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„[MULIER] SALVABITUR PER FILIORUM GENERATIONEM” (1TM 2,15) IN THE INTERPRETATION OF SELECTED WORKS OF THE LATIN CHURCH FATHERS

1. INTRODUCTION

In 1 Timothy 2,8-15, the Apostle Paul teaches the members of the Church on the behavior of men¹ and women² during the prayers. Later on, the Apostle talks about the place and role of women in the Church community. Women, thus, should not teach, but listen quietly to the teaching³. In the subsequent two verses, St. Paul seems to substantiate the thesis of women's subjugated role with respect to their performing pastoral functions referring, in the first place, to the order in which man and woman were created:

“For Adam was first formed, then Eve”⁴.

The second argument advocating women's submission, is the reversed order with respect to the first human fall into sin:

“And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression”⁵.

¹ 1 Timothy 2,8: *Βούλομαι οὖν προσεύχεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, ἐπαίροντας ὁσίους χεῖρας χωρὶς ὀργῆς καὶ διαλογισμοῦ* („I will therefore that men pray everywhere, lifting up holy hands, without wrath and doubting”).

² 1 Timothy 2,9-10: *γυναῖκας ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς, μὴ ἐν πλέγμασιν καὶ χρυσίῳ ἢ μαργαρίταις ἢ ἱματισμῶ πολυτελεῖ, ἀλλ' ὃ πρέπει γυναιξὶν ἐπαγγελλομέναις θεοσέβειαν, δι' ἔργων ἀγαθῶν.* (“In like manner also, that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety; not with braided hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array; But (which becometh women professing godliness) with good works”).

³ 1 Timothy 2,11-12: *γυνὴ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ μανθανέτω ἐν πάσῃ ὑποταγῇ· διδάσκειν δὲ γυναικὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω, οὐδὲ ἀυθεντεῖν ἄνδρός, ἀλλ' εἶναι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ.* (“Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence”).

⁴ 1 Timothy 2,13: *Ἀδὰμ γὰρ πρῶτος ἐπλάσθη, εἶτα Εὐα.*

⁵ 1 Timothy 2,14: *καὶ Ἀδὰμ οὐκ ἠπατήθη, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἐξαπατηθεῖσα ἐν παραβάσει γέγονεν.*

The above quotation provides the context for words which are of particular interest for the present paper, and which are spoken by the Apostle immediately afterwards:

“Notwithstanding [woman] shall be saved in childbearing, if they continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety”⁶.

In the above sentence, Paul seems to point to the Christian vocation and the role of women in the Church community. A woman’s task, therefore, does not consist in teaching, since she finds her particular vocation in motherhood and in raising children. Pursuing that vocation, she can ensure salvation both to herself and her children, provided that they continue in “faith and charity and holiness”.

What does St. Paul mean when he speaks about salvation of women through childbearing? What is the true meaning of the word *τεκνογονία*? If we interpret the latter as “motherhood”, or “bearing children”, then, what about salvation of childless widows and virgins consecrated to God?⁷ Such questions pertaining to the words of the Apostle Paul were raised in Christian antiquity by, among others, St. Augustine⁸. So, how does St. Augustine and the other Latin Church Fathers, interpret the text of 1 Timothy 2,15? Let us take a look at the exegetical work of the following authors: Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose, Ambrozjaster, Jerome, Augustine and Gregory the Great.

2. HILARY OF POITIERS

Hilary provides an interpretation of Paul the Apostle’s words about salvation of women through childbearing in his last work, *Tractatus Mysteriorum*, written at the end of his life. In this text, the bishop of Poitiers, refers to the example of several characters from the Old Testament and discusses the divine plan for humanity’s salvation, announced and gradually realized in the history by Jesus Christ. Those reflections are basically limited to the interpretation of the presented biblical figures made through the prism of theological ideas. That treaty is often referred to by scientists as the first textbook on the typological exegesis of the Scriptures⁹.

⁶ 1 Timothy 2,15: *σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας, ἐὰν μείνωσιν ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ καὶ ἀγιασμῷ μετὰ σωφροσύνης.*

⁷ It cannot be excluded that by such unique highlighting of the woman’s mission as a mother, Paul wanted to point to the impropriety of conduct on the part of various types of pseudoascetics and false teachers who forbade marriage, and about whom he wrote in the same letter to Timothy (1 Timothy 4,3): [...] *κωλύοντων γαμεῖν*, [...]. (Forbidding to marry [...]). Conf. *Biblia Tysiąclecia z komentarzami. Pismo Świąte Nowego Testamentu, Pierwszy List do Tymoteusza, 1 Tm 2,15*, Edition V, Wydawnictwo Pallotinum 2006, <<http://libertarianin.org/Ebooks/BIBLIA%20TYSI%A5CLECIA%20Z%20KOMENTARZAMI.pdf>>, (data dostępu: 10.09.2015).

⁸ Augustinus Hipponensis, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 83,7, ed. E. Dekkers, J. Fraipont, Turnholt 1956, Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, vol. 39: *propterea quid ibi ait apostolus? salua autem erit per filiorum generationem. mulier uidua sine filiis, si perseueret, nonne beator erit? numquid salua non erit, quia non parit filios? uirgo dei non melior erit? numquid salua non erit, quia filios non habet?*

⁹ Conf. E. Stanula, *Wstęp: Życie i działalność św. Hilarego z Poitiers*, in: Hilary z Poitiers, *Traktat*

The above mentioned character of Hilary's work, also marks his interpretation of St. Paul's text, when he discusses the figures of Adam and Eve.

Hilary distances himself very pointedly from literal understanding of the words spoken by the Apostle. The Bishop of Poitiers claims that, notwithstanding the fact that it would be improper to suspect the Apostle of imputing anything of the kind, such a strictly literal interpretation, would deny the value of Christ's redemptive work, undermine the value of the sacrament of baptism for the salvation of man and, finally, it would make the woman's salvation conditional on her children's perseverance in faith¹⁰.

Referring to one more epistle of St. Paul (1 Corinthians 2,13¹¹), Hilary says that spiritual people should be taught in a spiritual way: *spiritalibus spiritualia comparantes*¹². The Bishop, thus, interprets St. Paul's text of 1 Timothy 2,15 from a typological and allegorical perspective. Following the Apostle¹³, Hilary establishes a parallel between the Old Testament history of Adam and Eve¹⁴ as well as the mystery of their creation, and the relation between Christ and the Church depicted in the New Testament¹⁵, contending that the words: "This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh!" were said not so much by Adam, but by Christ¹⁶. Thus, according to the Bishop of Poitiers, the reality which was realized in Adam anticipated later events, i.e. constituted a prophecy. All this, leads Hilary to formulating a spiritual interpretation of the relationship between Adam and Eve (man and woman) which is determined by the creation of man. Consequently, he also assigns spiritual significance the words from 1 Timothy 2,15. As has been mentioned above, such an interpretation is based on a typology, i.e. Adam and Eve typify Christ and the Church. The creation of man and woman (Adam and Eve)

o tajemnicach, translation, introduction, edition Emil Stanula, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, Warszawa 2002, p. 37-38 [Pisma Starochrześcijańskich Pisarzy, vol. 63].

¹⁰ Hilaire de Poitiers, *Traité des mystères*, I,3, texte établi et traduit avec introduction et notes par Jean-Paul Brisson, Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris 1947 [Sources Chrétiennes, vol. 19]: *Ceterum intelligi ita non conuenit, quod mulier non sit a peccato suo redempta per Dominum, et superflue baptizabitur, si magis merito partus sit liberanda. Sed ne per ipsam quidem filiorum generationem erit tuta, cum salua non sit, nisi, qui geniti sunt, fideles perstiterint. Et nescio, qua æquum sit alieno aut peccato reum effici aut merito innocentem.*

¹¹ 1 Corinthians 2,13: ἃ καὶ λαλοῦμεν οὐκ ἐν διδακτοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγοις ἀλλ' ἐν διδακτοῖς πνεύματος, πνευματικοῖς πνευματικὰ συγκρίνοντες. ("Which things also we speak, not in words taught by human wisdom, but in those taught by the Holy Spirit, with spiritual things spiritual things comparing").

¹² Hilaire de Poitiers, *Traité des mystères*, I, 4.

¹³ Conf. Ephesians 5,32: τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν, ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ("This is a great mystery: but I speak concerning Christ and the church").

¹⁴ Genesis 2,23: "And Adam said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man"

¹⁵ Hilaire de Poitiers, *Traité des mystères*, I, 4: *Sed tuto [...] ita sentiemus maxime apostolum gesta magni in Adam atque Eua mysterii referre se iam ad Christum atque ecclesiam prædicantem.*

¹⁶ Ibidem, I, 3: *Sed Dominus in euangelii, cum repudio dando a Iudæis temptatus esset, per se potius quam per Adam hoc ita dictum fuisse demonstrat dicens: «Non legistis, quia, qui fecit ab initio, masculinum et feminam fecit et dixit: propter hoc dimittet homo patrem et matrem et erunt duo in carne una?»*

was a visual foreshadowing of what was accomplished in Christ¹⁷. And, how was it done in Christ? When blood and water came out from the pierced side of the body of Christ, the Incarnate Word, the New Adam, it gave birth to the Church. And the Son of God continues in his Church¹⁸ through the sacrament¹⁹. Only through the second and heavenly Adam, who did not commit sin, the erring Church will be saved by giving birth to children who continue in faith²⁰. Emerged from the side of Christ, i.e. the Heavenly Adam, the Church gives birth to its children through the sacrament of baptism calling them to the life in faith, and consequently, to salvation provided they will persevere in faith. This is the typological and allegorical meaning assigned to the words of St. Paul by Hilary of Poitiers.

3. AMBROSE OF MILAN

St. Ambrose of Milan refers to 1 Timothy 2,15 in two of his works. The first of them, *De Paradiso*, is chronologically the first comment made by Ambrose with reference to the Scriptures, in which the bishop of Milan, under the influence of a Jewish exegete, Philo of Alexandria, makes an allegorical interpretation of the Genesis for the purposes of moral instruction. In this commentary, Ambrose refers to Paul's words on the salvation of women through childbearing, when he discusses the issues of, for example, creation of people as male and female, their responsibility for the fall, and the judgment passed on them for the original sin.

In the first place, St. Ambrose stresses the fact that the creation performed by God was defined as good only after the first parents were brought to life²¹. It was the creation of woman which decided upon the completeness of the whole act²², since man himself could not ensure procreation of the human race²³. The woman,

¹⁷ Ibidem: *Ergo rem, quæ in Adam perficiebatur, consecuta est prophetia. Cum enim hæc Dominus, qui fecit masculum et feminam, dixerit, quod ex osse eius os et ex carne ipsius caro (est), locutus ipse per Adam id, quod totum in ipso Adam erat factum, nec detraxit fidem rebus et præformari ex se id quod in altero gerebatur, ostendit.*

¹⁸ Hilaire de Poitiers, *Traité des mystères*, I, 3: *Cum enim uerbum factum sit caro et ecclesia membrum sit Christi, quæ ex latere eius et per aquam nata et uiuificata per sanguinem sit, rursus caro, in qua uerbum ante sæcula manens, quod est Filius Dei, natum sit, per sacramentum maneat in nobis, absolute docuit in Aciam atque Eua suam et ecclesiæ speciem contineri, quam post mortis suæ somnum sanctificatam esse carnis suæ communionem significet.*

¹⁹ The word *sacramentum*, should be understood here as the divine plan of human salvation, announced and gradually realized in the history by Jesus Christ.

²⁰ Ibidem: *Ecclesia igitur ex publicanis et peccatoribus et gentibus est; solo suo secundo et cælesti Adam non peccante ipsa peccatrix per generationem filiorum in fide manentium erit salua.*

²¹ Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *De paradiso*, X,47, ed. C. Schenkl, Præagae-Vindobonae-Lipsiæ 1897, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 32,1: *Quomodo enim quando solus factus Adam, non dictum est bonum esse factum Adam, quando autem et mulier ex eo facta est, tunc esse bona omnia comprehensum est?*

²² Ibidem: *uerbum si consideres quia deo uniuersitatis est cura, inuenies plus placere domino debuisse id in quo esset causa uniuersitatis [...].*

²³ Ibidem: *[...] quia ex uiro solo non poterat humani esse generis propagatio [...].*

thus, had to be added to man for the sake of begetting successive generations of people²⁴. For this reason, as St. Ambrose contends, even if the woman was the first to commit a sin, she could not be excluded from the work of redemption because, in view of God’s plan, she was meant to give birth²⁵. In this context, the theologian quotes 1 Timothy 2:15, stressing that the woman will be saved through childbearing and reminding the significance of the fact that among the children born from her was also Christ²⁶. The above analysis of St. Ambrose’s words, implies, therefore, that the woman held an important position in the plan of God because of her motherhood. She became a special instrument in the history of salvation and her culminating role was becoming the Mother of the Saviour Himself.

Like Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose of Milan refers to St. Paul²⁷ and reads the creation of Adam and Eve as well as their condition after the original sin, in terms of a mystery of the relationship between Christ and the Church²⁸. In the interpretation proposed by the Bishop of Milan, the judgment passed on Eve who confessed her sin, was more lenient than the one inflicted on Adam, if we take into account her future situation in life²⁹. In God’s decree, the woman’s trespassing was condemned, but she herself was not denied a kind of indulgence, manifested in the fact that she was henceforth supposed to serve under the authority of her husband. This was meant, firstly, to prevent her from going astray too easily and, secondly, to counteract the possibility of her leading man into error. By making her subordinate to the stronger husband, she was meant to be guided by his advice³⁰. This situation is for Ambrose a clear foreboding of the future turning of the Church to Christ and the religious attitude of service to Him, which consists primarily in submission to the word of God³¹. This kind of service is a gift from God³². Bishop of Milan further develops his thought:

²⁴ Ibidem: *Ergo propter generationem successionis humanae debuit mulier adici uiro.*

²⁵ Ibidem: *Nam si mulier prior peccatura erat, tamen redemptionem sibi paritura non debuit ab usu diuinae operationis excludi.*

²⁶ Ibidem: [...] *salua tamen inquit erit per filiorum generationem, inter quos generauit et Christum.*

²⁷ Ephesians 5,32.

²⁸ Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *De paradiso*, XIV,72: *in quo quidem mysterium Christi et ecclesiae euidenter agnosco.*

²⁹ Genesis 3,16: “Unto the woman He said, `Multiplying I multiply thy sorrow and thy conception, in sorrow dost thou bear children, and toward thy husband [is] thy desire, and he doth rule over thee”. In comparison, the judgment passed upon man reads as follows: “And to the man He said, `Because thou hast hearkened to the voice of thy wife, and dost eat of the tree concerning which I have charged thee, saying, Thou dost not eat of it, cursed [is] the ground on thine account; in sorrow thou dost eat of it all days of thy life, and thorn and bramble it doth bring forth to thee, and thou hast eaten the herb of the field; by the sweat of thy face thou dost eat bread till thy return unto the ground, for out of it hast thou been taken, for dust thou [art], and unto dust thou turnest back”.

³⁰ Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *De paradiso*, XIV,72: *Ergo quia Eua ipsa confessa est delictum, mitior sequitur et profutura sententia, quae condemnaret errorem et ueniam non negaret, ut ad uirum suum conuersa seruiret. Primum ne eam facile delectaret errare, deinde ut sub fortiore uase locata non transduceret uirum, sed magis uiri consilio et ipsa regeretur.*

³¹ Ibidem: *Designatur enim ecclesiae ad Christum futura conuersio et religiosa seruitus subdita dei uerbo [...].*

³² Ibidem: *Haec igitur seruitus dei donum est.*

“By this kind of servitude Christian folk grow strong, as we have it expressed in the words of the Lord to His disciples: «Whoever wishes to be first among you, let him be the slave of all of you». (Matthew 20,27). Hence charity, which is greater than hope and faith, brings this servitude to pass, for it is written: «By charity serve one another» (Galatians 5,13)”³³.

This service of the Church to Christ, as the Bishop of Milan concludes referring once again to 1 Timothy 2,15, is also about bearing children in faith and charity and holiness with purity of morals³⁴.

De institutione virginis is the second work of St. Ambrose, in which he refers to 1 Timothy 2,15. In the passage where he addresses the above verse, Ambrose once again makes a comparative analysis of the attitude adopted by man and woman after the original sin, and the issuing difference in God’s judgment of them. Firstly, the Bishop of Milan finds man to be more blamable than the woman. Although, she indeed strayed and fell, the woman as the weaker sex, had an excuse for her sin, which man did not. The woman was seduced by an evil, but an angelic figure, while the man allowed himself to be misled by a woman. The woman was deceived by a higher creature, while the man by a lower. That is why, man’s fault was greater and that fact, to some extent, absolves the woman³⁵.

Secondly, the fact that the woman is less at fault is indicated by a milder judgement made upon her. In the case of the man, it is expressed in the following words: “For dust thou [art], and unto dust thou turnest back”³⁶. While the woman, on the other hand, was admonished in the following way: “Multiplying I multiply thy sorrow and thy conception, in sorrow dost thou bear children, and toward thy husband [is] thy desire, and he doth rule over thee”³⁷. Ambrose believes that it was a fair judgment, since the man failed to abide by what he heard from God, while the woman failed to abide by what she heard from her husband³⁸. According to

³³ Ibidem: *Hac enim seruitute pollet populus Christianus, sicut et dominus ad discipulos suos ait: qui uult inter uos primus esse sit omnium seruus. Denique hanc seruitutem operatur caritas, quae spe maior et fide est.* (The English text: Saint Ambrose, *Hexameron, Paradise, and Cain and Abel*, translated by John J. Savage, Fathers of the Church, ING, New York 1961, p. 350-351).

³⁴ Ibidem: [...] *sed salua erit per filiorum generationem in fide et caritate et sanctificatione cum castitate [...].*

³⁵ Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *De institutione uirginis et sanctae Mariae uirginitate perpetua ad Eusebium*, 25, ed. F. Gori, 1989, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, vol. 14/2: *Sane negare non possumus quod errauerit mulier. Quid miraris tamen si infirmior lapsus est sexus, cum sit lapsus etiam fortior? Mulier excusationem habet in peccato, uir non habet. Illa, ut scriptura asserit, a sapientissimo omnium serpente decepta est, tu a muliere; id est: illam superior creatura decepit, te inferior. Te enim mulier decepit, illam malus licet, tamen angelus. Si tu inferiori non potuisti resistere, quomodo illa potuit superiori? Culpa tua illam absoluit.*

³⁶ Genesis 3,19.

³⁷ Genesis 3,16.

³⁸ Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *De institutione uirginis*, 26: *Illi dictum est: In tristitia paries filios et ad uirum tuum conuersio tua et ipse tibi dominabitur. Viro autem dicitur: Terra es et in terram ibis. Et uere iusta sententia, quandoquidem si Adam quod a domino deo audierat seruare non potuit, quomodo potuit seruare mulier quod audiuit a uiro? Si illum dei uox non confirmauit, quomodo istam uox confirmaret humana?*

Ambrose, the woman who said: “The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat”³⁹ confessed her sin and that confession, consequently, constituted her remedy for the error she had committed⁴⁰. Her sentence: “in pain thou shalt bring forth children”⁴¹ makes her assume the entire burden of conviction and she subjugates herself to the obligation of serving her penalty. However, by carrying out this penalty, the woman stands a chance of receiving some kind of atonement (*remuneratio*). She may, thus, attain salvation through her children for whom she suffers. Ambrose substantiates this fact citing the words of the Apostle Paul from the 1st Letter to Timothy. This salvation is an act of grace towards her. The offspring that she brings to the world in pain, is born for the salvation and raised by her to glory⁴².

4. AMBROZJASTER

In his *In epistolam beati Pauli ad Thimoteum Primum*, Ambrozjaster, like the other authors discussed in the present paper, comments upon 1 Timothy 2,15, in the context of the creation of man and woman, and the issue of responsibility for the sin committed by them in Eden. Unlike St. Ambrose, the author places the woman in these events decidedly below the man. Adam was created by God before Eve and managed to resist the temptation. It was the woman who was brought to sin and then deceived the man. Being inferior to the man, she was created after him and out of him. By the fact that she brought death into the world, she should be subordinated to her husband in order to prevent any other audacity toward him⁴³.

Despite such great responsibility, the woman will be saved through child-bearing, provided, that she perseveres in faith, charity and purity of life⁴⁴. In addition, her children also need to be reborn through faith in Christ and persevere in faith. Only then, the woman will be delivered with them as well⁴⁵.

³⁹ Genesis 3,13.

⁴⁰ Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *De institutione uirginis*, 27: [...] *et prior culpam fatetur; etenim quae se dicit esse seductam, testatur errorem. Erroris igitur medicina confessio est.*

⁴¹ Genesis 3,16.

⁴² Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *De institutione uirginis*, 29: *Condamnationis suae pondus agnoscit, munus poenalis conditionis exsequitur. Pro te mulier doloribus suis militat et remunerationem ex poena inuenit, ut per filios per quos affligitur, liberetur. Facta est itaque gratia ex iniuria, salus ex infirmitate. Scriptum est enim quia salua erit per filiorum generationem. Cum salute itaque parit quos in tristitia parturiuit, et ad laudem educat quos peperit cum dolore.*

⁴³ Ambrozjaster, *In epistolam beati Pauli ad Thimoteum Primum*, II,13-15, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 17: *Adam enim primus creatus est, deinde Eva: et Adam non est seductus, mulier autem seducta facta est in praeuocatione. Praefert virum mulieri, propter quod primus creatus est; ut inferior sit mulier, quia post virum et ex viro creata est. Adjicit et aliud, quia diabolus non virum seduxit, sed mulierem; vir autem per mulierem deceptus est: ac per hoc nulla illi concedenda audacia est, sed esse debet in humilitate; quia per illam mors intravit in mundum.*

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*: *Salua erit, inquit, per filiorum generationem; si tamen in fide manserit, et charitate, et pura vita.*

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*: *Hos enim filios dicit, qui regenerantur per fidem Christi; quia si in generatione sua hi*

5. JEROME

St. Jerome also makes recurrent references to 1 Timothy 2,15 in his literary works. Let us begin an analysis of Jerome's texts with respect to the topics discussed here from his *Commentarii in epistolas sancti Pauli, In primam epistolam ad Thimoteum*. Jerome begins his commentary on the verse 2,15 from St. Paul's Letter by highlighting the fact that in Eden, the woman repudiated God's commandment⁴⁶. However, she should not lose the hope of salvation, since a believing woman will be saved through baptism, that is, by childbearing. The words of St. Paul are therefore endowed with a moral and spiritual sense. Children who are born to the world, embody for Jerome the faith in Christ and the love for him, the sanctity of life and the accompanying temperance⁴⁷.

Jerome's letters contain two references to 1 Timothy 2,15. The first one can be found in his epistle to Leta, a Roman aristocrat, who was one of his spiritual daughters. In this text, Jerome provides his addressee with a series of teachings on how she should bring up her daughter in Christian piety. The letter somehow imposes the tenor of interpretation that St. Jerome gives to the text written by Paul. The words of St. Paul constitute an appeal to Christian parents to take responsibility for the religious education of their children⁴⁸. At this point, Jerome does not make any other in-depth exegesis of Paul.

The second reference to 1 Timothy 2,15 made by Jerome in his correspondence, can be found in an epistle to Algasia, a woman who came from a noble Gallic family. Jerome refers to the above text after citing other words by St. Paul the Apostle: "My little children, of whom again I travail in birth, till Christ may be formed in you"⁴⁹. Having quoted the above words, Jerome notes that, in the mystical sense, they can be applied to the woman of whom the Apostle writes that she had been deceived and committed a crime but was meant to be saved through bearing children if she continued in faith, charity and holiness combined with modesty⁵⁰. Jerome himself emphasized at that point that he read St. Paul's text in accordance with its mysti-

perseveraverint, cum his liberabitur mulier [...].

⁴⁶ Hieronymus, *Commentarii in epistolas sancti Pauli, In primam epistolam ad Thimoteum*, II, Patrologia Latina, vol. 26: *In praevaricatione fuit mandati*.

⁴⁷ Ibidem: *Notandum, quod sola fides ad salutem ei, qui post baptismum supervixerit, non sufficit, nisi sanctitatem mentis et corporis habeat: quae sine sobrietate difficile custoditur*.

⁴⁸ Hieronim, *Listy*, 107.6, in: Hieronim, *Listy III (80-115)*, elaborated on the basis of translation by rev. Jan Czuj, M. Ożóg, Wydawnictwo WAM, Kraków 2011 [Źródła Myśli Teologicznej, vol. 61], (Latin and Polish texts): *De muliere scribitur, quod salva fiet per filiorum generationem, si permanserint [al. permanserit] in fide, et caritate, et sanctificatione, cum pudicitia. Si perfecta aetas et sui juris imputatur parentibus, quanto magis lactens et fragilis, quae juxta sententiam Domini, ignorat dexteram et sinistram, id est, boni et mali differentiam?*

⁴⁹ Galatians 4,19.

⁵⁰ Hieronim, *Listy*, 107.6: *Has ergo reor juxta mysticos intellectus esse mulieres, de quibus idem Apostolus scribit: Mulier seducta in transgressione facta est. Salvabitur autem per filiorum generationem, si permanserint in fide et caritate et sanctitate cum pudicitia*.

cal sense. His interpretation, as in the case of the one proposed by Hilary of Poitiers and Ambrose of Milan, refers here to the relationship between Christ and the Church. Salvation will be attained by those believers who will help other people develop their faith in Christ.

Another work, in which Jerome refers to 1 Timothy 2,15, is a polemical treatise *Adversus Iovinianum*. In this text, the theologian, carries out a polemic against an adversary, defending the values of asceticism and the superiority of virginity over marriage. The overall tone of the above work is also reflected in the way Jerome uses the text of the Apostle Paul. In his letter, Jovinian, the person whom Jerome replies, cites 1 Timothy 2,15 as evidence for the superiority of marriage over virginity. What is the attitude of Jerome to the argument presented by Jovinian? The theologian states that, although the woman makes amends for her past mistake by childbearing, it is only under the condition that she will bring up her children in faith and the love of Christ and in holiness with purity that she will be saved. In this case, Jerome changes the ending in Paul's speech from *cum sobrietate* (in moderation) to *cum castitate* (in purity). Jerome was convinced that the phrase *cum sobrietate* was mistakenly used in Latin codes⁵¹. After this explanation, Jerome has less difficulty in launching an attack on his adversary.

“You see how you are mastered by the witness of this passage also, and cannot but be driven to admit that what you thought was on the side of marriage tells in favour of virginity. For if the woman is saved in child-bearing, and the more the children the greater the safety of the mothers, why did he add “if they continue in faith and love and sanctification with chastity?” The woman will then be saved, if she bear not children who will remain virgins: if what she has herself lost, she attains in her children, and makes up for the loss and decay, of the root by the excellence of the flower and fruit”⁵².

It seems, that the above statement provides a clear illustration of the essence of Jerome's outlook on the value of marriage. For Jerome, marriage has a value for one reason, namely, that it enables giving life to virgins.

6. ST. AUGUSTINE

St. Augustine recalls the words of Paul contained in 1 Timothy 2,15, in the work *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, a homily to Psalm 84(83). The bishop of Hippo, having

⁵¹ Hieronymus, *Adversus Iovinianum*, I,27, Patrologia Latina, vol. 23: *quodque errorem veterem illa quae semel connubio copulata est, et redacta in conditionem Evae, filiorum procreatione deleret: Ita tamen, si ipsos filios erudiret in fide et dilectione Christi, et in sanctificatione et pudicitia: non enim (ut male habetur in Latinis codicibus) sobrietas est legenda, sed castitas, id est, σωφροσύνη.*

⁵² Ibidem: *Vide igitur quomodo ex hoc quoque ipso testimonio supereris: et quod putabas esse pro nuptiis, pro virginitate sentire cogaris. Nam si salvatur mulier in filiorum generatione, et liberorum numerus salus matrum est, cur addidit, si permanserint filii in charitate et sanctificatione cum castitate? Tunc ergo salvabitur mulier, si illos genuerit filios, qui virgines permansuri sunt: si quod ipsa perdidit, acquirat in liberis, et damnum radicis et cariem, flore compenset et pomis.* (English text: Jerome, *Against Jovinianus*, Missoula 1945.).

specified the difficulties associated with literal interpretation of St. Paul's words, as indicated above, states that the woman who was in St. Paul's text presented as a type of body (*typus carnis*), will be saved through bearing children, that is, if the behavior of the body will result in good deeds⁵³. Augustine expresses similar views in his *opus, De Trinitate*. Good deeds are like children of our lives. They bear testimony to the life of particular men. Those deeds must be accompanied by faith, love and holiness⁵⁴.

The exegesis carried out by the bishop of Hippo has, therefore, a moral and a spiritual character. Not only women but, more broadly, all people will be redeemed, if they perform good deeds with respect to the body and, at the same time, continue in the faith of the Catholic Church, in the social ties with the community of the Church and if they raise their children in that faith.

7. GREGORY THE GREAT

Pope Gregory the Great refers to the text of St. Paul in his work *Moralia in Iob*. His interpretation actually completely coincides with the standpoint of St. Augustine. Gregory, like Augustine clearly distances himself from literal interpretation of the words of the Apostle Paul. They do not, as he concludes, mean that a childless woman will not be saved⁵⁵.

As other early Christian authors, Gregory interprets the above verse from the Letter of St. Paul in a spiritual way and, in a short, precise sentence seems to put in a nutshell the interpretation of the Bishop of Hippo: children symbolize deeds. The woman will be saved through childbearing, as a result of good works she will attain eternal salvation⁵⁶.

8. CONCLUSION

What is the meaning assigned to the word *τεκνογονία* in 1 Timothy 2,15, by early Christian Latin writers? Among the selected authors, only Ambrożyaster lim-

⁵³ Augustinus Hipponensis, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 83,7: *Salua ergo erit mulier, quae in typo carnis accipitur, per filiorum generationem, id est, si faciat opera bona.*

⁵⁴ Augustinus Hipponensis, *De Trinitate*, XII,7, ed. W.J. Mountain, Turnholti 1968 [Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, vol. 50]: *Sed quia ea quae dicuntur opera bona tamquam filii sunt uitae nostrae secundum quam quaeritur cuius uitae sit quisque, id est quomodo agat haec temporalia, quam uitam graeci non g-zōln sed g-bion uocant, et haec opera bona maxime in officiis misericordiae frequentari solent (opera uero misericordiae nihil prosunt siue paganis siue iudaeis qui christo non credunt siue quibusque haereticis uel schismaticis ubi fides et dilectio et sobria sanctificatio non inuenitur), manifestum est quid apostolus significare uoluerit.*

⁵⁵ Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, XII, 26, ed. M. Adriaen, Turnholti 1980 [Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, vol. 143 A]: *Neque enim mulier quae continentiae studens, nequaquam filios generat salua non erit [...].*

⁵⁶ Ibidem: *Quod tamen si intellegi spiritaliter debet, non incongrue filiorum nomine opera designantur. [...]sed per generationem filiorum saluari dicitur, quia per effectum bonorum operum perpetuae saluti sociatur.*

its his commentary to the actual words of St. Paul the Apostle contained in his letter to Timothy. The other writers like, for example, Hilary and Augustine, refrain very decidedly from such a literal interpretation, seeking for a deeper, spiritual meaning of the word *τεκνογονία* as well as the other passages of the whole text.

In the idea of attaining salvation by giving birth to children, both St. Augustine and St. Gregory the Great, interpret children as good, noble deeds. Perhaps such an understanding seems to be imposed by the Apostle Paul's words uttered earlier, that women participating in the liturgy at community meetings should be modestly clothed and decorated with not with gold or pearls, but, rather, with good deeds.

Hilary, in turn, makes a typological and allegorical interpretation of the text written by St. Paul the Apostle. Although, this strain of interpretation seems to be the most noticeable in his writings, it also comprises the comments by Ambrose and Jerome. The mystery of the creation of Adam and Eve, refers to Christ and the Church. Adam and Eve typify Christ and the Church. The woman saved by child-bearing, stands for the Church, which bears people to salvation through baptism.

[MULIER] SALVABITUR PER FILIORUM GENERATIONEM (1TM, 2, 15)
IN THE INTERPRETATION OF SELECTED WORKS OF THE LATIN CHURCH FATHERS

Summary

[Γυνή] σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας (1 Timothy 2:15). What does St. Paul mean when he speaks about salvation of women through childbearing? Does the word *τεκνογονία* mean something more than “motherhood,” or “bearing children”? How do the chosen Latin Church Fathers: Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose, Ambrosiaster, Jerome, Augustine and Gregory the Great interpret the text of 1 Timothy 2:15? Ambrosiaster limits his commentary to the actual words of St. Paul the Apostle contained in his letter to Timothy. The other writers refrain very decidedly from such a literal interpretation, seeking for a deeper, spiritual meaning of the word *τεκνογονία* as well as of the other passages of the whole text. In the idea of attaining salvation by giving birth to children, both St. Augustine and St. Gregory the Great, interpret children as good, noble deeds. Hilary, Ambrose and Jerome, in turn, make a typological and allegorical interpretation of the text written by St. Paul the Apostle. The mystery of the creation of Adam and Eve, refers to Christ and the Church. Adam and Eve typify Christ and the Church. The woman saved by childbearing, stands for the Church, which bears people to salvation through baptism.

Keywords: the woman, the salvation, the patrology, St Paul the Apostle, the patristic exegesis, the literature early Christian, St. Hilary of Poitiers, Saint Ambrose of Milan, St. Jerome, St. Gregory the Great, St. Augustine

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„[MULIER] SALVABITUR PER FILIORUM GENERATIONEM”
(1TM 2,15) W INTERPRETACJI WYBRANYCH DZIEŁ ŁACIŃSKICH OJCÓW KOŚCIOŁA

Abstrakt

[Γυνή] σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας (1Tm 2,15). Jaki jest sens słów św. Pawła Apostoła o zbawieniu kobiety przez rodzenie dzieci? Czy słowo *τεκνογονία* znaczy coś więcej niż „macierzyństwo”, „rodzenie dzieci”? W jaki sposób tekst 1Tm 2,15 interpretują wybrani łacińscy ojcowie Kościoła: Hilary z Poitiers, Ambroży, Ambrozjaster, Hieronim, Augustyn i Grzegorz Wielki. Ambrozjaster nie wychodzi w swoim komentarzu poza to, co w Liście do Tymoteusza powiedział św. Paweł Apostoł. Pozostali pisarze dystansują się od myśli interpretowania tego tekstu wyłącznie w sposób literalny, szukają głębszego duchowego sensu i dla słowa *τεκνογονία*, i dla rozumienia całego wersetu. Św. Augustyn a za nim św. Grzegorz Wielki, w dzieciach, przez rodzenie których dostępuje się zbawienia, dopatrują się dobrych, szlachetnych uczynków. Hilary z Poitiers, Ambroży z Mediolanu i Hieronim dokonują typologiczno-alegorycznej interpretacji tekstu św. Pawła Apostoła. Tajemnica stworzenia Adama i Ewy odnosi się do Chrystusa i Kościoła. Adam i Ewa są typem Chrystusa i Kościoła. Kobieta zbawiona przez rodzenie dzieci, to Kościół, który przez chrzest rodzi ludzi do zbawienia.

Słowa kluczowe: kobieta, zbawienie, patrologia, Św. Paweł Apostoł, egzegeza patrystyczna, grzech pierworodny, literatura wczesnochrześcijańska, Św. Hilary z Poitiers, Św. Ambroży z Mediolanu, Św. Hieronim, Św. Grzegorz Wielki, Św. Augustyn