be greater than the great King Solomon (12:42; cf. his relationship with David and actions that claim Davidic authority, e.g., 12:4). Third, twenty-eight times he uses the authoritative Old Testament title "Son of Man" of himself. Fourth, he claims knowledge of the future judgment and authoritative role in the judgment. Fifth, he declares who gets in the kingdom and who doesn't (e.g., 25:31–34, 41). Sixth, he gives many God-like authority claims [O'Donnell lists over two dozen passages]. Seventh, in the recognition of his divine authority, he is worshipped (2:11; 8:2; 14:33; 28:9, 17). Eighth,

⁶⁸Sandom, *Different by Design*, 115.

the religious and political authorities notice and question Jesus' authority (see 21:23–27; 22:16; 26:53).⁶⁹

How could the Son of Man, the Son of God, of this description be *unable* to appoint women apostles because of cultural restrictions? It makes more sense to suppose that he had positive reasons for his decision, which he made after prolonged prayer the night before (Luke 6:12–13), than to conclude that he was culturally constrained against appointing any.

Rather than caving to culture, Christ sought to bring new integrity to existing (and permanent, in this earthly sphere) structures of God's created order. The Old Testament pattern was one of primary male responsibility for sin (Genesis 3), for fatherhood in the home, and for offices like prophet, priest, and king in the covenant community—what Sandom (above) calls the family of God. Christ appropriated this pattern. He affirmed the husband-wife covenant-relationship pattern we call *marriage* that is set forth in Genesis (Matt. 19:3–8). He laid the foundation for certain refinements at the community level, such as the reinterpretation of the temple and the Old Testament priesthood, institutions that he fulfilled. But he also affirmed continuity in key gender matters by choosing men as apostles and by instructing them in how to make disciples in his absence until he would one day return. Christ displayed authority by appropriating the Old Testament heritage and recalibrating that heritage for new covenant operations, which should caution us against second-guessing his assignment of men and women to equally critical but not always identical tasks and offices. Christ affirmed equality of persons but not unisex identity and function.

As for Christ's practice, even cursory reflection on the Gospels recalls how countercultural he was. He disappointed people (Luke 4:42–43), chose the wrong friends (Luke 5:30–31), and trampled, it appeared, on sacrosanct rules regarding the Sabbath (Luke 6:1–5).⁷⁰ Like John the Baptist, he called on all his Jewish compatriots to repent of their sins and become part of a renewed covenant community. In doing so, he

⁶⁹ Douglas Sean O'Donnell, *The Gospel of Matthew: All Authority in Heaven and on Earth*, Preaching the Word, ed. R. Kent Hughes (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2013), 921–22.

⁷⁰ My colleague Dan Doriani pointed out these observations in his sermon "The Counter-Cultural Jesus" (Central Presbyterian Church, St. Louis, MO, February 24, 2013).

took a stand outside and against his entire social order in a shockingly radical way. Jesus also criticized the highest-ranking religious group of his time, the Pharisees (Matthew 23); confronted the Jerusalem establishment that had profaned the temple by cleansing it, seemingly two times (Matt. 21:12–13; John 2:14–17); and ate with unwashed hands (Mark 7:1–23). He flaunted conventional wisdom at numerous points in the Sermon on the Mount. His whole kingdom message and mission defied Jewish ideals and threatened Roman hegemony—a true Jewish messiah was incompatible with Caesar’s sovereignty, as the Jews pointed out to Pilate at Christ’s trial.

Of course, Christ was *conditioned* by his culture and operated within it in many ways. He dressed, spoke, ate, traveled, and interacted with others in culturally appropriate fashions. But he was also a stranger to and irritant in that culture. He was not *determined* by his culture. As was noted on one occasion, “They were astonished at his teaching, for his word possessed authority” (Luke 4:32). The one whose resurrection would later confirm his lordship (Rom. 1:4) lived sovereignly over cultural convention and restriction as his mission required.

Wayne Grudem has observed that if “Jesus gave in to cultural pressure and gave preferential treatment to men as apostles” merely due to cultural necessity “acceptable for the time,” this “is not consistent with the rest of Jesus’ ministry and actually impugns Jesus’ courage and character.”⁷¹ One might even say it convicts him of sin, given the “terror” of oppression imputed today to practices that fail to honor female equality. But Jesus did not live his life like a politician plotting strategy with an eye to opinion polls, something he made clear in repeated statements. To give just three examples from John’s Gospel, he said:

My food is to do the will of him who sent me and to accomplish his work (John 4:34).

I seek not my own will but the will of him who sent me (John 5:30).

For I have come down from heaven, not to do my own will but the will of him who sent me (John 6:38).

⁷¹ Wayne Grudem, *Evangelical Feminism and Biblical Truth: An Analysis of More Than 100 Disputed Questions* (Sisters, OR: Multnomah, 2004), 172.

So, in fact, it is insufficient to say that Christ did not please the public or give in to cultural expectations. He did not even please himself, a fact picked up later in Romans 15:3: “For Christ did not please himself, but as it is written, ‘The reproaches of those who reproached you fell on me.’” In significant ways, Christ was not beholden to his culture but to the perfect will of his Father in heaven, with whom he placed himself on equal footing (John 5:18).

It strains credulity to suppose that Jesus’s choice of men as apostles was merely a concession to cultural surroundings and therefore can have no bearing on men and women in ministry today. Instead, it is reasonable to suppose that, in a passage like 1 Timothy 2:9–15, Paul as Christ’s servant and apostle was dutifully reflecting Jesus’s influence.

Fresh Matrix

We have already adumbrated a significant and little-remarked dimension of the current hermeneutical scene when it comes to understanding texts like 1 Timothy 2:9–15 by mentioning three writers above: Carrie Sandom, Claire Smith, and Margaret Elizabeth Köstenberger. These and other women are complicating the view often assumed in the past that all women would welcome egalitarian interpretation because it gives them equal access to employment in the church and is the self-evidently truer interpretation of the Bible in the light of today’s more advanced gender consciousness. By considering these and other women along with selected published works, we will see that women’s scholarship, some of it refreshingly contrarian, is forming the outlines of a fresh matrix for understanding passages like 1 Timothy 2:9–15.

In this section, I will not limit discussion to treatments of the 1 Timothy 2 text proper. It is widely acknowledged that the entire Scripture, and not just a few key passages, much less this one alone, is relevant and indeed decisive for apt handling of the issue of “women in the church” (this book’s title). The relevance of the whole of Scripture is a foundational assumption, for example, in Andreas J. and Margaret E. Köstenberger’s *God’s Design for Man and Woman: A Biblical and Theological Survey*.⁷² From a very different perspective, it is no less central to the

⁷² Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2014.

outlook of Luise Schottroff and Marie-Theres Wacker in their coedited volume *Feminist Biblical Interpretation*.⁷³ In this massive (more than one-thousand-page) scholarly commentary on all of Scripture (plus seven other works, such as the Gospel of Thomas) from a German egalitarian viewpoint, the editors state, “It is no exaggeration that in the last two decades the approaches, questions, and conclusions of feminist interpretation of the Bible have gained increasingly in plausibility and dissemination throughout the world.”⁷⁴ The authors note that “what is at issue here is not simply biblical texts that deal with women”; “critical feminist analysis has to be brought to bear on the books of the Bible and on the Bible as a whole.”⁷⁵ There is no satisfactory way to consider the interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 in current discussion without opening one’s purview to wider horizons at times.

CARRIE SANDOM

Carrie Sandom, whose nonegalitarian view of Jesus in *Different by Design* we noted above, is associate minister for women and pastoral care at St. John’s Church, Turnbridge Wells, UK. She pays particular attention to hermeneutics of key biblical passages as it affects single women like herself.⁷⁶ She is a critic of the impact of feminism, feminist hermeneutics, and the results of these movements in the church. She states, “Somebody somewhere ought to do some research on what impact an over-feminized church will have on the church’s mission to men. My suspicion is that where a church is led solely by a woman, most of the lay leadership will be female within five years, and the proportion of men in the congregation will steadily decrease.”⁷⁷ Sandom finds “equality, diversity, and complementarity” affirmed in the Bible’s

⁷³Luise Schottroff and Marie-Theres Wacker, eds., *Feminist Biblical Interpretation: A Compendium of Critical Commentary on the Books of the Bible and Related Literature* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2012).

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, xii.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*

⁷⁶Sandom, *Different by Design*, 64–65.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 14. She offers a sustained treatment of this question on pp. 67–85 in her book and explores it frequently elsewhere (e.g., 158–60). A report in *The Christian Century* noted that an analysis by the Hartford Institute for Religion Research found that congregations reporting growth in worship attendance between 2000 and 2005 tended to exhibit certain common attributes. Among these were robust male participation: “Among congregations in which at least three out of five regular participants were men, 59 percent reported growth. But among churches where no more than two in every five regular participants were men, only 21 percent said they had experienced growth.” The report was based on data collected in a 2005 survey of nearly nine hundred congregations. “Church growth keys: Multiracial, happy, more males active,” *The Christian Century*, January 23, 2007, 14.

creation narrative, which is in turn “affirmed and upheld in the New Testament.”⁷⁸ As for 1 Timothy 2:9–15,⁷⁹ she writes that the passage

means that the teaching of the whole church, where men and women are gathered together to hear God’s Word, is a role that is limited to men alone—and not even to all men. The criteria for appointing the male elders who have this task are pretty stringent. We should note that Paul does not argue this from the contemporary culture.⁸⁰

Sandom is aware of the exemplary church leadership by women in the UK and in former “mission” areas like India and Africa. She concedes their service and gifting. She understands the high calling and necessity of women serving on church staff in ministerial roles—she is an associate minister herself. But in the context of considering 1 Timothy 2:9–15, she notes:

The issue is not one of gifting. No one would deny that women have considerable gifts, even teaching gifts. The issue is whether exercising them like this is God’s preferred and revealed way of building up His church. It’s hard to say this, but, maybe, as a woman I am someone who can. We need to take a step back and see what impact women in positions of leadership have had or are continuing to have on the church’s ministry to men.⁸¹

Mary Gallagher makes the same point with respect to the demolition of male headship in marriage.⁸² In a book debating the viability of “equal-regard marriage” (marriage in which husband and wife reflect primarily nonmale character traits and husbands no longer lead), she presses an important question:

What is the male role in families? Why do families need men? If “equal regard” is to achieve its stated aim—to come up with truer, more Christian, and more satisfying answers to the male problematic—it must come up with answers to questions like these, essentially gendered questions that imply gendered answers. Equal regard

⁷⁸ Sandom, *Different by Design*, 58.

⁷⁹ See discussion in *ibid.*, 154–60.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 155.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 158.

⁸² See Mary Gallagher, “Reflections on Headship,” in *Does Christianity Teach Male Headship?*, ed. Blankenhorn, Browning, and Van Leeuwen, 111–25.

is an attractive ethic in its own right, but not an answer to the problem of males' lesser attachment to and place within the natural family [this is termed "the male problematic" in this book]. A call to intersubjective dialogue is indeed a rigorous ethic, and *not one likely to bring males back in flocks* [emphasis added]. Indeed, if women understand men's roles in this way it is likely to increase women's discontent, to reinforce the already prevalent idea that men are simply being willfully obstinate and unfair in not displaying more of the traditionally feminine virtues in family life.⁸³

John Leith makes the same point with respect to the decline of a key demographic's participation in mainline theological education. He cites British philosopher Mary Midgley to assert that "ignoring the stubborn facts of gender difference does in the end great damage to women themselves. For these reasons also mainline seminaries cannot for long ignore the decline in young white males for the ministry."⁸⁴ Leith adds, "Theology becomes self-destructive when its primary goal is accommodation to the culture."⁸⁵

In any case, Carrie Sandom's point above is not that we should interpret Scripture on the sole criterion of pragmatic outcomes (like how ministry affects men). It is that the teaching of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 is clear enough, even if unpleasant for many to accept, and that the church in rejecting it is reaping a bitter harvest in key respects, not the bountiful harvest promised by reinterpreting 1 Timothy 2 in ways amenable to a certain segment of Western culture and its perceived authority for optimal ecclesial practice.

CLAIRE SMITH

Another fresh voice in the discussion is that of a former nurse who over some years acquired a BTh, MA (theology), and PhD in New Testament at Moore College, Sydney, Australia.⁸⁶ Claire Smith's *God's Good Design: What the Bible Really Says about Men and Women* (mentioned above) takes stock of arguments against understanding 1 Timothy

⁸³ Ibid., 124–25.

⁸⁴ Leith, *Crisis in the Church*, 23.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 41.

⁸⁶ Her PhD dissertation was recently published: Claire S. Smith, *Pauline Communities as "Scholastic Communities": A Study of the Vocabulary of "Teaching" in 1 Corinthians, 1 and 2 Timothy, and Titus*, WUNT, 2nd ser., 335 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012).

2:9–15 in line with church tradition. She notes that while feminist interpretation agrees that “the verses no longer apply, there is no agreement as to why that is so. Their theories even cancel out and contradict each other.”⁸⁷ For example, some discount the verses because Paul did not write them, others because Paul may have written them but was self-evidently wrong in what he wrote.⁸⁸

Others “who call themselves evangelicals”⁸⁹ say the verses do not apply today, because Galatians 3:28 (“no male and female”) cancels out 1 Timothy 2. As a result, Paul’s teaching in 1 Timothy 2 must be regarded as restricted to then-and-there at Ephesus. Or perhaps the problem was not women teaching men but “the *way* they were doing it.”⁹⁰ Or perhaps “Paul wrote these commands as an accommodation to the prevailing culture.”⁹¹ Or perhaps elsewhere “the New Testament depicts women teaching, so Paul’s rules about women teaching did not even apply in the early church.”⁹² In other words, the New Testament contradicts itself. Or perhaps “the restrictions in 1 Tim 2:12 only apply to married women.”⁹³ Or perhaps “now that the Bible is written and we all have access to it, this sort of teaching activity is no longer done—by anyone, not even men.”⁹⁴

Smith does not construct comprehensive scholarly arguments against all these approaches but gives a succinct indication of where the arguments fail to convince. She goes on to consider “subjective reasons” for setting 1 Timothy 2 aside, like the personal feeling that “it’s just not fair” or “I feel called to the ministry of preaching.” Smith’s response is that “personal conviction, however strong and however well intentioned, should never override the plain sense of Scripture,”⁹⁵ which she goes to some lengths to describe and explain.⁹⁶ “What this passage is saying,” she notes, “is not that complicated—although admittedly it is rather confronting and countercultural.”⁹⁷ “This passage,” Smith

⁸⁷ Smith, *God’s Good Design*, 41.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 41–42.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 42.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 45.

⁹¹ Ibid., 46.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid., 47–48.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 48.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 50.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 25–40.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 52.

argues, “limits participation of women in one area of church life—but it should not leave women out on a limb in terms of ministry opportunities. There is much more that can and needs to be done than stepping into a pulpit—both by men and women.”⁹⁸ Scripture frequently displays women’s instructional activity and its effect, and it should be prominent in personal, family, and church settings today.⁹⁹ Women also have major contributions to make in the world of scholarship, including books like her own.¹⁰⁰ The 1 Timothy 2 passage must not be used to “go beyond what is written” (cf. 1 Cor. 4:6) to “close more doors” to women than Scripture does.¹⁰¹

Space does not permit a full delineation of Smith’s wide-ranging book zeroing in on key biblical texts that many decry (other chapters in her book deal with Genesis 1–3; 1 Corinthians 11 and 14; Ephesians 5; and 1 Peter 3). She also devotes a chapter to the abuse of women, those who might justify it from the Bible, and others who blame the Bible for the existence of domestic abuse.¹⁰² The point is that Dr. Claire Smith cannot be readily marginalized as a patriarchal authority figure with a vested interest in using biblical texts to uphold presumed male interests. Rather, she seeks on the basis of her own scholarly training to join with other women and men who affirm that Scripture and God himself call all in the church to honor him and each other in particular ways that should be reflected in social relations and church practice. The historical interpretation and application of 1 Timothy 2 are part of the means to best accomplish that goal.

MARGARET ELIZABETH KÖSTENBERGER

In addition to Carrie Sandom and Claire Smith, a third voice helping to outline a new matrix of women’s voices in the discussion of passages like 1 Timothy 2:9–15 is Margaret Elizabeth Köstenberger. Her book *Jesus and the Feminists: Who Do They Say That He Is?* (mentioned above) is essentially her doctoral dissertation at the University of South

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 51.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 52.

¹⁰² On this point see also Steven R. Tracy, “What Does ‘Submit in Everything’ Really Mean? The Nature and Scope of Marital Submission,” *TrinJ*, n.s. 29, no. 2 (Fall 2008): 285–312.

Africa. It carefully marks out the major different wings of feminist interpretation: radical feminists who entirely reject Scripture's authority, reformist feminists whose hermeneutic of suspicion grows out of "a perceived patriarchal bias in Scripture," and evangelical feminists who "on the whole claim to consider Scripture as authoritative, inspired, and inerrant."¹⁰³

While Köstenberger interacts extensively with radical feminists (like Mary Daly, Virginia Ramey Mollenkott, and Daphne Hampson) and reformist feminists (like Letty Russell, Rosemary Radford Ruether, Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, and Kathleen Corley), her treatment of evangelical feminists deserves particular note, since evangelical feminists with their confessed high view of Scripture would have the most to say about a text like 1 Timothy 2:9–15. Scattered throughout her book's longest section (part 4) are profiles of these leading spokespersons. I have presented them below in a single table for ease of reference in glimpsing the major eras and players in the rise of a hermeneutic that has, in some cases, sounded the changes to the historic interpretation of 1 Timothy 2 in Köstenberger's own evangelical circles (see table 5.1 on 254–55).

In addition to providing a fairly detailed description of feminist interpretation as it relates to Jesus over the last half century,¹⁰⁴ Köstenberger arrives at findings that are significant for an evangelical understanding of a passage like 1 Timothy 2:9–15, with its implications for church leadership. One such finding is this:

Increasingly, evangelical feminists have been found to engage in a fundamental critique of the actual nature of authority and leadership in the church. They claim that authority of Scripture is limited to service and that leadership is but a benign inclination to promote the welfare of others. Therefore, they claim, men and women ought to relate to one another, both in the home and in the church, by practicing mutual submission. Their egalitarian outlook has resulted in the erosion of any meaningful notion of authority in the church, whether exercised by men or by women.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Köstenberger, *Jesus and the Feminists*, 176.

¹⁰⁴ She goes as far back as Anne Hutchinson (1591–1643) and then to first-wave (1830s) and second-wave (1960s) feminism; see Köstenberger, *Jesus and the Feminists*, 17–24.

¹⁰⁵ Köstenberger, *Jesus and the Feminists*, 176.

If a hermeneutic determines in advance that “mutual submission” must describe contemporary church practice, then 1 Timothy 2 with its very different orientation must automatically take a back seat. The same can be said of the comparable decision, illustrative of Köstenberger’s observation, to declare women free from all male oversight of any kind in the church.¹⁰⁶ This view is held by Alan Johnson and (he asserts) numerous others, including John Armstrong, Tony Campolo, Stan Gundry, Bill and Lynne Hybels, I. Howard Marshall, Alice Mathews, Roger Nicole, Ron Sider, and John G. Stackhouse Jr. Johnson states that all contributors to his book “agree that a woman, as well as a man, has the freedom under God to follow her divine calling and to serve the Lord in his kingdom wherever and howsoever the Spirit is leading her without male *supervision* over her life.”¹⁰⁷ But aren’t all Christians, male and female, under the “supervision” of their pastor(s), many of whom are likely to be male? Yet Johnson insists: “The evangelical position, represented by the personal stories in this book, including my own, understands that a fully authoritative Bible supports the freedom of women under Christ *without male supervision* to follow their God-given callings and special gifts of the Spirit, including full leadership ministries.”¹⁰⁸

Johnson’s discussion seems to corroborate Köstenberger’s claim that evangelical feminism is promoting a weakened view of meaningful leadership in churches. Johnson’s linking of his position with “a fully authoritative Bible” is baffling in view of New Testament admonitions for believers to obey their church leaders (e.g., 1 Thess. 5:12–13; Heb. 13:7, 13; 1 Pet. 5:1–5). And in 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus, Paul gives particular prominence to the assumption that members of the church should respond favorably to the instruction and oversight of pastors. Johnson’s assertion, then, is a sort of emancipation proclamation¹⁰⁹ in the evangelical household from any possible binding force of 1 Timothy 2:9–15.

¹⁰⁶ See Alan F. Johnson, ed., *How I Changed My Mind about Women in Leadership: Compelling Stories from Prominent Evangelicals* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2010).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 16; emphasis in this paragraph Johnson’s.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁰⁹ Johnson himself connects his rhetoric with the slavery issue: “We hold that the issue of gender inclusiveness for the present generation of evangelical Christians is a near-identical parallel to that of slavery for the nineteenth century.” *How I Changed My Mind*, 15. On the extent to which Christianity should be implicated in “black slavery” in the United States, see Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Exposing Myths about Christianity: A Guide to Answering 145 Viral Lies and Legends* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2012), 60–65.

Table 5.1 The Rise of an Evangelical Feminist Hermeneutic

Chap. 11, The Early Years: Emancipation (1966–86)	Chap. 12, The Maturing Movement: Increasing Complexity (1987–99)	Chap. 13, Recent Contributions: Creativity and Consolidation (2000–present [ca. 2008])
Egalitarian Profile (EP) 1: Krister Stendahl, <i>The Bible and the Role of Women</i> (1966) View of Jesus (VJ): patriarchal, traditionalist*	EP 10: Grant Osborne, “Women in Jesus’ Ministry” (1989) VJ: while refusing to challenge the “patriarchal matrix,” “consciously planted a seed of change”	EP 14: Linda Belleville, <i>Women Leaders and the Church</i> (2000); “Women in Ministry” essay in <i>Two Views on Women in Ministry</i> (2001) VJ: Jesus not only “liberator of women” in ancient world; says Jesus’ “language was that of mutuality and equality”; treated women as “social equals”
EP 2: Letha Scanzoni and Nancy Hardesty, <i>All We’re Meant to Be</i> (1974) VJ: treated women as equals; contrast to patriarchal culture	EP 11: Ruth Tucker, <i>Daughters of the Church</i> (with Walter Liefeld; 1987); <i>Women in the Maze</i> (1992) VJ: revolutionary; “showed an unusual sensitivity to women and their needs”	EP 15: William Webb, <i>Slaves, Women and Homosexuals</i> (2001) VJ: Jesus had female disciples; does not feature prominently in overall scheme
EP 3: Paul Jewett, <i>Man as Male and Female</i> (1975) VJ: revolutionary; Jesus “treated women as fully human, equal to men in every respect”	EP 12: R. T. France, <i>Women in the Church’s Ministry</i> (1995) VJ: Jesus’ approach to women contains the seeds of liberation	EP 16: Douglas Groothuis, “What Jesus Thought about Women” (2002) VJ: “showed no gender favoritism”
EP 4: Dorothy Pape, <i>In Search of the Ideal Woman</i> (1976) VJ: epitome of Gal. 3:28	EP 13: Stanley Grenz, <i>Women in the Church</i> (with Denise Muir Kjesbo; 1995) VJ: his “liberating message” laid the “foundation for women’s roles in the early church”	EP 17: John Phelan, “Women and the Aims of Jesus” (2003) VJ: Jesus’ kingdom is egalitarian

*I have quoted Köstenberger’s summations verbatim.

Chap. 11, The Early Years: Emancipation (1966–86)	Chap. 12, The Maturing Movement: Increasing Complexity (1987–99)	Chap. 13, Recent Contributions: Creativity and Consolidation (2000–present [ca. 2008])
EP 5: Mary Evans, <i>Woman in the Bible</i> (1983) VJ: revolutionary; without precedent in Judaism		EP 18: Aída Besançon Spencer, “Jesus’ Treatment of Women in the Gospels,” in <i>Discovering Biblical Equality</i> (2004) VJ: “Nowhere does Jesus ever say—or even imply in anything he says—that only men can be leaders in the church”
EP 6: Ben Witherington, <i>Women in the Ministry of Jesus</i> (1984) VJ: granted women “equal right to participate fully in the family of faith”		
EP 7: Gilbert Bilezikian, <i>Beyond Sex Roles</i> (1985) VJ: instituted principle of full access of both men and women to all positions of church leadership; “Jesus smashed the pyramidal concept of ecclesiastical authority and replaced it with participatory consensual community rule”		
EP 8: Aída Besançon Spencer, <i>Beyond the Curse</i> (1985) VJ: broke traditional barriers between men and women, encouraged women to learn		
EP 9: Richard Longenecker, “Authority, Hierarchy and Leadership Patterns in the Bible” (1986) VJ: redemption in Christ suggests freedom, mutuality, and equality		

PAMELA D. H. COCHRAN

It is not only Köstenberger who finds the hermeneutics of evangelical feminists to be more indebted to culture at key points than to the Scripture they claim to be hallowing. Another point in the fresh matrix under consideration here is provided by new historical studies. The first of three that I will mention is Pamela D. H. Cochran's *Evangelical Feminism: A History*, the fullest treatment of this history to date.¹¹⁰ On the one hand, in her closing analysis Cochran concludes positively that "traditionalist evangelical feminists" have been less affected by their surroundings than "their progressive counterparts" who, for example, often ended up affirming same-sex relations. But she continues:

Still, the impact of a consumerist, therapeutic culture can be seen in the way that traditionalist evangelical feminism focuses on using the Bible to meet the perceived needs of the individual and in its reliance on individual reason to judge the truth of scripture, without the assistance of an institutional and historical church. This trend, which emphasizes individual preference and rationality, indicates that even in evangelicalism, authority has been minimized. The irony, of course, is that American evangelicals base their identity on the concept of transcendent authority, and have fought against American individualism and pluralism.¹¹¹

Cochran approaches this question from a quite different frame of reference than Köstenberger, who shows what feminist scholars have made of Jesus and how her finding that Jesus was *not* egalitarian calls into question a central egalitarian plank. But Cochran's observation both confirms what Johnson asserts (above) and comports with Köstenberger's finding that cultural pressure has exercised undue influence on evangelical feminists' biblical interpretation.

As Cochran puts it, among evangelical feminists, "modern ideals of pluralism and individualism have made a greater impact on American religion than previously acknowledged, thereby reducing the scope and force of religious authority in American society."¹¹² To the extent that evangelicalism overall has followed the lead of its feminist interpreters,

¹¹⁰Pamela D. H. Cochran, *Evangelical Feminism: A History* (New York: New York University Press, 2005).

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, 193–94.

¹¹²*Ibid.*, 194.

it “may have inadvertently contributed to the loss of its own dominance in contemporary American society, by not challenging its culture when it was the dominant religious perspective, but by fitting into it so well.”¹¹³ Cochran sees society-wide negative effects because of this: “The weakening of traditional, institutional faith portends . . . a weakening of community ties and moral commitments based on more than personal preference, which bodes ill for the practice of civil life in America today.”¹¹⁴

LINDA PEACORE

A second historical study indicating that a new matrix is emerging for considering texts such as 1 Timothy 2 is Linda Peacore’s *The Role of Women’s Experience in Feminist Theologies of Atonement*.¹¹⁵ Peacore’s scholarly treatment is sympathetic to the necessity of theology by and for women as distinct from men. But she also points to “serious flaws” in the enterprise.¹¹⁶ For example, she notes “the irony of the feminist position” in that “although most feminists would not identify one particular view [of atonement] as the view, there is no hesitation in clearly rejecting those traditional models which offend feminist experience (as well as encouraging other women to reject them). The reluctance to appear authoritarian stops when it comes to these traditional methods.”¹¹⁷

More broadly, Peacore sees a flaw in that the “content of women’s experience leads to fragmentation.”¹¹⁸ Since no understanding of women’s experience is acceptable to all women, Peacore finds “a tendency to ghettoize various Christian doctrines, including soteriology.”¹¹⁹ In other words, “because some aspects of experience are unique to certain groups of women,” feminists tend to develop atonement theology in such a way as to address these particular experiences.¹²⁰ This experiential lens results in “some women feeling excluded or unable to apply a specific emphasis to their own experience, which in turn may lead to the development of another viewpoint on the doctrine to which these

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Linda Peacore, *The Role of Women’s Experience in Feminist Theologies of Atonement*, Princeton Theological Monograph Series (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2010).

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 203.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 205n38.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 203.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

women can relate.”¹²¹ To the extent that evangelical feminist interpretation of 1 Timothy 2 is shaped by experience¹²² and other factors like culture (see above), Peacore’s observation sheds light on our question.

Peacore goes on to comment that such “fragmentation may lead to relativism.”¹²³ Evangelical feminism does not intend to commit this error, but hermeneutical strategies like privileging an understanding of Galatians 3:28 over other Scriptures can have unintended consequences. And in any case, Köstenberger and Cochran (above) have both noted the inroads of individualism into evangelical feminist hermeneutics. Peacore observes, “If the center of theology is essentially the self, then the possibility for various concepts of God (and might we say atonement) are boundless.”¹²⁴

Peacore also points out that “the use of women’s experience may lead to another form of oppression.”¹²⁵ When this experience “is used normatively it fails to provide for self-criticism, thus opening feminist theology to ‘self-deception and a new kind of oppression’” (citing Anne E. Carr).¹²⁶ This occurs when “women’s experience” serves de facto as a source of knowledge and ultimately revelation. The danger here is that “if women’s experience defines the world, ‘there is no independent criterion against which to test feminist constructions of the world’” (citing Marnia Lazreg).¹²⁷ Rather than a Christian community possessing the liberating “words of eternal life” from God (cf. John 6:68) to free and guide it, the community becomes subservient to the norms of “feminist constructions.”

The final major flaw Peacore cites is feminist theology’s inadequate view of sin. She glimpses this in the fact that feminist atonement models are all “example models.”¹²⁸ While these models may have positive

¹²¹ Ibid., 203–4.

¹²² On this see Hannah Faith Notess, ed., *Jesus Girls: True Tales of Growing Up Female and Evangelical*, Experiences in Evangelicalism (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2009). The book consists of nearly two dozen autobiographical reflections. Often engrossing simply as human and literary statements, they are valuable in gaining a self-consciously feminine and evangelical perspective on how a range of women have viewed the world and religion (including evangelical teaching and practice) in recent times. The importance of acknowledging women’s distinct (from men’s) experience of life is central to Alice P. Mathews, *Preaching That Speaks to Women* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2003).

¹²³ Peacore, *Role of Women’s Experience*, 205.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 205–6.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 208.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 208–9.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 211.

aspects, they do not “provide the concept of genuine redemption that scripture teaches and feminists expect.”¹²⁹ The problem of sin is generally minimized if not simply ignored. This aversion to facing the sin problem stems from avoidance of authority, something observed already in evangelical feminism. But given “the utter seriousness of sin,” we have no alternative but to seek a “redemption that does more than” simply provide a noble example.¹³⁰ Peacore concludes, “Feminist theologians tend to concentrate on Jesus’ life rather than his death, using his life and ministry as a model to follow.”¹³¹ But will salvation of the whole person and redemption of the entire cosmos result simply from following Jesus’s example? This simplistic conception may be reflected in the evangelical feminist stress on how Jesus treated women, with the implication that his followers should do likewise and that by doing so, they will properly realign the church under egalitarian auspices. But “whenever we sever Christ’s life from his death and resurrection our understanding of the objective and subjective aspects of salvation will be skewed.”¹³² Jesus’s example—as important and suggestive as it is for according women the dignity and protection they deserve—is the precondition for, not the core of, the saving gospel message that evangelicals in particular seek to uphold.

DIANA LYNN SEVERANCE

An historian with a PhD from Rice University, Diana Lynn Severance in *Feminine Threads: Women in the Tapestry of Christian History*¹³³ treats women’s presence and contribution in the church in every age, including the New Testament era. She deals with the propagandistic nature of “women’s history” in the past thirty years, where many with ideological interests have affirmed a gnostic understanding of Christianity,¹³⁴ constructed mythological accounts of women’s leadership roles in early

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid. 212.

¹³² Ibid., 212–213.

¹³³ Diana Lynn Severance, *Feminine Threads: Women in the Tapestry of Christian History* (Fearn, Ross-shire, Scotland: Christian Focus, 2011).

¹³⁴ See also Andreas J. Köstenberger and Michael J. Kruger, *The Heresy of Orthodoxy: How Contemporary Culture’s Fascination with Diversity Has Reshaped Our Understanding of Early Christianity* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2010); David R. Liefeld, “God’s Word or Male Words? Postmodern Conspiracy Culture and Feminist Myths of Christian Origins,” *JETS* 48, no. 3 (2005): 449–73.

Christianity, and affirmed conspiratorial historiographies—such as the claim that there are no records of the actual predominance of women pastors, priests, and bishops simply because men destroyed them all.¹³⁵ She likens this approach to that of the Jesus Seminar.¹³⁶ The importance of this book for rehabilitating the biblical prominence of women in ministry cannot be overstated, in that it provides a surer guide regarding the past than many recent studies have produced. For, as she states, “this book does not follow the methodology of the feminists,”¹³⁷ who are not always interested (or even think it possible) to arrive at and sustain a grounded, valid knowledge of the past, particularly when it comes to women, their activities, and their status.

Severance shows how a christocentric hierarchical conception of male leadership in marriage and congregation has been affirmed in settings as varied as the New Testament itself, Chrysostom,¹³⁸ the Reformation era,¹³⁹ the Puritan setting,¹⁴⁰ Victorian England and nineteenth-century North America,¹⁴¹ and continuing to today. Severance taps resources that are often discarded precisely because they affirm traditional Christian belief rather than revolutionary feminist ideals, and she thus recounts how women excelled in glorifying God without the political affirmation many currently insist on.

While reading Severance's history on a long flight, I jotted down some of the things women did in the first thousand years of the church, all without women being ordained. They preserved and copied manuscripts.¹⁴² The first Christian known to have written plays was Hrotsvit (ca. 935–1000), an abbess in the Benedictine Abbey of Gandersheim.¹⁴³ Women founded monasteries for women (nunneries), used their wealth for Christ, taught other women, challenged and exhorted men, were martyred (on this, see the conclusion of this essay), prayed for deliver-

¹³⁵ Severance, *Feminine Threads*, 12–14.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 89–90.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 142. Where “feminist historians have interpreted the Reformers’ position as restricting women,” Christian wives in that era “did not seem to have had such objections.” *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 178–96. Puritan writers like Richard Cleaver, John Cotton, and Daniel Rogers derided views that women were in some way “more evil, lustful, and irrational than men.” *Ibid.*, 178. Severance notes how many medieval theologians learned to denigrate women based on their reading of Aristotle. *Ibid.*, 112.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 258.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 82, 102.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 107–9.

ance, upheld husbands, furthered the knowledge of Scripture especially by supporting scholars like Jerome, served as spiritual sisters to great leaders like Chrysostom, raised godly children, helped redeem key people like Caedman (the first English poet), freed slaves (in one case, eight thousand at once), helped evangelize, and continually raised the bar of godliness higher both for women and for men.

Severance is not trying to produce hagiography, nor does she seek to construct portraits of ideal women by which better to understand and apply Scripture now. On the contrary, she advises,

Just as the historical portions of the Bible include people of dubious motives and actions as well as heroes of the faith, so Christian history includes admirable and questionable individuals. The reader is encouraged to discerningly use the truths of Scripture to evaluate the lives of the numerous women in *Feminine Threads*. The standards for Christian women and the Church should always be the Scriptures, not the practices of any individual or group, regardless of their influence or charisma.¹⁴⁴

Severance contributes to a fresh matrix for understanding passages like 1 Timothy 2:9–15 by pulling into focus—by her exposition and her fine bibliography¹⁴⁵—the contributions, struggles, convictions, actions, and achievements (for better or worse) of women through the whole sweep of the (primarily Western) church’s historical existence.

M. SYDNEY PARK

A final example of women’s scholarship pushing back against feminist (including evangelical feminist) hermeneutics is seen in the work of M. Sydney Park.¹⁴⁶ A revision of Park’s doctoral dissertation (University of Aberdeen), *Submission within the Godhead and the Church in the Epistle to the Philippians* is strong in exegesis of Philippians, theories of mimesis, and interaction with feminist theologians (LaCugna, Volf, Osiek).

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 16.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 313–35.

¹⁴⁶ I will highlight here her *Submission within the Godhead and the Church in the Epistle to the Philippians: An Exegetical and Theological Examination of the Concept of Submission in Philippians 2 and 3*, LNTS 361 (London: T&T Clark, 2007). For her (also relevant) recounting of “conversion and hope” despite racism, oppression, and her own waywardness, see Park’s *The Post-Racial Church: A Biblical Framework for Multiethnic Reconciliation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 2011), 266–70. This book—though of course not the section featuring her testimony—was coauthored with Kenneth A. Mathews.

Park's study, as the title indicates, has much to say about submission.¹⁴⁷ "Submission as defined in Philippians," she notes, "is primarily a selfless mindset which is not only exhorted for inter-believer relations, but also necessary in God-believer relations and discernible in the intra-divine relations." In this submission, between believers and within the Godhead, "both equality and hierarchy are evident." But hierarchy does not provide the rationale for submission:

Rather, the rationale for submission is the selfless concern for others, whether God or other humans. Moreover, we have also seen that submission is not the outcome of oppressive patriarchal structures, but rather is organic to soteriology. To claim salvation and confess "Jesus Christ is Lord" is to submit to the Godhead; submission on this level is fundamental to salvation. And finally, those who claim salvation do not treat fellow believers based on the notion of equal rights, but rather that of grace. In Philippians, Paul reminds his troubled readers that claims to rights are more akin to legalism rather than salvation in Christ, which is by grace.

While Park's aim in this book is not to comment directly on 1 Timothy 2 or on feminist hermeneutics per se, her study in this work (and others since¹⁴⁸) indicates that she has not found feminist (or evangelical feminist) hermeneutics to be a compelling approach for reading Paul's letters optimally or for applying them today. Her own hermeneutical posture points to a fresh matrix in which emerging female biblical scholars may show surprising independence from the convictions shared by the generation under which they received their academic training, as well as those shared by many of their peers.

The View from a Non-Western Setting: Reading 1 Timothy 2:8–15 Contextually

In the sections above, I discussed conditions for and tendencies in interpreting Scripture and especially 1 Timothy 2 in largely Western settings. But that is no longer the center of the world Christian population or,

¹⁴⁷ All quotations in this paragraph are from Park, *Submission within the Godhead*, 184.

¹⁴⁸ Cf., e.g., her "Sassing Jesus: A Woman's Virtue? The Syrophoenician Woman in Mark 7:24–30" (unpublished paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Evangelical Theological Society, San Francisco, CA, November 2011).

some would say, of dynamic Holy Spirit redemptive activity as measured by conversions and growth in the Christian population. How does the interpretation of 1 Timothy 2 look in places where (unlike the West) Christian faith is not stagnant or declining but rather burgeoning? The answer to that question may well be relevant to the hermeneutics of 1 Timothy 2 at the present time.

From 1995 to 2012, I made over two dozen trips to and spent about eight months total in a Sharia-law country in the so-called global South. I was part of a team tasked with teaching many books of the Bible, Old Testament and New, along with a number of topical studies as requested by the local host church, all with a view to equipping and encouraging pastors from a wide range of tribes and Christian subgroups (“denominations” in Western parlance, though not all of these groups had direct Western correlates). Despite the heavy influence of the dominant misogynist culture, the seminar where I taught welcomed women’s presence and full participation. This aspect played a key role in sustaining the seminar’s longevity and energy.

The transforming effects of the Christian message were most strikingly evident in a shadow conference that arose. Here I taught by night, in part for security reasons, a group of MBBs—Muslim background believers. The faith development of these culturally Arab Muslim men, women, teenagers, and children who increasingly embraced the Christian message afforded a fascinating case study for reading 1 Timothy 2 in what might in some respects bear more of a resemblance to a first-century setting than most Western locations. It seems possible to draw parallels between elements of the Timothy passage and what I observed in the first- and second-generation reception of the gospel as these MBBs progressed in inward faith and as they grew in their outward loyalty not to Allah and his prophet but to the God of Abraham and his Son. This transformation has put them in great peril, as their tribe has been exposed to steady, sometimes lethal persecution since a key leader over half a century ago had a vision of Jesus and began to lead this people in an ongoing pilgrimage in Jesus’s direction.

What follows will be an attempt at a contextual reading of 1 Timothy 2:8–15, dividing the passage into four blocks (for this purpose v. 8 seems a better starting point than v. 9). By contextual reading, I mean

one in which the primary goal is not to determine the text's meaning in its original setting, as a classic Western exegesis might proceed,¹⁴⁹ but to work out how a text is understood and functions in a contemporary setting. After each verse or verses discussed, I will comment on how I have seen a scenario like Paul may have envisioned in Ephesus, as he wrote 1 Timothy, reflected in the group of up to one hundred or so seekers and believers I taught, learned about, and learned from. The point is to observe the dynamics of how Muslim Africans are receiving the gospel in a modern setting and explore how they might correlate with what Paul assumes and calls for in 1 Timothy 2:8–15.

1 TIMOTHY 2:8

I desire then that in every place the men should pray, lifting holy hands without anger or quarreling.

No one familiar with the Arab street is surprised to find anger among its men. Wrath and ire seem ubiquitous, at least when subjects like Israel and the West and Christianity come up. And in a police state that controls all media, they come up daily. Anger was certainly prominent among the MBB men I began meeting with some ten years ago. They were in sync with Paul's directive that "in every place men should pray." Five times a day men prostrate themselves on the sidewalks praying. Any Christian meeting place in that part of the world is called a "house of prayer." Even lifting up hands is common, an act by which they express joyful worship or supplication or lament. But "holy hands without anger or quarreling"? Clearly, we had to face the prominent dynamic of anger before any serious discussion of the gospel could begin.

They were angry, first, because of rivalry in the group. Different men fancied they were the real leader, and in that tribal culture, perhaps five men vied for the status of "chief." This competition for authority constantly generated friction and animosity in worship and instructional gatherings.

They were also angry because a gross misunderstanding of the gospel

¹⁴⁹ See, e.g., Thomas Schreiner's chapter in this book. See also Douglas Moo, "What Does It Mean Not to Teach or Have Authority Over Men? 1 Timothy 2:11–15," in *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood: A Response to Evangelical Feminism*, ed. John Piper and Wayne Grudem (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 1991), 179–93. Also available at Bible.org, April 13, 2005, <http://bible.org/seriespage/what-does-it-mean-not-teach-or-have-authority-over-men-1-timothy-211-15>.

affected their expectations. The Trinity Broadcast Network blankets the region, and much of the programming promotes a health-and-wealth gospel. Some men came to these sessions intent on getting a piece of the monetary action that they saw projected on cable TV for their needs. When it became clear that the conference was not dispensing dollars, they grew suspicious and lashed back. Men accused the host church, they accused conference leaders, they accused each other—*somebody* must be pocketing the money that they thought freely flowed from Western Christian sources. (This anger, by the way, is not limited to men; after one conference, some women in the group excoriated me for not coming up with \$8,000—from my pocket on the spot—for women’s microeconomic projects they proposed.)

Another reason for men’s anger was the substance of biblical teaching. These MBBs brought with them classic Muslim objections to the Bible and Christian doctrines. These objections are part of the cultural air they breathe. If a teacher cannot answer these objections to their satisfaction, these MBBs can grow frustrated and angry. They want to understand, and the teacher has failed them. But even if someone does answer their objections, they may still be angry. As long as the old Muslim objections hold up, Jesus followers or at least sympathizers can justify their glacial movement toward Jesus. But when the truths of Scripture are made clear vis-à-vis rival claims of Islam, this puts pressure on them to abandon Islam’s doctrines and embrace Christian teaching. They have less space to hide than before. And they are closer to realizing their worst fear: that they will be outed as apostates from Islam and then pay the price of ostracism, job termination, property seizure, arrest, beating, or even death.¹⁵⁰ These penalties might also be visited on their families, although in most cases, the authorities ignore women and children; they see men as the choke points they need to control to nip in the bud any spread of the Christian faith among adherents of the majority religion.

This last fear deserves underscoring: it is a particular source of frustration that can well up in anger. This fear comes from a divided

¹⁵⁰Cf. first-century believers who, “after [being] enlightened . . . endured a hard struggle with sufferings, sometimes being publicly exposed to reproach and affliction, and sometimes being partners with those so treated” (Heb. 10:32–33).

conscience before a God who knows all things and judges. Some of these men still frequented the mosque on Friday to avoid broadcasting their covert Christian sympathies. As their knowledge of the gospel deepened, their unease at their double life increased. Muslims believe fervently in eternal punishment. When the Bible is taught and discussed publicly, they see the ultimate duplicity of their ways. But they see no alternative. This is a perfect recipe for repentance and costly obedience—but, short of that, for rage.

To conclude, a first sign of the gospel taking root was when these MBBs received and responded to its claims and directives rather than reacting against them with an anger that even disrupted public assemblies, as it disrupted ours for the first couple of years. But once their anger was assuaged, the door opened to purer worship along with more civil and loving ties with others, including family. Gospel progress in these men's lives at the same time entailed an improvement in the lot of their wives (some men had more than one) and children. For the congregational leaders, it meant more godly regard for those under their oversight, not least due to greater focus on God, worship, and outreach than on in-house disputes and feuding.

1 TIMOTHY 2:9–10

... likewise also that women should adorn themselves in respectable apparel, with modesty and self-control, not with braided hair and gold or pearls or costly attire, but with what is proper for women who profess godliness—with good works.

One consistent ethical question that arose in this setting from the beginning (1995) was this: given that food and water and other basic needs were hard to come by (many lived in refugee camps); and given that mothers especially were on the hook to furnish these things for their children (so many of them were nursing, and so many of their husbands were dead, sick, or jobless due to wars and persecution); and given that, out of desperation, some women turn to either covert liquor distillation or prostitution for some meager income; and given that these activities are against Sharia law—will women guilty of these acts go to hell? That pastoral question was raised frequently. Can these women be forgiven?

And if they act morally but their children starve as a result—then what? What responsibility do other Christians owe to these women if they claim some place in the church?

These questions were raised more by the Christian minority in that region and especially in the refugee camps than by the Muslim majority and the Jesus believers with whom we had come in contact. But the questions pointed to peculiar temptations women faced that men did not in the same way. Such peculiar-to-women challenges may compare at points with what Paul had in mind as he addressed women in particular in 1 Timothy 2. Even impoverished Muslim women wanted to look nice. The Muslim ethos is one of meticulous cleanliness. Yet this focus on hygiene and appearance could come at the cost of modesty, the dignified and restrained behavior Paul calls self-control, or both. Paul's words to Timothy and Ephesus address this issue as well as the vain or self-absorbed mentality that fuels inordinate attachment to physical appearance.

Paul exhorts women to profess godliness and perform good works. This is truly “respectable apparel.” Paul gives us no reason to suppose that he was calling for slovenly appearance together with a high austere religiosity. He rather dignifies women alongside men with the affirmation of direct address, with the empathy of knowing their inclination, and with the trust that they care to know that their appearance and actions matter to God and to the witness of the household of God.

In the MBB context, such an understanding empowered women in several ways. Perhaps their husbands were now responding to a gospel force that was removing anger and granting them holy hands, rendering them less selfish, violent, and demanding. With their husbands moving in a redemptive direction, women were free to re-center their own priorities. They could pursue good works with their husband's support; they could profess godliness with his complicity, prayers, and respect. They could recuse themselves from social compulsion to behave flirtatiously or flaunt indecency in their dress. We began to see signs of happier marriages as the gospel took deeper root. Both men and women were now regarding Scripture with the zeal of believers who knew that what they found there would set them free from standard patterns of female (and male) behavior that displease the God with whom they had begun to

sense a personal relationship through Jesus. Fading was the bondage to guilt, dead ritual, merely legal righteousness, and relational barrenness, which is all many of them knew in the majority religion prior to receiving gospel light.

1 TIMOTHY 2:11–12

Let a woman learn quietly with all submissiveness. I do not permit a woman to teach or to exercise authority over a man; rather, she is to remain quiet.

These too were regarded as welcome and empowering words. Women should learn not by distrustful, strident, or obstreperous insistence or interference but with the deference appropriate to Christian assembly where the reading and exposition of Scripture by pastoral leadership take center stage. The apostolically mandated worship order at Ephesus may be taken as normative in the New Testament church: “Devote yourself,” Paul tells Timothy, “to the public reading of Scripture, to exhortation, to teaching. . . . Keep a close watch on yourself and on the teaching. Persist in this, for by so doing you will save both yourself and your hearers” (1 Tim. 4:13, 16).

Among these hearers were of course women. They are under orders to learn. This implies that someone will teach them. In the apostolic church, this meant illustrious leaders like Paul and Timothy and those they trained. In another passage, Paul mentions husbands’ responsibility in this regard (1 Cor. 14:35). In the Sharia law setting, where women are typically barred from the same educational opportunities as men, divorced at will, and beaten by husbands even unto death with no legal recourse—it is not against the law to beat and even murder your wife in this place—the promise of learning is an immense emotional and psychological consolation and practical enablement. By learning, women internalize the mighty Word of God given by the Spirit of God, who equips and renews them inwardly for the grinding and oppressive lives they face. He even replaces oppression with joy.

We saw a number of these women transformed from dour, suspicious, beat-down (or beat-up) spouses, some of them one of two or three wives of the same husband, to Scripture-searching, note-taking, vocal

disciples of Jesus. (Paul does not call for absolute silence at all times in congregational meetings [cf. 1 Cor. 11:5] but for the deportment necessary for learning at the learning times.) Eyes no longer cast down, these once sullen women greeted others with smiles and warm handshakes, as did their children. These kids, encouraged now by a mom pursuing Christian godliness and a dad who lifts hands in worship rather than in anger, attended a Saturday night Bible school run by the youth and young adults of a local church until an unfortunate security force crack-down. The Sunday school provided activities for boys and girls that reinforced from childhood what Paul calls women to do in this passage, which is also the defining trait of every disciple of Jesus: they are to learn.

As for a woman not noisily seeking to teach or exercise authority, Paul likely had in view the gathered assembly, most likely a house church, a microcosm of the house of God (1 Tim. 3:15). As intact households normally have fathers, intact Christian assemblies “in every place” had elders (cf. Acts 14:23), called and appointed father figures who were undershepherds of Jesus the Great Shepherd and who were responsible to God for the souls of the family members. We have already called attention to Hebrews 13:17: “Obey your leaders and submit to them, for they are keeping watch over your souls, as those who will have to give an account.” Or note 1 Thessalonians 5:12–13: “We ask you, brothers, to respect those who labor among you and are over you in the Lord and admonish you, and to esteem them very highly in love because of their work. Be at peace among yourselves.” In these passages we see the two cardinal pastoral responsibilities assumed: instruction of disciples or teaching and oversight of the household members, again as a father oversees the relations and affairs of his household. This oversight is impossible with a bunch of quarreling, angry men. Nor can or will it occur with women who do not grasp that, during the time of ecclesial instruction by the leader(s), the women’s verbal self-expression needs to yield to hearing. It is worth noting that in the 1 Timothy 2 context, this restriction applied to ecclesial order, or conduct in the Christian gathering, not to social order in the *polis*, or the community at large. Paul was not suggesting that throughout the entire Greco-Roman world, women should be silent in men’s presence or that men for their part must never listen to and thereby learn from any woman.

For believers under Sharia law, this teaching empowered women in a couple of ways. First, it enforced the notion that men are protectors of marriage and the household and that men called to pastoral oversight are protectors of the families together constituting the household of God. We observed above that fear of persecution tempts men not only to anger but to low-profile listlessness, indolence, despair, loss of self-respect, self-loathing, cowardice, craven acts of self-preservation, and apostasy for the sake of survival. If men's leadership runs in the opposite direction from the Lord, then the Devil takes the hindmost—in this case, the women and children deserted by the husbands and fathers who are supposed to love their wives as Christ loved the church and gave himself for it, husbands and fathers whose lives should be dominated by the conviction that “children are a heritage from the LORD” (Ps. 127:3), not dispensable burdens.

When godly men take self-sacrificial responsibility for the instruction and well-being of the congregation—and in the Sharia setting, pastoral oversight marks you as a threat in the ubiquitous eyes of government security faster than anything else—then and only then can women feel free to focus on their holy good works. Then and only then can they devote themselves to things like household order and upkeep, nurture of children, vigilant prayerfulness with the multitasking consciousness in which many women excel, and Christian witness in the spheres to which they have unique access as women and from which men are barred.

Unfortunately, these verses threw men under the bus of an increased likelihood of persecution. When teaching Romans 8 there several years ago, I found among the men of this group more resonance with the verse I call Paul's life verse, v. 36, than in any other place in the world I have taught: “As it is written, ‘For your sake we are being killed all the day long; we are regarded as sheep to be slaughtered.’” One reason that these verses in 1 Timothy 2 make so much sense in that setting is that there is no alternative to taking up the cross. People are not agitating for their rights or leadership visibility—to do so would only threaten their existence. They are simply seeking to honor God by following Christ.

It might also be observed that in this setting, 1 Timothy 2:11–12 empowers women by confirming the implied mandate for the men to

whom they should listen that these men have something compelling to say. Not only among MBBs but in over three decades of ministry on four continents, I have found in undergraduate classrooms, divinity school courses, and local church meetings a higher per capita average of avid female listeners and learners than men. Yet many women confess that they struggle to be fully attentive and pedagogically expectant in church. Why? The men they listen to often have little new, fresh, or profound to say and not enough framed with women's distinct perceptions and concerns in mind. How much typical preaching results not from a fresh and spirited inquiry into Scripture's divine mysteries but from a formulaic rehearsal of timeworn homiletic material, delivered perhaps with impressive passion for effect and disarming humor to dull the pain of another half hour or more of boredom? But thinking women pushed to the limit by marital tension and social hostility want sermonic substance. They want to be informed and stretched and given the fruit of a speaker's literary labor and the benefit of his presumed gift of teaching.

This concern raises issues that touch on the Western church. It may turn out that one of the best arguments for women in the pulpit is men's dereliction of their duty to put themselves under Scripture's authority and do the work required to present it in its fullness in ways that will resonate with listeners, including women. Of course, for a woman preacher to be a solution here assumes she would be better not only in exposition and interpretation but in Christlike character, willing to sacrifice herself in ways the derelict man was not.

At issue here is not only the lacking sermonic substance women seek but also the moral integrity without which even illustrious sermonizing is hypocrisy. Before Paul reminds Timothy to read Scripture publicly and exhort and teach, he reminds him repeatedly of things such as being "a good servant of Christ Jesus, being trained in the words of the faith and of the good doctrine that you have followed" (1 Tim. 4:6) and "set[ting] an example in speech, in conduct, in love, in faith, in purity" (1 Tim. 4:12). Sadly this cannot be said of all pastoral leaders. In this age of Internet smut, purity is increasingly imperiled among the ranks of pastors. Many women can detect men's involvement in this vice, and in any case, God knows. The church order and gospel presence Paul calls for empowers women, if men will repent and be saved from their

sin, by creating in the church a zone of wholesome goodness and chaste friendships, free from the lechery that infects our circles at www.what-ever and that (returning now to the global South) infects the world of MBBs with temptations to lustfulness from other quarters.

1 TIMOTHY 2:13–15

For Adam was formed first, then Eve; and Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor. Yet she will be saved through childbearing—if they continue in faith and love and holiness, with self-control.

As many have pointed out, in the global South, where it is said that the church has grown faster than at any time in history, the dominant form of Bible reading follows not a hermeneutic of suspicion but one of trust. In the region under consideration here, believers use the Old Testament heavily, viewing it every bit as much a corpus for Christians as the New Testament. MBBs simply accept Genesis 1–3 as God-given and true till this hour in its implications. Men and women alike, though in different ways, receive the curse. Adam is the prototypical sinner, the “first man” when it comes to sin, who tries but cannot palm off on Eve his federal headship for all his descendants in shame, guilt, and sin. Christ as the second Adam undoes the woe worked by the first Adam, not by Eve. The world viewed from the standpoint of sin’s effects and God’s curse is one sorry, screwed-up place, and women, like men, suffer.

But where sin abounds, so does grace. Despite the pain associated with childbirth in Genesis 3:16 and certainly felt by MBB women, who may lack access to medical care and who as a result are at great risk in pregnancy, the text speaks of rescue. The earlier references to godliness, good works, and learning are now expanded as Scripture speaks of continuing “in faith and love and holiness, with self-control.” Women are empowered by Paul’s shorthand acknowledgment of the particular cross they bear in being created female, in the event they are blessed with pregnancy.

One woman’s story illustrates this empowerment. When her husband acknowledged the unique cross she bore as a woman in this community,

he arrived at a new level of love for her in her MBB womanliness. This husband knew some English, and he found translation work for a relief agency in that region. They gave him a medical bulletin to translate on female genital mutilation, a brutal fact of life in that part of the world. He showed his wife his translation for her to read.

It was like a dam broke, he told me. I paraphrase his broken English: “You see my wife,” he said, gesturing toward the group of perhaps three dozen women in attendance that night during a break. “Like all the women in this tribe, she had this operation. It makes our marriages very difficult. My wife and I in all our years never knew happiness together. But when she found I understood her pain and what had been done to her, she is now a different person. We have happiness that we never knew before.”

A wife feeling that her husband knows and cares can be a powerful means of grace. Whatever else 1 Timothy 2:15 means, it affirms that God knows and cares when women in their peak hour of anguish endure childbirth. It powerfully expresses God’s love and the way he opens women’s hearts to receive the consolation of forgiveness, strengthening, and eternal hope even in the physical duress that no man really quite knows.

Another young woman, whom I first met in her teen years, later married and became pregnant. She and her husband became gravely concerned about the baby since prenatal care was beyond their reach financially. They asked for special prayer, particularly because of indications that the birth was going to be breech, and a Caesarian was probably not feasible. Prayers were answered; “Timothy” was (and still is) a vigorous healthy child.

A few months later, this woman’s deliverance in childbirth fueled a prophetic admonition as our group met one night. As she exhorted us, I thought of women prophesying à la 1 Corinthians 11. During a sharing time after a long instructional session, she gave testimony to her fears and her faith. She told of a dream. She was standing outside her residence when a large black serpent appeared, slithering toward her with evil intent. It rose taller than her house as it prepared to sink its fangs into her body. Desperate, she ripped a cross from her necklace and swung it. It struck the snake and tore a hole in its skin. The snake

started shrinking like a punctured balloon. In a few seconds, it had withered to nothing.

This dream had a backdrop. Someone in the neighborhood wielding a knife had recently threatened the woman's residence. He was angry because the family believes in Jesus. The woman's dream assured her that the cross is more powerful than God's enemies. She exhorted the whole tribe to bear up and not be afraid despite the pressures they face. As she said these things, she drew on the text we had studied that evening, Romans 8:31–39—a central passage for a Christian doctrine of perseverance in the face of persecution.

Conclusion

Feminist hermeneutics originating in the West has gone global in its challenge to the historic understanding of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 and its implications in and for the church. We have noted above that currently many follow familiar paths in continuing to champion feminist readings. At the same time, a fresh matrix has emerged as women unconvinced by a feminist synthesis are rethinking texts, hermeneutical approaches, and the testimony of historical evidences. Time will tell whether these voices will multiply in number and strength or die away for lack of sustained hearing and response. Will there be as much interest in nonfeminist women's voices as there is in the voices that promote some version of the West's currently dominant gender consciousness?

From a part of the world that Philip Jenkins has called "the next Christendom,"¹⁵¹ things look different, as noted in the contextual reading above. Scholars have for some time called attention to the fact that Christianity outside the West has in the last few generations undergone the most rapid numeric growth ever recorded. Meanwhile, the church in most Western locations has continued to atrophy. A small but significant aspect of Western church fortunes has been its handling of issues related to the meaning and application of 1 Timothy 2.

Coming years will see Christians challenged increasingly with the question of which church they are going to identify with: the one deepening and refining its commitment to Scripture and growing at least

¹⁵¹ Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

in depth (perhaps renewed by the seed of martyrs' blood), or the one reducing, selectively pruning its fidelity to the Bible, and, it appears, shrinking, yet still possessing formidable power and resources? Doubtless, churches in developing lands will make hermeneutical mistakes and bad decisions. We should not unthinkingly declare loyalty to the church anywhere but always seek to be the church that looks to Scripture continually for guidance and follows Christ rather than broad church or other social movements that may be in error.

Yet we in the West might need to maintain openness to "traditional" interpretations of Scripture that are truly more faithful than feminist hermeneutics has proposed. Claire Smith tells of a new Christian, a university-aged woman in "an ethnic based church," who read 1 Timothy 2 for the first time.¹⁵² When asked whether she found it difficult, she replied, "No, it's easy. Paul is saying women shouldn't teach in church, because that's the way God wants it." It would be easy, Smith notes, to suppose that "her ethnic cultural background probably made it easier for her to do that." But Smith continues: "But can you see that the opposite might also be true—that *our* culture influences *our* reading of the text, and that many of the difficulties we find in it might exist because of *our* culture and *our* personalities and not because of the text itself?"

Perhaps at points we have grown soft and culture-driven in our handling of Scripture. Maybe we should be advised to toughen up like the church in so many other parts of the world, MBBs at the forefront. The cross they have been called to take up is increasingly congruent with the Bible, which contains unpopular words they are pressured to denounce. It will not do to be cowardly when cultural pressure tempts us to abandon biblical norms simply because those around us find them odd or odious—or because we personally lack appetite for what the text clearly states.

The testimony of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 hails from an age when political powers opposed the church and held it in ignominy, and a small part of the wisdom possibly informing that counsel in ancient Ephesus may be confirmed by the story of a woman called Eva (not her real name). When I began serving in the Muslim country mentioned above, I was surprised to find women on the church council as elders. A couple

¹⁵² Quotations in this paragraph are from Smith, *God's Good Design*, 24; emphasis Smith's.

of years into my service there, the council realized that the church to which I belong does not affirm women's ordination to primary pastoral congregational leadership. They told me, "But we thought all the churches in the US ordained women." I asked where they got that idea. The source of their information was missionaries from liberal US denominations that ordained women. I explained the situation more accurately, but their church order had already been reset with feminist input. Women were now in the visible forefront of church leadership as elder-council members. Under the circumstances, I had no quarrel with it, though I wondered about its wisdom and long-term outcomes.

Eventually one fateful outcome emerged. The government, headed by a thug who has been indicted for genocide and who is responsible for the death of hundreds of thousands of people, cracked down on all "Christian activities." He deported two hundred Christian workers from the country. (The liberal missionaries had disappeared years earlier.) But many of the local leaders, who cannot disappear, were arrested. Among them was Eva. I had always felt that she, a humble and retiring person, was uneasy with the prominent place into which she had been thrust. She thrived on quiet and hidden service, I could see. But due to her leadership status she was among the first caught up in the crackdown and jailed.

She was set free the day after Easter after over forty days of incarceration, much of the time with no one, including her husband, knowing where she was being held. Contact with that part of the world has become difficult in the time since; I do not know what violence was done to her, but it cannot have been pleasant. In that part of the world, women need protection from imperial predations. Men should occupy the dangerous positions of obvious exposure, not their wives and sisters and daughters.

As Diana Lynn Severance notes, "The fourth-century historian Eusebius mentioned 120 men and 15 women as martyrs."¹⁵³ Eleven percent were women. In all, "we know about 950 names of Christian martyrs

¹⁵³ Quotes and figures in this paragraph are from Diana Lynn Severance, *Feminine Threads*, 38. The historiography informing Candida Moss's *The Myth of Persecution: How Early Christians Invented a Story of Martyrdom* (New York: HarperCollins, 2013) results in too sweeping a dismissal of evidence with stronger claims to authenticity than she is willing to grant. See the important review by N. Clayton Croy, *RBL* 10 (2013), accessed September 4, 2014, http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/9158_10095.pdf.

before A.D. 313.” Of these, 170 (or 18 percent) were women. By their deaths, Christian women have always “contributed to the victory over paganism,” when it has come to that. But the church should not make women easy targets for the enemy’s sweeps. That may be part of the divine wisdom in calling on men, not women, to walk point as the church has advanced through the centuries.

The best understanding of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 in its larger context(s) suggests that for Christians and the church, nothing has been proposed in the last few generations of feminist hermeneutics that compels the overthrow of that wisdom.

New and Old Departures in the Translation of *ἀϋθεντεῖν* in 1 Timothy 2:12

Denny Burk

Without question, 1 Timothy 2:12 is the most contested verse in the wider debate among evangelicals about women in ministry.¹ The most contested clause within this most contested verse is διδάσκειν δὲ γυναῖκι οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω οὐδὲ ἀϋθεντεῖν ἀνδρός. And the most contested word within this most contested clause is, without a doubt, ἀϋθεντεῖν. As the foregoing chapters have made clear, the meaning of this term and even of its syntax has been the subject of a wide variety of interpretations. For this reason, these debates have caused no little controversy about the appropriate way to render this text into English.

The majority report among English translations confirms the exegesis set forth in this book. These versions render the phrase variously as prohibiting women from two activities within the church—teaching Christian doctrine to and exercising authority over men, as would be the case for the church’s pastor(s) and elders (e.g., ESV, HCSB, NAB, NASB, NET, NIV 1984, NJB, NKJV, NLT, NRSV, RSV). A minority

¹Due to the nature of this chapter, I identify the translation used for all Scripture quotations.

have rendered the text pejoratively (e.g., CEB, KJV). Consider the overview in table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Nonpejorative vs. Pejorative Translations

Nonpejorative Translations	
ESV	I do not permit a woman to teach or to exercise authority over a man; rather, she is to remain quiet.
HCSB	I do not allow a woman to teach or to have authority over a man; instead, she is to be silent.
NAB	I do not permit a woman to teach or to have authority over a man. She must be quiet.
NASB	But I do not allow a woman to teach or exercise authority over a man, but to remain quiet.
NET	But I do not allow a woman to teach or exercise authority over a man. She must remain quiet.
NIV 1984	I do not permit a woman to teach or to have authority over a man; she must be silent.
NJB	I give no permission for a woman to teach or to have authority over a man. A woman ought to be quiet,
NKJV	And I do not permit a woman to teach or to have authority over a man, but to be in silence.
NLT	I do not let women teach men or have authority over them. Let them listen quietly.
NRSV	I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over a man; she is to keep silent.
RSV	I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over men; she is to keep silent.

Pejorative Translations*	
CEB	I don't allow a wife to teach or to control her husband. Instead, she should be a quiet listener.
ISV	Moreover, in the area of teaching, I am not allowing a woman to instigate conflict toward a man. Instead, she is to remain calm.
KJV	But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence.
TLB	I never let women teach men or lord it over them. Let them be silent in your church meetings.

*The NIV 2011 renders the verse, "I do not permit a woman to teach or to assume authority over a man; she must be quiet." While this may be taken as a pejorative translation, the NIV translation committee strenuously objects, arguing that the translation is neutral, not negative. But see the following discussion.

Much rides on whether we understand ἀϋθεντεῖν as a pejorative (“usurp authority”) or a nonpejorative (“have/exercise authority”) expression. The exegesis reflected in this volume favors the latter interpretation. In this chapter, I argue that the nonpejorative view dominates the history of Bible translation and for good reason. To that end, I will respond (1) to the contention that this rendering is a twentieth-century innovation and (2) to one major translation’s recent departure from the majority report.

A Twentieth-Century Innovation?

One recent commentator, Linda Belleville, has argued that modern English translations have glossed over the difficulties in translating this text. In her view, a “hierarchical, noninclusive” understanding of women in leadership is partly to blame. She says that English translations from the 1940s to the early 1980s have been “manipulated” in order to exclude women from church leadership.² These modern translations thus appear to prohibit women from two activities, both of which are seen as perfectly permissible when exercised by qualified men—teaching and exercising authority. Belleville argues that this approach is mistaken and that older translations did not treat ἀϋθεντεῖν as positive in and of itself but as a negative concept. She rejects out of hand Andreas Köstenberger’s argument that the syntax of διδάσκειν and ἀϋθεντεῖν renders them either both negative or both positive. Rather, she contends that the two concepts are joined together in a way best expressed by the following rendering: “I do not permit her to teach *with the intent to dominate* the man.”³ Thus Paul does not forbid women from teaching per se, but only from a certain *kind* of teaching. She writes, “Paul would then be prohibiting teaching that tries to get the upper hand—not teaching per se.”⁴

The foregoing chapters have already demonstrated the shortcomings of the exegesis reflected in Belleville’s work. Elsewhere, Köstenberger has responded pointedly to Belleville’s argument and has shown that even

² Cf. Linda L. Belleville, “Teaching and Usurping Authority: 1 Timothy 2:11–15,” in *Discovering Biblical Equality: Complementarity without Hierarchy*, ed. Ronald W. Pierce and Rebecca Merrill Groothuis (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2004), 209.

³ *Ibid.*, 223; emphasis added.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 223.

egalitarian interpreters of Scripture have widely accepted his reading.⁵ He makes a convincing case that one can safely regard the findings of his syntactical study as an “assured result of biblical scholarship.”⁶ So we will not belabor the exegesis here. But we do want to examine whether Belleville’s characterization of the versions accurately reflects the history of Bible translation. I think there are solid reasons for believing that it does not.

Belleville contends that there is a “virtually unbroken tradition, stemming from the oldest versions and running down to the twenty-first century, that translates *authentein* as ‘to dominate’ rather than ‘to exercise authority over.’”⁷ She adduces the following evidence predating the twenty-first century in support of this thesis:

- Old Latin (second–fourth cent. AD): “I permit not a woman to teach, neither to *dominate* a man [*neque dominari viro*].”
- Vulgate (fourth–fifth cent.): “I permit not a woman to teach, neither to *domineer over* a man [*neque dominari in virum*].”
- Geneva (1560 edition): “I permit not a woman to teache, nether to *vfurpe* authoritie ouer the man.”
- Casidoro de Reina (1569): “I do not permit the woman to teach, neither to *take [tomar]* authority over the man” (*No permito á la mujer enseñar, ni tomar autoridad sobre el hombre*).
- Bishops’ (1589): “I suffer not a woman to teach, neither to *usurpe* authoritie over the man.”
- KJV (1611): “I suffer not a woman to teach, neither to *usurpe* authority over a man.”

She contends that these renderings of αὐθεντεῖν carry a negative connotation and thus confirm her rendering of the same as “to dominate.”

The main problem with Belleville’s argument on this point is that she misconstrues some of this evidence while downplaying other evidence that contradicts her thesis. The actual evidence does not at all indicate a “virtually unbroken tradition” of rendering αὐθεντεῖν negatively.

⁵ See his chapter in the second edition of this volume and Andreas J. Köstenberger, “Teaching and Usurping Authority: 1 Timothy 2:11–15” (Ch 12) by Linda L. Belleville,” *JBMW* 10, no. 1 (2005): 43–54.

⁶ Köstenberger, “Teaching and Usurping Authority,” 52.

⁷ Belleville, “Teaching and Usurping Authority,” 209. She makes essentially the same argument in Linda L. Belleville, “Women in Ministry: An Egalitarian Perspective,” in *Two Views on Women in Ministry*, ed. James R. Beck, rev. ed., Counterpoints (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2005), 86–87.

First, Belleville cites the Old Latin and the Vulgate as giving pejorative renderings of αὐθεντεῖν. She argues that the Latin *dominari* must be rendered in negative terms—"dominate" and "domineer."⁸ But one wonders if Belleville has not committed an exegetical fallacy in translating *dominor* with a negative connotation. It is a semantic anachronism to project current definitions of words onto their etymological precursors.⁹ But it looks like this is exactly what Belleville has done by translating the Latin *dominari* with "dominate/domineer." Whereas the English terms *dominate* and *domineer* carry negative connotations, the Latin term *dominari* does not. Belleville mistakenly reads this negative sense back into the Latin term. Other translations of *dominari* have avoided this error. For example, the Rheims New Testament (1582) renders *dominari* into English with the neutral phrase "to use authority." Likewise, the Confraternity Edition of the New Testament renders *dominari* with "to exercise authority."¹⁰ Neither of them gives any hint of a negative connotation for *dominari*. In doing so, they are reflecting the semantic content of the Old Latin term, which often simply means "to be in control" or "to rule."¹¹ Furthermore, in her analysis Belleville omits some of the other readings in Old Latin. In chapter 2 of this volume, Al Wolters has shown four different translations in the Old Latin dating from the third century on: *praepositam esse*, *dominare*, *dominari*, and *principari*.¹² As Wolters points out, there is nothing inherently pejorative about any of these four Latin translations. Concerning *dominor* in particular, the Vulgate uses the term to describe the rule of God (e.g., Judg. 8:23; 2 Chron. 20:6; Ps. 58:14[59:13]; Dan. 4:14[4:17]), the reign of the Messiah (Num. 24:19; Pss. 71[72]:8, 109[110]:2; Zech. 6:13), and the rule of Jesus (Rom. 14:9). Again, none of these uses can be reasonably construed as pejorative.

Second, Belleville's rendering of Casidoro de Reina is also suspect. The Spanish term *tomar* simply means "to take" or "to have." This

⁸On a pejorative sense for αὐθεντεῖν, see also R. T. France, *Women in the Church's Ministry: A Test Case for Biblical Interpretation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), 65, esp. 65n16.

⁹D. A. Carson, *Exegetical Fallacies*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1996), 33–35.

¹⁰The Confraternity Edition of the New Testament is based on Bishop Challoner's 1750 edition. See "Preface," in *The Holy Bible: New American Catholic Edition* (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1950), vii.

¹¹P. G. W. Glare, ed., *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 571.

¹²See pp. 84–86 in this volume.

term does not necessarily carry any negative connotation. Belleville acknowledges that modern Spanish versions render αὐθεντεῖν with *ejercer*, “to practice” or “to exercise.”¹³ But again, this difference need not imply a contrast with *tomar*. Both *tomar* and *ejercer* regularly appear in a nonpejorative sense.¹⁴

Third, while the Geneva Bible, the Bishops’ Bible, and the KJV all render αὐθεντεῖν with “usurp authority,”¹⁵ Belleville downplays other influential versions from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that render αὐθεντεῖν in a nonpejorative sense. Both Luther and Tyndale translate αὐθεντεῖν nonpejoratively.

Luther Bible (1545): “I do not permit a woman to teach or to be a leader of the man” (*Einem Weibe aber gestatte ich nicht, daß sie lehre, auch nicht, daß sie des Mannes Herr sei*).¹⁶

Tyndale (1534): “I suffre not a woman to teache nether to have auctoricie over a man: but forto be in silence.”

Both of these translations were enormously influential, and both of them render the crucial term in a nonpejorative sense. Nevertheless,

¹³ Belleville, “Teaching and Usurping Authority,” 210.

¹⁴ See “tomar” and “ejercer” in Ubaldo Di Benedetto, *Nuevo Diccionario General Inglés-Español = New Comprehensive English-Spanish Dictionary*, vol. 2 (Madrid: EDAF, Ediciones-Distribuciones, 1977). This dictionary features many words “now considered archaic but which are required for correct interpretation of . . . classical authors,” including those from the sixteenth century such as Cervantes and St. Teresa (p. vii).

¹⁵ Their use of “usurp authority” may be influenced by Erasmus’s inaccurate Latin translation of the same text, *autoritatem ufurpare in uiros*, which is a departure from the Old Latin and Vulgate renderings. See Erasmo Roterodamo, *Novum Testamentum Omne: Tertio Iam Ac Diligentius*, 3rd ed. (Basil: Johannes Frobenius, 1522), 453. (Special thanks to the archives staff of The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, who allowed me to view a rare 1522 Greek-Latin diglot of Erasmus’s New Testament.) Still, Erasmus’s translation (and the English versions that follow him) may not intend *usurp* to have a negative connotation in the same way that some modern egalitarians read it as negative. Modern egalitarians view Paul’s words to prohibit the “usurpation of authority” or “domineering.” On this reading, Paul prohibits women only from sinful power grabs, not from godly expressions of teaching or leading. But Erasmus clearly interprets Paul to prohibit *all* expressions of authority on the part of women, not just sinful expressions. In other words, Erasmus understands any female expression of authority as a subversion of nature. In his paraphrase of this text, Erasmus’s interpretation of Paul’s words is clear: “I do not permit any woman to assume the role of teacher in a mixed assembly, even if she has something to teach. Otherwise once the window is open the weak sex will become overly bold. I do not allow them to practice any authority over their husbands, their love for whom should be mixed with awe and respect. Therefore, let the women keep silent and listen respectfully to what is said by the men. Let them acknowledge the order of nature. As it is the responsibility of the mind to rule, of the body to obey, so a wife ought to hang on her husband’s nod. Why do we reverse the divine order? Adam was created first; Eve was then created for his sake. Why should impudence put second what God wanted to be first?” See Desiderius Erasmus, *Paraphrases on the Epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, the Epistles of Peter and Jude, the Epistle of James, the Epistle of John, the Epistle to the Hebrews*, trans. John J. Bateman, *Collected Works of Erasmus* 44 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 17.

¹⁶ Cf. Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Deutsche Bibel*, vol. 7 of *Luthers Werke* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1931), 263–64. Luther renders the Greek infinitive αὐθεντεῖν with the German subjunctive plus a noun, which literally might be read as “that she might not be a leader of the man.”

Belleville relegates both Luther's and Tyndale's translations to a footnote, calling them merely "notable exceptions."¹⁷ But surely these "exceptions" (if, for argument's sake, that is what they are) disprove her sweeping claim about the "virtually unbroken tradition" of a negative meaning for αὐθεντεῖν. Curiously, Belleville fails to mention Calvin's Latin translation of this text, which reads as follows:

Jean Calvin (1548): *Docere autem mulieri non permitto, neque auctoritatem sibi sumere in virum: sed quietam esse.*¹⁸

In the popular 1899 English edition of Calvin's commentaries, William Pringle offers a misleading translation of the terms *auctoritatem sumere* by rendering them with a negative connotation: "usurp authority."¹⁹ But Pringle is certainly mistaken in this. The word *sumere* is actually a nonpejorative term, which simply means "to take" or "to claim possession."²⁰ In this way, Calvin's rendering is very similar to that of Luther and Tyndale. These texts indicate that three of the leading scholars and Bible commentators/translators from the time of the Reformation (Luther, Tyndale, and Calvin) agree with a nonpejorative rendering of αὐθεντεῖν.

The conclusion is clear. Belleville has misconstrued the meaning of the ancient Latin versions and an early modern Spanish version. She has also downplayed versions from three leading Protestant Reformers

¹⁷ Belleville, "Teaching and Usurping Authority," 209n7.

¹⁸ Jean Calvin, *Joannis Calvini, Magni Theologi, Commentarii in Omnes Epistolas S. Pauli Apostoli, Atque Etiam in Epistolam Ad Hebraeos: Nec Non in Epistolas Canonicas*, vol. 7 (Amstelodami: Apud viduam Joannis Jacobi Schipperii, 1677), 448. Special thanks to the archives staff of The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, who made it possible for me to view a rare 1677 Latin edition of Calvin's commentaries.

¹⁹ John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon*, trans. William Pringle, Calvin's Commentaries 21 (1856; repr., Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1999), 67. It is possible that Pringle was unduly influenced by the King James Version's rendering of 1 Timothy 2:12, which includes the phrase "usurp authority." Pringle translates Calvin as using the word "usurp" in his commentary on v. 12, but this is probably a mistake as well. Near the end of Calvin's commentary on this verse, Pringle translates, "It will be a mingling of heaven and earth, if women *usurp the right* to teach." Ibid., 68; emphasis mine. But even here, Pringle is translating not *usurpo* but *arripio*, which means "to seize, snatch, lay hold of, take possession of, seize upon with eagerness or haste." Roy J. Deferrari, Sister M. Inviolata Barry, and Ignatius McGuiness, *A Lexicon of St. Thomas Aquinas Based on The Summa Theologica and Selected Passages of His Other Works* (Baltimore, MD: Catholic University of America Press, 1948), s.v. *arripio*, 85. *Arripio* does not necessarily have the same connotation as *usurpo*, which means "to hold in possession by force or without right." Ibid., s.v. *usurpo*, 1131.

²⁰ The problem with Calvin's rendering is not that it is pejorative but that it may be ingressive. Even so, his commentary on this verse does not stress an ingressive idea. Rather, Calvin highlights that *nature* precludes women from being in authority over men. In any case, his use of *sumere* is indeed nonpejorative in 1 Timothy 2:12. Lexicons that cover Medieval Latin seem to confirm this observation. For example, see Deferrari, Barry, and McGuiness, *Lexicon of St. Thomas Aquinas*, 1072–73. The same also holds true in the entry for *sumō* in Leo F. Stelten, *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Latin: With an Appendix of Latin Expressions Defined and Clarified* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995), 259. See also *sumō* in Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 1870–71. Special thanks to my colleague Michael Haykin and to Miguel Echevarria for their input on the semantic range of *sumō*.

(Luther, Tyndale, Calvin), all of whom disprove her thesis of a “virtually unbroken tradition” of translation before the twentieth century. Contrary to what Belleville argues, these old versions show that the nonpejorative rendering “to have/exercise authority” has an impressive pedigree in early Christian and Renaissance Bible translations.²¹

The Rendering of *αὐθεντεῖν* in the NIV 2011

While the major modern English translations have widely agreed that *αὐθεντεῖν* should be translated in a nonpejorative sense (“have/exercise authority”),²² evangelical feminist scholars have fiercely contested this consensus from the last quarter of the twentieth century until now. Still, only one major translation has actually departed from the “have/exercise authority” interpretation—the 2011 revision of the NIV.²³

According to the Christian Booksellers Association, the NIV is by far the best-selling Bible in English—ahead of the King James Version, the English Standard Version, and a host of others.²⁴ It is difficult to overstate the influence of the NIV among English-speaking evangelicals (especially in North America). Its influence has been pervasive for a generation of believers. In many ways, the 1984 revision of the NIV became the authorized version of evangelicalism. That is why the NIV’s new rendering of 1 Timothy 2:12 has the potential to greatly impact English readers of Scripture.²⁵ The NIV 2011 adopts the rendering “assume

²¹In chapter 2 above, Wolters also demonstrates nonpejorative renderings in other early versions: Sahidic Coptic (second century), Bohairic Coptic (third century), Gothic (fourth century), and Harklean Syriac (seventh century).

²²See the survey chart in the introduction of this chapter.

²³The King James Version’s “usurp authority,” of course, figures significantly within the history of Bible translation. But that rendering really is an outlier among English translations. As I have shown above, it is most likely relying on Erasmus’s incorrect translation of *αὐθεντεῖν*. The rendering is a significant departure from the Latin versions, Luther, Tyndale, and Calvin, and it has been rejected by a majority of major modern English versions as well.

²⁴For example, see the Christian Booksellers Association’s rankings for October 2014, “CBA Best Sellers: October 2014,” <http://cbanews.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2014/09/BiblesTranslations201410.pdf>. Much of the following material on the NIV is a substantial revision of my previous work. See Denny Burk et al., “The Translation of Gender Terminology in the NIV 2011,” *JBMW* 16, no. 1 (2011): 17–33.

²⁵The NIV’s translation of this text certainly holds significant implications for the wider debate among evangelicals about women in ministry. In fact, one can hardly overestimate the importance of 1 Timothy 2:12 on that question. Paul is clearly prohibiting something in 1 Timothy 2:12, but just what he prohibits has been fiercely contested. Complementarians argue that Paul prohibits women from doing two things—teaching Christian doctrine to and exercising authority over the gathered church, as would be the case for the church’s pastor(s) and elders. Egalitarians argue that Paul prohibits women from doing one thing—a certain kind of teaching. Egalitarians deny that this text indicates a gender-based authority structure and variously argue that Paul means to prohibit women from “teaching with authority,” from “teaching in a domineering way,” or from “teaching false doctrine.” In egalitarian readings, Paul does not prohibit all teaching by women over men in the church but only a certain kind of teaching.

authority,” and it does so in a way that is confusing—especially in light of its marginal notes. In order to see this, we must look at how the NIV’s translation has been revised since 1984. Here is how the verse appears in four NIV revisions going back to 1984.

Table 6.2 Revisions of 1 Timothy 2:12 in the NIV

Text of 1 Timothy 2:12	Marginal Notes
NIV 1984 I do not permit a woman to teach or to have authority over a man; she must be silent.*	
TNIV 2002 (NT) I do not permit a woman to teach or to have authority over ^b a man; ^c she must be quiet.	^b Or <i>to exercise authority over</i> ; or <i>to dominate</i> ^c Or <i>her husband</i>
TNIV 2005 I do not permit a woman to teach or to assume authority over a man; ^{1,2} she must be quiet.	¹ Or <i>teach a man in a domineering way</i> ; or <i>teach or to exercise (or have) authority over a man</i> ² Or <i>over her husband</i>
NIV 2011 I do not permit a woman to teach or to assume authority over a man; ^b she must be quiet.	^b Or <i>over her husband</i>

* The same translation appears in the NIV 1995: Inclusive Language Edition, published in the UK.

As the table indicates, the crucial change from “have authority” to “assume authority” occurred not in the TNIV 2002 but in the TNIV 2005, which is the basis for the NIV 2011.²⁶ What difference does this change make? The main difference is that “assume authority” adds an ingressive idea to the translation. On this interpretation, Paul means not to prohibit “having or exercising authority” per se but only to prohibit the initial (potentially but not necessarily unauthorized) act of taking

²⁶When “assume authority” first appeared in the TNIV, it went largely unnoticed and thus without controversy. How could this important change have gone unnoticed in a major revision of the NIV? I think the primary reason is that the TNIV underwent some quiet revisions between 2002, when the New Testament was released, and 2005, when the Old Testament appeared. The TNIV 2002 (NT) still featured the rendering “have authority.” When the Old Testament came out three years later, the committee included some changes to the New Testament as well. So “assume authority” first appeared in the 2005 edition. That explains why little was made of this verse in the controversy that immediately followed the release of the TNIV. For instance, the issue is not really discussed in Vern S. Poythress and Wayne A. Grudem, *The TNIV and the Gender-Neutral Bible Controversy* (Nashville: Broadman, 2004). They did not address it because “assume authority” did not appear until 2005, after much of the negative reaction to the TNIV had already been published. The TNIV 2005 served as the basis of translation for the NIV 2011, which retained “assume authority.” And that is how the NIV translators made a significant change to a most contested verse with few people noticing it.

up such authority. The NIV translators explain this rendering in their “Translators’ Notes.” They write,

Much debate has surrounded the rare Greek word *authentein*, translated in the 1984 NIV as “exercise authority [*sic*; should be ‘have authority’].” The KJV reflected what some have argued was in some contexts a more negative sense for the word: “usurp authority.” “Assume authority” is a particularly nice English rendering because it leaves the question open, as it must be unless we discover new, more conclusive evidence.²⁷ The exercise of authority that Paul was forbidding was one that women inappropriately assumed, but whether that referred to all forms of authority over men in church or only certain forms in certain contexts is up to the individual interpreter to decide.²⁸

The translators not only understand *αὐθεντεῖν* to be ingressive, but they also intend to leave the question “open” as to whether or not the term is pejorative.²⁹

THE INGRESSIVE SENSE ONLY WITH AORIST TENSE

There are several reasons for questioning the accuracy of the translation “assume authority.” The first concerns the ingressive meaning of “assume authority.” Al Wolters has already demonstrated in chapter 2 above that the ingressive use of *αὐθεντεῖν* only occurs in connection with the aorist tense. He also shows that ingressive aorists often appear in connection with denominative verbs such as *αὐθεντεῖν*.³⁰ That is why he thinks the present form of *αὐθεντεῖν* in 1 Timothy 2:12 makes

²⁷ Note that no new lexical evidence surfaced between the publication of the original NIV in 1984 and the latest revision of the NIV in 2011 that would necessitate a shift in translation. If no new lexical evidence is responsible for this change, the question remains, what factors are responsible? One area where we have seen doubtless change in the intervening period is in cultural expectations regarding the role of women in society and in the church.

²⁸ “Updating the New International Version of the Bible: Notes from the Committee on Bible Translation” (The Committee on Bible Translation, August 2010), 7, <http://www.thenivbible.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/2011-Translation-Notes.pdf>.

²⁹ In a private letter addressed to me and dated May 11, 2011, the chairman of the Committee on Bible Translation (CBT) reiterates his opinion that “assume authority” is a neutral rendering of *αὐθεντεῖν*. I agree that “assume authority” can be understood as neutral in certain contexts. But we shall see below that “assume authority” is nonetheless liable to be misunderstood as pejorative by some readers.

³⁰ Wolters cites A. T. Robertson in this connection. See A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*, 4th ed. (Nashville: Broadman, 1934), 834n4: “These ingressive aorists are often denominative verbs.” See also Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, rev. Gordon M. Messing (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), §1925 (p. 430): “Most of the verbs in question are denominatives, and the forms are chiefly those of the first aorist.” Smyth does say, however, that the ingressive sense can appear “[r]arely with the second aorist.”

an ingressive notion unlikely.³¹ We should also add to this argument Herbert Smyth and Gordon Messing's observation that Greek has no way of expressing an ingressive sense in present time.³² This lexical and grammatical evidence strongly urges against attaching any ingressive sense to the present active infinitives that appear in 1 Timothy 2:12.

Constantine Campbell correctly notes that "present infinitives semantically encode imperfective aspect."³³ In 1 Timothy 2:12, therefore, we should expect αὐθεντεῖν to bear one of the meanings associated with the aspectual functions of the present-tense form. In biblical Greek, whenever ἐπιτρέπω appears with a complementary infinitive, the tense form of the infinitive tends to match that of ἐπιτρέπω. Nearly every instance has an aorist form of ἐπιτρέπω paired with an aorist infinitive.³⁴ First Timothy 2:12 is the only text that matches a present-tense form of ἐπιτρέπω with present-tense complementary infinitives. This departure from the norm is perhaps intentional and may indicate that the author wishes readers to construe the aspect of αὐθεντεῖν in connection with the main verb ἐπιτρέπω.³⁵ For example, if ἐπιτρέπω is understood to be gnomic (conveying a universal truth), the present-tense form of αὐθεντεῖν may be gnomic as well.³⁶ However one construes the present tense of αὐθεντεῖν, from a grammatical standpoint, an ingressive sense would not be one of the options. For these reasons, I conclude that the ingressive sense of the NIV 2011's "assume authority" (conveying in English the notion of an initial act of taking up authority, whether in a pejorative or nonpejorative sense) is mistaken.

³¹ So also Andreas J. Köstenberger and Margaret E. Köstenberger, *God's Design for Man and Woman: A Biblical-Theological Survey* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2014), 209n30.

³² Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, §1925 (p. 430).

³³ Constantine R. Campbell, *Basics of Verbal Aspect in Biblical Greek* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2008), 72.

³⁴ See Est. 9:14; Job 32:14; 1 Macc. 15:6; Matt. 8:21; 19:8; Mark 10:4; Luke 8:32; 9:59, 61; Acts 21:39; 27:3. The only exceptions to this matching pattern seem to occur in 4 Macc. 4:18; 5:26; and Wis. 19:2, where present infinitives follow aorist forms of ἐπιτρέπω.

³⁵ If "choice implies meaning" and the matching of aorists is the "default set," then the present-tense forms of ἐπιτρέπω and αὐθεντεῖν must be accounted for. See Steven E. Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament: A Practical Introduction for Teaching and Exegesis*, Lexham Bible Reference Series (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2010), 5–6, 11. Having said that, we need a wider sample of ἐπιτρέπω with complementary infinitives in order to establish with certainty what the default set is. That work lies beyond the scope of this study but would be a fruitful line of inquiry elsewhere.

³⁶ Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1996), 525–26.

THE NIV TRANSLATORS' DEFENSE OF "ASSUME AUTHORITY"

The chairman of the NIV Bible translation committee, Douglas Moo, has elsewhere defended the committee's rationale for the change from "have authority" to "assume authority."³⁷ He explains that the translation of αὐθεντέω is difficult because the term only appears one time in the Bible and rarely outside the Bible. Nevertheless, Moo says that the translators went with "assume authority" for a few reasons.

First, "assume authority" is the meaning that the "recognized authority on the meaning of New Testament words gives to the word."³⁸ Moo is referring to the entry in the lexicon by Bauer, Arndt, Gingrich, and Danker (BDAG), which reads, "to assume a stance of independent authority, *give orders to, dictate to*."³⁹ But I would question the translators' reliance on BDAG at this point. The BDAG entry on αὐθεντέω is short and does not take into account the current state of discussion among scholars on this crucial term. BDAG makes reference only to a 1984 article by George Knight and a 1988 follow-up by Leland Wilshire.⁴⁰ It makes no mention of Andreas Köstenberger's work, which has appeared in the previous two editions of this book and which has been widely received by scholars on both sides of the gender issue. There is no mention of Baldwin, Wolters, Belleville, Payne, or any of the other major contributors to this discussion over the last quarter century. In short, BDAG's entry for αὐθεντέω is woefully dated and in serious need of revision. Also, it is not even clear whether BDAG intends to side with an ingressive rendering of this term. While the entry includes the phrase "to assume a stance of independent authority," which can reasonably be read as ingressive, the actual glosses—*give orders to* and *dictate to*—are not ingressive. For these reasons, I conclude that the

³⁷ Douglas J. Moo, "The New International Version (NIV)," in *Which Bible Translation Should I Use?: A Comparison of 4 Major Recent Versions*, ed. Andreas J. Köstenberger and David A. Croteau (Nashville: B&H, 2012), 111–13. See opposing viewpoints from the same volume by Wayne Grudem, "The English Standard Version (ESV)," 69–73; and E. Ray Clendenen, "The Holman Christian Standard Bible (HCSB)," 147–49.

³⁸ Douglas J. Moo, "The New International Version (NIV)," 112.

³⁹ BDAG, s.v. αὐθεντέω, 150.

⁴⁰ George W. Knight, "ΑΥΘΕΝΤΕΩ in Reference to Women in 1 Timothy 2.12," *New Testament Studies* 30, no. 1 (1984): 143–57; Leland Edward Wilshire, "The TLG Computer and Further Reference to ΑΥΘΕΝΤΕΩ in 1 Tim 2.12," *NTS* 34, no. 1 (1988): 120–34. Given Knight's strong case against the gloss "domineer" in his 1984 article, it is easy to see why BDAG dropped "domineer" in the entry for αὐθεντέω in the 2000 edition. Still, it is difficult to explain why BDAG adds "to assume a stance of independent authority," since it wasn't in the 1979 edition (BAGD) and since neither Knight nor Wilshire advocate this ingressive rendering in their articles. This observation offers yet another reason why BDAG's entry for αὐθεντέω leaves much to be desired.

NIV translators mistakenly rely so heavily (or at all) on this particular entry from BDAG.

Second, Moo argues that scholars on both sides of the gender issue—namely, Henry Scott Baldwin (complementarian) and Philip Payne (egalitarian)—have accepted “assume authority” as a legitimate rendering of ἀϋθεντέω.⁴¹ But I would question the translators’ reliance on Baldwin to establish a point that Baldwin does not discuss. Yes, Baldwin acknowledges that a nonpejorative understanding of the translation “assume authority” is possible, but he does not come to any firm conclusion about this with respect to ἀϋθεντέω in 1 Timothy 2:12. In fact, Baldwin says that he can say only two things with certainty: (1) no pejorative use of ἀϋθεντέω before the fourth century AD survives, and (2) “the widely understood meanings of ἀϋθεντέω were based on the idea of the possession or exercise of authority.”⁴² Baldwin does not even discuss the fact that “assume authority” is associated with aorist-tense forms of ἀϋθεντέω and not with present-tense forms. For these and other reasons, the NIV translators should not adduce Baldwin in support of an ingressive interpretation for the present-tense form of ἀϋθεντέω in 1 Timothy 2:12.

Third, Moo says that sound linguistic principles require us to explain why Paul chose to use an unusual word like ἀϋθεντέω in place of his “regular” word for exercising authority. Moo theorizes that perhaps Paul chose ἀϋθεντέω because it has an ingressive sense while his “regular” word does not. But apart from the above demonstration that construing ἀϋθεντέω ingressively in 1 Timothy 2:12 is doubtful, to say the least, this argument is certainly begging the question. It also raises the issue of whether Paul had a “regular” word to express the notion of exercising authority.⁴³ Louw and Nida’s lexicon includes only two verbs under the domain “Exercise Authority”: δέω and λύω.⁴⁴ Paul uses δέω only five times and λύω twice. Even though the term ἀϋθεντέω does not appear under “Exercise Authority” in Louw and Nida, we might also consider a number of other terms that Paul uses for this meaning

⁴¹ H. Scott Baldwin, “An Important Word: Ἀϋθεντέω in 1 Timothy 2:12,” in *Women in the Church: An Analysis and Application of 1 Timothy 2:9–15*, ed. Andreas J. Köstenberger and Thomas R. Schreiner, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005), 47; Philip B. Payne, *Man and Woman, One in Christ: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Paul’s Letters* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2009), 361–97.

⁴² Baldwin, “Important Word,” 49.

⁴³ On this issue, see the discussion by Tom Schreiner in chapter 4 above.

⁴⁴ L&N, 1:476–77.

that do not appear in Louw and Nida, including κυριεύω, which occurs only six times in Paul's writings, including once in 1 Timothy. We might also look to ἐξουσιάζω,⁴⁵ but it only occurs twice in Paul's writings. The Greek term ἄρχω as well occurs only twice in the Pauline letters. In short, none of these terms for exercising authority is used extensively; certainly none of them is used enough to be thought of as Paul's "regular" word for "exercising authority." For this reason, translators should cautiously avoid making too much of a single appearance of αὐθεντέω. It may be that Paul chose αὐθεντέω to avoid the potential pejorative connotations of those other terms.⁴⁶

THE POSSIBLE CONFUSION WITH A PEJORATIVE READING

Another reason the NIV should drop the ingressive translation of αὐθεντεῖν is the possible confusion it creates with a pejorative reading of αὐθεντεῖν. This confusion appears in Philip Towner's comments on the TNIV's translation. He observes that "degrees of inappropriateness in the acquisition or exercise of authority might be implied in the mild expression 'to assume authority.'" Towner contends that to translate αὐθεντεῖν as "authority assumed" is "to see it as making a negative valuation."⁴⁷

Philip Payne is even more spirited in advocating the translation "assume authority" as carrying, in no uncertain terms, a negative connotation. Payne says that to "assume authority" means to take authority for oneself, not to receive authority as a duly appointed leader of the church. Payne writes,

On this interpretation, Paul is not permitting a woman to assume authority that she had not been properly delegated. . . . What Paul

⁴⁵ Characteristic of this approach, Walter Liefeld writes, "What is sometimes overlooked in discussions on the meaning of *authentēo* is that Paul chose this rare verb over *exousiazō*, which is a member of the common word group relating to authority. The exegete of 1 Timothy 2:12 must ask why, if Paul was writing about authority in the usual sense, he chose a most unusual word that had a history of very strong meanings." Walter L. Liefeld, *1 & 2 Timothy, Titus*, NIVAC (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1999), 99.

⁴⁶ Consider BDAG's second definition of κυριεύω, "be master of, dominate." All three examples under this definitional subheading occur in negative contexts (Rom. 6:9, 14; 7:1). Likewise, the RSV's rendering of ἐξουσιάζω in 1 Cor. 6:12 shows a negative connotation: "'All things are lawful for me,' but *I will not be enslaved* [ἐξουσιασθήσομαι] by anything" (emphasis mine). Even ἄρχω appears in a negative context in Mark 10:42. None of these terms are inherently pejorative; context always dictates the sense that the author intends. Still, the negative connotation lies within the semantic range of these alternate terms, and it may be that Paul chose αὐθεντέω in 1 Timothy 2:12 in order to avoid confusion on this point.

⁴⁷ Philip H. Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006), 221, 222.

says is this: “I am not permitting a woman to teach and assume authority over a man,” namely, to take for herself authority to teach a man without authorization from the church. . . . It would not, however, prohibit women with recognized authority from teaching men (e.g., Priscilla).⁴⁸

Significantly, Payne’s interpretation here departs from other studies that view “assume authority” from a positive perspective. As mentioned above, Henry Scott Baldwin says that “assume authority” is positive and carries a submeaning of “acting independently.” Baldwin argues, “The idea is not intrinsically negative. . . . it does not mean in and of itself ‘usurp authority’”; when translated “to assume authority over,” it is “a positive term that appears to imply that one moves forward to fill a leadership role.”⁴⁹ For Baldwin, “assume authority” need not mean anything more than “take up authority” or “gain leadership.” It may have an ingressive emphasis, stressing the beginning of one’s leadership, authority, or rule, but it is not necessarily negative.⁵⁰

But Payne adds another layer of meaning that is inherent neither to αὐθεντεῖν nor to “assume authority.” By importing a connotation of “unauthorized” authority, Payne transforms “assume authority” into a pejorative rendering of αὐθεντεῖν. On Payne’s interpretation, “assume authority” implies the idea of acting independently in order to take up an undelegated authority. On this view, “assume authority” has the ring of a sinful power grab. It is in effect to “usurp authority,” exactly as the KJV puts it. Thus Paul would not be prohibiting women from exercising authority per se, but only from *assuming* a stance of independent (and thus illegitimate) leadership in the church. So *women may in fact teach men and exercise authority over them*, so long as the church properly delegates such authority to them.⁵¹ This understanding, of course, turns

⁴⁸ Payne, *Man and Woman*, 391, 393. See also Philip B. Payne, “1 Tim 2.12 and the Use of Οὐδέ to Combine Two Elements to Express a Single Idea,” *NTS* 54, no. 2 (2008): 235–53.

⁴⁹ Baldwin, “Important Word,” 47.

⁵⁰ Readers would do well to note that neutral uses of “assume” are well within the semantic range of this term. See *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, 5th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2011), 109.

⁵¹ Payne notes, “Practically, this excluded women in Ephesus from assuming to themselves authority to teach men in the church. It would not, however, prohibit women with recognized authority from teaching men.” *Man and Woman*, 393. Elsewhere Payne argues, “Since lexical and contextual evidence favors the meaning BDAG gives for *authentein*, ‘to assume a stance of independent authority,’ this article translates αὐθεντεῖν ‘to assume authority.’ . . . Teaching combined with assuming authority is by definition not authorized. . . . What 1 Tim 2.12 prohibits, it must regard as negative: a woman teaching combined with assuming

the conventional interpretation of the verse on its head. Rather than prohibiting women from teaching or exercising authority over men in the church (thus disallowing them to serve in authoritative or teaching positions such as pastor or elder), the understanding advocated by Payne (and allowed by the NIV 2011) says that women *are* allowed to teach or exercise authority over men in the church, so long as they have been authorized by the church to do so.

That this reading is possible has led some to believe that the rendering “assume authority” is not in fact as neutral as Douglas Moo and the NIV team of translators contend. At this point, the issue revolves around what the English word *assume* actually communicates. To “assume” the presidency or to “assume” responsibility are both nonpejorative uses of *assume* (though they focus on the *initial act* of doing so, which we have already shown to be unlikely in the case of the present-tense infinitive αὐθεντεῖν above). But it is precisely when the issue is “assuming” *authority* that the term can take on negative connotations. In fact, *The American Heritage Dictionary* illustrates a negative definition of *assume* in connection with authority: “To take over without justification; seize: *assume control*.”⁵² Again, while not the only way to interpret *assume*, it is the form most liable to being interpreted in a pejorative sense. This is why Wayne Grudem has argued that the English translation “assume authority” in 1 Timothy 2:12 tilts toward the pejorative understanding of αὐθεντεῖν. He writes,

In 1 Timothy 2:12 the TNIV adopts a highly suspect and novel translation that gives the egalitarian side everything they have wanted for years in a Bible translation. It reads, “I do not permit a woman to teach or to assume authority over a man.” . . . If churches adopt this translation, the debate over women’s roles in the church will be over, because women pastors and elders can just say, “I’m not assuming authority on my own initiative; it was given to me by the other pastors and elders.” Therefore any woman could be a pastor or elder so long as she does not take it upon herself to “assume

authority over a man. . . . This οὐδὲ construction makes best sense as a single prohibition of women teaching with self-assumed authority over a man.” “1 Tim 2.12 and the Use of Οὐδέ,” 235–36, 247, 252, 253.

⁵² *American Heritage Dictionary*, s.v. “assume,” 109.

authority.” . . . So it is no surprise that egalitarian churches are eager to adopt the TNIV.⁵³

Even though the TNIV 2005 employed the translation “assume authority,” it at least preserved alternatives in a marginal note, “*teach a man in a domineering way; or teach or to exercise (or have) authority over a man.*” This note has disappeared in the NIV 2011, which does not exactly “leave the question open,” as the translators say they intend to do. Thus, the average reader of the NIV views a significant change in the rendering of 1 Timothy 2:12—from “have authority” (1984) to “assume authority” (2011)—with absolutely no explanation or indication of alternative translations in the notes. Those readers may very well conclude that women may exercise authority over men so long as they do not “assume” that authority independently apart from proper prior authorization. The exegesis in this volume suggests that this rendering reflects a misunderstanding of the biblical author’s intent. In that light, the best course for the NIV translation committee would be to reconsider and correct the rendering “assume authority” and to restore the NIV 1984’s rendering “have authority” (or perhaps adjust it to “exercise authority”). Leaving the door open to the pejorative rendering without alternative readings in a translators’ note is unjustifiable and potentially misleading to readers.

Conclusion

The nonpejorative rendering of $\alpha\upsilon\theta\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ has a long and distinguished history in Bible translation—and particularly in English Bible translation. It is no innovation of twentieth-century English Bibles, as Linda Belleville contends. Rather, it is the studied result of solid exegesis over the centuries. This interpretation understands Paul to prohibit women from teaching and exercising or having authority over men in the gathered assembly.

The 2011 edition of the NIV departs significantly from this well-established tradition of translation. The NIV’s “assume authority” not only carries with it an ingressive sense absent from the present tense of $\alpha\upsilon\theta\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ but also risks possible confusion with the pejorative sense

⁵³ Wayne Grudem, *Evangelical Feminism: A New Path to Liberalism* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2006), 260.

advocated by Philip Payne. In light of the lexical and grammatical studies contained in this volume, the NIV translators' explanation for the new rendering is not at all compelling, though it is revealing. The chairman of the NIV translation committee says that they intended it to "leave the question open." This rationale implies that the question was not "open" when the NIV previously used the rendering "have authority." This admission reveals the translators' desire to open up egalitarian possibilities with "assume authority" absent in "have authority."

But surely the evidence in this volume proves that leaving the question "open" is unjustified. If any significant new evidence has come forth in the intervening years between the 1984 and 2011 editions of the NIV, it is that οὐδέ, as a coordinating conjunction in first-century Koine Greek, regularly joins two terms that are either both viewed positively or both viewed negatively by the author or speaker. In the case of 1 Timothy 2:12, moreover, Paul clearly conjoins two positive terms, as διδάσκειν has a default positive lexical meaning of "to teach" unless the context indicates a pejorative connotation. Hence, it follows that αὐθεντεῖν denotes the positive exercise of authority over men (not its abuse or wrongful assumption), and that is what Paul is prohibiting women from doing in the present passage. Thus, the original Greek has not left "open" the meaning of αὐθεντεῖν so as to allow people from both sides of an issue to take whichever rendering they prefer.

English translations of this crucial text would do well, therefore, to avoid "assume authority" and any other rendering that involves an ingressive or pejorative interpretation of αὐθεντεῖν.

Application: Roundtable Discussion

Tried-and-true Bible study moves from observation to interpretation to application. In this volume so far, we've done plenty of observing and interpreting. We sought to establish the first-century Ephesian background underlying 1 Timothy 2 and concluded that first-century Ephesus was in many ways a Greco-Roman city like many others in the ancient world. We scrutinized the hotly debated word *αὐθεντεῖν* in order to determine its likely meaning in 1 Timothy 2:12 and settled on the nonnegative, noningressive sense “to exercise authority.” Complementing the close word study of the term *αὐθεντεῖν*, we also discovered that the syntax of 1 Timothy 2:12 reflects a pattern where an author prohibits the exercise of two distinct yet related activities, both of which he perceives as positive in and of themselves—in this case, teaching and exercising authority. While elsewhere in the same letter, the author enjoins his readers to consider male elders who rule well worthy of double honor, “especially those who labor in preaching and teaching” (1 Tim. 5:17), the same author makes clear in 1 Timothy 2:12 that he does not permit women to serve in teaching or ruling functions over men in the church (cf. 3:2).

After analyzing the semantics and syntax of 1 Timothy 2:12, we then looked at the entire passage, 1 Timothy 2:9–15, and sought to interpret it verse by verse in context and in light of the historical and linguistic results of the earlier chapters in this volume. We saw that essentially the passage means what it says: Paul wrote to Timothy, his apostolic

delegate in Ephesus, explaining that he did not permit women to teach or exercise authority over a man in the context of a local congregation. Exegesis then gave way to hermeneutics, and we explored ways in which some have disputed that the passage applies to men and women in the church today, even to the point of making significant changes to the translation of the NIV 2011. As we've seen, such hermeneutical efforts, while strenuous and persistent, ultimately fail to convince, and so we were left with the conclusion that (1) Paul meant what he said and said what he meant, and (2) Paul's words do not merely apply to the church in first-century Ephesus but have continuing relevance for the church today, particularly in the way it assigns roles of teaching and regulates the exercise of authority.

But while the detailed efforts at observation and interpretation have clarified the meaning of the passage, many questions remain on the level of significance, that is, with regard to specific points of application in the myriad of contexts in which many of us find ourselves today. In the previous edition, we included a chapter on application. In this edition, however, we decided to commission a panel discussion, cognizant that the application of 1 Timothy 2:12 is invariably diverse and multifaceted. We are grateful to our panelists, who have fielded a set of questions and sent us their written responses. As editors, we have collated these responses to enable you, the reader, to get a better sense of the way in which a variety of women and men apply the biblical teaching of 1 Timothy 2:9–15.

* * *

Andreas Köstenberger and Thomas Schreiner:

We are very grateful to each of you for joining us in this important discussion of how to apply the biblical teaching on women's and men's roles in 1 Timothy 2:9–15. Thank you so much for taking time out of your busy schedules to field our questions and to interact with us on this topic. First of all, can each of you tell us a little about your story? How did masculinity and femininity (or male and female identity) become important to you? Is this something you care deeply about, and if so, why?

Mary Kassian:

The feminist movement was at its height when I was studying for my undergrad degree in rehabilitation medicine in the late 1970s. My friends and I were constantly exposed to its new ideas. My interest was further piqued when a girlfriend stated that she didn't want to become a Christian because she sensed that God hated women. She agreed to study the Bible with me to see if this was the case. I invited a few other women to join us, and we launched into a survey of the Bible's teaching for and about women. We discovered that God created maleness, femaleness, and marriage as object lessons to point to deep, eternal truths about the gospel and the nature and character of God. Knowing God helps us discover who we are as male and female, and this understanding, in turn, helps us live out and bear witness to his amazing story. Incidentally, my girlfriend gave her life to the Lord and stepped into the joyful adventure of knowing him and discovering who he created her to be.

Trillia Newbell:

I grew up rather progressive and liberal, so when I became a Christian, I began to wrestle with much of what I thought was true. I didn't believe that there was much distinction between men and women, other than biological differences. But as I studied the Word of God and learned about creation, I started to ask questions about what it meant to be male and female in his kingdom. I grew especially interested as I pondered marriage. I was of the view that gender roles were an outdated social construct and that the Word did not truly address them. But as I read through Scripture (e.g., Ephesians 5), I began to see that God had a good and beautiful plan for both men and women. And in Genesis 1, God tells us he created male and female in his image—equally. It was a refreshing and freeing revelation: as men and women, we are different but equal.

Darrin Patrick:

I grew up without a dad. So it was a journey figuring out what it meant to be a man. And up until my early twenties (I became a Christian late in high school), I was woefully inadequate with regard to my masculinity. So I began to study the Bible and talk to mentors, which played a huge role in my development. Later on in seminary, I joined the staff of an

egalitarian church, and I became convinced through that church and the ministry of Willow Creek Community Church that egalitarianism was the only way the church could reach the culture. I had grown up in a strict Southern Baptist church and rejected many of their “traditional” views.

Well, while in seminary, working at this church, I was asked to write a paper outlining my thoughts on what the church needed to focus on to remain relevant in the twenty-first century. So as I’m working on this paper, defending the idea that women needed to be given equal access to leadership positions, I’m doing some strenuous comparative studies and encounter John Piper and Wayne Grudem’s book on this issue. In the middle of this paper, for my liberal professor, I come to believe that complementarianism is the biblical model. What I had previously rejected was actually the truth. I finished the paper as an egalitarian, lacking integrity so I could get a good grade. But I became a committed complementarian at that point and began to see what a crucial issue it is for church leadership and raising up men in our culture.

Monica Rose Brennan:

I am so grateful to my parents for modeling true masculinity and true femininity. From my earliest days, I have seen my father and mother embrace their true identity; I saw God’s design lived out in my home. My father was the spiritual leader, provider, and protector, and my mother was the ideal helpmate for him. The identity my parents lived out was so important, especially since they were in full-time ministry. My father needed my mother’s insights on a daily basis. My mother respected my father by looking to him as the spiritual leader and ultimate decision maker of our home. However, when I left home for college, I specifically remember observing the opposite of God’s design for male and female identity. I had seen this gender confusion before leaving home, but it seemed to be ever increasing.

As I began to observe the opposite of God’s design, my spirit became deeply grieved and my soul greatly burdened. I saw so many women in need. In almost every case, these dear women had a distorted view of God and thus a distorted view of themselves. I would spend countless hours ministering to young women who seemed so confused about who

they were (their identity). I had no idea that the gender disorder I was observing in the lives of so many young women would one day lead me into a professional career of teaching women at a university. This was one of the many reasons I felt called to study God's Word more deeply and enroll in the women's studies program led by Dorothy Patterson at Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary.

My eyes were opened even more as I studied a biblical theology of womanhood. I became even more passionate about masculinity and femininity as I saw gender identity so clearly on display in Scripture! I began to think about God's divine order and how the truth of the Scriptures could set people free and how the teaching on gender identity was so vital for the home, church, and society. It was actually out of this passion that I wrote *Marvelously Made: Unveil Your True Identity and Purpose as a Woman*. Gender identity is so important to me because it is important to God. He created both male and female, and when we follow his design, our lives and our homes always end up for the better. He is a God of order and is the Creator of masculinity and femininity. I care very deeply about male and female identity because God is the author of it. He has a reason for everything.

Tony Merida:

I became a follower of Christ in college through the outreach of some baseball teammates. I immediately plunged myself into campus ministries and Bible studies. As I began to study the Scriptures with my eager-to-learn peers and as we visited churches of various denominations, I was exposed to differing theological positions. Looking back, I'm grateful to God for exposing me to each of these views and traditions. It has given me (I hope) a sense of charity toward other brothers and sisters who see some things differently than I do. It has also given me (I hope) a real gratitude for those outside my denomination who are preaching the gospel faithfully. Later, when I attended seminary, I sought to clarify my theological positions, particularly on soteriological and ecclesiological issues. I tried to do so without any desire to default to my own denomination's tradition. I simply wanted to be as biblically faithful as possible.

The convictions I developed in seminary remain the same basic

convictions that I hold today. I care about the issue of manhood and womanhood because I'm a pastor seeking to follow God's Word in all ways. I also care about the issue because I am involved in the world of mercy and justice ministry, a world that has many egalitarians. My interaction with these individuals has, for the most part, been pleasant and enjoyable. In my interactions with my egalitarian friends, I have become aware of the need for complementarian advocates to grow in two ways: (1) to communicate *a comprehensive vision* of complementarianism that emphasizes healthy *ministry partnership* between men and women, husband and wife (my wife is a real ministry partner!); and (2) to communicate with authentic *charity*—we must not treat egalitarians as our enemies.

Gloria Furman:

When our family moved to the Middle East, I began to have regular interactions with women from different religions who insisted that my conservative values mirrored theirs. They would say things like, "I submit to my husband's leadership as you submit to your husband's leadership. So, we are the same." In these conversations, it became apparent that I needed an explanation of my faith that included what the Bible teaches about male and female identity and roles, specifically in how my submission is oriented to God's purpose to put everything under his Son's headship. Over the course of my ongoing dialogues with my neighbors, I have become more convinced than ever that the message of the gospel is radically different from any message the world has to offer. I care deeply about communicating to my neighbors that Christ's death on the cross simultaneously reconciles us to God and empowers us to live out the eternally satisfying roles God has given us in his drama of redemption—which includes how God created us as gendered image bearers.

Theresa Bowen:

Although I was raised in a Christian home, biblical roles were not modeled, and apart from the obligatory sermons on Mother's or Father's Day (none of which stick in my mind), I have no memory of solid biblical teaching on manhood and womanhood growing up. Rather, the media and my peers largely shaped my views. Shows such as *Dallas*

and *Charlie's Angels* provided glamorous ideals that were unattainable for a tall, skinny girl of average appearance. Coupled with the insecurities brought on by casual dating (going steady, breaking up, and being “replaced”—often by a friend), my self-image was based on comparison and fear, rather than trust in God. I lived in this cycle of comparison and fear throughout high school and college until one day in my senior year. I was studying for finals in the basement of the Clemson University library when—apart from any individual, any book, even any Scripture—it was as if a light went on and the Holy Spirit quietly, yet clearly, spoke to my heart, “You *can* be the woman *God* designed you to be.”

It was a life changer! I left the library that day brimming with hope and peace, desirous of searching the Scriptures for anything having to do with biblical womanhood. For the first time, I began to base my identity on *God's* design for women and to believe it was attainable if I allowed him to work in my heart. Shortly thereafter, I received in the mail a postcard announcing a summer-school course taught by Elisabeth Elliot on biblical masculinity and femininity. I signed up, and thus began my lifelong study of this subject that I believe goes to the very core of who we are as human beings. How we view our manhood or womanhood ultimately affects every sphere of our lives: home, church, school, the workplace, and the wider culture. Embracing God's design for womanhood has been deeply soul-satisfying, dare I say, “liberating.” I have so much yet to learn. I continually cry out to God, asking him for his grace to model what I know and to pass it on to my daughters and other women. I cannot do it in my own strength. This I know full well. My womanhood can only be redeemed through Christ.

Rosaria Butterfield:

I was raised in a secular feminist household where my mother's strong personality and high achievement ruled the roost. One of my earliest memories is holding my mother's hand in an elevator when I was very little and having a stranger say to me, “What a pretty girl! Are you going to marry a doctor?” My mother took a deep breath, and, in the voice she used only to correct misconduct, declared, “My daughter is not going to *marry* a doctor. She is going to *become* one!”

I followed in my family's footsteps, and a feminist world and life

view became more than a political investment for me; it became an identity and a religion. In graduate school, when my sexual identity shifted from heterosexual to homosexual, my feminist worldview entitled me to embrace any sexuality between consenting adults as morally equal. From the age of twenty-eight until my conversion nine years later, I lived in openly and serially monogamous lesbian relationships.

When my neighbor, Pastor Ken Smith, shared his gospel life with me, and I, in reading through the Bible in order to critique it for a new book, was instead transformed by the Savior I sought to destroy, it was with great irony that my conversion came with a deep curiosity about gender and even a willingness to rethink gender roles in light of God's Word. I wondered, what did God expect of me as a woman? And I prayed that God would make me a godly woman. Something about Jesus compelled me to want to put all matters of identity before him for covering. My feelings did not change with my conversion, but my mind did, and I started to put my questions about gender and the gospel before the Lord, before Floy Smith (Ken's wife), and before the women in the church.

God calls women to be many things, including serving as mothers and doctors and homemakers and lawyers and teachers. He gives women liberty to use their gifts in the world and to acquire, if he permits, the highest level of education necessary to fulfill them. But God also calls all of us—men and women—to use all things, including our roles, in submission to him and to his will. When I became a biblically married woman at the age of thirty-nine, God called me to use the gifts he gave me to be a helper to Kent in his calling. This role has not always been easy, but it has always been good, uniting us as a ministry team. I could not fulfill God's call for the public ministry that I have today without Kent's headship and the critical lessons that God taught us about submission during the first decade of our marriage.

* * *

Andreas Köstenberger and Thomas Schreiner:

Thank you so much for sharing your stories with us, particularly regarding how you discovered God's design for man and woman in Scrip-

ture. Moving on to the subject of our book, how do you assess the contribution of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 specifically to the Bible’s teaching on what it means to be a man or woman as a whole? How does this passage fit with the rest of Scripture? Is it part of a consistent pattern of male leadership and female partnership throughout Scripture or not, and why or why not?

Mary Kassian:

First Timothy 2:9–15 is an important component of the Bible’s teaching on what it means to be a man or woman and concurs with the consistent message of Scripture. Though some verses pose interpretive challenges, the vital point of this passage remains clear, that who we are and how we relate as male and female is not arbitrary but was established by God at the beginning. The fact that Paul refers to the order of creation in his rationale indicates that these directives transcend time and culture.

Rosaria Butterfield:

Less than two months after my conversion, when I took the covenant of church membership into the Reformed Presbyterian Church where Ken Smith pastored, I had nightmares over this passage in 1 Timothy. In it, I could see the elders sitting in the back of my women’s studies 101 class with placards that portended my excommunication. At the time of my conversion, I was a recently tenured professor of English and women’s studies and a leader in LGBT, feminist, and scholarly communities. My earthly gifts of leadership, scholarship, and oratory passed the test of tenure, and I was sure that, now that I was a Christian, I must become a feminist one so that I could use all these gifts for the kingdom. First Timothy 2:9–15 said otherwise, and it felt like a poke in the eye followed by a steady spray of lemon juice. I resisted, rejected, and recoiled from each movement in Paul’s argument here. And I was only superficially appeased by the fact that this passage referred to church matters.

Encouraged by Ken Smith, I tried to formulate the problem of this passage in terms of Scripture’s consistency, not my intestinal distress, and this led me back to the garden. To me, the issue had a hard edge to it: if male headship preceded the fall, then biblical feminism was an untenable position, because everything that preceded the fall was good. But if male headship was a consequence of the fall, then it was inherently

fallen, and I could in good Christian conscience become a biblical feminist. Reformed Presbyterians value and teach a systematic theological response to critical questions like this one, and I was eager to learn what God would have for me.

In reading and studying Genesis 1–3, it became clear that male headship preceded the fall, as Adam’s federal headship over Eve and all of the humanity hinges on this. Eve ate the fruit first, but God held Adam accountable because he was the head of the household. In other words, the reality of original sin testified to the fact that Adam was Eve’s head before sin entered the world. Since every minute detail of life in Eden before the fall was good, this means that male headship is God’s good gift, for my good will and protection, not a social slap in my face. Indeed, this issue of gender roles and its importance came into focus for me in Genesis, as original sin, the ultimate preexistent illness, is only tenable if headship preceded the fall.

Because I had already come to the understanding that the Bible offers a unified revelation, I could not bifurcate the two testaments, rejecting the Old for a false notion of an improved New. The consistency of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 with all of Scripture became intellectually clear, and I grieved the death of my feminist worldview the way one might grieve a loved one. It was union with Christ and the sanctification that this births that allowed me to see something: submission is what Christ did for me at the cross, and therefore, any time that Scripture asks me to model Christ, I trust that this is for my good and for his glory.

Theresa Bowen:

We must begin by acknowledging, as lay theologian Dorothy Sayers did in her essay “Are Women Human?,” that “the question of ‘sex equality’ is, like all questions affecting human relationships, *delicate* and *complicated*.”¹ Add to that the fact that people commonly argue the topic from two sides simultaneously, that of “gifting” and that of “assignment,” and the water gets even murkier. It behooves us to maintain a gracious and humble spirit when discussing the often contentious subject of men and women in the church. In context, 1 Timothy 2:9–15 is

¹Dorothy L. Sayers, *Are Women Human? Penetrating, Sensible, and Witty Essays on the Role of Women in Society* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1971), 21. Her essay “Are Women Human?” was originally published in Sayers, *Unpopular Opinions: Twenty-One Essays* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1947).

part of a broader letter Paul wrote to the young pastor, Timothy, whom he had left to shepherd the fledgling church in Ephesus. The primary purpose of this letter is not to explain the nature and design of womanhood, but it assumes a knowledge and acceptance of creation order as reflected by Paul's reference to Adam and Eve.

Paul expounds on the idea in his letter to the Corinthians on propriety in worship (1 Cor. 11:2–16). Taken alone, 1 Timothy 2:9–15 might be interpreted to mean that women are never to speak in church, but 1 Corinthians 11:5 mentions women praying and prophesying in worship. Thus, the common thread in these passages is that women were not permitted to teach and have authority over the men in the church (i.e., “pastor” the church). It is based not on gifting but on God's assignment and is rooted in God's divine hierarchy: “the head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is man, and the head of Christ is God” (1 Cor. 11:3 NIV 2011). Allowing Scripture to provide commentary on Scripture prevents us from legalism and extrabiblical prohibitions, such as not allowing women to open their mouths at all in the meeting of the church.

Monica Rose Brennan:

First Timothy 2:9–15 is one of my favorite Scriptures in all of God's Word. There is so much in this passage that, when understood in context and applied to our lives, can literally change our perspectives and behaviors. It addresses biblical principles specifically pertaining to women that are so important! These unchanging principles guide a Christian woman to walk in her true identity (femininity), principles such as modesty, propriety, teachability, submission, respect to God's order, authority, and proper conduct in the church and the home. First Timothy 2:9–15 clearly fits with the rest of Scripture.

Paul highlights this reality by taking the reader back to the Genesis 1–3 account within the 1 Timothy 2:9–15 passage. One of the many beautiful things about this passage is that Paul refers not only to the creation order (Adam first, then Eve) but to the creation disorder as well (Eve taking on Adam's unique role and Adam taking on Eve's unique role). Through Scripture interpreting Scripture, we see the importance of God's design before and after the fall. Through proper study of the Old and

New Testaments, we also see a definite, consistent pattern of male leadership and female partnership. First Timothy 2:9–15 coheres perfectly with other passages in God’s Word in defining masculinity and femininity.

Tony Merida:

I see it as being consistent with the whole of Scripture. Paul is rooting his teaching about leadership in the creation account (vv. 13–14), not in the prevailing social structures of the day. The order of the church should reflect God’s good design in creation. This structure should be seen as promoting human flourishing and ministry effectiveness. Further, we should behold it, when done properly, as beautiful, like a dance, where one person initiates and the other responds, each fulfilling his or her role gladly, in harmony and love. That said, Paul does make some cultural references in this passage (vv. 9–10), such as his comments on hairstyles and women’s adornment. But these comments point to clear principles that are consistent with the rest of Scripture. In this case, women should seek to be worshipers of God, not objects of worship. They should dress modestly and pursue godliness.

Gloria Furman:

First Timothy 2:9–15 is perfectly consistent with the whole of Scripture. Paul bases his descriptions of gender-based roles on immovable realities set forth by the Creator as he ordered his creation according to his good design. Paul does not derive his teaching on men and women from arbitrary, invented social rules, nor does he mean to apply this passage only to a specific cultural context. Instead, this passage teaches timeless truth that is relevant for all of us everywhere. What we find here is the consistent pattern of male leadership and female partnership that Scripture sets forth beginning in Genesis at the creation of man and woman.

Darrin Patrick:

It is important to note that the context of 1 Timothy 2 is corporate worship. Pastor Timothy is trying to figure out how to lead his church. He seems to be a young man without a wife, trying to teach men to be men and women to be women. So Paul is instructing him on that issue. I see this passage as consistent with the pattern in the Old Testament, found in the three leadership offices in Israel. We see that priests were

male, while prophets and monarchs were both primarily male and occasionally female. But I see the priestly role as the forerunner to the office of elder. We even see this in Jesus's ministry. He chose men as apostles. Certainly women contributed to and supported his ministry. Some women, like Mary, expressed prophetic gifts. And outside the Gospels, sometimes women, like men, took on the role of prophet, women like Philip's daughters (Acts 21:9) and the women prophesying in 1 Corinthians. But on the whole, we see a clear pattern of male leadership, with the office of elder being reserved exclusively for men.

Trillia Newbell:

First Timothy 2:9–15 is one of the more controversial and complicated passages in the Bible. I believe that here Paul is instructing the church and is addressing the church context, especially in vv. 11 and 12. Paul, who had authority, shares that women should not exercise authority over men in the church (v. 12). And this is consistent with Scripture. We see it in Genesis. God created male and female and immediately gave us different roles. He could have created us all male, but he created a helper fit for Adam (Gen. 2:18). So here we see the woman coming alongside the male providing strength, encouragement, and assistance where the male is lacking. (Note: We see the distinctions carried over in the fall of man. Our curse affects us differently because we are different; Genesis 3.) We see it in Ephesians 5 as a beautiful description of the church and Christ. Women are to submit, and men are to love sacrificially (vv. 22–33). And again, we find similar instruction in 1 Peter 3. I could go on. It is a theme of the Word, all pointing ultimately to Christ and his redeeming love.

Theresa Bowen:

The contention surrounding these verses arises when the office of pastor is based solely on gifting or “fairness.” Why should a qualified woman *not* be allowed the office of pastor? Like Eve, many men and women believe God is either unfairly “withholding” something (in this case, authority in the church) or that the prohibition was for first-century culture and is no longer binding today. However, this passage seems to fit the pattern found throughout Scripture of God sovereignly assigning male “leadership” or headship in the church and home and of woman’s

submissive partnership as part of his original design for our good and his glory. (I am not saying all women should be subject to all men in all spheres. In these letters, Paul is addressing authority in the church.)

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Andreas Köstenberger and Thomas Schreiner:

Can you elaborate on how Paul's instructions about women's attire and the wearing of jewelry (and those of the other biblical writers, such as Peter in 1 Pet. 3:3–5) relate to us in today's culture? Can you give examples of commitments you have made in this area or how you've helped others apply this teaching (1 Tim. 2:9–10)?

Tony Merida:

God calls women (like men) to pursue a life of pervasive holiness. Such a comprehensive calling demands that women pay attention to the totality of their lives, which includes what they wear, as Paul and Peter note. This teaching is not only for the sake of glorifying God, but also for the sake of weak, tempted men! We try to encourage our women to remember that men are very visually stimulated and that one of the ways that women can love their brothers in the church is by avoiding clothing that causes a guy's imagination to drift into the gutter. This caution doesn't mean they need to dress like a Puritan, nor does it mean that they must avoid modern clothing styles. We simply want them to do the following: (1) live with an *awareness* of the nature of sin and temptation; (2) not abuse the power of their feminine appeal; and (3) be concerned more with what God thinks of them than with what a guy thinks of them.

Gloria Furman:

I recently met with a new believer who is estranged from her nonbelieving husband. She audibly gasped when I read 1 Peter 3:1–5 aloud to her. Tears sprung to her eyes as she whispered, "This is God's Word for me. *For me.*" She told me how she desperately struggled to win her husband's affection and attention through following worldly advice regarding things like external adornment and sexual behavior—think article headlines from women's magazines at the grocery store checkout lane. She said, "I took all the advice. They promise everything but give

you nothing.” This dear sister told me that she longed for her husband to love Jesus as she loved Jesus and that this passage blew all of the dark clouds of worldly wisdom away. Peter’s teaching about the imperishable beauty of the heart stands in stark contrast to the world’s ideas of feminine influence. The good news of the gospel shines a pure, bright light into our hearts. It reaches every crevice of our lives, and as we live in line with it by the power of the indwelling Spirit, it leaves no part of our lives untouched. We can take great confidence in God’s Word, which speaks to all matters of how we ought to live holy lives that are pleasing to him, including the matter of modest clothing and behavior.

Mary Kassian:

In 1 Timothy 2:9, the Lord provides three guidelines that help Christian women figure out what and what not to wear: “women should adorn themselves in respectable apparel, with modesty and self-control” (ESV). A woman’s clothing is to be respectable (becoming), modest, and moderate. As a daughter of the King, she is to avoid dressing in an unbecoming, indecent, or excessive way. These guidelines are as pertinent today as they were to the women in first-century Ephesus. Christian women in every time and culture must seek the Holy Spirit’s counsel for how to apply these principles in their particular milieu.

Darrin Patrick:

Many girls think that a lot of makeup and less clothes equals more attention, an idea they pick up either from what they are taught or from the culture. And so Paul is challenging the women here to bring attention to themselves through their character rather than through their appearance and sexuality.

Trillia Newbell:

Paul’s instructions to women about attire are similar to Peter’s. He isn’t so much addressing the outer as much as the inner man—or woman, in this case. The issue lies in the heart. Women can only achieve modesty and self-control through a transformed heart, a heart that desires to glorify God. So during those times, which were not all that different from our time now, the rich would show off their status through jewelry and hair. Paul is simply encouraging women not to be of the world. Issues

of modesty remain today. We can show off our bodies, our possessions, our wealth, and even our knowledge. Paul and Peter are urging humility and love for others. We want to be self-controlled and modest of heart. Thankfully, we have Jesus, who covers all our pride and lack of self-control. He is a great Redeemer!

Theresa Bowen:

In 1 Timothy 2:9–10, Paul begins his instructions concerning women in the church with the exterior and then moves to the heart. Immodesty is not limited to modern culture. Even in the garden after the fall, shame pervaded Adam and Eve’s hearts, inducing them to try to “cover up.” What, then, especially in the church, drives a woman to dress immodestly or flamboyantly? It usually goes back to the heart—the God-given desire for love and acceptance. Immodesty, though, often elicits Satan’s cheap substitute, attention, and even though one knows it is temporary and based on sensuality, it can be intoxicating. Ultimately, dressing to draw attention to oneself is about *self* rather than the sacrificial life modeled by Christ. Personally, with a background in art, I love to express my creativity through my personal style of dress, but whenever it begins to exert inordinate demands on my time and budget, it’s time to check my heart.

In addition, my heart is not to draw attention to parts of my body that are reserved for my husband. The Holy Spirit is faithful to convict in this area when we open ourselves to him. Sadly, many younger (and older!) women either are willing to sacrifice modesty for attention or have never been taught how powerfully their bodies can elicit responses from men and boys. It is the responsibility of the local church to address both matters through solid expository preaching and the gracious input of more mature Christian women. May we always seek to clothe ourselves with beautiful and modest clothing but, more importantly, to “clothe ourselves” with a deep and abiding trust in God, which manifests itself in good deeds, a gentle and quiet spirit, and unfading beauty. Peter, in his epistle, notes that such character is precious to God and so attractive that unbelieving husbands can be won “without a word” (1 Pet. 3:1).

Monica Rose Brennan:

I am so thankful for Paul's instructions on a woman's attire and the wearing of jewelry. Our society places so much emphasis on the outward appearance today, and women are easily influenced to dress in a way that reflects the world instead of wearing clothing reflective of a woman of God. The biblical teaching on a woman's attire and the wearing of jewelry found in 1 Timothy 2:9–15 and 1 Peter 3:3–5 is pertinent to women in the twenty-first century because the rich principles are unchanging and so encouraging for the Christian woman. Both of these passages, when studied in context, relay the importance of the inward adornment of a woman. The inside is more important than the outside shell of a person. Women in the twenty-first century are often tempted to give in to the latest style regardless of how revealing it may be in order to fit in with our ever-changing culture.

When women today become more focused on pleasing God, they will begin to discover true beauty, which, as Peter conveys, is “imperishable” (1 Pet. 3:4). When I became a Christian and began to grow in my walk with God and study the Scriptures, the Holy Spirit began to convict me of many areas of my life that were displeasing to him. I wanted to please him in every way. I desire others to see God's Spirit in me and not be distracted by me trying to fit in with the culture by wearing revealing attire. This doesn't mean Christian women cannot have style and good taste in clothes, but it does mean that we are to be influenced more by Christ than by culture. An example of this is that culture shouts out, “Skin is in!” As a woman walking out her true identity in Christ, I have made a commitment not to wear clothes that are revealing. I desire for others to see Christ radiate through who I am and what I wear, and I do not want to hinder others by bringing attention to my body rather than my heart.

Rosaria Butterfield:

I have always been wary of male attention, truth be told. I never wear makeup (I would likely poke out my own eye with a mascara stick if I did). I suspect that I must be slightly color blind as well. This verse often brought back for me certain feminist sensibilities, such as the reminder that if a woman doesn't want to be treated like a sex object, she ought

not to dress like one. This merely proves that one can arrive at positions of apparent modesty without the gospel. But the gospel message about modesty takes us deeper. The issue of sexual sin is cavernous for me, and I believe that this verse warns us against using a liberty if it will cause someone to stumble. But in a blog post, Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary Professor Barry York interpreted Psalm 131:1 in a way that made me rethink modesty. Psalm 131:1 declares, “O LORD, my heart is not proud, nor my eyes haughty, nor do I involve myself in great matters” (NASB), and Professor York interpreted it like this: “O Lord, allow my talents to bridle me.”² Professor York’s interpretation made me think about intellectual modesty, and how seriously lacking I am in this respect. I have since made commitments to see modesty in a big-picture way and to be alert to the sins of works righteousness and pride that lurk in self-adornments of all stripes.

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Andreas Köstenberger and Thomas Schreiner:

Paul, like Jesus, encourages women, not only men, to learn the Scriptures. How can we encourage women to study the Bible and theology in today’s world (whether in formal or informal ways)? In what ways should women share the fruit of their learning with others? In the context of this passage, Paul tells women to learn “in all submission” (AT). What does this imply for how women should approach learning the Scriptures (1 Tim. 2:11)?

Rosaria Butterfield:

Before I was a Christian, and before I was a Christian wife and mother, I was a research professor. Research professors spend more time working diligently behind the scenes than doing anything in the spotlight. I have found that my role as a Christian woman, wife, and mother is similar to my (past) role as a research professor: God is richly working in my gospel contacts with people, and these tend to happen behind the scenes, in my home, and in the context of Christian hospitality.

²Barry York, “Short Rules of Blogging Etiquette,” *Gentle Reformation* (blog), January 15, 2013, <http://gentlereformation.com/2013/01/15/short-rules-of-blogging-etiquette/>.

Research professors know that learning—and a hefty load of it—comes before teaching. Here are some of the practical ways that I apply this observation:

1. After my conversion, I found that the Lord had a new calling for me within my role as an English professor: stewarding ideas for God's kingdom. Serving as a Christian intellectual did not mean reading or writing in a thematically "Christian" way or teaching at a Christian school but rather taking all thoughts captive for Christ, reading what the world does and interpreting it—and guiding others to do so as well—for Christ's kingship.
2. The Lord calls women to raise the bar high for (and with) other women and to help women dig deeply into Scripture. Therefore, when asked to lead a women's Bible or book study, I teach systematically and not topically. Currently, I am teaching on Puritan Jeremiah Burroughs's *The Rare Jewel of Christian Contentment* for women in my church and in my neighborhood.
3. The Lord calls women to steward ideas with God's honor in mind. Homeschooling can be a vital workshop for this service. Therefore, when asked by other homeschool moms to teach philosophy or literature to their children in high school, I do this, if time permits. The disciplines of Continental philosophy and English studies are dear to me and must be interpreted through the lens of Scripture. Teaching within my homeschool community is part of my Titus 2 work.

The Lord calls women to model learning and to sacrifice time and activities to sit at the feet of Jesus. If you were a fly on the wall in my world, you would know that my first order of business is being a student of the Word. Every day starts early in the dark of morning, with the Bible, the Psalter, and my heart and notebook open to the Lord. Every day I am reminded by the gracious words of God that the ordinary means of grace are mine to embrace and apply and that it is dangerous and foolish to think I am too busy to do this. To say I am too busy to start the day in the Word is like saying I am more important and knowledgeable than the Lord himself. If I start in the wrong place or in the wrong posture, I have nothing edifying to say to my friends, neighbors, homeschool community, church, or family.

Darrin Patrick:

This matter of learning is an important point, because we can often miss what a radical claim Paul was making in the first century. We readily focus on what's restricted in this passage and obscure the clear encouragement for women to learn. Titus 2 also calls women to teach other women. It's imperative for women to teach and use their spiritual gifts. And it starts with recognizing that God does not give gifts based on gender. Many women have the gift of teaching, and we should celebrate that. Again, it's also important to recognize that Paul is not claiming that all women need to submit to all men all the time. Recognizing the corporate worship context of 1 Timothy 2 is crucial to understanding these principles rightly.

Mary Kassian:

Women are to work diligently at studying and “rightly dividing the word of truth” (2 Tim. 2:15 KJV). I teach women not only to read the Bible but also how to use proper exegetical methods and research tools to study it at a deeper level. Titus 2 indicates that all women ought to become competent at handling the Word of God so they can “teach what is good”—and thereby mentor and train other women (Titus 2:3–4 ESV).

Obviously, both men and women ought to learn “in all submission” to proper authority. Yet the Bible indicates that “submissive learning” is sex-specifically important for women. That's not to say it's unimportant for men. It simply indicates that this trait is uniquely pertinent to what it means to be female.

God created women to shine the spotlight on the gospel in a way that showcases how the bride (the church) relates to Christ and also how Christ relates to God the Father. In both these relationships, submission is a hallmark of the way the former party relates to the latter. Hence, the trait of submission ought to be uniquely showcased in godly womanhood. A godly woman has a soft, amenable, teachable spirit, which is an integral and beautiful part of her femininity.

Monica Rose Brennan:

I believe we can most effectively encourage women to study God's Word by studying the truth, living out the truth, and sharing the truth. Women need to be taught and reminded that God's Word is truth and is never

changing, unlike culture, which is forever changing. As women are reminded of the value of God's Word and the importance of hiding it in their hearts, I believe they will begin to learn the Scriptures. Many are confused about what God's Word really is, so this is a starting point as well. Teaching the inerrancy, infallibility, and inspiration of Scripture is vital. We cannot force anyone to study the Word, but when they hear others share the truth that can set them free and when leaders are committed to coming alongside women and exhorting them to read the truth themselves, I believe women will be encouraged to learn the Scriptures and begin to grow.

As women begin to learn Scripture and apply God's truth to their lives, I pray that they share the fruit of their learning with everyone but in ways that are appropriate and within the boundaries of Scripture. Women are instructed in Titus 2:3–5 to teach other women. What an incredible open door women have to teach truth to other women! Even an unbelieving husband is likely to respond to Christ as his wife lives out the fruit of her learning by her "gentle and quiet spirit" and by her submission to and respect for her husband (1 Pet. 3:1–4 ESV). The believing husband can also be encouraged by his wife. I often share with my husband what I am learning. It is so helpful to get his insight and for him to share with me what he is learning from the Scriptures.

In 1 Timothy 2:11, Paul tells women to learn "with all submission" (NKJV). I really don't know how true learning can take place without "all submission." For true learning to take place, we must have hearts that are teachable and willing to learn. As we surrender our hearts to the Lord and desire truth to penetrate into the core of our beings, I believe we are taking a step toward "all submission." Regardless of how the truth may hurt or whether or not I like it, as I am surrendering and submitting to God, I am making a commitment to stand under the authority of God's Word. As women learn "with all submission," they are approaching the Scriptures as authoritative.

Gloria Furman:

One way to encourage women to study the Bible and theology in today's world is to assume that they are listening and that they love and need the whole Bible, not just the specific teachings in the Bible on

womanhood. It also encourages me when pastors, writers, and Bible study teachers consider women and keep them in mind as they draw out applications in their sermons and address women in their books. There are so many ways that women might share the fruit of their learning with others. This morning a friend of mine sent me a text message of a passage of Scripture that she is meditating on. I read an article written by a woman author who is specifically discussing the implications of different atonement theories in her discipleship ministry. A book lies on my desk by a woman who has written to help parents and church leaders answer kids' difficult questions about faith. This afternoon we had a couple over for lunch, and the wife shared with us how God recently brought her through a significant battle with her sin and temptation. Tonight I had a video chat with a missionary in a nearby country who shared with me about evangelism opportunities in her local church.

It is tempting to take issue with Paul's injunction that women refrain from exercising authority over men as their pastors and elders in the local church but only if one is focused on the "have not" of the issue. Just a brief glance at the vast responsibilities that God has placed on women to teach his Word to other women and to the children in our care is enough to reorient the heart outward in worship to God and service to others in evangelism, missions, teaching, leadership, service, and a host of other ministries.

Tony Merida:

We encourage our women to study in every possible context that is beneficial. Obviously, I want them to study the Scriptures in the context of our weekly worship service and small group meetings. But I'm also delighted to see many of them attend seminary classes and go to meaningful conferences. I personally have no problem with women teaching in any capacity except when operating in the office of pastor. That doesn't mean they necessarily *should* teach in every context (for we must always consider wisdom, context, and gifting), but I think it's generally permissible for them to teach in all sorts of places. Women should value contexts like the home, the school, the mission field, various ministries within the church, mentoring relationships, and the multiple other venues where they can make disciples.

The reason Paul mentions “quietness and submission” here, I suspect, is because the Ephesian congregation was dealing with a particular problem. The clothing and the behavior of some of the women created a distraction in corporate worship. Later in the letter, Paul alludes to this problem by mentioning that some of the women were busybodies and babblers (1 Tim. 5:13). If some women were disrupting the learning of everyone else, then it makes sense for Paul to mention the need for respectful learning postures during corporate worship. Whatever the issue was, we shouldn’t miss the wonderful point that women were invited to learn the gospel! Consequently, many women were brought to faith in Christ, as they are today. Women and men should be grateful that they get to hear the Word of God and respond to God’s marvelous grace in Christ.

Trillia Newbell:

Women should learn the Scriptures just as men do—by reading, studying, and praying. I see no distinction here. Women can pursue a number of Bible study materials, commentaries, online classes, seminaries, and so forth. When Paul writes about women learning “with all submission” (NKJV), I believe he is referring to the church and submission to the leaders within a church context. I think, however, that all members of a congregation are to submit to the elders (Heb. 13:17). And just like men, women should learn and read Scripture with the aim of growing in the knowledge of God and love for the One we will all enjoy and worship for eternity.

Theresa Bowen:

Just because Paul does not permit women to teach and exercise authority over men in the church in no way nullifies our individual responsibility to read, hear, study, discuss, and be taught sound doctrine. If we are not grounded in the Scriptures, we will be adrift, vulnerable, carried along by culture, and susceptible to every doctrinal whim. Rather, we are called to study to show ourselves approved unto God (2 Tim. 2:15), to hide God’s Word in our hearts (Ps. 119:11), and to be prepared to give a defense for the hope within us (1 Pet. 3:15). God’s institutions of the church and home should partner together to teach and encourage a high view of Scripture, including both personal and

corporate Bible study and exposition. Ideally, both boys and girls will hear the Scriptures taught and see the Scriptures modeled at home and at church from infancy. As soon as they can read, the Scriptures should be encouraged as lifelong fare. As they mature, gender-specific Bible studies can be helpful. In Titus 2:3–5, Paul specifically charges older women with teaching younger women in the curricula of marriage, motherhood, character, and homemaking. In addition, many fine parachurch organizations are designed to come alongside the church and home, supplementing—not replacing—them. Furthermore, women can access a plethora of online sermons, seminars, and Bible studies. At no time in history have more resources been available to equip Christians.

And finally, formal biblical education is also a worthy endeavor for many, not just those preparing for the pastorate. As a woman, I attended an evangelical seminary for two years. The biblical surveys, the doctrinal studies, and the interaction with fellow students strengthened my faith and biblical worldview. It was a privilege to give myself fully to the study of God’s Word, and I have no doubt that it helped prepare me for the purposes God has for my life. Once people grasp truth, they need to pass it on—and the venues for sharing God’s Word are truly endless! The only limitation is that women are not permitted to teach or exercise authority over a man in the church. It is not surprising that women today, like Eve, gravitate toward the one thing forbidden. Nevertheless, opportunities abound for the woman who embraces her design and accepts God’s limitation: teaching children, other women, as well as teaching alongside her husband under his authority in the home.

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Andreas Köstenberger and Thomas Schreiner:

How is Paul’s injunction for women “not to teach or have authority over a man” (AT) in the church still relevant today? What are the implications of Paul’s teaching and the challenges of implementing it in today’s world? Are differences in male-female roles based on creation order or gifting—or other factors (1 Tim. 2:12–13)?

Gloria Furman:

It's relevant because church leaders daily face pragmatic ministry questions. Specifically, where teachers and leaders are in short supply, it seems to make sense from the outset to ordain everyone who demonstrates teaching and leading gifts. But we mustn't neglect the Bible's consistent pattern of male leadership because of pragmatism. Differences in male-female roles are based on creation order, an immovable reality set forth by the Creator himself. When I consider the vacuum of male leadership in missions, for example, I'm encouraged by J. Hudson Taylor's infamous wisdom: "God's work, done in God's way, will never lack God's supplies."³ Jesus will build his church, and he will supply elders and pastors to lead local congregations, so women never need to fear that they must be pressed into an authoritative role in the church against their conscience, which is bound by Scripture.

Darrin Patrick:

In 1 Timothy 2, by "teaching" Paul appears to mean preaching with elder authority. So "quietness" means women should not speak in a way that compromises authority. The focus is on submission and supporting the authority of the male elders who are called to oversee the church. Authority also requires accountability. The Bible makes clear that God will hold leaders in the church accountable for the way they kept watch over those in their care (Heb. 13:17). We see this from the very beginning with Adam and Eve. Though Eve sinned first, God holds Adam accountable for neglecting his responsibility to lead and protect.

Trillia Newbell:

Because Scripture is breathed out by God and is useful for teaching, reproof, correction, and training in righteousness so that the man of God will be equipped for every good work (2 Tim. 3:16), I think Paul's command is most definitely relevant for today. The winds and changes of culture don't inform our view of Scripture; Scripture informs our view of culture. So we can trust that the Word is relevant for today. The challenge in implementing this passage is that people interpret it differently; many find it difficult to see how God could create male and female in

³ Quoted in Howard Taylor and Geraldine Taylor, *Hudson Taylor's Spiritual Secret* (1932; repr., Chicago: Moody, 2009), 121.

his own image and then designate varying roles and gifts. I can see how that would be difficult if one equates *different* with *unequal*, which we do not. Paul continually shares the beauty of God's design in creating us all so different. We have varying gifts, and they are to be used to encourage and serve the body. This is a good thing. I think Paul's command is based on the creation order and on God's wisdom. But, again, I believe it's ultimately another way to reflect the gospel to the world.

Mary Kassian:

In 1 Timothy 2:12, Paul told Timothy that he did not permit women to “teach or to have authority over a man” (NIV 1984). In context, he appears to be talking about the authoritative doctrinal teaching of the church delivered to the assembled congregation—the type of teaching that falls to the responsibility of the church overseers. Because Paul appeals to the created order for his rationale, this principle remains relevant today. The challenge of implementing this verse is determining which of the myriad of teaching situations in the modern-day church fall under this category and which do not.

Theresa Bowen:

Some argue that man's authority in the church and home was part of the curse and therefore abolished in the atonement, and others consider Paul's prohibitions misogynistic or at least confined to his cultural context and no longer binding today. I believe his words are in keeping with the overall biblical design of male leadership in the church and home, as established at creation before the fall. If seen through the human lens of sinfulness and abuse, the woman's design as “helper” might indeed seem inferior—until one notes that God uses the same word for himself. Is God inferior because a facet of his own being is to function as “helper”? As modern women, we face the same test as Eve, and the test is as relevant in the church today as in the garden long ago. Can we trust God and his design for man and woman? If not, we will inevitably abuse that design or abdicate it.

Tony Merida:

The particular restriction in view seems to be that a woman may not teach in the office of a pastor (1 Tim. 3:1–7). If she taught in such a

capacity, she would be violating this command about “exercising authority over a man.” Paul’s argument rests on the creation account, not on cultural patterns. This restriction will continue to bother individuals, so we must be prepared to answer them in grace. We must also remind them of the vast opportunities that women have to exercise their teaching gifts and of the enormous impact that women can have as disciple-makers.

Monica Rose Brennan:

I believe this passage is just as relevant for the church today as it was in the first century. The authority of God’s Word does not change, nor do the principles in Scripture change! Proper conduct in the church and home means that I, as a woman, do not teach men or have authority over men. This passage has been and continues to be so misunderstood. Women especially read this passage and come away with a false perception that God cannot truly use them. Many see this as a restriction from ministry. However, when studied in context, this passage protects women and reminds them of their uniqueness in such a beautiful manner. This passage points out the differences in roles for manhood and womanhood. We are equal but have different roles.

In today’s world, manhood and womanhood can be better understood and lived out in the church, home, and society if we simply obey what God’s Word teaches about our identity and uniqueness. Many suggest that differences in male-female roles are based on gifting. Friends of mine have communicated with me that they believe if God gifts women, then they should be able to use their gifts. I know who I am as a woman, and I know God has called me to minister (teach the Word) to other women. I do not desire to teach men God’s Word in an authoritative manner. I believe Scripture, when studied in context, provides clear teaching on the differences between male and female roles, and I believe the differences in male-female roles are based on the creation order. God is the Creator of male and female and their unique roles.

Theresa Bowen:

The view that women are not permitted “to teach or to exercise authority over a man” (1 Tim. 2:12 ESV) is unpopular in the church today, even among Christians of good will. It has become mainstream for

women to lead in both the church and home, and going against the tide will often get one labeled as antiquated or even misogynistic. Nevertheless, we must hold to God's design while remaining humble and gracious, thankful for the legitimate gains for women in the spheres of education, opportunity, compensation, etc. We must not, however, equate these sinful inequalities throughout history with God's original design for man and woman. It is a fearful thing to redefine womanhood, for in doing so we inevitably redefine God in our own limited image. As Tim Keller observes, "To stay away from Christianity because part of the Bible's teaching is offensive to you assumes that if there is a God, he wouldn't have views that would upset you. Does that belief make sense?"⁴ For his sovereign purposes, God has assigned leadership in the church and home to men. This design is based not on gifting but on assignment and is rooted in Genesis. It pictures and mirrors something bigger than us.

Rosaria Butterfield:

So much hope lies in the unified biblical revelation of Scripture, but with this revelation comes much responsibility. We must begin by identifying what the Bible means when it declares that women are not "to teach or to have authority over a man" (NIV 1984). Since all people are made in the image of God (and as the *Westminster Confession of Faith* reminds us, all are through justifying faith to reflect God's image in knowledge, righteousness, and holiness), the Bible's designation of gender role difference does not imply some inherent intellectual weakness in women or inbred intellectual strength in men. It does mean that in the context of the official worship of God, women are not to preach or teach. That leaves an enormous amount of things that a Christian woman must do to support kingdom work on earth, both within and outside the church: mercy work, Titus 2 work, teaching other women and children, supporting and advising diaconal ministry, Proverbs 31 work, and if called to secular employment, doing it to the glory of God and thus diffusing a Christian light in the workplace. But this passage gives men and women different roles within the church.

⁴Timothy Keller, quoted in William Edgar, *You Asked: Your Questions. God's Answers* (Fearn, Ross-Shire, Scotland: Christian Focus, 2013), 197–98.

Here we must pause and ask about the hermeneutic that we use when faced with passages that do not correspond to human wisdom. We must ask this because we show our submission to God not only by what we do but also by the hermeneutic we use to interpret the Bible. If we use a hermeneutic that declares that we will obey God unless he asks us to do things that do not correspond with our cultural wisdom, our personal experience, or our heartfelt desire, we are not honoring God. When we do this, we fail to recognize that original sin has distorted us at the level of our hearts and minds, leaving us in a posture of grave discontentment. As harsh as this may sound, I found that I could only content myself with God's gender role if I stopped fighting against what God has declared (and thus relieving myself of its burden) and, counterintuitively, added to my burden by asking the Lord to reveal to me how my original sin distorts me and how my indwelling sin manipulates me. This has become an important question between me and the Lord, one that I put before him daily. Biblical gender roles honor God.

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Andreas Köstenberger and Thomas Schreiner:

What (if anything) does the scenario at the fall (the Devil approaching and deceiving the woman apart from her husband) teach us about roles for men and women in general? Is there anything we can learn for today from the woman's experience at the fall (1 Tim. 2:14)?

Rosaria Butterfield:

We learn from the fall that male headship preceded Satan's attack. All conversations about gender roles in the Bible come down to this: is male headship a creation ordinance or a postfall sin? Is headship a precursor to or a consequence of the fall? The details of Adam's and Eve's creation unfold to show that God gave Adam authority over all creation, including his wife, and that God's design for marriage would continue this headship paradigm for God's glory and for the good of creation. Satan intentionally attacked outside God's order. Eve's first sin was that she interpreted her situation apart from God's design. God charged Adam with this sin because of his failed headship. God cares about order and

boundaries. We can learn many things from Eve's experience, including the reminder that God gives married people gender roles for our good, to render peaceful the myriad requests for our time and attention that we receive daily. It also reminds us that God tests us with his order and boundaries. Today, the raging issue is not feminism but sexuality, especially homosexuality and gay marriage. I think these two issues (feminism and sexuality) are intimately linked, as imposing a feminist worldview on gender roles in order to reject them is the gateway to imposing a gay-affirming worldview on biblical sexuality in order to reject it. Biblical gender roles and biblical marriage go together.

Tony Merida:

The text is *not* about women being more prone to temptation and sin than men. For both the man and the woman sinned. The verses seem to underscore both the need to respect God's roles for men and women established in creation and the awful consequences of reversing such roles.

Theresa Bowen:

In support of his admonitions to Timothy regarding women in the church, Paul, being led by the Holy Spirit, makes a connection back to Genesis: specifically, that Adam was created first and entrusted with the garden and naming of the animals and that Satan deceived not Adam but Eve. In the garden, Adam and Eve turned God's original, divine (and good!) design on its head. They thus directly rejected who God had designed them to be and how God had designed them to flourish. The first man refused to lead, and the woman was willing to do so, and somehow Satan knew exactly which buttons to push, tempting her to doubt God—his goodness, his care, and his provision. Ultimately, his temptation of Eve was Satan's attempt to undermine God's good plan for his creation, and in every generation, he continues his quest to draw people away from God—though we know that God's redemptive purposes can never be thwarted. Yet each and every time we choose to "be like God" rather than trust and obey what he has said, we're falling into the same sin as Adam and Eve.

Monica Rose Brennan:

There is so much we can learn from the fall. By approaching Eve apart from her husband, the Devil completely deviates from God's divine order. Although Adam and Eve reversed their roles, God approaches Adam first, in keeping with his divine order. God's order is still in place before and after the fall; thus, the role assignments (God's design for man and woman) are still applicable to the here and now of our lives as fallen humanity. We can learn so much from Eve's sin. Genesis 3 conveys the progression of Eve's sin, which begins at deception. She lowered herself and stripped her own identity and equality as she began to have a conversation with a serpent. From the life of Eve, we can learn to stay within the boundaries of God's protection. When we go against his design, we will face consequences. He gives us commandments to keep us for the best, not from the best! This passage highlights the importance of following God's order.

Mary Kassian:

From the woman's experience at the fall, we can learn that Satan is a master of understanding human nature. He knew how to exploit the woman's unique relational constitution to lead her into transgression. The takeaway from this passage is not—as some have suggested—that women are more prone to sin. It is, rather, that both male and female have unique sex-specific strengths and vulnerabilities when it comes to sin and temptation.

Darrin Patrick:

Adam has left all men with a legacy of passivity. After the fall, God addresses Adam first. He was responsible to lovingly lead his wife, and so God held him accountable for sin entering the world, even though Eve disobeyed first. Instead of stepping up and countering Satan's lies, Adam allowed his wife to talk to Satan. It is clear to me that as men go, so goes the world. When men are absent, women will step up, but that's not God's intention. As I think about our contemporary culture, I am reminded of Dr. Carin Rubenstein's *The Superior Wife Syndrome*.⁵ She effectively claims that when husbands are passive, their competent

⁵Carin Rubenstein, *The Superior Wife Syndrome: Why Women Do Everything So Well and Why—for the Sake of Our Marriages—We've Got to Stop* (New York: Touchstone, 2009).

wives tightly grasp the reins out of frustration to make things work, and so their husbands continue to sit back and let them do it all, furthering the wife's frustration and the husband's passivity.

Gloria Furman:

What this scenario does *not* teach us is that women are categorically more easily deceived than men. I think it is necessary to clarify this point because it leads to the false interpretation that women are less spiritually attuned than men. What the scenario in this passage teaches us is that when Satan tempted the man and the woman to sin, he chose to do so by subverting God's order. Satan spoke to the woman and ignored the man, and from that point on the whole interchange is rife with sin. Eve listened to the Deceiver. Adam listened to the voice of his wife and followed her into sin. Together they sinned and ate the fruit. Today we can learn from the woman's experience at the fall and flee from temptations to subvert God's order no matter how enticing they might be.

Trillia Newbell:

I would add a question to this question: Was Adam there the entire time, and did the Devil deceive the woman "apart" from her husband? We see in Genesis 3:6 that Eve ate the forbidden fruit and then gave some to her husband "who was with her." If Adam was standing near or with her while the Serpent was deceiving her, then it is clear that he was not fulfilling at least one of the great assignments for which he was created, to exercise dominion over creation (Gen. 1:28). This role to have dominion over the earth was also given to Eve but she was also created as the helper and not first. I would argue that Adam lacked leadership and initiative and failed to protect Eve in this temptation. Romans 5:12 indicates that Adam was responsible for sin entering into the world. Though Adam was not at all responsible for Eve being deceived (we cannot blame a man for a woman's sin), he didn't intercede for her, which would seem to be a failure in leadership.

I do not believe that the scenario in Genesis 3 is an indicator that women are more easily deceived; I do, however, believe that it is a glaring reminder to husbands (in particular) to protect their wives. Even if Adam was not right there beside Eve, he willingly followed her and ate

the forbidden fruit instead of fearing and obeying the Lord. She was already deceived and seemed unable to truly fulfill her role as helper.

Theresa Bowen:

“How could Eve have been so foolish?” we ask. How? Simple! She failed to believe that what God said was true, and she wanted to be like God. And we do it too, all the time! In the church, as in the garden, Satan tempts us to reject God’s design and throw off the parameters he has fixed, yet this passage suggests that Paul would not allow women to “pastor” or “elder” the church because it connects directly back to the fact that Eve was deceived and that she usurped Adam’s place. In the church today, as in the garden, Satan tempts us to reject God’s design and take things into our own hands. It might very well seem reasonable for a gifted woman to take the pastorate of a local church, particularly one void of male leadership. Many Christians would see it as ludicrous that God would withhold the pulpit or a leadership role from a gifted woman, and they see it as antiquated, if not misogynistic, to suggest otherwise. However, in this, as in all things, we are asked to trust God. Rather than assuming any limitation to female leadership a product of first-century cultural limitations, Paul’s reference back to creation suggests a far more universal principle, that something happens deep in the heart of men and women when a woman has authority over a man in the church.

* * *

Andreas Köstenberger and Thomas Schreiner:

In light of Paul’s and the Bible’s teaching on motherhood, what is the significance of women being mothers? Beyond the obvious biological differences, does motherhood tell us anything about the difference between males and females? What do you have to say to women who are not mothers (1 Tim. 2:15)?

Mary Kassian:

I’ll answer this question with a quote from *True Woman* 101:

Every normal woman is equipped to be a mother. Certainly, not every woman in the world is destined to make use of her biological

equipment. But motherhood, in a much deeper sense, is the essence of womanhood. The first woman's name affirms and celebrates this truth: Eve means "life-giver." God's purpose is that every woman—married or single, fertile or infertile—will bring forth life. Regardless of her marital status, occupation, or age, a woman's greatest aim ought to be to glorify God and further His kingdom by reproducing—bearing spiritual fruit.⁶

The Lord wants women to be fruitful for the purpose of advancing and expanding the family of God. The point of motherhood is to bring forth and nurture children in the faith. Women who have no biological children also participate in this calling:

"Sing, O barren one, who did not bear;
 break forth into singing and cry aloud,
 you who have not been in labor!
 For the children of the desolate one will be more
 than the children of her who is married," says the LORD.
 (Isaiah 54:1 ESV)

He gives the childless woman a household,
 making her the joyful mother of children.
 Hallelujah! (Psalm 113:9 HCSB)

Gloria Furman:

Since womanhood cannot be handcuffed to mere biology, I would say to women who are not biological mothers that nurturing cannot be relegated to procreation. Through the gospel we see that fertility and "filling the earth" extend to Christian discipleship that bears lasting fruit. This is a joy-filled responsibility that *every* Christian woman bears. The clear glass of the gospel shows us that we are part of God's bigger story in which he is calling out worshipers from every nation to come and adore his Son forever. So the goal of our nurturing is to promote human thriving in the most magnificently fulfilling capacity possible. As women who are in Christ, then, we should aim to do everything he gives us to do so that all the nations would see and savor him forever. Motherhood, according to God's good design, includes biological and

⁶Mary Kassian and Nancy Leigh DeMoss, *True Woman 101: Divine Design* (Chicago: Moody, 2012), 188.

spiritual mothering and is woven into the very fabric of what it means to be a woman. Women lovingly mother others, using their God-given gifts to meet their needs for Jesus's sake (2 Cor. 4:5).

Tony Merida:

It seems God has given women a wonderful nurturing instinct. I don't mean to imply that men can't be nurturers, nor that women are only nurturers. However, the fact that women can give birth and feed and nurture babies and children in ways that men cannot highlights the beautiful uniqueness women possess as caregivers. A woman does not have to be married, nor be a mother, to nurture those in need. I would encourage all women to pour out their lives in deeds of service to those in need, such as victims of abuse, orphans, widows, the elderly, the homeless, the hungry, and the afflicted, through thousands of God-honoring involvements.

Trillia Newbell:

First Timothy 2:15 has been debated and theorized so much, I'm not sure I can add to the conversation! We know that women are not actually saved (as in regenerated) through childbirth. Yet Paul uses this language, and so we cannot ignore it. And I could write an entire chapter (or even a book) on what the Lord says about motherhood. So instead, I'll focus on the last question about women who aren't mothers. God was kind to begin the creation story by letting us know that *all* men and women are made in his image; therefore, unmarried women are no less significant than mothers. Also, because all the Word is useful, all females can be encouraged and challenged by what they read in regard to women in the Word. So the question is, what can we learn about God when we read these Scriptures? That's how we all—including my unmarried sisters—should approach this passage.

Theresa Bowen:

If 1 Timothy 2:9–15 were the whole of Scripture, we might assume that salvation for women is somehow tied to childbearing, but of course it is not. The full witness of Scripture teaches that the basis of salvation is grace alone through Christ's atoning death and not works (childbearing or anything else we can do). Therefore Paul must have referred to

childbearing to represent Eve's original (and perfect!) design as a life giver and perhaps her sphere as being more familial. Biologically, the woman alone has been designed to bear children. And while she can reject children or, for reasons known only to God, be denied them, this is one area of her design that a woman cannot exchange with a man. But as glorious as physically giving birth is, being a life giver involves so much more. It is that nurturing, maternal spirit that God has sovereignly placed within the woman's design. It involves viewing children (her own and others) and younger women as gifts and as worthy of her time and best efforts.

Darrin Patrick:

Childbearing is one of the good works with which godly women are to adorn themselves. It's just in a woman to want to have a baby, and as a Christian, the best way to extend your legacy is through your children—really, the best disciples you're ever going to have are your kids. And yet we know that this world is broken. We have many women in our church who are dealing with prolonged, unwanted singleness. Many couples are walking through infertility and miscarriages. As we walk alongside them in their pain, we want to constantly encourage our church that their opportunity for influence extends well beyond their biological family.

Monica Rose Brennan:

Women who embrace who they are (their true identity) and fulfill God's purpose will be rewarded. Motherhood reveals the nurturing, helping nature that God has formed in every woman's heart. Mothers have such a high calling and privilege to train their children to follow Christ and to discover God's purpose for their lives. I can't think of a greater role in all the world; it is truly a gift from God. Those who cannot bear children are still called to be nurturers and minister to children and other women in a way that only a woman can. Women who are not mothers can be spiritual mothers to others and minister in a variety of ways.

Theresa Bowen:

Exactly. The life-giving aspect of our design in no way excludes single women. All women—married, single, with or without children—can nurture and speak life-giving words into other's lives. And despite the

loud disrespect and disregard for such “menial” work in our supposedly enlightened age, this role is still largely accepted in society. Most still expect the child with a bloodied knee to run to mom for comfort, most homemaking blogs are penned by women, and Hollywood borrows from God’s design every time the hero steps in and saves the damsel in distress rather than standing idly by or following in her steps. Being a life giver is huge! Ironically, we assign more respect to a woman spending eight hours at a computer in a cubicle than one speaking words of life to a discouraged husband or straying child. It is that nurturing spirit that creates the intangible atmosphere that makes a house a home. And while it may begin in her home, a life giver’s nurturing words and actions are often known throughout her sphere and beyond, sometimes throughout the world. Indeed, something powerful can happen when we align with and embrace our God-given design.

Rosaria Butterfield:

I am a mother by adoption. Two of our four children came to us at the age of seventeen out of the US foster care system. Many good Christians uttered their concern about adopting teenagers. Will they love us? Will they reject us? Will they hurt us? And what about my identity as a mother? Am I less of a mother to my children if I meet them as older teenagers? Am I not a “real” mother if I did not carry them in my body? Am I less of a disciple of Christ if I met him in middle age (as I did)? God constantly reveals to us his covenant love by forging impossible trails through the conflicts of our lives. But covenant love has earthly vessels. One earthly highway of God’s covenant love is the spiritual mothering that leads others to our Savior. Hospitality is a touchstone of the ministry that Kent and I share together. And for me, hospitality and mothering go together, as both flow out of the doctrine of adoption and both require hands-on service and consistent and sacrificial love.

* * *

Andreas Köstenberger and Thomas Schreiner:

What should church leaders or other individuals do to help and encourage men and women to live out the biblical teaching in the world and

the church today? Have we missed any important questions you think we should discuss? If so, could you please address those questions and explain why they are important?

Rosaria Butterfield:

Christians need to value and highly esteem church membership and to model the submission to the elders that church membership entails. The watching world should be able to see the difference that church membership makes in a person's life. From our church membership should spring vital and organic community, the kind where people are incorporated into each other's daily rhythms. (And please do not think the church fellowship meal on the last Lord's Day of the month accomplishes this.) When I was part of the gay community, someone's home was open each night for fellowship and connection. Our churches should do no less. The communion of the saints is crucial, as new disciples cannot live Lord's Day to Lord's Day without organic connection. If we demand that our churches be places of entertainment and we demand that sermons tickle our ears, we have nothing to offer a watching world. At best, the world can say that it shares the same entertainment paradigm with Christians except that their content differs.

Gender roles are counterintuitive. And so is Christian love, hospitality, and the community that ushers forth from church membership. The church is to care for people from cradle to grave, but it cannot do that if church members renounce their membership because something better comes along. Something better will always come along, because other people's problems and sin patterns will always wear us down over time if we only rely on ourselves to generate Christian unity, love, peacemaking, and reconciliation. Talking about gender roles or biblical marriage in a world that despises God requires that we love the church more than we do and resist the temptation to see church membership as something like our health club membership, something that we use, choose, and consume. Gender and sexuality issues are part of a greater whole, and our faithfulness as church members cannot be minimized or dismissed as we labor to submit our gender roles and sexual desires to God's order, perfect will, and holy calling.

Darrin Patrick:

We have to encourage women to use their gifts. For instance, in our church women have significant leadership and teaching roles. We regularly address the need for our congregation to discern and use their spiritual gifts. In all our worship services, we try to have a woman reading Scripture, leading worship, or praying as a demonstration that women are significant and not just behind the scenes teaching children and leading women's Bible studies. Women should actually be on stage, leading us in worship. I think it has been a mistake for complementarian churches to restrict women from ministries in which they are gifted. The only restriction we see in Scripture for women is that of an elder.

Monica Rose Brennan:

I truly believe our churches today need more training on biblical manhood and womanhood. It is very important. So many couples in the church are struggling in their marriages because they do not understand the biblical teaching of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 or other passages of Scripture directly related to this passage. Leaders should continue to live it out themselves, teaching regularly on the importance of masculinity and femininity and the rewards of embracing our God-given identities and submitting to his order.

Theresa Bowen:

First of all, church leaders should take a high view of Scripture, prioritize the Word, and view history, society, and culture through the lens of Scripture and not vice versa. And they should provide humble yet unapologetic teaching on God's design for men and women and encourage the older women to teach those less mature. Next, they should remain humble, acknowledging their leadership role as a God-given assignment and not their own accomplishment. They should be careful not to equate methods or their own cultural preferences with the scriptural mandate. Such extrabiblical trappings often lead to unbiblical legalism and legitimate grievances within the church. They should provide opportunities for women to use their legitimate design in appropriate ways in the church (such as mentoring, teaching or serving children or other women, and designing creative events to accomplish the church's purposes) and provide encouragement when they do. The only prohibition

is that women should not teach or have authority over men. Like Eve, they are free to choose from all the other “fruits” of ministry.

That said, wise women and wise church leaders should be sensitive to the differing seasons in women’s lives and careful not to burden the young mom with overseeing large, time-consuming ministries when she has her hands full at home. Faithfulness in her home sphere should be commended and not viewed as a threat to the church and its programs. Church leaders should not demand a wife make “ministry” a priority over her home and family life. Her home and family *are* her ministry! Rather, they should relate to her in such a way that preserves and respects the husband’s role of leadership in his home. When approaching a woman in the church to consider any given ministry, my husband makes it a habit of asking a couple together rather than circumventing the husband and his input. Church leaders should cry out to God, asking the Holy Spirit to help them flesh out their biblical roles in the home and in the church. As has often been said, more is “caught” than “taught.” Few things are as demoralizing as a church leader who teaches one thing and is found to be hypocritically living a life of sin. They should pray that God’s design for manhood and womanhood would be reflected in their own lives and the lives of those they shepherd and that, when lived out alongside biblical preaching and teaching, it would powerfully adorn the gospel.

Gloria Furman:

Expositional preaching is one of the key ways that I think we can be encouraged to live out biblical teaching in the world and in the church today. We need a steady diet of God’s authoritative, cogent, and life-giving Word. When pastors and Bible study leaders work through the Bible in this manner, then men and women have the opportunity to feast on the rich banquet of God’s Word as the Spirit of God sets the agenda through careful exposition of that Word.

Tony Merida:

To promote biblical manhood and womanhood we need *good teaching*. There’s no substitute for faithful exposition in a local church. If pastors will teach the Bible with truth and love, with faithfulness and effectiveness, then they will build a good foundation for men and women to

flourish in God's good design for them. We also need *good models* in the local church to illustrate what our teaching looks like. We need compelling examples of ministry partnership, between husband and wife, men and women. We need compelling examples of women teaching others, caring for the least of these, and serving in unreached places. We need compelling examples of men who follow the way of Christ, who use their leadership not to dominate others but to humbly and compassionately serve them, just as Christ has served and loved us. Our words must explain our deeds, and our deeds must illustrate our words.

Trillia Newbell:

I think leaders should continue to preach the Word and love people. I also think pastors must recognize that there have been and continue to be abuses of authority and power in the church, which hinder the conversation and confuse the good of this picture. Sin corrupts all good things. Pastors must be faithful to teach with clear, biblical, expository preaching *and* love. We need truth and love.

Theresa Bowen:

I also want to stress the importance of passing on the truth (in this case, God's design for men and women) to the next generation, whose lives—at least in the West—are fully enveloped in a secular, often feminist-driven culture. The world and its leaders have always targeted and recruited the youth, realizing that their message would die otherwise. However, in the church we seem reluctant to challenge young people, often succumbing to entertainment, while academia, feminism, music, Hollywood, and social media relentlessly and unapologetically promote their humanistic worldview. In our churches, we often put everyone with folks their age—seniors with seniors, young marrieds with young marrieds, youth with youth, etc. In a sense, we separate the next generation from the generation that has the baton of truth. But from what Paul is writing to both Titus and Timothy, we see that men's and women's ministries should be places where we have a multigenerational mindset.

Of course, it is natural for all of us to feel most comfortable with women in our age or season of life, and yet, Paul, writing under the influence of the Holy Spirit, exhorts us to break out of our comfort

zones and pour our lives into younger men and women. It will have to be intentional. As church leaders, simplify things. Preach and teach on God's design; include young men and women in the men's and women's ministries of the church—and this will take some prayer and careful consideration, not merely adding men's or women's ministry to their already full plates of both youth or singles ministry and school or work, but making it a priority, for it goes to the core of who we are. It seems our generation is all too willing to relinquish our mandate to train younger men and women. Should we be surprised when gender confusion and worldly wisdom become mainstream and dominant, even in the church?

Mary Kassian:

Christian leaders must realize that due to popular ideology, God's design for manhood and womanhood will rarely be *caught*—it must be intentionally *taught*. Every believer needs to understand that God created male and female to tell the incredible story of Christ and the church and that this has implications for who they are and how they live.

Andreas Köstenberger and Thomas Schreiner:

Our thanks to each of you for taking time to share your insights on a very important passage of Scripture. Your participation in this roundtable interaction will be valuable for readers wrestling with the application of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 to various aspects of their ministries.

Andreas Köstenberger:

As we wrap up our discussion, I think it's important to recognize that men's and women's roles in the church and in the home are grounded in God's creation design, and this design characterizes men's and women's identity more deeply than the specific roles they occupy. Women were made to be life givers and nurturers, and men were created to serve as leaders and providers. As my wife and I have sought to show in our book, *God's Design for Man and Woman*, this abiding, divine design grounds the roles of men or women in the various spheres of life, which widens the scope of discussion beyond the more narrow question of whether women can serve as pastors or elders, as important as that question of leadership is in its own right.

Thomas Schreiner:

The scriptural Word is our authority on how men and women are to relate to God and to one another. At the same time, we learn how Scripture applies to us today through the reflection of wise counselors and advisors (Prov. 15:22). We all benefit when people of wisdom and godliness consider how the relationship between men and women works out in everyday life. The scriptural Word isn't an abstraction but is to be lived out concretely and practically. The members of the forum have helped us put our feet on the ground; they have illuminated what it means to live out one's calling as a woman or a man, and I'm extremely grateful for their counsel.

Conclusion

Thank you very much for wading through the, at times, fairly technical discussions in this volume chapter by chapter. First Timothy 2:9–15 is an exceedingly important passage that requires utmost care in interpreting. Each chapter makes a vital contribution to understanding the authorial intent conveyed in the passage: chapter 1 on historical background; chapter 2 on ἀὐθεντεῖν (“exercise authority”); chapter 3 on what it means for Paul not to permit a woman to teach or exercise authority over a man in the church; chapter 4 on the detailed interpretation of the entire passage verse by verse; chapter 5 on cultural and hermeneutical dimensions of the passage; chapter 6 on Bible translation; and chapter 7 on application. In conclusion, let’s briefly review what we’ve learned in the words of the respective contributors.

In chapter 1, S. M. Baugh concluded that Ephesus was a burgeoning trade and commercial center under growing Roman dominion with Greek roots well preserved in its political and cultural institutions. As in other Greco-Roman city-states, Ephesian society was generally patriarchal, even though some girls and women from wealthy and influential families appear in certain places of honor and patronage both at Ephesus and elsewhere. These observations led to the conclusion that Paul’s instructions in 1 Timothy 2:9–15 were not temporary measures for a unique social setting but were meant to be applied—with appropriate updating of incidentals, such as forms of dress—“in every place” (1 Tim. 2:8).

In chapter 2, Al Wolters examined the meaning of the verb ἀὐθεντεῖν, arguing that its occurrence in 1 Timothy 2:12 carries the nonpejorative, noningressive meaning of “exercise authority.” Wolters made his case by

examining four different kinds of evidence apart from that of the immediate context: (1) the verb's rare and often obscure occurrences (at most eight) before AD 312 (the year of the official recognition of Christianity under Constantine); (2) ancient versions; (3) patristic commentary; and (4) the verb's usage after AD 312, where he distinguished seven different "columns" or usage categories, most of which have to do with authority of some kind. It emerged from this survey of the evidence that there are no clear cases of a pejorative or ingressive sense of the verb. In addition, Wolters examined two kinds of dubious evidence that have been adduced in favor of one or other of these meanings, namely, etymology and the speculative reconstruction of historical background.

In chapter 3, I examined forty-two New Testament parallels to the syntax of 1 Timothy 2:12a (the conjunctions οὐδέ or μήδε joining negated verbs) and fifty-seven LXX and first-century Greco-Roman texts that even more strongly parallel that syntax (a negated finite verb governing two infinitives joined by οὐδέ), thirty-one of which are new examples not included in previous editions of this essay. Two consistent patterns emerged: (1) two activities or concepts are viewed positively in and of themselves, but their exercise is prohibited or their existence is denied due to circumstances or conditions adduced in the context; (2) two activities or concepts are viewed negatively, and consequently their exercise is prohibited or their existence is denied or they are to be avoided. I then set forth a case that διδάσκω ought to be understood in a positive sense unless contextual qualifications clearly indicate otherwise. Given the results of the earlier syntactic investigation, this study indicates that αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός ought to be understood positively as well: "to exercise authority over a man."

I then turned to examine how juxtaposing διδάσκειν ("to teach") and αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός ("to exercise authority over a man") with οὐδέ might affect the meaning of the two activities. I concluded that there is no syntactical warrant for understanding the construction to merge the two activities into a single idea—such as "seizing authority to teach a man"—which is more restrictive than either activity by itself. Instead, while the meaning of the two activities in such a construction may overlap, a degree of distinctiveness remains. In this case, in referring to two related activities in his prohibition, Paul is moving from a more

specific activity (teaching) to a more general activity (exercising authority over men).

In chapter 4, Thomas Schreiner presented a cogent interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:9–15. In vv. 9–10, Paul is seen to exhort women to adorn themselves appropriately with good works, not with ostentatious or seductive clothing. Moreover, women should not arrogate an official teaching role for themselves and serve as pastors (vv. 11–12). Instead, they should learn submissively and quietly from the elders. Paul prohibits women from teaching or exercising authority because of the created order (v. 13). The reference to creation indicates that Paul's instructions are not culturally limited but represent a word from God that applies in all cultures. Moreover, the events in Genesis 3 confirm the necessity of male leadership (1 Tim. 2:14). The Serpent subverted the created order by approaching Eve rather than Adam in the garden. Though Adam was with Eve, he did not intervene and exercise leadership. Instead, he stood by when Eve sinned. Even though Eve was the first to sin, God assigned the responsibility for sin primarily to Adam (cf. Rom. 5:12–19), confirming male leadership. Women, Paul reminds his readers, will experience eschatological salvation by adhering to their proper role, which is exemplified in giving birth to children (1 Tim. 2:15). Of course, adhering to one's proper role is insufficient for salvation; women must also practice other Christian virtues to be saved. Paul should not be understood here as teaching salvation by works; instead, he describes the perseverance in the faith that characterizes every genuine believer (cf. 1 Cor. 6:9–11; Gal. 5:21).

In chapter 5, Robert Yarbrough explored the meaning of the biblical precedent and precept of men's primary leadership responsibility as pastoral teachers and overseers in God's household, the church. His argument proceeded in three stages. The first section noted areas where discussion of 1 Timothy 2 continues to trudge timeworn paths, such as the household codes, non-Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles, and Jesus as an egalitarian. He noted problems with stock approaches to these subjects, which raise the need for innovative analyses.

The second section pointed to promising possibilities glimpsed in a fresh matrix typified by the research of some seven women who have made significant contributions on topics germane to the interpretation

of 1 Timothy 2: Carrie Sandom, Claire Smith, Margaret Elizabeth Köstenberger, Pamela D. H. Cochran, Linda Peacore, Diana Lynn Severance, and M. Sydney Park. This pushback against feminist (including evangelical feminist) hermeneutics supports a call for rethinking how many have come to understand 1 Timothy 2.

The third section of this chapter ventured a reading of 1 Timothy 2:8–15 from a non-Western perspective. This exercise underscored how the dynamics observable in the way that people are receiving the gospel in a Muslim African setting appear to correlate with what Paul assumes and calls for in the 1 Timothy 2 passage. The chapter concluded, among other things, that it may be well advised for Paul's readers today to toughen up like the church in so many other parts of the world, Muslim background believers standing at the forefront. These followers of Jesus challenge us to exercise courage when cultural pressure tempts us to abandon biblical norms simply because those around us find them odd or odious—or because we personally lack the appetite for what the text clearly states.

In chapter 6, Denny Burk demonstrated that the nonpejorative rendering of *αὐθεντεῖν* has a long and distinguished history in Bible translation—particularly in English Bible translation. It is no innovation of English Bibles produced in the twentieth century, as Linda Belleville contends. Rather, it is the studied result of solid exegesis over the centuries. It is an interpretation that understands Paul to prohibit women from teaching and exercising or having authority over men in the gathered assembly.

The 2011 edition of the NIV represents a significant departure from this well-established tradition of translation. The NIV 2011's "assume authority" not only carries with it an ingressive sense not indicated by the present-tense form of *αὐθεντεῖν* but also risks possible confusion with the pejorative sense advocated by Philip Payne. The NIV translators' explanation for the new rendering is not at all compelling in light of the lexical and grammatical studies contained in this volume. In fact, these studies contradict such a rendering. English translations of this crucial text would therefore do well to avoid "assume authority" and any other rendering that involves an ingressive or pejorative interpretation of *αὐθεντεῖν*.

Chapter 7 was devoted to a virtual roundtable on the significance and application of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 and its larger implications for women’s roles and the life of the church. Pastors Darrin Patrick and Tony Merida shared their perspectives, as did Theresa Bowen, Monica Rose Brennan, Rosaria Butterfield, Gloria Furman, Mary Kassian, and Trillia Newbell. These women and men have been significantly used in the Lord’s work and are also noted authors and servants in the church. For this reason, we greatly appreciate their humility and graciousness in participating in this forum, which we believe assembles in one place a considerable amount of collective godly wisdom from women and men with an amazing variety of backgrounds and nuanced positions on various details who yet all concur on the basic parameters of God’s design for men and women as articulated in the present volume.

We believe the contributors to this volume offer a compelling interpretation of the meaning of Paul’s words in 1 Timothy 2:9–15. Understood against its historical background and interpreted in keeping with likely word meanings and with proper Greek syntax, 1 Timothy 2:12, which is at the heart of the passage, means what it says: “I do not permit a woman to teach or exercise authority over a man.” As Robert Yarbrough rightly notes, this word from God predictably will not receive a warm welcome in predominantly egalitarian cultures, though it will resonate with many other cultures where male leadership is all but assumed. What is more, as the virtual roundtable demonstrates, while the meaning of the passage is clear, its significance is multifaceted.

We cannot realistically expect to have changed the minds of all those who, for whatever reason, are strongly committed to an egalitarian reading of the passage. What we do hope is to provide a coherent, even compelling, interpretation of a passage that sits well within a pervasive pattern of male leadership and male-female partnership throughout Scripture from Genesis to Revelation. First Timothy 2:9–15 does not operate in a vacuum; it takes its place in a long stream of references that assign ultimate leadership responsibility among God’s people, in the family and in the church, to qualified men. In both spheres, women are cherished partners who, as the female panel members rightly attest, are every bit as valuable and significant as men.

Our prayer is that this book will demonstrate that those who affirm

men's primary leadership role in the church do so not out of prejudice or partisanship. Some will disagree, but we hope that it will be apparent that the position defended here is based on rigorous scholarship. It is also our prayer that the book will affect the practice of churches. On the one hand, perhaps the minds of some will be changed. On the other hand, we hope that those who agree will be solidified and deepened in their agreement. Most of all, we pray that God will be glorified in Jesus Christ as churches model themselves after the pattern of leadership found in the Scriptures.

Andreas J. Köstenberger

Appendix

LXX and First-Century Greco-Roman Syntactic Parallels to 1 Timothy 2:12

Andreas J. Köstenberger

All the following texts illustrate the *negated finite verb + infinitive + οὐδέ + infinitive* construction. Notably, however, texts 9 and 44 match 1 Timothy 2:12 in even more detail with the *negated finite verb + infinitive + οὐδέ + infinitive + ἄλλά + infinitive* construction. Within the texts and translations, I have noted the pertinent syntactic components as follows: (1) the negated finite verb; (2) the first infinitive governed by the negated finite verb; (3) οὐδέ and the second infinitive governed by the negated finite verb; and occasionally (4) ἄλλά followed by yet another infinitive. Generally, if a given verb is part of a larger verbal phrase (i.e., it is construed with modifiers, an object, etc.), I have included the entire verbal phrase in that numbered component of the text. Texts that were not included in previous editions of this essay are marked with an asterisk.

Also, a note regarding sources: As for the LXX texts, the translation of text 1 is taken from Michael D. Coogan, ed., *The New Oxford Annotated Apocrypha: New Revised Standard Version*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), while the translation for text 2 is my own. The translation for text 8 is from R. T. Gunther's *The Greek Herbal of Dioscorides* (New York: Hafner, 1959). As a general rule, the

rest of the translations are taken from the Loeb Classical Library series (exceptions are texts 3 [see note] and 39 [my translation]). Some texts have been altered slightly to make the correspondence with the pertinent Greek construction clearer and have been footnoted accordingly.

LXX¹

1. 1 Maccabees 15:14: καὶ ἐκύκλωσεν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης συνῆψαν, καὶ ἔθλιβε τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ (1) οὐκ εἶασεν οὐδένα (2) ἐκπορεύεσθαι (3) οὐδὲ εἰσπορεύεσθαι. “He surrounded the city, and the ships joined battle from the sea; he pressed the town hard from land and sea, and (1) permitted no one (2) to leave (3) or enter it.”
2. Isaiah 42:24b: οὐχὶ ὁ θεός, ᾧ ἡμάρτοσαν αὐτῷ καὶ (1) οὐκ ἐβούλοντο (2) ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ πορεύεσθαι (3) οὐδὲ ἀκούειν τοῦ νόμου αὐτοῦ; “[Who gave Jacob up for spoil, and Israel to plunderers?] Was it not God, against whom they have sinned, and (1) they were not willing (2) to walk in his ways, (3) nor to obey his law?”

Dio Chrysostom (ca. AD 40–115)

- *3. *Oration* 6.25: (1) οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸν Δία (2) μισεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους (3) οὐδὲ φθονεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθοῦ τινος. “. . . because (1) it was not possible for Jupiter (2) to hate mankind, (3) or grudge them the enjoyment of any blessing.”²
- *4. *Oration* 14.8: οὐδ’ αὖ Ξέρξην, ὀπηνίκα ἀναχωρῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ χειμαζόμενος ἐν τῇ νηὶ πάντα ἐπέθετο τῷ κυβερνήτῃ καὶ (1) παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην οὐκ ἐπέτρεπεν αὐτῷ (2) οὐδὲ νεῦσαι (3) οὐδὲ μεταβῆναι. “Nor, to take another instance, would you have denied that Xerxes was a free man, when on his retreat from Greece a storm arose and he while aboard the ship obeyed the captain in everything and (1) would not permit himself against the captain’s judgment (2) even to nod (3) or to change his position.”
- *5. *Oration* 40.39: καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, οὕτως ἰσχυρὰ καὶ μεγάλα, τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα κοινωνίαν ἀνέχεται καὶ διατελεῖ χωρὶς ἔχθρας·

¹Earlier editions of this essay included Ezek. 44:13 (LXX). This text has been removed because the two infinitives joined by οὐδέ are not actually governed by the preceding verb; instead, they are the equivalent of a purpose clause.

²Translation by Gilbert Wakefield, *Select Essays of Dio Chrysostom* (London: S. Hamilton, 1800), 36.

μικρὰ δὲ οὕτω πολίχνια τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἔθνη ἀσθενῇ κατοικοῦντα ἐν μέρει τῆς γῆς (1) **οὐ δύναται** (2) τὴν ἡσυχίαν **ἄγειν** (3) **οὐδὲ** ἀθορύβως ἀλλήλοις **γεινιᾶν**; “Now if these beings, strong and great as they are, submit to their partnership with one another and continue free from hostility, are such puny, petty towns of ordinary mortals, such feeble tribes dwelling in a mere fraction of the earth, (1) not able (2) to maintain peace and quiet (3) and to be neighbors to one another without uproar and disturbance?”³

- *6. *Oration* 74.9: τοῖς νεώτεροις τοσούτων ἐτῶν νόμος (1) **οὐκ ἐξ** (2) **συμβάλλειν** ὥς ἀπίστοις οὖσιν, (3) **οὐδὲ** γυναικὶ παρ’ Ἀθηναίοις **συναλλάσσειν** πλὴν ἄχρι μεδίμνου κριθῶν, διὰ τὸ τῆς γνώμης ἀσθενές. “The law (1) does not permit one (2) to make a contract with persons younger than a specified age on the ground that they are untrustworthy, (3) nor, at Athens, may one have business with a woman except to the extent of a measure of barley because of the weakness of female judgment.”
- *7. *Oration* 74.27: ὁ δὲ κοινὸς ἀπάντων, “ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε,” ἐξ οὗ πάντες γεγόναμεν, οὐ κατὰ Λάχητα ὦν οὐδὲ κατὰ Σίμωνα, (1) **οὐ δύναται** (2) **κατασχεῖν** (3) **οὐδὲ** **κωλύσαι** τὴν ἀδικίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. “. . . while the common father of all, of ‘both men and gods,’ he from whom we all have our being, not a creature such as Laches or Simon, (1) cannot (2) check (3) or prevent the unrighteousness of men!”

Dioscorides (ca. AD 40–90)

- *8. *De materia medica* 4.164.3 (alt. 4.165a): ἐν δὲ τῷ ὀπίζειν (1) **οὐ δεῖ** (2) κατ’ ἄνεμον **ἵστασθαι** (3) **οὐδὲ** τὰς χεῖρας **προσάγειν** τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς. “When [extracting the juice from the herb] one (1) must not (2) stand against the wind, (3) nor put his hands to his eyes.”

Epictetus (ca. AD 55–135)

- *9. *Dissertationes ab Arriano digestae* (= *Diatribai*) 3.24.1: Τὸ ἄλλου παρὰ φύσιν σοὶ κακὸν μὴ γινέσθω· (1) **οὐ** γὰρ

³Cf. the translation of H. Lamar Crosby (LCL, 1946): “. . . cannot such puny, petty towns of ordinary mortals, such feeble tribes dwelling in a mere fraction of the earth, maintain peace and quiet and be neighbors to one another without uproar and disturbance?”

(2) **συνταπεινοῦσθαι** (1) **πέφυκας** (3) **οὐδὲ συνατυχεῖν**, (4) **ἀλλὰ συνευτυχεῖν**. “Let not that which in the case of another is contrary to nature become an evil for you; for you (1) are not born (2) to be humiliated along with others, (3) nor to share in their misfortunes, (4) but to share in their good fortune.”⁴

Josephus (AD 37–100)⁵

10. *Contra Apionem* 2.212: (1) **οὐ γὰρ ἔῃ** (2) τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν **πυρπολεῖν** (3) **οὐδὲ τέμνειν** ἡμερὰ δένδρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ σκυλεύειν ἀπείρηκεν τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσόντας, καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων προυνόησεν. “(1) He does not allow us (2) to burn up their country (3) or to cut down their fruit trees, and forbids even the spoiling of fallen combatants.”
11. *Antiquitates Judaicae* 2.116: Ἰούδα δὲ τολμηροῦ τᾶλλα τὴν φύσιν ἀνδρὸς χρησαμένου πρὸς αὐτὸν παρρησίᾳ, ὥς (1) **οὐ προσῆκε** μὲν αὐτὸν (2) περὶ τὰδελφοῦ **δεδιέναι** (3) **οὐδὲ** τὰ μὴ δεινὰ δι’ ὑποψίας **λαμβάνειν**, πραχθήσεται γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν περὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν, ᾧ μὴ παρέσται θεός, τοῦτο δὲ συμβήσεσθαι πάντως καὶ παρ’ αὐτῷ μένοντι. “Judas, ever of a hardy nature, frankly told him [i.e., Jacob] that (1) he ought not (2) to be alarmed for their brother [i.e., Benjamin] (3) nor harbour suspicions of dangers that did not exist, for nothing could be done to him save what God might send, and that was bound to befall even if he stayed with his father.”
12. *Antiquitates Judaicae* 6.20: (1) **οὐκ** (2) **ἐπιθυμεῖν** ἐλευθερίας (1) δεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιεῖν δι’ ὧν ἂν ἔλθοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, (3) **οὐδὲ βούλεσθαι** μὲν ἀπηλλάχθαι δεσποτῶν ἐπιμένειν δὲ πράττοντας ἐξ ὧν οὗτοι διαμενοῦσιν. “(1) Ye ought not to be content (2) to yearn for liberty, but should do also the deeds whereby ye may attain it, (3) nor merely long to be rid of your masters, while continuing so to act that they shall remain so.”
13. *Antiquitates Judaicae* 6.344: οὗτος γὰρ καίπερ εἰδὼς τὰ συμβησόμενα καὶ τὸν ἐπικείμενον θάνατον τοῦ προφήτου προειρηκότος (1) **οὐκ ἔγνων** (2) **φυγεῖν** αὐτὸν (3) **οὐδὲ φιλοψυχίας**

⁴The translation of W. A. Oldfather (LCL, 1928) reads, “. . . for you are born not to be humiliated along with others, nor to share in their misfortunes, but to share in their good fortune.”

⁵Thanks are due to Andrew Chapman for highlighting a previously included Josephus example, *B.J.* 5.199, as actually not falling within the parameters of this study, given that οὐδὲ was not being used as a coordinating conjunction in the passage.

προδοῦναι μὲν τοὺς οἰκείους τοῖς πολεμίοις καθυβρίσαι δὲ τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ἀξίωμα. “For he, although he knew of what was to come and his impending death, which the prophet had foretold, yet (1) determined not (2) to flee from it (3) or, by clinging to life, to betray his people to the enemy and dishonour the dignity of kingship.”

14. *Antiquitates Judaicae* 7.127: Τοῦτο τὸ πταῖσμα (1) τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας οὐκ ἔπεισεν (2) ἡρεμεῖν (3) οὐδὲ μαθόντας τοὺς κρείττονας ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν. “This defeat (1) did not persuade the Ammanites (2) to remain quiet (3) or to keep the peace in the knowledge that their enemy was superior.”
15. *Antiquitates Judaicae* 14.346: (2) ὁ δὲ Ὑρκανὸν ἀπολιπεῖν (1) οὐκ ἤξιου (3) οὐδὲ παρακινδυνεύειν τὰδελφῶ. “Phasaël, however, (1) did not think it right (2) to desert Hyrcanus (3) or to endanger his brother.”
16. *Antiquitates Judaicae* 15.165: ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ὑρκανὸς ἐπιεικεῖα τρόπου (1) καὶ τότε καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον οὐκ ἤξιου (2) πολυπραγμονεῖν (3) οὐδὲ νεωτέρων ἄπτεσθαι. “Now Hyrcanus because of his mild character (1) did not choose either then or at any other time (2) to meddle in state affairs⁶ (3) or start a revolution.”⁷

Philo (ca. 25 BC–AD 40)

- *17. *Hypothetica sive Apologia pro Judaeis* 7.19: τῆς δὲ φιланθρωπίας αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦτο μέγα ὡς ἀληθῶς σημεῖον· ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔτους ἀνέχουσι, τοὺς γινομένους καρποὺς (1) οὐκ οἶονται δεῖν (2) συλλέγειν (3) οὐδ’ ἀποτίθεσθαι μὴ ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων πόνων περιόντας αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ’ ἅτε τοῦ θεοῦ παρεσχηκός αὐτοῖς, ἀνιείσης ἀπ’ αὐτομάτου τῆς γῆς, τοὺς βουλομένους ἢ δεομένους τῶν τε ὁδοιπόρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀξιοῦσι μετὰ ἀδείας χρῆσθαι. “We have a truly great proof of their [i.e., the Jews’] humanity also. Since they themselves abstain from labor during that year, they think that they (1) should not (2) gather (3) or lay by the fruits produced which do not

⁶Ralph Marcus (LCL, 1943) translates πολυπραγμονεῖν far too innocuously: “to take part in public affairs.” See the footnoted discussion on this text in table 3.2 in chap. 3.

⁷Νεωτέρων ἄπτεσθαι might mean something a shade less negative—“introduce innovations” or the like—but for “start a revolution,” see the usage in Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 8.7.624.

accrue to them from their own toil, but since God has provided them, sprung from the soil by its own action, they should grant them to be used freely by wayfarers and others who desire or need them.”

18. *De posteritate Caini* 84.5: (1) οὐ γὰρ (2) ἀναπτῆναι, φησίν, εἰς οὐρανὸν (3) οὐδὲ πέραν θαλάσσης ἀφικέσθαι (1) δεῖ κατὰ ζήτησιν τοῦ καλοῦ. “For (1) it is not necessary, he says, (2) to fly up into heaven, (3) nor to get beyond the sea in searching for what is good.”

Plutarch (AD 40–120)

19. *Aetia physica* (= *Quaestiones naturales*) 918.B: ἡ δ’ ἄγαν περίψυξις πηγρύουσα τὰς ὀσμάς (1) οὐκ ἐᾷ (2) ῥεῖν (3) οὐδὲ κινεῖν τὴν αἴσθησιν; “[Why is ground that has become dewy unfavorable for hunting so long as the cold lasts? . . . A spoor does this when there is warmth to free and release it gently] whereas excessive chill freezes the scents and (1) does not allow them (2) to flow (3) and affect [i.e., move] our perception.”
20. *Aetia romana et graeca* (= *Quaestiones romanae et graecae*) 269.D: (1) οὐ δεῖ δὲ (2) τῶν ἡμερῶν τὸν ἀκριβέστατον ἀριθμὸν διώκειν (3) οὐδὲ τὸ παρ’ ὀλίγον συκοφαντεῖν. “But (1) we must not (2) follow out the most exact calculation of the number of days (3) nor cast aspersions on approximate reckoning [since even now, when astronomy has made so much progress, the irregularity of the moon’s movements is still beyond the skill of mathematicians, and continues to elude their calculations].”
21. *Aetia romana et graeca* (= *Quaestiones romanae et graecae*) 273.E: Διὰ τί τοῖς μὴ στρατευομένοις μὲν ἐν στρατοπέδῳ δ’ ἄλλως ἀναστρεφομένοις (1) οὐκ ἐξῆν ἄνδρα (2) βαλεῖν πολέμιον (3) οὐδὲ τρῶσαι; “Why were men who were not regularly enlisted, but merely tarrying in the camp, (1) not allowed (2) to throw missiles at the enemy (3) or to wound them?”
22. *Aetia romana et graeca* (= *Quaestiones romanae et graecae*) 291.B: Διὰ τί τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τούτοις ἀρχὴν (1) οὐκ ἐφέιτο (2) λαβεῖν (3) οὐδὲ μετελθεῖν; “Why were these priests (1) not allowed (2) to hold office (3) nor to solicit it?”
23. *Agésilas* 32.3: ἐπεὶ δὲ φιλοτιμούμενος ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐν τῇ πόλει μάχην συνάψαι καὶ στήσαι τρόπαιον (1) οὐκ ἴσχυσεν

(2) **ἐξαγαγεῖν** (3) **οὐδὲ προκαλέσασθαι** τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀναξεύξας πάλιν ἐπόρθει τὴν χώραν. “Eraminondas was ambitious to join battle in the city and set up a trophy of victory there, but since (1) he could (2) neither force (3) nor tempt Agesilaus out of his positions, he withdrew and began to ravage the country.”

- *24. *Alexander* 39.7: τῇ δὲ μητρὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔδωρεῖτο καὶ κατέπεμπεν, (1) **οὐκ εἶα** δὲ (2) **πολυπραγμονεῖν** (3) **οὐδὲ παραστρατηγεῖν**· ἐγκαλούσης δὲ πρῶως ἔφερε τὴν χαλεπότητα. “To his mother, also, he sent many presents, but (1) would not suffer her (2) to meddle in affairs (3) nor interfere in his campaigns; and when she chided him for this, he bore her harshness patiently.”
- *25. *Amatorius* 750.E.4: Ἦρως δὲ προσδοκίαν φιλίας ἀποβαλὼν (1) **οὐκ ἐθέλει** (2) **παραμένειν** (3) **οὐδὲ θεραπεύειν** ἐφ’ ὥρᾳ τὸ λυποῦν καὶ ἀκμάζον, εἰ καρπὸν ἥθους οἰκεῖον εἰς φιλίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἀποδίδωσιν. “. . . while Love, if he loses the hope of inspiring friendship, (1) has no wish (2) to remain (3) and to cultivate a deficient plant which has come to its prime, if the plant cannot yield the proper fruit of character to produce friendship and virtue.”⁸
- *26. *Amatorius* 767.D.1: οἱ δὲ παίδων δεόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ γυναικῶν, ὥσπερ οἱ τέττιγες εἰς σκίλλαν ἢ τι τοιοῦτο τὴν γονὴν ἀφιάσιν, οὕτω διὰ τάχους οἷς ἔτυχε σώμασιν ἐναπογεννήσαντες καὶ καρπὸν ἀράμενοι χαίρειν ἔωσιν ἤδη τὸν γάμον, ἢ μένοντος (1) **οὐ**⁹ φροντίζουσιν οὐδ’ (1) **ἀξιοῦσιν** (2) **ἐρᾶν** (3) **οὐδ’ ἐρᾶσθαι**. “Others want children more than a wife: like cicadas who eject their seed into a squill or something of the sort, they are quick to fecundate the first body they come upon. When they have reaped the fruit, they are ready for divorce; or, if the marriage stands, they are not concerned about (1) nor do they desire (2) to love (3) or to be beloved.”
- *27. *An seni respublica gerenda sit* 792.E: Εἰ γοῦν πατέρα τὸν Τιθωνὸν εἶχες, ἀθάνατον μὲν ὄντα χρεῖαν δ’ ἔχοντα διὰ γῆρας ἀεὶ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας, (1) **οὐκ ἂν οἶμαί σε** (2) **φυγεῖν** (3) **οὐδ’ ἀπείπασθαι** τὸ θεραπεύειν καὶ προσαγορεύειν καὶ βοηθεῖν ὥς

⁸The translation of W. C. Helmbold (LCL, 1961) reads, “. . . or, if the marriage stands, they pay no attention to it, so little do they care for giving or receiving love.”

⁹The οὐ is directly negating φροντίζουσιν, but its force is extended via οὐδ’ to negate the finite verb ἀξιοῦσιν as well.

λελειτουργηκότα πολὺν χρόνον· “Certainly if you had Tithonus as your father, who was immortal but always needed much care on account of old age, (1) I do not believe you would (2) avoid (3) or grow weary of attending to him, speaking to him, and helping him on the ground that you had performed those duties for a long time.”

28. *Bruta animalia ratione uti* 990.A–B: καὶ (1) οὐκ ἐᾷ (2) θιγεῖν (3) οὐδὲ λυπῆσαι τὴν γεῦσιν ἀλλὰ διαβάλλει καὶ κατηγορεῖ τὴν φαυλότητα πρὶν ἢ βλαβῆναι. “[It (our sense of smell) admits what is proper, rejects what is alien] and (1) will not let it (2) attack¹⁰ (3) or give pain to the taste, but informs on and denounces what is bad before any harm is done.”

29. *Caius Marcius Coriolanus* 27.3: τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα πάντα λυμαινόμενος καὶ διαφθείρων, τοὺς ἐκείνων ἀγροὺς ἰσχυρῶς ἐφύλαττε, καὶ (1) οὐκ εἶα (2) κακουργεῖν (3) οὐδὲ λαμβάνειν ἐξ ἐκείνων οὐδέν. “For while he maltreated and destroyed everything else, he kept a vigorous watch over the lands of the patricians, and (1) would not suffer anyone (2) to hurt them (3) or take anything from them.”

- *30. *Cato Minor* 3.1: Οὕτω δ’ ἦν περιβόητος ὥστ’, ἐπεὶ Σύλλας τὴν παιδικὴν καὶ ἱερὰν ἵπποδρομίαν ἦν καλοῦσι Τροίαν ἐπὶ θεᾷ διδάσκων, καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς εὐγενεῖς παῖδας, ἀπέδειξεν ἡγεμόνας δύο, τὸν μὲν ἕτερον οἱ παῖδες ἐδέξαντο διὰ τὴν μητέρα, Μετέλλης γὰρ ἦν υἱὸς τῆς Σύλλα γυναικός, τὸν δ’ ἕτερον, ἀδελφιδοῦν ὄντα Πομπηίου, Σέξτον, (1) οὐκ¹¹ εἶων οὐδ’ (1) ἐβούλοντο (2) μελετᾶν (3) οὐδ’ ἑπεσθαι. “[Cato] was so celebrated that, when Sulla was preparing for exhibition the sacred equestrian game for boys which is called ‘Troja,’ and, after assembling the boys of good birth, appointed two leaders for them, the boys accepted one of them for his mother’s sake (he was a son of Metella, Sulla’s wife), but would not tolerate the other (who was a nephew of Pompey, named Sextus), and (1) refused (2) to rehearse under him (3) or obey him.”

- *31. *Cimon* 9.1: ἐκείνον γὰρ (2) ᾄδειν μὲν (1) οὐ φάναι μαθεῖν (3) οὐδὲ κιθαρίζειν, πόλιν δὲ ποιῆσαι μεγάλην καὶ πλουσίαν

¹⁰ The translation of W. C. Hembold (LCL, 1957) gives “touch”; because θιγεῖν is being used negatively here, “attack” is substituted. See discussion above at this entry in table 3.2 in chap. 3.

¹¹ The οὐκ is directly negating εἶων, but its force is extended via οὐδ’ to negate the finite verb ἐβούλοντο as well.

ἐπίστασθαι· “That hero, they said, declared that he had (1) not learned (2) to sing, (3) nor even to play the lyre, but knew how to make a city great and rich.”

32. *De defectu oraculorum* 426.B: ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πρέπει θεοῖς ἡ τοιαύτη διάταξις· (1) οὐ γὰρ ὥς σμήνους ἡγεμόνας **δεῖ** (2) **ποιεῖν** ἀνεξόδους (3) **οὐδὲ φρουρεῖν** συγκλείσαντας τῇ ὕλῃ μᾶλλον δὲ συμφράξαντας. “Yet such an organization is altogether appropriate for the gods. For (1) we must not (2) make them unable to go out, like the queens in a hive of bees, (3) nor keep them imprisoned by enclosing them with matter, or rather fencing them about with it.”
- *33. *De defectu oraculorum* 432.A: (1) **οὐ δεῖ** δὲ (2) **θαυμάζειν** (3) **οὐδ’ ἀπιστεῖν** ὀρῶντας, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν ἀντίστροφον τῇ μαντικῇ δύναμιν, ἣν μνήμην καλοῦμεν, ἡλίκον ἔργον ἀποδείκνυται τὸ σῶζειν τὰ παρωχημένα καὶ φυλάττειν, μᾶλλον δὲ <τὰ μηκέτ’> ὄντα· “We (1) ought not (2) feel surprised (3) or incredulous at this when we see in the soul, though we see naught else, that faculty which is the complement of prophecy, and which we call memory, and how great an achievement is displayed in preserving and guarding the past, or rather what has been the present.”
- *34. *De esu carniū* i 994.F: ἕτερα δὲ φειδόμενοι τῶν παρατεθέντων (1) **οὐκ ἔωσι** (2) **τέμνειν** (3) **οὐδὲ κατακόπτειν**, παραιτούμενοι νεκρά, ζώντων δ’ οὐκ ἐφείσαντο. “There are others who refuse when the dishes [of meat from beasts] are already set before them and (1) will not have them (2) cut into or (3) sliced. Though they bid spare the dead, they did not spare the living.”
- *35. *De superstitione* 169.D: ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων βούλεται μὲν (1) **οὐ δύναται** δὲ (2) **χαίρειν** (3) **οὐδ’ ἡδεσθαι**· “On the other hand the superstitious man, much as he desires it, (1) is not able (2) to rejoice (3) or be glad.”
36. *De tranquillitate animi* 474.A–B: (1) **οὐ δεῖ** τοῖς ἑτέροις (2) **ἐξαθυμεῖν** (3) **οὐδ’ ἀπαγορεύειν**, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ἁρμονικοὺς ἀμβλύνοντας ἀεὶ τοῖς κρείττοσι τὰ χείρονα καὶ τὰ φαῦλα τοῖς χρηστοῖς ἐμπεριλαμβάνοντας ἐμμελὲς τὸ τοῦ βίου μίγμα ποιεῖν καὶ οἰκεῖον αὐτοῖς. “(1) We should not (2) be disheartened (3) or despondent in adversity, but like musicians who achieve harmony by consistently deadening bad music with better and

encompassing the bad with the good, we should make the blending of our life harmonious and conformable to our own nature.”

37. *De tranquillitate animi* 475.D: ὅθεν (1) οὐ δεῖ παντάπασιν (2) ἐκταπεινοῦν (3) οὐδὲ καταβάλλειν τὴν φύσιν ὡς μηδὲν ἰσχυρὸν μηδὲ μόνιμον μηδ' ὑπὲρ τὴν τύχην ἔχουσιν. “Therefore (1) we should not altogether (2) debase (3) and depreciate Nature in the belief that she has nothing strong, stable, and beyond the reach of Fortune.”
- *38. *De tranquillitate animi* 475.E: καὶ γὰρ ἡ τύχη δύναται νόσῳ περιβαλεῖν, ἀφελέσθαι χρήματα, διαβαλεῖν πρὸς δῆμον ἢ τύραννον· (2) κακὸν δὲ καὶ δειλὸν καὶ ταπεινόφρονα καὶ ἀγεννῆ καὶ φθοφερὸν (1) οὐ δύναται (2) ποιῆσαι τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀνδρῶδη καὶ μεγαλόψυχον (3) οὐδὲ παρελέσθαι τὴν διάθεσιν, ἧς αἰεὶ παρούσης πλέον ἢ κυβερνήτου πρὸς θάλατταν ὄφελός ἐστι πρὸς τὸν βίον. “Fortune, in fact, can encompass us with sickness, take away our possessions, slander us to people or despot; but she (1) cannot (2) make the good and valiant and high-souled man base or cowardly, mean, ignoble, or envious, (3) nor can she deprive us of that disposition, the constant presence of which is of more help in facing life than a pilot in facing the sea.”
- *39. *De vitioso pudore* 531.D: ὁ δὲ πόρρωθεν ἑαυτὸν ἐθίσας μῆτε λέγοντος ἐπαινεῖν παρὰ γνώμην μήτ' ᾄδοντος κροτεῖν μῆτε σκώπτοντος ἀφυῶς ἐπιγεῶν (1) οὐκ ἔάσει (2) μέχρι τούτου προελθεῖν (3) οὐδ' εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἐν ἐκείνοις ἀδυσώπητον “ὅμοσον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ” καὶ “τὰ ψευδῇ μαρτύρησον” καὶ “ἀπόφηναι παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον.” “Whereas he who has long before accustomed himself not to praise a speech against his judgment, nor applaud a song, nor to laugh at a dull joke, (1) will not permit someone (2) to proceed as far as this, (3) nor to say to the one who is unyielding in those things, ‘Take an oath for me,’ and ‘Give false testimony,’ and ‘Pronounce an unjust verdict.’”
- *40. *Demetrius* 4.3: ἀκούσας δ' ὁ Δημήτριος ἠχθέσθη σφόδρα, καὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου καθάπερ εἰώθει γενομένου παρ' αὐτῶ καὶ συνόντος ἐπὶ σχολῆς, (2) φθέγγασθαι μὲν (1) οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν (3) οὐδὲ τῇ φωνῇ κατεπιπεῖν διὰ τὸν ὄρκον, ὑπαγαγὼν δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων, ὡς ἐγεγόνεσαν μόνοι καθ' αὐτούς, τῷ στύρακι τῆς λόγχης κατέγραψεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ὀρώντος αὐτοῦ· “φευγε Μιθριδάτα.” “On hearing this, Demetrius was exceed-

ingly distressed, and when the young man, as was his wont, came to share his diversions with him, though he (1) did not venture (2) to open his lips on the matter (3) or to warn him orally, because of his oath, he gradually drew him away from his friends, and when they were by themselves, with the sharp butt of his lance he wrote on the ground so that he could see it, ‘Fly, Mithridates.’”

- *41. *Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum* 1090.D: ὅθεν ὁ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰὲ φόβος ἐγκείμενος (1) οὐκ ἔῃ (2) χαίρειν (3) οὐδὲ θαρρεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι. “. . . in consequence fear for the next moment lies heavy on them and (1) does not allow them (2) to delight (3) or to be confident in their present situation.”¹²
- *42. *Pelopidas* 21.1–2: δεινοῦ δὲ καὶ παρανόμου τοῦ προστάγματος αὐτῷ φανέντος, ἑξαναστὰς ἐκοινοῦτο τοῖς τε μάντεσι καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. ὧν οἱ μὲν (1) οὐκ εἶων (2) παραμελεῖν (3) οὐδ’ ἀπειθεῖν. “The injunction [to sacrifice an auburn-haired virgin to ensure victory] seemed a lawless and dreadful one to him, but he rose up and made it known to the seers and the commanders. Some of these (1) would not hear of the injunction (2) being neglected (3) or disobeyed[, adducing examples of such sacrifice among the ancients].”
- *43. *Publicola* 8.1: ἔτυχε δὲ τεθερισμένον ἄρτι, καὶ κειμένων ἔτι τῶν δραγμάτων, (1) οὐκ ᾔροντο δεῖν (2) ἀλοᾶν (3) οὐδὲ χρῆσθαι διὰ τὴν καθιέρωσιν, ἀλλὰ συνδραμόντες ἐφόρουν τὰς ἀμάλλας εἰς τὸν ποταμόν. “Now it chanced that it had just been reaped, and the grain still lay upon the ground; but since the field had been consecrated, they (1) did not consider it to be proper (2) to thresh (3) nor to use because of the dedication, but agreeing together, conveyed the sheaves into the river.”¹³
- *44. *Pyrrhus* 10.3: οὐ μὴν ὅτι ῥαδίως καὶ ταχὺ τὸν Πύρρον ἐξεβάλε τῆς χώρας ὁ Δημήτριος ἡμέλησεν, ἐγνωνκῶς δὲ μεγάλων πραγμάτων ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ τὴν πατρίαν ἀρχὴν ἀνακτᾶσθαι δέκα μυριάσι στρατοῦ καὶ ναυσὶ πεντακοσίαις, (1) οὐκ ἐβούλετο (2) τῷ Πύρρῳ προσπταῖσαι (3) οὐδ’ ἀπολιπεῖν Μακεδόσι πάροιικον ἐργώδη καὶ χαλεπόν, (4) ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐσχόλαζε

¹² The translation of Benedict Einarson and Phillip H. De Lacy (LCL, 1967) reads, “. . . and precludes any delight or confidence in their present situation.”

¹³ The translation of Bernadotte Perrin (LCL, 1914) reads, “. . . they thought it not right to thresh it or use it in any way.”

πολεμεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν, διαλυθεὶς καὶ θέμενος εἰρήνην οὕτως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλεῖς **τραπέεσθαι**. “However, because Demetrius had easily and speedily driven Pyrrhus out of the country, he did not leave him to his own devices, but now that he had determined to undertake a great enterprise and to recover his father’s realm with a hundred thousand soldiers and five hundred ships, (1) he did not wish (2) to have collisions with Pyrrhus, (3) nor yet to leave behind in him an enterprising and troublesome neighbor for the Macedonians. (4) He wished, rather, since he had no time to wage war against Pyrrhus, to come to terms and make peace with him, and then turn his arms against the other kings.”

45. *Pyrrhus* 33.6: σπασάμενον γάρ τὸ ξίφος ἢ κλίναντα λόγχην (1) **οὐκ ἦν** (2) **ἀναλαβεῖν** (3) **οὐδὲ καταθέσθαι** πάλιν, ἀλλ’ ἐχώρει δι’ ὧν ἔτυχε τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα, καὶ περιπίπτοντες ἀλλήλοις ἔθνησκον. “For when a man had drawn his sword or poised his spear, (1) he could not (2) recover (3) or sheathe his weapon again, but it would pass through those who stood in its way, and so they died from one another’s blows.”

- *46. *Quaestiones convivales* 692.A: ἀγνάπτοις δὲ τούτοις πρὸς τοῦτο διὰ τὴν τραχύτητα καὶ ξηρότητα τῆς κροκύδος (1) **οὐκ ἐώσης** (2) **ἐπιπτεσεῖν** βαρὺν τὸ ἱμάτιον (3) **οὐδὲ συνθλίψαι** τὴν χαννότητα τῆς χιόνης. “Unfulled material is used for [cloth in which to wrap snow] because the roughness and dryness of the nap (1) does not allow the weight of the cloth (2) to bear down (3) and compress the loose structure of the snow.”¹⁴

- *47. *Quaestiones convivales* 709.E: ἐπεὶ τοὺς γε μοχθηροὺς, ὅσῳ μᾶλλον ἐπιλαμβάνονται καὶ συμπλέκονται, καθάπερ βάτους καὶ ἀπαρίνας ὑπερβατέον ἐστὶ: κἂν ἐπιεικεῖς οἱ ἄγοντες ὧσι πρὸς ἐπιεικῇ δὲ μὴ ἄγωσιν, (1) **οὐ δεῖ** (2) **συνακολουθεῖν** (3) **οὐδ’ ὑπομένειν**, ὥσπερ διὰ μέλιτος φάρμακον λαμβάνοντας, μοχθηρὸν διὰ χρηστοῦ φίλον. “For we have to avoid the wicked like brambles or catchweed, so much the more when they try to seize and embrace us. If those who would take us are persons of character but not the one to whom they would introduce us,

¹⁴The translation of Herbert B. Hoffleit (LCL, 1969) reads, “Unfulled material is used for this because the roughness and dryness of the nap keeps the weight of the cloth from bearing down and compressing the loose structure of the snow.”

- (1) we ought not (2) to accept, (3) nor tamely let a good friend be the means of getting us a worthless one, as if we were taking bitter medicine in honey.”
48. *Quaestiones convivales* 711.E: ὥσθ’ ὁ οἶνος (2) ἡμᾶς **ἀδικεῖν** (1) **οὐκ ἔοικεν** (3) **οὐδὲ κρατεῖν**. “The wine (1) seems not (2) to be harming us (3) or getting the best of us.”
49. *Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur* 64.E.7–8: ὁρᾷς τὸν πίθηκον; (1) **οὐ δύναται** (2) τὴν οἰκίαν **φυλάττειν** ὥς ὁ κύων, (3) **οὐδὲ βαστάζειν** ὥς ὁ ἵππος, οὐδ’ **ἀροῦν** τὴν γῆν ὥς οἱ βόες. “You must have noticed the ape. (1) He cannot (2) guard the house like the dog, (3) nor carry a load like the horse, nor plow the land like oxen.”
50. *Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata* 185.A.1: πρὸς δὲ τοὺς θαυμάζοντας τὴν μεταβολὴν ἔλεγεν ὥς (1) **“οὐκ ἔᾶ με (2) καθεύδειν (3) οὐδὲ ραθυμεῖν** τὸ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον.” “[Themistocles while yet in his youth abandoned himself to wine and women. But after Miltiades, commanding the Athenian army, had overcome the barbarians at Marathon, never again was it possible to encounter Themistocles misconducting himself.] To those who expressed their amazement at the change in him, he said that ‘the trophy of Miltiades (1) does not allow me (2) to sleep (3) or to be indolent.’”
51. *Romulus* 9.2: ὅτι γὰρ (1) **οὐκ ἡξίου**ν οἱ τὴν Ἀλβὴν οἰκοῦντες (2) **ἀναμινγνύναι** τοὺς ἀποστάτας ἑαυτοῖς (3) **οὐδὲ προσδέσθαι** πολίτας. “For that the residents of Alba (1) would not consent (2) to give the fugitives the privilege of intermarriage with them, (3) nor even receive them as fellow citizens [is clear].”
- *52. *Romulus* 27.7: ἐπεὶ δ’ ἔληξεν ἡ ταραχὴ καὶ τὸ φῶς ἐξέλαμψε, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν εἰς ταῦτό πάλιν συνερχομένων ζήτησις ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πόθος, (1) **οὐκ ἔαν** τοὺς δυνατοὺς (2) **ἐξετάζειν** (3) **οὐδὲ πολυπραγμονεῖν**, ἀλλὰ τιμᾶν παρακελεύεσθαι πᾶσι καὶ σέβεσθαι Ρωμύλον, ὥς ἀνηρπασμένον εἰς θεοὺς καὶ θεὸν εὐμενῇ γενησόμενον αὐτοῖς ἐκ χρηστοῦ βασιλέως. “And when the storm had ceased, and the sun shone out, and the multitude, now gathered together again in the same place as before, anxiously sought for their king, the nobles (1) would not suffer them (2) to inquire into his disappearance (3) nor busy themselves about it, but exhorted them all to honor and revere Romulus,

since he had been caught up into heaven, and was to be a benevolent god for them instead of a good king.”

- *53. *Solon* 21.5: (2) **ἐναγίζειν** δὲ βοῦν (1) **οὐκ εἵασεν**, (3a) **οὐδὲ συντιθέναι** πλέον ἱματίων τριῶν, (3b) **οὐδ’** ἐπ’ ἀλλότρια μνήματα **βαδίζειν** χωρὶς ἐκκομιδῆς. “(2) To sacrifice an ox at the grave (1) was not permitted, (3a) nor to bury with the dead more than three changes of raiment, (3b) nor to visit tombs other than those of their own family, except at the time of interment.”¹⁵
- *54. *Solon* 27.6: “Ἐλλησιν” εἶπεν ὦ βασιλεῦ Λυδῶν, πρὸς τε τὰλλα μετρίως ἔχειν ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός, καὶ σοφίας τινὸς ἀθαρσοῦς ὡς εἴκει καὶ δημοτικῆς, οὐ βασιλικῆς οὐδὲ λαμπρᾶς, ὑπὸ μετριότητος ἡμῖν μέτεστιν, ἣ τύχαις ὀρῶσα παντοδαπαῖς χρώμενον ἀεὶ τὸν βίον, (1) **οὐκ ἔξ** (2) τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς μέγα **φρονεῖν** (3) **οὐδὲ θαυμάζειν** ἀνδρὸς εὐτυχίαν μεταβολῆς χρόνον ἔχουσιν.” “‘O king of Lydia,’ he said, ‘as the Deity has given us Greeks all other blessings in moderation, so our moderation gives us a kind of wisdom which is timid, in all likelihood, and fit for common people, not one which is kingly and splendid. This wisdom, such as it is, observing that human life is ever subject to all sorts of vicissitudes, (1) forbids us (2) to be puffed up by the good things we have, (3) or to admire a man’s felicity while there is still time for it to change.’”
- *55. *Tiberius et Caius Gracchus* 1.2: λέγεται δέ ποτε συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης ζευγὸς δρακόντων, τοὺς δὲ μάντιες σκεψαμένους τὸ τέρας, ἄμφω μὲν (1) **οὐκ ἔαν** (2) **ἀνελεῖν** (3) **οὐδ’ ἀφεῖναι**, περὶ δ’ ἑκατέρου διαίρειν, ὥς ὁ μὲν ἄρρην τῷ Τιβερίῳ φέροι θάνατον ἀναιρεθεῖς, ἣ δὲ θήλεια τῇ Κορνηλίᾳ. “We are told, moreover, that he once caught a pair of serpents on his bed, and that the soothsayers, after considering the prodigy, (1) forbade him (2) to kill both serpents (3) or to let both go, but to decide the fate of one or the other of them, declaring also that the male serpent, if killed, would bring death to Tiberius, and the female, to Cornelia.”
56. *Timoleon* 37.2: Ἐπεὶ δὲ χρῆν ὡς εἴοικεν οὐ μόνον πᾶσι κορυδαλλοῖς λόφον ἐγγίνεσθαι, κατὰ Σιμωνίδην, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσῃ

¹⁵ The translation of Bernadotte Perrin (LCL, 1914) reads, “The sacrifice of an ox at the grave was not permitted, nor the burial with the dead of more than three changes of raiment, nor the visiting of tombs other than those of their own family, except at the time of interment.”

δημοκρατία συκοφάντην, ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ Τιμολέοντι δύο τῶν δημαγωγῶν, Λαφύστιος καὶ Δημαίνετος. ὧν Λαφυστίου μὲν αὐτὸν πρὸς τινα δίκην κατεγγυῶντος, (1) οὐκ εἶα (2) θορυβεῖν (3) οὐδὲ κωλύειν τοὺς πολίτας· ἐκὼν γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑπομεῖναι τοσούτους πόνους καὶ κινδύνους ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοῖς νόμοις χρῆσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον Συρακοσίων· “But since, as it would seem, not only all larks must grow a crest, as Simonides says, but also every democracy a false accuser, even Timoleon was attacked by two of the popular leaders at Syracuse, Laphystius and Demaenetus. Of these, Laphystius once tried to make him give surety that he would appear at a certain trial, and Timoleon (1) would not suffer the citizens (2) to raise a clamour (3) nor to hinder him; for he himself, he said, had of his own accord endured all his toils and dangers in order that any Syracusan who wished might avail himself of the laws.”¹⁶

Strabo (63 BC–ca. AD 24)

- *57. *Geographica* 10.5.5: (1) οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστιν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Δήλῳ (2) θάπτειν (3) οὐδὲ καίειν νεκρόν. “For (1) it is unlawful (2) to bury, (3) or even burn, a corpse in Delos itself.”

¹⁶The translation of Bernadotte Perrin (LCL, 1918) reads “. . . Of these, Laphystius once tried to make him give surety that he would appear at a certain trial, and Timoleon would not suffer the citizens to stop the man by their turbulent disapproval. . . .”

Bibliography

The secondary literature on 1 Timothy 2:9–15 has for some time strongly outpaced that produced for any other passage in the letters to Timothy and Titus, so maintaining bibliographic control of this literature constitutes a considerable task. To this end, the present specialized bibliography is meant to set forth a relatively comprehensive list of academic works that discuss 1 Timothy 2:9–15 directly, either in part or as a whole.

Every effort was made to include all works on 1 Timothy 2:9–15 published in scholarly venues in recent history, up through 2014, although inadvertent omissions have doubtless occurred given the nature of the task. We have included some early modern works due to their seminal nature and impact on subsequent conversation. A number of technical and semitechnical commentaries on 1 Timothy are also included; this was perhaps not strictly necessary, since every commentary on 1 Timothy will self-evidently discuss the passage of interest, but the inclusion of these works highlights connections between a given author's commentary and his or her writings elsewhere on the topic.

In order to keep the bibliography both academically focused and manageable, some typical works are excluded. Such exclusions pertain to certain categories of works that do not directly or substantively engage 1 Timothy 2:9–15, including lexical reference works, background works (i.e., about Ephesus, women in antiquity, etc.), and discussions of women in ministry. As well, while discussions of 1 Timothy 2:9–15 in patristic writings are not unimportant, we have limited the present bibliography to modern works.¹ Further, as particular religious bodies have

¹For these earlier works, bibliographic resources are available in (1) the focused Daniel Doriani, "Appendix 1: History of the Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2," in *Women in the Church: A Fresh Analysis of 1 Timothy 2:9–15*, ed. Andreas J. Köstenberger, Thomas R. Schreiner, and H. Scott Baldwin (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1995), 213–67; (2) the excellent "History of Interpretation," in Luke Timothy Johnson,

wrestled with this passage in coming to grips with the role of women in the church in their traditions, they have often produced study papers and the like; while important in their contexts and helpful in tracing the passage's history of reception, such works are generally excluded here. In addition, most book reviews have been excluded; those included interact substantially with volumes focusing specifically on 1 Timothy 2:9–15, such as previous editions of the present work.

Upon even a cursory glance, the diversity in the bibliography will be evident. While the English-speaking world has dominated scholarly discussion of the passage, contributions from other languages are not lacking and have been included as well. In many cases, a given work focuses exclusively on 1 Timothy 2:9–15 or a portion thereof. Numerous other works address the passage as part of a larger treatment of 1 Timothy or the letters to Timothy and Titus collectively. In still other cases, a work on a broader topic or theme (women in ministry, soteriology, etc.) addresses 1 Timothy 2:9–15 as part of its overall project. Naturally, interpretive approaches and conclusions vary widely among these many items. As the conversation about this key passage continues, it is hoped that this repository of pertinent works will prove useful.²

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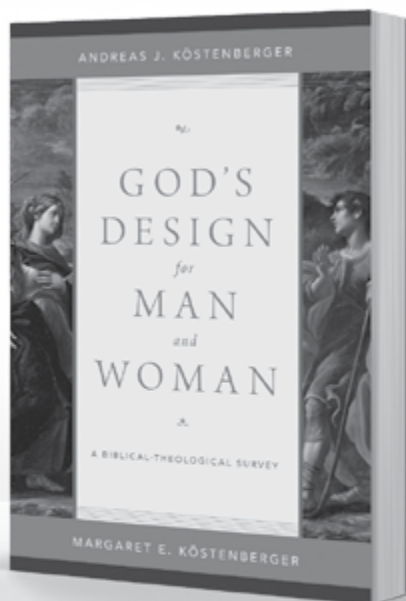
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