LIARS, BRUTES, AND GLUTTONS



EMORY STUDIES IN EARLY CHRISTIANITY

Vernon K. Robbins, General Editor Roy R. Jeal, General Editor Robert H. von Thaden Jr., Associate Editor David B. Gowler, Associate Editor Meghan Henning Susan E. Hylen Donghyun Jeong Mikeal C. Parsons Russell B. Sisson Shively T. J. Smith

Number 29



LIARS, BRUTES, AND GLUTTONS A Relevance-Theory Solution for Titus 1:12

Isaiah Allen



SBL PRESS

Atlanta

Copyright © 2025 by Isaiah Allen

Publication of this volume was made possible by the generous support of the Pierce Program in Religion of Oxford College of Emory University.

All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by means of any information storage or retrieval system, except as may be expressly permitted by the 1976 Copyright Act or in writing from the publisher. Requests for permission should be addressed in writing to the Rights and Permissions Office, SBL Press, 825 Houston Mill Road, Atlanta, GA 30329 USA.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2025930104

Cover design is an adaptation by Bernard Madden of Rick A. Robbins, Mixed Media (19" x 24" pen and ink on paper, 1981).



Dedicated to Gilbert and Irma Allen, loving parents, with gratitude





Contents

Acl	knowledgments	ix
Abbreviations		xi
Int	roduction: Unresolved Issues in Titus 1:12	1
	A Plausible Alternative Interpretation	2
	Miso-Cretan Reading Assumptions	3
	Why Titus 1:12?	7
	Why Relevance Theory?	9
	Summary	14
1.	Prevailing Interpretations of Titus 1:12	15
	Authorship	15
	Composition	17
	Miso-Cretan Interpretations	30
2.	Relevance Theory: Insights for Biblical Interpretation	69
	Disambiguating Schools of Pragmatics	70
	General Description	70
	Three Key Insights	88
3.	Basic Pragmatic Processes	113
	Referential and Deictic Speech	116
	Procedural and Logical Connectives and Particles	132
	Lexical Pragmatics	138
4.	Higher-Level Explicatures	147
	The Speaker's Attitude toward a Sentence	148
	Use versus Mention	153
	In-Group and Out-Group Insult Language	156
	Paul's Reversal of Religious Designations	166

viii	Contents	
5.	The Role of the Hearer in Communication Mismatched Contextual Assumptions Mismatched Salience	177 178 236
6.	The Nonpropositional Dimensions of Communication The Relevance of Speech-Act Theory What Speakers Do with Language The Economy of Cognitive Effects Social and Behavioral Outcomes Ethics and Redemption as Sound Doctrine	249 250 253 254 265 271
Со	nclusions and Implications A Relevance-Guided Biblical Hermeneutic Titus and Pastoral Epistles Scholarship Modern-Day Appropriation of Titus's Message Implications for Canonical Esteem	281 284 285 287 290
Bit	oliography	295
Мо	ccient Sources Index odern Authors Index oject Index	315 322 326
	S	

Acknowledgments

I wish I could adequately thank all those who have supported me in completing this book. I identify some of them here as a token of how I valued their influence.

I appreciate the clarity, professionalism, and support of SBL Press. I am grateful to Vernon Robbins for considering my research for publication in Emory Studies in Early Christianity and to Roy Jeal for editing the volume. I thank the anonymous reviewers for their critical comments and advice. I studied under Roy at Booth University College years ago, and he has challenged and encouraged me in various ways since. I am thankful for the improvements he recommended and for his friendship.

I began this research during my two-year postgraduate fellowship in biblical languages at Asbury Theological Seminary. Fredrick Long advised me to examine the application of cognitive linguistics to biblical interpretation. I am thankful for his responsive and generous critique and encouragement. Asbury's expert resources, faculty, and staff helped and influenced me while faithful friends and fellow scholars welcomed me into a vital community. They inspired me to aim at more than an increase in knowledge but also at love and justice.

Friends at my Salvation Army church home encouraged me in the otherwise isolating work of research and writing. Colonel Janet Munn, faculty and staff at the College for Officer Training, and particularly Robin Rader and the Brengle Library team gave vital intellectual, moral, and practical support. James Read reviewed my manuscript closely and provided excellent advice. I am honored by their interest in my research.

Faculty at London School of Theology critiqued and encouraged me during my PhD candidacy. Society of Biblical Literature members and conference attendees offered early critique as I tried out ideas. Tangible and moral support from Booth University College and my fine colleagues here has helped me to complete this project within my first couple of years on faculty. Acknowledgments

My scholarship grows from the passion for Scripture my mother, Irma, ignited in me. My wife, Ellen, has supported me in countless ways. During my research, we went through major family relocations, bereavements, the pandemic, and more. She did not let me quit, and I could not have accomplished it without her.

> With gratitude and love, Isaiah Allen Fall 2023 Winnipeg, Manitoba



1739	minuscule, Great Lavra monastery, Athos, Greece
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	Freedman, David Noel, ed. Anchor Bible Dictionary. 6 vols.
	New York: Doubleday, 1992.
ACCS	Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture
Aem.	Plutarch, Aemilius Paullus
AEQ	Anthropology and Education Quarterly
ALH	Acta Linguistica Hungarica
An.	Tertullian, <i>De anima</i>
Ant.	Josephus, Jewish Antiquities
Ant. rom.	Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Antiquitates romanae
ANTC	Abingdon New Testament Commentaries
ASHUJS	Annals of Spiru Haret University, Journalism Studies
ASTHLS	Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguis-
	tic Science IV—Current Issues in Linguistic Theory
Ath. pol.	Aristotle, Athēnaīn politeia
BBC	Blackwell Bible Commentaries
BBR	Bulletin of Biblical Research
BBRSup	Bulletin for Biblical Research Supplement
BDAG	Danker, Frederick W., Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and
	F. Wilbur Gingrich, eds. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New</i>
	Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. 3rd ed.
	Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
BHGNT	Baylor Handbook on the Greek New Testament
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manches-
	ter
BP	The Bible and Postcolonialism
BT	The Bible Translator
ВТВ	Biblical Theology Bulletin

BTCB	Belief: A Theological Commentary on the Bible
BrazosTCB	Brazos Theological Commentary on the Bible
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissen-
	schaft
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CC	Cross Currents
CCSS	Catholic Commentary on Sacred Scripture
Cels.	Origen, Contra Celsum
Cho.	Aeschylus, Choephori
CILT	Current Issues in Linguistic Theory
CJAL	Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics
Strom.	Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis
Comm. Gal.	Jerome, Commentariorum in Epistulam ad Galatas libri III
Comm. Tit.	Jerome, Commentariorum in Epistulam ad Titum liber
CornBC	Cornerstone Biblical Commentary
CSL	Cambridge Studies in Linguistics
CTL	Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics
CTR	Criswell Theological Review
CTSR	Chicago Theological Seminary Register
D	Codex Claromontanus. National Library, Paris
Div.	Cicero, <i>De divinatione</i>
DNTB	Evans, Craig A., and Stanley E. Porter, eds. Dictionary of
	New Testament Background. Downers Grove, IL: InterVar-
	sity, 2000.
Doctr. chr.	Augustine, De doctrina christiana
EBib	Études bibliques
EC	Early Christianity
ECL	Early Christianity and Its Literature
EFTE	Éditions de al Faculté de Theologie Évangélique
ESEC	Emory Studies in Early Christianity
ESV	English Standard Version
F	Codex Augiensis. Trinity College, Cambridge
FC	Fathers of the Church
G	Codex Boernerianus. Saxon State and University Library
4	Dresden, Dresden
Geogr.	Strabo, Geographica
Haer.	Irenaeus, Adversus haereses (Elenchos)
HBT	Horizons in Biblical Theology
HCS	Hellenistic Culture and Society

xii

HeyJ	Heythrop Journal
Hist.	Thucydides, <i>Historiae</i> ; Polybius, <i>Historiae</i>
Hist. eccl.	Socrates of Constantinople, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>
НРН	Handbook of Pragmatic Highlights
HThKNT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HUT	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie
Hymn.	Callimachus, <i>Hymni</i>
I	Codex Freerianus. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IJST	International Journal of Systematic Theology
Inim. util.	Plutarch, <i>De capienda ex inimicis utilitate</i>
IRP	International Review of Pragmatics
IVPNTC	IVP New Testament Commentary
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JETS	Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society
JFSR	Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion
JGL	Journal of Greek Linguistics
JPrag	Journal of Pragmatics
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement
_	Series
JTI	Journal for Theological Interpretation
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
J. W.	Josephus, Jewish War
LangSci.	Language Sciences
LB	Linguistica Biblica
LBRS	Lexham Bible Reference Series
LBS	Linguistic Biblical Studies
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LEC	Library of Early Christianity
Leg.	Plato, Leges; Athenagoras, Legatio pro Christianis
Legat.	Philo, <i>Legatio ad Gaium</i>
Life	Josephus, The Life
LL	Language & Literature
L&N	Louw, Johannes P., and Eugene A. Nida, eds. Greek-English
	<i>Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains.</i>
	2nd ed. New York: United Bible Societies, 1989.
LPS	Library of Pauline Studies
LXX	Septuagint
M&L	Mind & Language

xiv	Abbreviations
ММ	Moulton, James H., and George Milligan. <i>The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament</i> . London, 1930. Reprint, Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997.
NA ²⁸	Novum Testamentum Graece. Nestle-Aland, 28th ed.
NAC	New American Commentary
Nat.	Pliny the Elder, Naturalis historia
NCB	New Century Bible
NCBNT	New Clarendon Bible: New Testament
NCCS	New Covenant Commentary Series
NEB	New English Bible
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NIV	New International Version
NLT	New Living Translation
ΝονΤ	Novum Testamentum
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTC	The New Testament in Context
NTG	New Testament Guides
NTS	New Testament Studies
NTT	New Testament Theology
OCD	Hornblower, Simon, and Antony Spawforth, eds. Oxford
	Classical Dictionary. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University
	Press, 2003.
OHO	Oxford Handbooks Online
Or. Graec.	Tatian, Oratio ad Graecos (Pros Hellenas)
P&B	Pragmatics & Beyond
PB	Psychological Bulletin
PCC	Paul in Critical Contexts
Philops.	Lucian, <i>Philopseudes</i>
Pol.	Aristotle, <i>Politica</i>
Post.	Quintus Smyrnaeus, Posthomerica
PP	Philosophical Psychology
Protr.	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Protrepticus</i>
R&T	Religion and Theology
RBL	Review of Biblical Literature
Rep.	Cicero, <i>De republica</i>
RevExp Diret	Review and Expositor
Rhet.	Aristotle, <i>Rhetorica</i>
RNT	Regensburger Neues Testament

RRRMC	Routledge Research in Religion, Media and Culture
SemeiaSt	Semeia Studies
SFSL	Studies in Functional and Structural Linguistics
SHBC	Smyth & Helwys Bible Commentary
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
Sol.	Plutarch, Solon
SP	Sacra Pagina
Spec.	Philo, <i>De specialibus legibus</i>
SRA	Studies of Religion in Africa
SS	Syntax and Semantics
StBibLit	Studies in Biblical Literature
STI	Studies in Theological Interpretation
STP	Social Theory & Practice
STR	Southeastern Theological Review
STR	Studies in Theology and Religion
Theog.	Hesiod, Theogonia
THNTC	Two Horizons New Testament Commentary
ThTo	Theology Today
Tim.	Lucian, Timon
TIPS	Translational Issues in Psychological Science
TLL	Topics in Language and Linguistics
TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentary
TynBul	Tyndale Bulletin
ÚBS⁵	Áland, Barbara, Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos,
	Carlo M. Martini, and Bruce M. Metzger, eds. The Greek
	New Testament. 5th ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgellschaft;
	United Bible Societies, 2014.
UBSHS	UBS Handbook Series
UBSMS	UBS Monograph Series
UCLWPL	UCL Working Papers in Linguistics
Urb. cond.	Livy, <i>Ab urbe condita</i>
Virt.	Philo, <i>De virtutibus</i>
Vit. phil.	Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WGRW	Writings from the Greco-Roman World
WisC	Wisdom Commentary
WJL	The William James Lectures
WTJ	Westminster Theological Journal

xvi	Abbreviations
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die
	Kunde der älteren Kirche
Ψ	Codex Athous Laurae. Great Lavra monastery, Athos,
	Greece



Introduction: Unresolved Issues in Titus 1:12

"Cretans are always liars, evil brutes, lazy gluttons" (Titus 1:12b). The writer's point is obvious: Cretans qua Cretans are ne'er-do-wells. It is one of the New Testament's well-known quotations. *Cretan* has come to label someone as idle, wicked, untrustworthy, morally inferior, or reprobate.¹ This understanding of Titus 1:12 is almost irresistible.

Scholars recognize that the pejorative essence of the Cretan quotation contradicts the canonical image of Paul. The Paul we know from Romans, Galatians, and even Acts would never have written such a disparaging statement about a tender, predominantly gentile congregation. He more likely would have opposed anyone who advanced such a notion. Such uncharacteristic behavior is one of the reasons why scholars are justified to conclude that the historical Paul did not write Titus. The apostle could marshal scathing language to defend or to shame, but Paul's missionary strategy did not seem to involve sweeping insults of an intrinsic nature.² The conclusion that the apostle Paul did not write Titus is as obvious as the

^{1.} William D. Mounce, for instance, explains, "This verse ... has given rise to the colloquial use of 'Cretan' to describe a reprobate person." See Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, WBC 46 (Nashville: Nelson, 2000), 398. OED cites several sources in English literature where *Cretan* is used not based on its geo-ethnic reference but as an insult. See "Cretan, adj. and n.," OED Online. *Cretan* is commonly confused with *cretin*, an English word traditionally labeling a person afflicted with hypothyroidism due to iodine deficiency. See "cretin, n.," OED Online. The disparaging use of this word is grounded in ableism rather than ethnic bigotry.

^{2.} Paul defends his congregations from opponents that he refers to as "the circumcision": "I wish those who unsettle you would castrate themselves!" (Gal 5:12); "Beware of the dogs, beware of the evil workers, beware of those who mutilate the flesh" (Phil 3:2). He also defends them from greedy, presumptuous leaders: "For such boasters are false apostles, deceitful workers ... his [Satan's] ministers" (2 Cor 11:13–15). Paul directly addresses a congregation: "You foolish Galatians! Who has bewitched you?" (Gal 3:1). Paul expresses each of these colorful rants to target a group for its problematic behaviors but not to berate his missionary congregations or to

interpretation of this passage. But unexamined assumptions underlie this prevalent interpretation of Titus 1:12.

A Plausible Alternative Interpretation

As this study progresses, it exposes and explains some of the problems with prevalent interpretations of Titus 1:12 on sociohistorical, exegetical, and linguistic grounds and proposes a simpler and more likely interpretation, one that coincides with the impulses of some earlier interpreters (e.g., Jerome, Theodore) but that was dismissed through the history of interpretation based on flawed assumptions.

This plausible alternative interpretation is as follows: In Titus 1:10–12, Paul described troublemakers in the Cretan church, identifying most of them as Jewish members (μάλιστα οἰ ἐκ τῆς περιτομῆς, 1:10).³ From Paul's perspective, divisive people (αἰρετικόν ἀνθρωπον, 3:10) disrupted church households or congregations (ὅλους οἴκους ἀνατρέπουσιν, 1:11) by teaching that Cretans, as gentiles, were morally and religiously inferior. The troublemakers' interest in "genealogies," "quarrels over Torah" (γενεαλογίας, μάχας νομικὰς, 3:9), "Jewish myths" (Ιουδαϊκοῖς μύθοις, 1:14), and other features of Jewish religious culture reinforced an attitude of superiority over any who did not exhibit status symbols or cultural aptitudes that were valid in their system, namely, gentile Cretans. When Paul framed the famous quotation (1:12), he was completing his general description of the troublemakers with a specific and characteristic example of their teaching. The speaker who concerns Paul comes from the group of troublemakers. In their eyes, not in Paul's, this bigot was a prophet (ἐξ αὐτῶν ἴδιος αὐτῶν προφήτης, 1:12a).

The quotation may or may not have come to Paul as a fragment of ancient Cretan literature. For the troublemakers, it justified their doctrine of ethno-religious inferiorization. Although a Cretan origin of the saying cannot be confirmed, if it did originate in Crete, then anyone who used the slur could have pointed back with a shrug and said, "Even they speak this way about their own kind!" For Paul, the quotation contradicted the transformative power of the gospel (3:3–7), but he was certain ($\dot{\gamma}$ μαρτυρία

assert that they possess intractable faults. All the quotations in this footnote follow the NRSV. Unless otherwise indicated, other Scripture translations are mine.

^{3.} Throughout this study, I use *Paul* as shorthand to refer to the writer without committing to any particular meaning for that name other than "the author of Titus," which I avoid because it is clumsy.

αὕτη ἐστὶν ἀληθής, 1:13a) that someone among the troublemakers (τις ἐξ αὐτῶν, 1:12a) was propagating it. Whoever was doing so and the community that harbored them needed to be stopped and corrected (οὕς δεῖ ἐπιστομίζειν, 1:11a; ἔλεγκε αὐτοὺς ἀποτόμως, 1:13b).

Although it is quite common for readers of Titus 1:12 to assume that Paul was participating in bigotry, he seems to have been exposing and rebuking it. This study offers reasons for considering this reading and calls into question key assumptions of other interpretations.

The prevalent interpretations of the passage contradict the broad thrust of the New Testament, the personality of the purported writer, and the message of the letter in which it appears. The history of its interpretation is contentious and riddled with contradictory proposals, making it a problem passage. Interpreters need consistent hermeneutical strategies to illuminate alternative possibilities.⁴ Perhaps a strategy that recommends itself to constituencies who approach the text from diverse starting points could help to ameliorate contention.⁵ To develop such a strategy, I explain three key insights from a well-developed theory of utterance interpretation—relevance theory—and demonstrate their practical application on Titus 1:12 and representative interpretations. The theory provides sound rationale for questioning some conclusions in preference to others and offers a hermeneutical foundation for reexamining the issues this passage presents. Before saying more about relevance theory, I offer a critique of prevailing interpretations of this passage in Titus.

Miso-Cretan Reading Assumptions

Many interpretations of Titus 1:12 are on offer. No single reading prevails, but most feature several basic assumptions that are described briefly

^{4.} Quoting Paul Kiparsky, Anne Furlong argues that literary interpretation too often depends on different interpreters accounting for a "different set of facts." See Furlong, "Relevance Theory and Literary Interpretation" (PhD diss., University College London, 1995), 36–37. Hence the need for a consistent hermeneutic. This concern applies to biblical interpretation, especially of problem passages.

^{5.} Tim Meadowcroft argues that relevance theory promises a "mediating category" by which to resolve some of the tensions between the critical environment of his scholarship as an Anglican and his evangelical institutional setting. He aimed to "discover a hermeneutic that makes sense of the polarities and holds them together in some way." See Meadowcroft, "Relevance as a Mediating Category in the Reading of Biblical Texts: Venturing beyond the Hermeneutical Circle," *JETS* 45 (2002): 613.

below and evaluated in chapter 1. To the extent that an interpretation adheres to this set of assumptions, I refer to it as a miso-Cretan reading. Although scholars in recent decades have approached this text with sensitivity and sophistication, most seem unable to escape the gravitational pull of the assumption that Paul tacitly sympathizes with the quotation's crude description of Cretans. Over the course of this study, I call this assumption into question. According to a miso-Cretan interpretation, the quotation, irrespective of other factors, was also the substance of Paul's opinion of the Cretans; furthermore, he advanced the quotation's assessment of Cretans as the view Titus should have going forward in his ministry. Titus must not think too highly of his gentile missionary congregation.⁶ Paul asserted the intractable and thorough reprobation of the Cretan people.

Whatever merits this letter might otherwise have, surely the presence of a truly bigoted remark would be a blemish on it, perhaps even an affront to the canonical Paul, the "apostle to the nations" (Rom 11:13) who would "become all things to all people in order to save some" (1 Cor 9:22). Furthermore, Titus would have the tough luck of leading a community of incorrigible reprobates. Jerome Quinn is representative of this reading:

^{6.} I use the term *missionary* as shorthand for a basic reality that obtained in the first-century church: a Christian community, only a few generations old, planted by geographic and ethnic nonnatives, and still largely influenced by these founders. For an examination of mission in the Pastoral Epistles, see Chiao Ek Ho, "Mission in the Pastoral Epistles," in Entrusted with the Gospel: Paul's Theology in the Pastoral Epistles, edited by Andreas J. Köstenberger and Terry L. Wilder (Nashville: B&H Academic, 2010), 241-67. See also Ho's dissertation on the same subject, "Do the Work of an Evangelist: The Missionary Outlook of the Pastoral Epistles" (PhD diss., University of Aberdeen, 2000); and Andreas J. Köstenberger, "An Investigation of the Mission Motif in the Letters to Timothy and Titus with Implications for the Pauline Authorship of the Pastoral Epistles," BBR 29 (2019): 49-64. T. Christopher Hoklotubbe's argument that the author aimed to make his Christian communities seem more winsome and honorable to their Roman neighbors and less prone to ostracism and persecution yields a kind of missionary outlook for the Pastoral Epistles though from a different perspective. See Hoklotubbe, Civilized Piety: The Rhetoric of Pietas in the Pastoral Epistles and the Roman Empire (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2017). Pace Jouette M. Bassler, who argues that missionary implications are less relevant: "Since the letter is pseudonymous and the Cretan setting is probably artificial, one does not need to speculate on the impact of such an attitude on Titus's missionary activity in Crete." See Bassler, 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus, ANTC (Nashville: Abingdon, 1996), 190.

With deadly seriousness the author of Titus has Paul vouch for the truth of the cruel ancient jibe, thus solemnly joining the witness of an apostle to the oracle of the prophet-poet. The latter [Epimenides] is cited as "a prophet" not only because the Hellenistic world so conceived him but also with an irony pointed at the Jewish-Christian troublemakers.⁷

Later I provide several reasons why Paul's metonym for the speaker, *prophet*, does not reflect the assessment of "the Hellenistic world" but rather Paul's sarcastic assessment of the speaker's standing among the troublemakers. Quinn links his interpretation to a specific attribution despite the evidence he presents that the quotation could not be reliably traced to Epimenides or any other Cretan writer and that it was a narrow group of troublemakers who deserved rebuke, not the Cretan populace.⁸

Given the influence of miso-Cretan readings, it is not surprising that Annette Bourland Huizenga fiercely critiques the consequences of that conventional interpretation and charts a reading strategy *against* the text. She explains the problem incisively: "What I ... find especially troubling is that the negative assessments of Jews, Jewish traditions, and the ethnic Cretans seem to have influenced several modern commentators to adopt a similar prejudice, which then leads to a tendency to read the rest of the letter as if it were written to a culturally and morally backward community."⁹

The five features that characterize what I am calling a miso-Cretan interpretation are: (1) Paul's authorial sympathy with the quotation's propositional claims, (2) ancient literary or archaeological corroboration of the veracity of the quotation, (3) contextual discontinuity between the thrust of the quotation and the surrounding material, (4) conflation of the troublemakers and the general Cretan church populace, and (5) dubious attribution of the quotation to Epimenides of Crete. Interpretations align with this miso-Cretan categorization to the extent that they depend on or emphasize some or all of these points. I will now briefly describe each of the five assumptions that pertain to miso-Cretan readings. In subsequent

^{7.} Jerome D. Quinn, *The Letter to Titus: A New Translation and Commentary and an Introduction to Titus, I and II Timothy, the Pastoral Epistles, AB 35 (New York: Doubleday, 1990), 109.*

^{8.} Quinn, Letter to Titus, 109.

^{9.} Annette Bourland Huizenga, 1–2 Timothy, Titus, WisC 53 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2016), 141.

chapters, I offer a more substantial critique in dialogue with scholars who maintain such readings.

1. Authorial Sympathy

First, miso-Cretan interpretations commonly assume the author's sympathetic attitude toward the contents of the statement as linguistically encoded. The question of authorial attitude is pivotal. According to many, Paul approved of and endorsed the statement, "Cretans are always liars, evil brutes, lazy gluttons" (Titus 1:12). Relevance theory illuminates the need and process for interpreters to assess when an author is writing *descriptively* or *interpretively*—when their words represent their own opinions or those of others.¹⁰

2. Ancient Corroboration

Second, many scholarly adherents to a miso-Cretan reading assume that ancient literary or archaeological evidence objectively and unambiguously demonstrates that the Cretan people actually were or were purported to be just as the quotation describes. Several commentators search, find, and present evidence that appears to corroborate the disparaging claims of the quotation. In this case, Paul joined a host of critics and echoed the verdict of history: Cretans are innately delinquent.

3. Contextual Discontinuity

Third, the miso-Cretan reading requires an abrupt change in topic within the paragraph (1:10–16). Rather than the quotation functioning within a continuous argument against troublemakers in the Cretan church, Paul supposedly begins railing against ethnic Cretans mid-paragraph and returns to address insolent leaders after this brief, non sequitur interruption. Whether or not commentators discuss the discontinuity between addressing inappropriate leadership and insulting the Cretan populace, this maneuver is assumed in most interpretations.

4. Target Conflation

Fourth, several prominent interpreters conflate all targets of the letter's critical rhetoric so that their interpretations do not maintain the categori-

^{10.} As I explain later, relevance theory adds technical precision to these concepts.

zations established in the discourse itself.¹¹ They tend to read the negative judgments surrounding the Cretan quotation as leveled against all of these groups and do not distinguish between concerns with troublemakers versus ordinary church members. In other words, Paul was a bigot in general rather than taking issue with particular groups for specific reasons. Tracking the corrective logic of Titus requires more careful attention to exactly who is targeted.

5. Dubious Attribution

Fifth, most commentators who discuss attribution assume that a fifth- or sixth-century (BCE) Cretan poet, Epimenides, originated the quotation, but this is far from certain. The quotation has no reliable attribution. Modern writers invoke his name overconfidently, but ancient authors painted a vague and contradictory picture of his era, occupation, and characteristics. They hardly provide the kind of evidence to support strong assertions that Paul borrowed authority from a well-known Cretan to lend credibility to an insult he wished to level against Cretans.

The five tendencies described above constitute the quintessential array of assumptions that lead to miso-Cretan readings. Most interpretations of Titus 1:12 rely on some or all of them. Each assumption is carefully detailed and critiqued in chapter 1.

Why Titus 1:12?

Like many Christians, I encountered Titus first as the Scripture of the church, part of the Christian canon, the sacred library of a community of faith. Outside such ecclesial connections, this literature interests readers historically, aesthetically, spiritually, and so forth, but the coherence of interpreting any part of the collection in light of the others or of ascribing more authority to it than to other literature primarily holds within the scope of Christian hermeneutics. As Walter Moberly asserts, "The

^{11.} The block quotation from Huizenga at the beginning of this section exemplifies this tendency. According to Huizenga, Paul vocalizes animus toward several categories of people and practices at once. Overlapping targets include reference to features of Jewish religious culture ("circumcision," 1:10; "commandments," 1:14, "genealogies," 3:9), troublemakers in the church (1:10–11), and—through the quotation—native Cretans (see Huizenga, *1–2 Timothy, Titus*, 141).

authority of the [Pastoral] letters is secured not by their authorship as such, but by their canonical status, historic reception and historic fruit-fulness.... Literary theory makes it possible to take the first-person voice of the letters with full imaginative seriousness."¹²

Yet like many Christians, I rarely heard Titus read during the liturgy.¹³ Modern lectionary plans do not typically set out to cover the entire canon, but a fundamental question of canon for the patristic church was which texts to read aloud in the gathered community.¹⁴ For a text to be so neglected seems to diminish long-held canonical status. This neglect may derive from a general queasiness modern liturgists have about reading authoritatively from a book that their validity criteria tell them to hold in suspicion. Although they may not have examined the particular issues rigorously themselves, pastors sense the shadow cast over the trustworthiness of Titus's self-presentation as a letter from the apostle Paul.

The reasons are several and serious, and Moberly expresses well the dilemma pastors are in as tradents in canonical Scripture for particular Christian communities.¹⁵ Normally, modern readers encounter Titus 1, which never appears in the *Revised Common Lectionary*, in contexts such as individual devotional reading, scholarship, or small group study. It is not possible to track interpretations from such diverse and private occasions, but undoubtedly miso-Cretan readings are represented among them. I was never personally satisfied with the coherence of a miso-Cretan reading, and the alternative I summarized above seems natural to me. I want to understand how readers could come to such different interpreta-

^{12.} R. Walter L. Moberly, "Biblical Hermeneutics and *Ecclesial* Responsibility," in *The Future of Biblical Interpretation: Responsible Plurality in Biblical Hermeneutics*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Matthew R. Malcolm (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2013), 156.

^{13.} Portions of Titus are only listed in the *Revised Common Lectionary* as readings for Christmas Eve and Christmas Day (Titus 2:11–14, 3:4–7). See *The Revised Common Lectionary: Consultation on Common Texts; Includes Complete List of Lections for Years A, B and C* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1992). Congregations I was part of did not always follow the lectionary or hold Christmas Eve and Christmas Day worship services.

^{14.} Consider, e.g., the Muratorian Fragment, which distinguishes between books for reading in the gathered community and for reading in private. See Daniel J. Theron, "Muratorian Fragment," in *Evidence of Tradition*, ed. and trans. Theron (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1980), 112–13.

^{15.} Moberly, "Biblical Hermeneutics," esp. 133-34.

tions. I lacked a theoretical explanation for why I sensed intuitively that miso-Cretan readings were mistaken.

Insofar as the bigotry of Paul in the letter to Titus and suspicion about the authenticity of Jew-gentile relations in Titus's Cretan church are reasons to doubt Pauline authorship, exposing flawed assumptions may allow criticism of Titus to proceed on sounder footing. I perceive deep and nuanced theological teaching in Titus and even an understanding of the logic of the gospel attributable to Paul. So, I come to Titus 1:12 from deep personal interest in what I see as a *crux interpretum*.

I perceive that Titus 1:12 calls for an extended treatment due to the extent of the issues that interpretations of this verse have precipitated and due to the promise of relevance theory for helping interpreters be more conscious of the ways language works. Therefore, I devote much to explaining details of relevance theory and its implications for understanding language and the literature of the Bible, and I work with the text of Titus at a detailed level.

Why Relevance Theory?

Escaping the gravitational pull of a miso-Cretan reading requires a strategy that can disentangle texts qua utterances from the assumptions imposed on them by their history of interpretation—a strategy illuminated by but not tethered to historic, traditional, or conventional readings. So, as David Bauer and Robert Traina argue concerning biblical hermeneutics in general, the strategy must be inductive, evidence based, and radically open to the results of inquiry.¹⁶ While being radically open, the strategy cannot be amorphous or incoherent; it must aid interpreters in the careful process of reconstructing meaning faithful to the original context. The strategy needs to appreciate the kind of object Titus is: a written specimen of *ostensive inferential communication* from which readers seek to discern an authorial aim.¹⁷

The miso-Cretan assumptions summarized above are problems with *reading* Titus, so I sought an approach for critiquing readings—in other

^{16.} David R. Bauer and Robert A. Traina, *Inductive Bible Study: A Comprehensive Guide to the Practice of Hermeneutics* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), 23–25.

^{17.} The meaning of "ostensive inferential communication" is explained below. For more detail, see Billy Clark, *Relevance Theory*, CTL (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 112–19.

words, a way of discerning how readers inferred meaning and discerning how those processes succeeded or failed in understanding the text according to its author's communicative intent. What makes relevance theory so appropriate to my inquiry is that it pursues an understanding of language by asking how hearers reach conclusions and not by asking what semantic forms (words, syntax, etc.) mean in themselves. It may be original to put it this way, but relevance theory reverse-engineers language to discern how audiences arrive at their interpretations from semantically underdeterminative inputs.

Relevance theory begins with the success of human language as a premise and asks philosophically and empirically how hearers are able to comprehend speakers when it is clear that natural language is inherently underdeterminative. According to relevance theory, speech triggers a customary response in hearers that sets them on a quest for the relevance of the spoken input to concerns in their mind. This is a quest for cognitive effects. In order to achieve these cognitive effects, the hearer must infer the speaker's intention to his satisfaction.¹⁸ This inferential process is rapid and intuitive, even though it involves encyclopedic recall, dialectic weighing of possible meanings, and enrichment of vague inputs. Relevance theory aims to explain the processes of ostensive inferential communication with the understanding that communication is successful when hearers are successful, and therefore it primarily examines the hearer's role in communication. In this sense, relevance theory is a promising solution to the problem of sorting out competing readings because it helps us discern how humans come to their interpretations.

The assumptions of relevance theory include (1) that speakers ostensibly intend outcomes by their utterances—hearers ascribe meaning to them because utterances themselves trigger this assumption; (2) that communication is an *inferential* process from incomplete semantic input—that is, it is not simply a matter of decoding the meaning of a speaker's words; (3) that hearers will combine speaker input with encyclopedic and environmental information as well as fundamental reasoning to arrive at their inferences; and (4) that hearers will reject meanings that violate their assumptions or conflict with their reasoning but that they will stop processing and accept a conclusion once they are (subconsciously) satisfied

^{18.} The convention in almost all relevance-theoretical literature is to refer to a generic speaker using feminine pronouns and a generic hearer using masculine pronouns for simple differentiation.

that it meets the criterion of relevance and results in adequate cognitive effects. On this very spare account of relevance theory, one can already see that distance (cultural, linguistic, temporal, etc.) between original audiences and modern audiences can complicate the processes that modern readers intuitively go through and yield divergent interpretations.

So, is relevance theory an appropriate theory to apply to texts such as Titus? In short, relevance theory is about communication, and written speech is a species of communication. Specific issues that raise the question of appropriateness include the fact that texts are heard or read asynchronously, that the environmental factors of live speech (e.g., tone, gesture, relationship, location) are not available through text, and that the Bible in particular is an ancient text, far removed from its modern readers. I address each of these concerns later but summarize here. First, relevance theory assumes that all communication involves underdeterminacy; therefore, the impact of missing environmental or other inputs is merely quantitative rather than qualitative. It does not preclude the ability of readers from another time and place to understand texts that supply sufficient other data to fund reasonable inferences. Second, texts allow some contextual benefits that the environments of live speech do not. For instance, the speaker and the hearer can slow the process down, be more deliberate, explicit, or precise. Third, asynchronicity does not present a problem, because relevance theory has been fruitfully applied to many literary studies and to the Bible.¹⁹ The insights of relevance theory are particularly

^{19.} Among the best examples of such are Kevin G. Smith, "Bible Translation and Relevance Theory: The Translation of Titus" (DLitt diss., University of Stellenbosch, 2000); Stephen W. Pattemore, Souls under the Altar: Relevance Theory and the Discourse Structure of Revelation, UBSMS 9 (New York: United Bible Societies, 2003); Pattemore, The People of God in the Apocalypse: Discourse, Structure, and Exegesis, SNTSMS 128 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Philip W. Goodwin, Translating the English Bible: From Relevance to Deconstruction (Cambridge: Clarke, 2013); and Sarah H. Casson, Textual Signposts in the Argument of Romans: A Relevance-Theory Approach, ECL 25 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2019). Although every work has its shortcomings, several pieces written at this juncture of disciplines—relevance theory and biblical studies—are particularly weak, confused, or misleading. Gene L. Green provides probably the most accurate general presentation of relevance theory for biblical-studies audiences. See, e.g., Green, "Lexical Pragmatics and the Lexicon," BBR 22 (2012): 315-33; Green, "Relevance Theory and Biblical Interpretation," in Oxford Encyclopedia of Biblical Interpretation, ed. Steven L. McKenzie (London: Oxford University Press, 2013), 2:266-73.

helpful for interpreting utterances for which the intuitive, organic, rapid, and complex processes that original audiences employed to discern meaning are no longer available, as is the case for Bible readers.

Relevance theory is grounded in decades of philosophical reasoning and detailed observation of human cognition. Although relevance theory is not a method of interpretation per se, it can enhance the critique of previous interpretations by adding precision and by grounding such critique in a sound theory of communication. On the basis of relevance theory, critics can discern the problems in previous interpreters' inferential processes and how they may be ameliorated. Over the past generation, theorists have developed and refined the discipline of relevance theory so that it is increasingly informed by empirical evidence and rigorous critical dialogue.²⁰ At this stage, the theory is mature enough to illuminate the development of a biblical reading strategy. I take Titus 1:12 as a test case for such a strategy built on and sensitive to the insights of relevance theory. By developing and demonstrating this strategy, I not only offer an alternative perspective on the Cretan quotation but also introduce an interpretive strategy that may be amenable to scholars who recognize the need for more attention to linguistic theory-not simply to discrete issues of language such as lexicon and grammar-in biblical hermeneutics.

While practicing biblical hermeneutics, few commentators articulate a philosophy of language; yet clarity, transparency, and consistency regarding language are appropriate for the Bible as written communication. In any paragraph, a commentator may assume that a lexeme is paramount; in another, it is the syntax. Elsewhere, the same interpreter will emphasize the nuance of fluid and nonliteral use and then decode meaning on the grounds of monumental history, inscriptions, a cultural artifact or practice. Another interpreter may cycle through a completely different set of considerations without a transparent or consistent guideline for weighing evidence and evaluating among possible interpretations. Few discuss in advance how they see language functioning in general, yet interpretive problems often have linguistic explanations. Concluding an article on lexical pragmatics, Gene Green notes, "Very few students of biblical

^{20.} Theorists have developed relevance theory from a philosophical to a cognitive discipline with increasing consonance with neurology, psychology, sociology, and other sciences. Although these later developments are interesting, they are not as pertinent to our inquiry as the theory's central principles.

studies have engaged the field of linguistics, and those who do have often not taken advantage of texts, courses, and programs based on pragmatics. This field of linguistics, and especially RT [relevance theory], is a domain ripe for rich new research and teaching."²¹ Working from a single principle (relevance) that is appropriate to the kind of material under examination helps expose flaws with some interpretations and draw attention to neglected evidence for understanding a passage.

Three key insights from relevance theory govern the structure of this study. I do not describe the theory in full detail, but I provide sufficient explanation for readers to grasp how the specifics that I address fit into the theory, appreciate its impact on interpretations of Titus 1:12, and discern the value of a relevance-guided biblical hermeneutic for interpreting Scripture generally.²² Chapter 1 describes problems with prevailing interpretations of Titus 1:12 in more detail. Chapter 2 describes relevance theory with reference to key theorists and explains the rationale for a reading strategy. There I introduce the three key insights on which chapters 3–6 focus. Chapters 3–4 address the inferential nature of all communication. Chapter 5 explains the hearer's role in communication. The conclusion presents the implications of this study.

Relevance theory is suitable for four reasons. The first is *appropriateness*: Scripture is written communication and expression, subsisting in (or inhabiting) language; no discipline is more fitting for the nature of the subject. The second is *timing*: relevance theory, over the past generation, has matured as a discipline and become prominent within cognitive linguistics, although its exposure in biblical scholarship is limited. The third is *material*: Titus and its particular issues have received few thoroughgoing treatments from a relevance-theoretical viewpoint. The fourth is *promise*: after considering other methods (e.g., sociohistorical criticism, cultural hermeneutics), relevance theory seems to offer the most potential for delivering what is needed in the case of Titus 1:12, that is, a fresh look.

^{21.} Green, "Lexical Pragmatics and Lexicon," 333.

^{22.} For fuller descriptions of relevance theory and its general application to biblical interpretation, see esp. Pattemore, *Souls under the Altar*, 16–45; Green, "Relevance Theory and Biblical Interpretation"; Gene L. Green, "Relevance Theory and Biblical Interpretation," in *The Linguist as Pedagogue: Trends in the Teaching and Linguistic Analysis of the Greek New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Matthew Brook O'Donnell (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2009), 217–40.

Relevance theory is worthy of effort and confidence, particularly because it incorporates the most eclectic sources of evidence and evaluates them by a single, economic scale—*relevance*.

Summary

In due course, I propose an interpretation of Titus 1:12 that coincides with the evidence, namely, that Paul was rebuking bigotry in the Cretan church, not participating in it. In other words, this Paul was not himself shaming, describing, or comparing the Cretans but rather addressing those who did so as troublemakers.

It should become increasingly evident that prevalent readings of Titus 1:12 and its famous Cretan quotation are unsustainable on linguistic, literary, and historical grounds. Applying key insights from relevance theory to evaluate previous interpretations and to discern a historically and linguistically responsible reading, I will establish the plausibility of the alternative interpretation proposed above. This study demonstrates the promise of a relevance-guided biblical hermeneutic. If relevance theory can help interpreters read this problematic passage with greater clarity, it can potentially illuminate interpretive problems in other texts.

14