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New Testament Studies / Volume 34 / Issue 01 / January 1988, pp 120 - 134

DOI: 10.1017/S0028688500022256, Published online: 05 February 2009

Link to this article: http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0028688500022256

How to cite this article:

Leland Edward Wilshire (1988). The TLG Computer and Further Reference to ΑΘΕΝΤΕΩ in 1 Timothy 2.12. New Testament Studies, 34, pp 120-134 doi:10.1017/S0028688500022256

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LELAND EDWARD WILSHIRE

THE TLG COMPUTER AND FURTHER REFERENCE
TO ΑΥΘΕΝΤΕΩ IN 1 TIMOTHY 2.12

George W. Knight III has continued the scholarly inquiry into the word *αὐθεντέω* and its use in 1 Tim 2. 12 with his well researched 1984 *NTS* article 'ΑΥΘΕΝΤΕΩ in Reference to Women in 1 Timothy 2. 12'.¹ It is a study using what scholars have used until now as their main reference tools, that is, Greek lexicons and their referenced citations. Since that time, however, there has opened up an additional tool for linguistic scholarship, the computer database. The 'Thesaurus Linguae Graecae' computer database project (developed and housed at the University of California – Irvine) is presently becoming available for scholarly use and it has been consulted on the strange philological development of this same Greek word *αὐθεντέω* (with its cognates *αὐθέντης* and *αὐθεντία*) and its solitary NT usage in 1 Tim 2. 12.

The TLG project will contain, when completed, some 63 million words of ancient Greek from nearly 3,000 authors from Homer to 600 AD and beyond into the Byzantine period. It is an ongoing project, looking towards the completion of all data entry by the late 1980s and all corrections by possibly the early 1990s.² The TLG project contains words primarily from Greek literary works with the papyrus citations initially developed in a separate database sponsored by Duke University where around 3 million non-literary uses of Greek words have been entered with around 5 million projected. The papyrus database is being added, as it is available, from the Duke project, to the TLG database.

There are three assertions in the Knight study that need, at the outset, to be modified in the light of the TLG project information. A more detailed analysis of Knight's argument will come at the end of this study. The three assertions are: (1) 'the paucity of occurrences of the term' (p. 143), (2) 'the odious idea of murder is not integral to the basic meaning of the word' (p. 154) and (3) 'the recognized meaning for the first century BC and AD documents would remain, and that the recognized meaning is 'to have authority over' (p. 152).

The TLG computer database contains, at the writing of this study, around 329 uses of the word. It is not a common word but one cannot speak of a paucity of references. The Byzantine citations from the databank has been omitted in this present study (23 references) along with references to the adjectival derivatives *αὐθεντικός* and *αὐθεντικῶς* (for

αὐθεντέω among the Byzantine lexicographers, see Appendix II). The derivatives *αὐθεντικός* and *αὐθεντικῶς* have meanings and histories of their own. Thus the remaining 314 or so references to *αὐθεντέω* and its cognates (plus inquiry into additional citations from literary works and papyri not yet in user access) give evidence of the usages and changes of meaning of this word through the length and breadth of 1,200 years of classical history.

From the TLG citations, we find the word used in the three classical historic Greek periods: (1) the Hellenic period, 500 BC – 283 BC, (2) the Hellenistic or Alexandrian period, 283 BC to 30 BC, and (3) the Roman period beginning with the takeover of Egypt, the last remaining independent Hellenistic kingdom, in 30 BC, to the transformation of the eastern Roman empire into the Byzantine empire around 600 AD. This historical division, however, may not be as relevant to a literary or philological study as would be the history of the Greek language. Alongside of Attic or classical Greek, there came into being the *κοινή διάλεκτος*, the common Greek of the Hellenistic world. This modified Attic form of the Greek language became an almost universal language of prose literature up to 600 AD when it gave way, at least in part, to the Byzantine imitation of the classical Attic models. Hence there developed two forms of the language, a diglossy, that has been a feature of Greek language to the present day.

Within the period of the koine Greek, the language also took various directions. There were those like Polybius and Diodorus Siculus who tried to fashion a literary koine based on imitating classical models. There were others who let the spoken language influence the written language, either unintentionally as we find it in the papyri and other informal written material or possibly intentionally as in the LXX and the NT. Parallel to these developments, from the end of the first century BC, was the ‘Atticist Movement’ or ‘Second Sophistic Movement’ whose members argued that the only ‘correct’ Greek was the kind used by classical Attic writers. Whether their literary works lived up to their protestations is another matter. One would also add a ‘patristic’ form of the language that emerges in the later Greek Church Fathers. The word *αὐθεντέω* along with its noun forms must be seen within these linguistic currents.

The data indicates that some authors, especially those in the ‘Atticist’ or ‘Second Sophistic Movement’, were disturbed about an emerging confusion of meanings of the word *αὐθεντέω* even in Roman times. The late second century AD Grammarian Phrynichus, in his *Ecloga* (or *Selections*) writes that one should never utilize the word *αὐθέντης* to mean ‘master’ (*δεσπότης*), as was done, he says, by the rhetoricians of his day in the courts of law, but one should use it only to define persons who murder with their own hand (*Ecloga* 96). The lexicographer Moeris (early III AD) states that *αὐθέντην* in Hellenic speech (i.e., Hellenistic speech) is identical

to the word 'self-judged' (*αὐροδίκην*) in Attic speech (*Lexicon Atticum*, Koch, ed. 54). The writer Harpocration (I-II AD) attempts a definition. In his *Lexicon of the Ten Orators*, he defines the word as 'a person who brings about the murder of some one through the use of others'.³ Harpocration makes the further comment that 'the one who perpetrates the murder (*αὐθένης*) always makes evident the one who actually did it' (Lex. 66.7). The difficulty of using these writers of the 'Atticist Movement' is that we cannot tell if they are using meanings that are still current in Greek vocabulary or whether they are in a 'make believe' land of an earlier 'pure' Attic language.

It is this meaning of a perpetrator of a violent act, either murder or suicide, that is found almost exclusively throughout the citations from classical times (IV BC-VI BC). Among the tragic dramatists, the word is found twice in Aeschylus, once in Sophocles and eight times in Euripides. Clytaemnestra, in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, responds to the chorus that the 'fiend of the house of Pleisthenes' will bring tribulation upon some other race by a murder of kin (*θανάτοις αὐθένταισι*) (Ag. 1573). In his *Eumenides*, Aeschylus has the chorus correct Apollo with the remark that a particular killing 'would not be murder (*αὐθένης*) of the self-same blood and kin' (Eum. 212). Sophocles, in his *Oedipus the King*, has Creon state that he was commanded to punish the murderers (*αὐτοένας*) of Laius (OT. 107). In this citation, the earlier uncontracted form of the word is used. Euripides' frequent use of the term reflects his interest in human affairs. In seven of his references, the word is used within an accusation or reporting of a crime with the meaning of 'murderer' or 'slayer' (And. 172, 614, Herc. 839, 1359, Tr. 660, IA. 1190, Ph. 873). One other Euripidean reference has a disputed reading (Supp. 442). If *αὐθένης* is the true reading, it would have the connotation of 'master' as in 'the people, the master of the land'. The emendation of *εὐθυνητής* has been suggested so that it would read 'the people, the correctors of the land'. If the term *αὐθένης* is correct, it would be the first extant use of this particular contextual meaning in Attic times.

Among the rhetoricians and speech writers of the Hellenic period, the word is also used in relation to crime. Antiphon (V BC), in his second *Tetralogy*, which is a hypothetical law case dealing with an accidental death by javelin, uses the word *αὐθένης* as a term for 'self-inflicted death' or the 'taking of one's own life' (II Tet. 3.4.6, 3.11.4, 4.4.3, 4.10.1 [twice]). The one reference in his *On the Murder of Herodes* is a warning for a juror not to be found under the same roof with the murderer (Caed. Her. 11.6). A fragment from the speeches of Lysias, an orator from V-VI BC, lists the word but only in a reference to Harpocration indicating that Lysias uses the word in his speech ΠΡΟΣ ΙΣΟΔΗΜΟΝ (*Fragmenta*, T. Thälheim, ed. *Lysiae orationes*, 348.13). Harpocration (I-II AD), as we have

seen, used Lysias to support his definition of bringing about a murder through the use of others. A Xth century Byzantine lexicon, the *Suda*, states that Lysias has the word refer to the Thirty Tyrants who were causing murders to be done through the agency of others (cf. Appendix II).

Among the classical historians, the word is of infrequent use. Herodotus uses it once, in a literary aside, where he comments on the cruelty of the Persians as they argue over who is actually going to murder a child (Hist. 1.117.12). Thucydides uses it once in the plea of the Plataeans to the Spartans upon the Plataeans' defeat. They refer back to the tombs of the Spartans killed by the Thebans during the Persian War. Their bodies should not be left 'in a hostile land and among their slayers' (παρὰ τοῖς αὐθένταις) (Hist. 3.58.5.4.).

When we come to the writers using the koine of the Hellenistic period (323 B.C. on), we find the word utilized by a variety of authors. Among those writers of the koine with some literary pretensions, the word continues its meaning of murder or murderer. There is also beginning to appear a wider usage of the word, still revolving around personal involvement in a crime. Apollonius Rhodius (c. 295 BC), in his epic romance *The Argonautica* uses the word on two occasions. Once, in reference to Mariandyni 'the murderers (αὐθένται) of Amycus' and again, in the advice of what a murderer (αὐθέντησι) should do to atone for a treacherous murder (Arg. 2.754, 4.479). The historian Polybius (200 BC–118 BC) has Philip stating, in response to a Roman request, that he will send Cassander, 'the actual author of the deed' (i.e. the massacre at Maronea) to them (τὸν αὐθέντην γεγονότα τῆς πράξεως) (Hist. 22.14.2.3).

Diodorus Siculus (c. 60 BC–c. 20 AD) uses the word three times in a broad context of criminal behaviour. In one instance, he speaks of sacrilege to an oracle and relates that an inexorable retribution will be sent not merely upon the perpetrators of the sacrilege (τοῖς αὐθένταις τῆς ἱεροσυλίας) but upon all connected with it (Bib. Hist. 16.61.1.3). Commenting on the chaos during the time of the later Persian rulers, Diodorus has Arses offended by Baogoas' behaviour and prepared to punish the 'author of the crimes' (τὸν αὐθέντην τῶν ἀνομημάτων) (Bib. Hist. 17.5.4.6). Baogoas was, however, quicker and killed Arses before he could carry out his punishment. In his *Photian fragment* about Roman history, Diodorus relates that Gracchus, in his actions, had in his followers 'not merely supporters but, as it were, sponsors of his own daring plans' (ἀλλὰ καθάπερ αὐθέντας εἶχε τούτους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδίας τόλμης) (Pho. frag. 35.25.1).

Flavius Josephus (37–c. 95 AD) uses the term twice in his *Jewish Wars* with both instances having the connotation of a doer or perpetrator of a crime. He speaks, on one occasion, of retribution coming upon Antipater 'the perpetrator of the crime' (BJ. 1.582.1). In the second instance, the responsibility for a crime lay with Cumanus for refusing to take

proceedings against the perpetrators of a slaughter (τοὺς αὐθέντας τοῦ σφαγέντος ἐπεξελεῖν) (BJ. 2.240.5).

The Jewish writer, Philo Judaeus (c. 30 BC– c. 40 AD), uses the word once. In his *Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat*, he speaks of a person proving to be his own murderer, a suicide (σαυτοῦ δὲ γέγονας αὐθέντης) (Det. 78.7).

The historian Appian of Alexander (II AD) uses the word and its cognate forms five times. He writes in a Greek untouched by Atticism. Three of these references have to do with describing a person or persons as murderers. In his *History of Rome*, he speaks of the magistrates of the city of Minturnae hesitating on being the murderers (αὐθένται) of Marius because of his reputation (BC. 1.7.61.7). In another citation, Perpenna is seized as the murderer of Sertorius (αὐθέντην) (BC. 1.13.115.17). Octavian, in another passage, speaks to Anthony about tolerating Decimus Brutus ‘who was one of my father’s slayers’ (αὐθέντην) (BC. 3.2.16.13). The word is used once by Appian to connote suicide. Two of Caesar’s enemies had not been hurt in battle but became ‘slayers of themselves’ (ἄμφω δ’ αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο αὐθένται) (BC. 4.17.134.40). In his work on Mithridates, the word is used in a more general context of avoiding the appearance of being ‘perpetrators of evil’ (αὐθένται τοῦ κακοῦ φυλαξάμενοι γενέσθαι) (Mith. 90.1).

The word αὐθεντέω and its cognate forms is also found among other writers who are writing the popular koine Greek of Hellenistic and Roman times. The conclusion by Knight that the recognized meaning for first century BC and AD documents is that of ‘to have authority over’ is increasingly to be questioned. There is no ‘recognized’ meaning at this time. Indeed, it is a time of a multiplicity of meanings. The word αὐθεντέω and its cognates is found twice in the LXX and once in the NT. In the LXX *Book of Wisdom* (c. 250 BC), it is used to describe ‘murderous parents’ or ‘parents that kill’ (αὐθέντας γονεῖς) (Wis 12.6.1). In the later apocryphal (or pseudepigraphic) *Third Maccabees* (c. 100 BC), the word takes on the unusual meaning of ‘restriction’ or ‘rights’ as it speaks of a Ptolemaic ruler of Egypt threatening to reduce the Jewish population to their former limited rights (εἰς τὴν προσυνεσταλμένην αὐθεντίαν) (3 Macc 2.29.3). The NT contains the word in a Pauline passage of general exhortations (1 Tim 2. 12). An attempt to explain the meaning of the word in this particular passage will come at the conclusion of this study.

There are other literary works that give indications of being composed within an environment even more influenced by the spoken koine. The varied usages of the word αὐθεντέω are even more noticeable. In the *Similitudes* of the Shepherd of Hermas (148 AD), the word in its noun usage cannot mean anything other than being the builder or owner of a tower (Her. Sim. 9.5.6). In a homily by the pseudo-Clement (c. 150–200

AD), the word is used in a fictional dialogue between Peter and Simon Magus. Peter argues that in Simon's concept of the 'two angels', neither of them could proclaim himself, on the basis of what he had done, as the sole power (?) (ἐλθῶν ἐφ' οἷς ἐποίησεν ὡς αὐτὸς ὦν αὐθέντης) (Pseud. Clem., Hom 18.12.1.4). In the 'Christian' seventh and eighth books of the *Sibylline Oracles* (c. III AD), the word is used with the meaning of truth or power. In book seven, Jesus is spoken of as becoming the true or authoritative word of the Father [the] Spirit (αὐθέντης γένητο λόγος πατρὶ πνεύματι) (Or. Siby. 7.69). In book eight, Jesus is spoken of as the everlasting power or truth that had come down upon the earth (αὐτὶς ἐδείχθη αὐθέντου καταβάτος) (Or. Siby. 8.309).

At the beginning of this study there was reference to writers in the 'Atticist Movement' that developed during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. If certain writers were using the popular koine, there were other writers who were trying to restore the language to the more refined 'Attic' usage although there is disparity among these various authors in regard to universal meanings of words. Harpocration (II AD) defines αὐθέντης as murderer and offers no other definition. Phrynichus (later II AD) made the contrast between the meaning of 'master' (δεσπότης) and 'one who murders by his own hand'. The lexicographer Moeris (early III AD) stated that αὐθέντην in Hellenic speech is identical to the word 'self-judged' (αὐτοδίκην) in Attic speech. The lexicographer Hesychius of Alexandria (? late IV AD) defines the infinitive αὐθεντεῖν as 'to execute authority' (ἐξουσιάζειν). He gives three meanings of the word αὐθέντης, in order of preference, as 'one who executes authority' (ἐξουσιαστής), 'one who does things with his own hand' (αὐτόχειρ) and 'murderer' (φονεύς) (Lex. 63, 64). He gives no reason for his listing although it may reflect his perception of the common usages of his day.

Within Christian writings of the Roman period and among the Greek Church Fathers, the word αὐθεντέω takes on the predominant meaning of 'authority' yet even here there are still scattered occurrences where the meaning is that of 'murder' or 'murderer'. Irenaeus (c. 115–202 AD) uses the word three times in his work *Against Heresies* (written 182–188 AD). Each of the contexts seems to demand the meaning of 'authority'. He speaks of the 'voice of authority', of being 'redeemed by authority that came from above', and the 'authoritative voice' (Adv. Haer. 1.18.1.4, 1.21.1.10, 1.28.9.2). The word is found five times in the writings of Clement of Alexandria, once in his *Paedagogus* and four times in his *Stromata* (both written c. 193–202 AD). The one reference in the *Paedagogus* can only be taken as 'authority' in context as he speaks of it as the 'authority of the Lord' (Paed. 2.3.36.1.4). In the *Stromata*, however, the word is found in three places where the meaning of 'murderer' or 'self-murderer' is found. In one passage, he speaks of angels becoming murderers

of the creature entrusted to them (speaking about the theology of Valentinus) (Strom. 2.8.38.3.5). In two places, Clement links *αὐθεντίας* with the words for murder or suicide (Strom. 3.18.106.2.3, 4.4.16.3.4). There is one instance where the word is defined by 'omnipotent' and thus has the meaning of 'full authority' (Strom. 4.1.2.2.4). Clement of Alexandria is unique because of his combination of classical training and subsequent Christian conversion. In the *Stromata*, he is responding to the religions and philosophies of this classical background. Possibly the multiple meanings of the word come from this complex intellectual involvement. The two places where the word plainly means 'authority' are within prepositional phrases where the word is defined by a qualifying adjective. The use of the word to mean 'to murder/murderer/to commit suicide' occurs only with Clement among the Greek Patristic writers.

Origen (185–253 AD) uses the word twice. In the fragments of his *Biblical Commentaries*, the commentary on 1 Cor contains a paraphrase of 1 Tim 2. 12. As Origen links the two passages together, it would seem to imply the meaning that women are neither to speak in church nor to have 'authority' over men (Frag. ex comm. in epis. I ad Cor. 74.2.1). Thus it would appear that an interpretation of 1 Tim 2. 12 is beginning to appear in the early Church. The other passage, from a fragment of his work on Psalms, would seem to imply the meaning of 'authority' or 'command' as he qualified it by the adjective 'royal' (*αὐθεντία βασιλικῇ*) (Frag. in Psalmos 1–150 [Dub.]. 77.3–6.31).

The word *αὐθεντέω* in its various forms, is found to mean authority in all cases in Amphilochius, IV AD (6 citations), Asterius, IV–V AD (7 citations), Athanasius, IV AD (8 citations), Basil, IV AD (15 citations with one being a quote from 1 Tim 2. 12). Gregory of Nazianzus, IV AD (2 citations), Gregory of Nyssa, IV AD (6 citations), Pseudo-Justin Martyr, III?–V? AD (9 citations), Palladius, IV–V AD (3 citations) and Sozomenus, V AD (2 citations).

Among the later Greek Church Fathers, the word is found nine times in the works of Epiphanius (320–403 AD). One of these references is a quotation from Irenaeus (Pan. 31.63.1). Of the eight remaining references, one is from his work *Ankurotos* and six from his work *Panarion*. In *Ankurotos*, the word defines the authority of the Holy Spirit (Anc. 16.8.1). In *Panarion*, there are two passages dealing with the role of women. In these passages, Epiphanius combines 1 Cor 14. 35 and 1 Tim 2. 12 (Pan. 31.244. 3, 37.478.25). In one citation, he relates that it is the 'apostle's words' that give authority to his statements (Pan. 31.244.3) and in another place, his authority comes from 'the word of God' itself (Pan. 37.478.75). In one sentence, he uses the term in its aorist participle form to refer to the authority of the Son of God (Pan. 37.244.5), in another place to the authority of the Godhead (Pan. 37.331.11), and finally to the 'authority of the Fathers' (Pan. 37.289.4).

By far the most citations of the word *αὐθεντέω* are found in the late patristic writers Eusebius and John Chrysostom. The word is found 26 times in the works of Eusebius (c. 265–c. 339 AD). In all cases the word bears the meaning of ‘authority’. The word is also found 124 times in the authentic works of John Chrysostom (350–407 AD) and another 24 times in the spurious works attributed to Chrysostom. The word is scattered throughout his works (13 authentic works with one reference, 9 works with two references, 7 works with three references). It is found with greater frequency in such works as: *De Christi precibus* (6), *In Matthaeum* (homiliae 1–90) (10), *In Joannem* (homiliae 1–88) (25), *In epistulam I ad Timotheum* (argumentum et homiliae 1–18) (8), *In epistulam ad Titum* (homiliae 1–6) (4), *In epistulam ad Hebraeos* (argumentum et homiliae 1–34) (8). The word is found in all citations to have the general meaning of ‘authority’ be it human or divine. There is no place where the meaning of ‘murder’ or ‘murderer’ could be justified. (An analysis, arising out of the computer data, of Chrysostom’s use of the 1 Tim 2. 12 passage and its relationship to his concept of the rôle of women, is explored in the first appendix to this study.)

Among the secular writers of the late Roman period, there is a bifurcation of meanings, some using the word to mean murder or doing harm and some using the word, along with the patristic writers, to mean authority. Themistius, a philosopher and rhetorician from IV AD, uses it in context to mean ‘murder’ (*Εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Κωνσταντίον*, ed. Schenkl and Downey, *Themistii orationes quae supersunt*, 56.c.3). Sopater Atheniensis, a Rhetorician from IV AD, uses the word in contrast to *αὐτόχειρ* in a context dealing with murder (*Διαιρέσεις ζητημάτων*, ed. C. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, 8.152.4). Himerius, IV AD, uses the word in his paraphrase of the speech *Declamatio Demosthenis pro Aeschine* in speaking about a ‘destroyer of the Phocians’ (Dec. et Orat., ed. A. Colonna, 2.28). He gives no indication that an audience of the IV Century AD would not know this meaning of the word. Synesius, IV–V AD, however, uses it to mean authority in two instances (*Epistulae*, R. Hercher, ed., 66.60, 67.279).

Joannes Philoponus (V–VI AD), a writer of the philosophical school of Alexandria (possibly a Christian), wrote a critical study of Aristotle, and used the term in a phrase ‘ignorance dominates’ (*αὐθεντεῖ ἀγνοία*) (Com. in Arist. Graeca 15.487.12). With Philoponus we come to a point of ending the use of the computer references as we are far from the first century AD and now merge into the Byzantine uses of the word.

George W. Knight III, in his 1984 study, used as his basis of analysis the information found in NT lexicons along with other general ancient Greek lexicons. The definition in the older Grimm-Thayer lexicon that *αὐθεντέω* is ‘a bibl. and ecc. word’ was rightly dismissed (along with the insightful comment that ‘acc. to earlier usage’, the word meant ‘one who with his own hand kills either others or himself’). Knight then systematically

explores the extra-Biblical citations found in the Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich-Danker lexicon.⁴ Knight finds five references in the BAGD from the ancient Greek period (before the Byzantine Period, VI AD). Three are from the papyri along with one 'scholarly note' [*Scholia Vetera*] on Aeschylus. These four citations cannot, at this time, be found in the TLG database. (It will be interesting to see if the papyri, when they are fully available, will add any more references to non-literary Greek or whether the papyri lexicographers have already gleaned the field). Interestingly, there is only one reference, the quote from Moeris, held in common by the two studies.

To take these up in order, the occurrence in the *Scholia Vetera* on Aeschylus' Eum. 42a (dated from V BC to I BC) speaks of a person who had just murdered (*ἠὐθεντηκότα*) his parents. Knight states that this 'helps little with I Tim 1.12' and sets it 'to one side'.

A fragment of the papyrus document, the *Rhetorica* of Philodemus (I BC) yields the term *αὐθερ[οῦ]-σω*. Knight offers the paraphrase of Hubbell for the whole section in Philodemus: 'To tell the truth the rhetors do a great deal of harm to many people, and incur the enmity of powerful rulers, whereas philosophers gain the friendship of public men by helping them out of their trouble. Ought we not to consider that men who incur the enmity of those in authority are villains, and hated by both gods and men?'⁵ Knight goes on to state 'The key term . . . is that of "those in authority." Here we have the word used to speak of authority in reference to those who rule and in a positive and commendable sense.'⁶

Knight's third reference is to 'papyrus number 1208' (BGU IV 351, 38) dated by the editor, Schubart, at 27/26 BC. In this document, tentatively labelled by the editor as a letter concerning the matter of ferrying and related payments, the word *αὐθεντηκότος* is used. Knight uses the analyses of the lexicographers Preisigke and Liddell-Scott-Jones, along with the linguist Dr. John R. Werner, who give as the meaning 'Herr sein, fest auftreten', 'I exercise authority over him' and 'to have full power or authority over.'⁷

The next reference in BAGD is to the mathematician Ptolemy (II AD) and is found by Knight in the Loeb edition of the *Tetrabiblos*, III.13.338 (using the Robins translation), 'If Saturn alone is ruler of the soul and dominates (*αὐθεντήσας*) Mercury and the moon . . .' Knight uses the definition 'to be in power, to have authority over' given by E. A. Sophocles, the lexicographer of Roman and Byzantine Greek.⁸

All the other references of the BAGD now analysed by Knight (except the Moeris citation) fall in the Byzantine period (VI AD and beyond): (1) the sixth century historian Johannes Laurentius Lydus, (2) a Christian papyrus letter (BGU I.122.103) dated VI-VII AD, and (3) the *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* from the fifteenth century AD. Knight adds two references found in Preisigke and not found in the BAGD. Both

are from documents dated from the sixth century AD. Knight then adds the Moeris (II AD) citation (analysed earlier and the one citation shared in common by both the computer analysis used by this study and Knight's own lexicon work). The reference in the *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon* (V AD from an interpolated XV AD manuscript) is dismissed even by Knight as a later interpolation.

Two final citations from the BAGD are studied. The reference to the Byzantine author Michael Glycas is from the 12th century AD and thus outside the classical period and the reference to Diodorus Siculus (I BC) is surprisingly to none of the three citations of Diodorus found in the computer study but to a passage where the word *κυριεύειν* is found and not the word *αὐθεντεῖν* which is the basis of the study (Diod. S. I. 27. 2).

On the basis of the thirteen references (with the reference from the *Scholia Vetera* already excluded) Knight draws the conclusion, 'From the perspective of an overview, seeking to ascertain any common element that may be found in the meanings provided by the translators and lexicographers, we notice that the broad concept of "authority" is virtually present everywhere, even when the word itself is not used. Furthermore, the word "authority" itself is utilized by most of the translators and lexicographers.'⁹

Knight goes on to an etymological consideration. The one reference to the meaning of 'murder' in the *Scholia Vetera* cited but excluded from his analysis obviously bothers him. Although he quotes from the etymological word study found in Chantraine's *Dictionnaire Étymologique* and states correctly that Chantraine finds the earlier work of Paul Kretschmer 'possible but doubtful' he does not quote Chantraine's reasoned conclusion that the noun form should be defined as 'auteur responsable' ('responsible agent') with the additional comment 'notamment auteur responsable d'un meurtre' ('notably one responsible for a murder'). As he finds 'certain NT scholars' accepting Paul Kretschmer's concept of two different words which by similar pronunciation and spelling have come to have an identical form, Knight comes to the conclusion that 'the odious idea of murder is not integral to the basic meaning of the word and they [the scholars] also give some indication of how that meaning may have arisen'.¹⁰

In final conclusion to his study, where he states that 'the overall evaluation of all the documents surveyed places the meaning of the word *αὐθεντέω* in the area of authority', he does offer two points that should be added in conjunction with the study done above based on more exhaustive analysis.¹¹ The first point is that his sub-grouping of citations from the first century BC and first century AD is very small, containing only *BGU* 1208, 1 Tim 2. 12 and possibly Philodemus *Rhetorica*, yet this sub-grouping cannot be ignored, and the second point is that the understanding of the term as 'authority', as we have seen, predominates in the patristic evidence.

There is one papyri citation overlooked by Knight as it is not found in BAGD. The older study of Moulton and Milligan mentions one papyrus

usage from the classical period (Homer to 600 AD). An undated papyrus (P.Leid.W^{vi} 46) speaks of an archangel proclaimed as the 'ruling sun' (vocative, 'O, ruling sun') (αὐθέντα ἥλιε).¹²

We now come to an attempt to use the more complete TLG materials (along with the additional citations in Knight and elsewhere) in an analysis of the one use of the word in the NT (1 Tim 2. 12). The apostle Paul is writing this epistle during a period (c. 61–63 AD) when, as we have seen, several layers of the Greek language are being used and several meanings of the word are in circulation. The normal procedure would be to state that Paul's meaning lies somewhere within the meanings found in the whole body of literary quotations that make up the computer study (adding Knight's reference to papyrus BGU 1208, possibly the fragment from Philodemus' *Rhetorica* along with papyrus P.Leid.W^{vi} 46). There may be two exceptions to this normal procedure. One exception would state that there is a particular NT meaning for the word as, for instance, with the word *ἀγαπάω*, *ἀγάπη*, 'to love/love' which takes on a new, yet not totally unique, configuration among the NT authors. As the word *αὐθεντέω* is used only once in the NT, and here undefined in the infinitive *αὐθεντεῖν*, it would leave little or no room for a unique NT interpretation. One other caveat would be that Paul may be using some idiomatic or 'regional' meaning possibly known to his audience but not known to us today. Though this is a possibility, the whole Pauline corpus would seem to support the conclusion that Paul and his secretaries are composing in generally current Greek words and commonly accepted meanings.

There are authors, roughly contemporaneous with Paul (Apollonius Rhodius, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Flavius Josephus, Appian of Alexander, Philo Judaeus, LXX-Wis), who use the word almost exclusively with the meaning of 'to murder/murderer' or 'to perpetrate a crime/perpetrator of a crime'. But there are, however, a series of citations immediately before, during, and after the time of Paul where some sort of meaning connected with 'authority' is found for the word *αὐθεντέω*. There is the noun form meaning 'rights' in III Macc, 'owner' in the *Shepherd of Hermas* 'creator/owner' in *pseudo-Clement* and 'truth/power' in the *Sibylline Oracles*. The verb with the contextual meaning of 'to have authority' is found to predominate in the Greek Church Fathers. Hesychius of Alexandria (?IV AD) links the word with the normal word for 'to have authority' (*ἐξουσιάζειν*). The later writers Eusebius and John Chrysostom (although Chrysostom is not completely consistent in his theology) always have the word mean 'to have authority'. There are also the first and second century citations found in the BAGD lexicon and analysed by Knight: BGU 1208 and possibly Philodemus *Rhetorica* (along with P.Leid.W^{vi} 46) which may have the meaning of 'power' or 'authority'.

Could not the linkage with the other verbal infinitive 'to teach' also

buttress the view that its parallel word means 'to have authority?' It is interesting to note, however, that everywhere in the NT where teaching and authority are mentioned together that it is always the word *ἐξουσία* that is the word used for 'authority'.

Does not the extended passage in 1 Tim argue that the concept of 'authority' is under consideration? Paul has begun this section of his epistle to Timothy with a call to prayer 'for kings and all who are in high office' (*ὑπὲρ βασιλέων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ὄντων*) (1 Tim 2. 2) yet there seems to be no correlation between *ὑπεροχή* and *αὐθεντία*. Later he writes about the 'overseer' (*ἐπίσκοπος*) who is to 'take care' (*ἐπιμελήσεται*) of the church (1 Tim 3. 5), of 'deacons' (*διάκονοι*) who are to 'hold' (*ἔχοντας*) the mystery of the faith (1 Tim 3. 9), and Timothy who is to 'command... and teach' (*παράγγελλε... καὶ δίδασκε*) (1 Tim 4. 11) yet there is no direct relationship between these offices and commands and the word *αὐθεντέω* of 1 Tim 2. 12. Paul has, however, immediately written in 1 Tim 2. 11 in regard to a woman (or wife) to learn 'subjection in all things' (*ἐν πάσῃ ὑποταγῇ*) and begins his argument for his statement in 1 Tim 2. 12 with the next sentence speaking of Adam as 'first formed' (*πρῶτος ἐπλάσθη*).

In conclusion, the 314 literary citations of the TLG computer (plus the pertinent preferences in BAGD analysed by Knight along with others found in the papyri) may be of help in understanding the meaning of 1 Tim 2. 12. Sometime during the spread of koine, the word *αὐθεντέω* went beyond the predominant Attic meaning connecting it with murder and suicide and into the broader concept of criminal behaviour. It also began to take on the additional meanings of 'to exercise authority/power/rights' which became firmly established in the Greek Patristic writers to mean 'to exercise authority'. One must always take seriously interpretations within the tradition of the Church. In the West, the Vulgate with its translation 'dominari in virum' and the later 16th century translation of Erasmus 'auctoritatem usurpare in viros' set up the parameters of meaning for the Latin speaking Church. The TLG and other database computer storage programs offer us new and effective tools in the search for the meanings of Biblical words and phrases within an historical continuum.

APPENDIX 1: *John Chrysostom, 1 Tim 2. 12 and the Role of Women.*

Of additional interest, arising out of the computer analysis, is Chrysostom's use of the 1 Tim 2. 12 passage and the use of the word *αὐθεντέω* in regard to his unique role and theology of women. There are instances where the word is used to corroborate his view that women are to be subjected to man's authority. In his sermons on Gen, he applies phrases from 1 Tim 2. 12 and speaks of Eve teaching Adam once wickedly 'or having authority over the man, this once, for she used authority wickedly this one time' (*οὐδὲ αὐθεντεῖν τοῦ ἀνδρός. Τί δήποτε; Καὶ γὰρ ἠϋθένητησεν ἅπαξ κακῶς*) (In Gen.

ser. 1-9, MPG 54.595.1). In his homilies on Col, the word is used in regard to a wife respecting the authority of her husband (In epis. Col. hom. 1-12, MPG, 62.351.34, 366.28, 376.1). His use of the word *αὐθεντέω*, however, is not consistent and is, in some passages, contradictory. In his homilies on Titus, Chrysostom finds a conflict between Paul's exhortation for older women to teach younger women (Titus 2. 3) and the command of Paul for women not to teach in 1 Tim 2. 12. He solves the conflict by stating that women can teach at home but Paul's use of the next phrase in 1 Tim 2. 12 (*οὐδὲ αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός*) relates, according to Chrysostom, 'to presiding or extending their speech to great lengths' (In epis. ad Titum hom. 1-6, MPG 62.683.20-30). In his sermons on Priscilla and Aquila, Chrysostom reverses the meaning of the two terms. Again, he realizes that there is a conflict between 1 Tim 2. 12, which he quotes, and the active teaching role of Priscilla. He then limits the *αὐθεντέω* of 1 Tim 2. 12 to men in those situations where 'the man is pious, professes the same faith, practises the same wisdom'. In those instances where the man is a 'non-believer, who is error's plaything', Chrysostom argues that Paul does not forbid 'the woman's authority here, even if it includes teaching' (*οὐκ ἀποστερεῖ τὴν αὐθεντίαν τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτῇ*) (In illud: Salutate Priscillam et Aquilam serm. 1-2, MPG 51.192.24-28). Continuing his exposition, Chrysostom brings in 1 Cor 7. 16 and comments that a woman may save her husband in instructing him, obviously by teaching and by trying to bring him to the faith as Priscilla did for Apollos. Having previously argued that 'authority' (*αὐθεντία*) has been given to women in certain situations, Chrysostom states that it is Paul's prohibition against teaching in 1 Tim 2. 12 that concerns 'teachings given from the tribunal, speeches made in public, which is a priestly function'. In the one place where one would expect Chrysostom to interpret the word *αὐθεντέω*, his homilies on 1 Tim, especially homily 9 on 1 Tim 2. 11-15, there is no exposition of the 1 Tim 2. 12 *αὐθεντέω* phrase at all (In epis. I ad Tim. MPG 62.467-468).

APPENDIX II: *Αὐθεντέω* in Byzantine Lexicographers.

The continuing conflict over the meaning of the word can be found in later Byzantine lexicographers. Photius (IX AD), in his *Bibliotheca* (10 citations), has it seven times to mean authority or leader. There are instances, however, where the relatively more recent variant idea of usurping authority is meant by the word in context (80.59a.10, 80.62b.30, 238.317b.6). Such Byzantine literary connections may be in back of the later historical usage of the word with this particular meaning. Theodore Beza (1556) translates the phrase from 2 Tim 2. 12 as 'neque auctoritatem usurpare in virum' (in contrast to the Vulgate 'neque dominari in virum'). This is continued in the English versions influenced by Beza with the King James Version translating it as 'nor to usurp authority over the man'.

The *Suda* (*Suidas*), a Xth century Byzantine lexicon, mentions the word in four different contexts. One citation simply refers the proper name 'Mithridates' to the entry on *αὐθέντης* and gives no meaning for the word in the former location (M.1044, reference to A.4426). The word is also used in a quoted example of its usage in the definition of the word *ἐπιστέλλειν* ('to write a letter') but the entry is so brief that the context yields no definite translation although the situation is a sinister one of 'punishing one by hand personally' (E.2618). Another usage of the word is in a passage dealing with suicide with the word referring to the persons who commit suicide (K.1029).

The major reference in the *Suda* is the specific entry for the word *αὐθέντης* (A. 4426). Twice in the definition, the word appears and is immediately glossed by the word *ὁ αὐτόχειρ* ('one who does things with his own hand'). It refers to Isocrates using it with this meaning. It goes on to state, however, that Lysias (whom the *Suda* mentions as having his own peculiar definition) has it refer to the Thirty Tyrants who were causing murders to be committed through the agency of others. The *Suda* then defines the active participle *αὐθεντήσαντα* as a person who has given an order to massacre a specific group and gives the historical example of Mithridates who gave an order to kill

every Roman [in 88 BC, Mithridates VI Eupator arranged the massacre of the Romans and Italians residing in the province of Asia with an estimated 80,000 killed]. It then states that the word includes both the *αὐτόχειρα*, the perpetrators of a killing, as well as those who order it done.

The *Suda* then offers its own spurious etymology of the word. It finds the derivation of *αὐθέντης* from the verb *φῶ*, to kill, from which *φόνος* is the derived. It then states that in the verb form *φένω*, the letter *φ* is taken away and thus *ένω*. From *ένω* it argues that *έντης* emerges and with prefixation you get *αὐτοέντες* and with appropriate assimilation, a change of the letter *τ* to the letter *θ*, thus *αὐθέντης*. In an interesting comment, the *Suda* remarks, however, that custom has prevailed and has utilized instead the noun *δεσπότης* ('lord, master'), an improper usage of the word *αὐθέντης* (*ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀκυρολεξία*) (A.4426).

Eustathius, a XIIth century Byzantine churchman with pagan literary interests and being aware of variant meanings of the word, also wrestles with the etymology of the word. In one instance where, in using a contemporary abstract noun form of the word, he comments, like the *Suda*, that 'they do not indicate by *αὐθεντία*, a totally despotic (authority) (*οὐ μὴν καὶ αὐθεντίαν πάντως δεσποτικὴν ἐνδείκνυνται*) (Il. 1.17.19). In other citations, the word is used as an example of how a word has gone from an un-aspirated to an aspirated form. In one instance, he gives no definition of the word (Il. 2.100.6) but in another, he defines the word with *αὐτόχειρ* (Il. 130.28). The word is so strange, however, that he feels compelled to wrestle further with its etymology. In an etymology possibly peculiar to himself, he finds the word, in one instance, coming from *έντεα* 'arms (weapons)', (*ἀνα τ' έντεα*) (Il. 2. 311.1). In two other places, however, he has the word come from *φονεύω* 'to murder' and says that it means the same as *αὐτοφόντης* 'the murderer himself or a murderer of himself'. (Il. 2.26.18, 3.322.12). When dealing with an action in the *Iliad*, he uses it to mean murder (Il. 3.509.4).

With this history of conflicting meanings, it is no wonder that the word is still troublesome today. We await still further information from the TLG databank.

NOTES

[1] George W. Knight III, 'ΑΤΘΕΝΤΕΩ in Reference to Women in 1 Timothy 2. 12', *NTS* 30 (1984) 143-157. I am indebted to Biola University for a faculty fellowship to pursue this computer study and to Dr. Jay Shanor, Associate Professor of Classical Languages, for his assistance with the TLG computer database, debate over translations, and a new translation of the fragment from Philodemus' *Rhetorica*. All translations are ultimately my responsibility.

[2] As the TLG project is an incomplete project at this time, there are some omissions. There are a few sources that are not, at this date, available for user access. I would like to thank Dr. Theodore F. Brunner, the director of the TLG project, along with other members of his staff, who helped me procure some of the unverified material.

[3] As examples for this definition, Harpocration uses two speeches by Lysias (445-c.380 BC). The word itself cannot be found in the specific addresses mentioned by Harpocration. The extant citations in Lysias will be dealt with later in this study.

[4] Knight, 'ΑΤΘΕΝΤΕΩ', 143, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* being Grimm's revision of Wilke's *Clavis Novi Testamenti* translated, revised and enlarged by J. H. Thayer (Edinburgh, 4th ed. 1901) s.v., W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, F. W. Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago, new rev. ed., 1979). One wonders why Bauer did not include literary sources in his citations. In his 'An Introduction to the Lexicon of the Greek New Testament', he does speak of 'a number of authors who were more or less able to avoid the spell of antiquarianism which we know as "Atticism"'. In this group he puts Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Plutarch, Epictetus, Artemidorus, Pseudo-Apollodorus and Vettius Valens. He also speaks highly of the works of Jewish Hellenism as aids to an interpretation of the NT vocabulary; Philo, Josephus, the epistle of Aristaeas and the Septuagint. He also makes reference to the use of Atticisms in the NT. BAGD xi-xxviii.

[5] Knight, 'ΑΤΘΕΝΤΕΩ', 144-5. H. H. Hubbell, 'The *Rhetorica* of Philodemus', *Transactions*

of the *Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 23 (1920) 306. A translation is to be preferred over a paraphrase. The relevant passage reads 'Ἄλλ' εἰ δεῖ τὰ-/ληθῆ καὶ γι/νόμενα [λέ-/γεω, οἱ β[ήτ]ορες καὶ μ[εγά-]λα βλάπτ[ουσι] πολλοὺς [καὶ/ μεγάλους καὶ περὶ τῶν [δει-νοῖς ἔρωσι το[ξ]ειν-ομέ-/νων πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιφαν[εστάτους ἐκάστοτε διαμά-/χονται καὶ σὺν αὐθεντ[οῦ-/σω ἀν[αξω] ὅπερ τῶν δημοτ-/ων ὡς[αύτως. S. Sudhaus, ed., *Philodemi: Volumina Rhetorica* III (Leipzig, 1896) 133 lines 6–16. My colleague Dr. Jay Shanor offers as a translation 'But if one is to speak the truth, the rhetoricians do greatly harm many (and) great men, and they do contend earnestly both with distinguished personages – concerning those things (ambitions) which are "aimed at with strong desires" – and also "with authorized rulers" – to similar ends.' The first quote seems to be a paraphrase of part of a saying from a fragment from the works of Euripides (Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* 850). The TLG can find no parallel paraphrase for the second quotation other than the one usage of the word αὐθεντέω in the Euripidean fragments. In fragment 645 there is the phrase 'sharing the house with murdered children' (ἡ πασιὼν αὐθένταισι κοινωνῇ δό-μων). The meaning of αὐθεντ[οῦ]σω ἀν[αξω] may be questioned if this is indeed an additional paraphrase from Euripides.

[6] Knight, 'ATΘENTEΩ', 145.

[7] Knight, 'ATΘENTEΩ', 145. F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyruskunden* (Berlin, 1925) I s.v., H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. S. Jones, R. McKenzie, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 9th ed. 1940) I s.v., Dr. John R. Werner unpublished letter to G. W. Knight III, March 18, 1980. A more exact translation would be 'since I came to have authority over him'.

[8] Knight, 'ATΘENTEΩ', 145–6. E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Period* (From B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100) (New York, 1900) 276.

[9] Knight, 'ATΘENTEΩ', 150.

[10] Knight, 'ATΘENTEΩ', 154. Cf. footnote 53 where he mentions Moulton and Milligan, Moulton and Howard and A. T. Robertson as accepting Kretschmer's argument. Pierre Chantraine, *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Grecque, Histoire des Mots* (Paris, 1968) 138–9. Paul Kretschmer, 'Griechisches 6. αὐθέντης', *Glotta, Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache* III (Göttingen, 1912) 289–93.

[11] Knight, 'ATΘENTEΩ', 154.

[12] J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and other Non-literary Sources* (Grand Rapids, 1930, 1972) 91.