

Women in Ministry

A New Testament Theology in Historical Context

(A Brief Survey)

Christopher A. Perry
Christ Church of Central Arkansas

IN APPRECIATION

I am grateful for the congregation of Christ Church and her commitment to knowing God through His Holy Spirit and Holy Scriptures in both spiritually and intellectually responsible ways. “But now faith, hope, love abide these three; but the greatest of these is love” (1 Corinthians 13:13).

INTRODUCTION

The topic of women in ministry is of crucial importance in today’s culture. The notion that a woman can run for the office of President of the United States of America and yet be forced to remain silent in a church where males are the authorized agents of Biblical orthodoxy and orthopraxy creates cognitive dissonance. Unfortunately, some churches and individuals still promote the belief that a woman is innately or inherently inferior to a male spiritually and even emotionally.¹ The following research is intended to give a clear image of a Biblical theology regarding a woman in ministry as presented within the text of scripture and the greater historical context of the New Testament world.

This work is brief in nature and does not represent a compendium of all sources available on subject of *women in ministry*. Due to time constraints several arguments and counterarguments are limited in presentation. However, there are more than enough primary and secondary sources cited to demonstrate there are multiple examples of women in both low-level and high-level positions of leadership and influence in the New Testament.

¹ The idea that a female is innately inferior to a male on the basis of emotions was common in the Greco-Roman world. See Dale Martin and *The Corinthian Body*.

The New Testament presents both historical and theological evidence that women were involved in ministry and leadership, co-laboring with men.² Any investigation into this subject would be more productive if it were done with a sense of openness and willingness to accept a theological conclusion of women in ministry based on the text itself and not on idiosyncratic norms from the greater context of culture and individual church culture. Andrea C. Lowry, based on her research on *Paul's Advice to Women in Worship: An Understanding Informed by the Cultural Contexts of Honor and Kinship*, 2013, encourages her readers by stating, "Instead of approaching men's and women's roles in worship with fear over getting them right and not wrong, we can ask, What brings honor to God and the body of Christ?"³

If the text of Scripture supports or advises against women in ministry and evokes emotions, both positive and negative, be high thinking and low feeling as much as possible. Again, Andrea Lowry is correct when she indicates we should be asking the right questions when approaching this subject, such as, "What [would] bring honor to God and the body of Christ?" (Lowry, p. 22).⁴ Discovering difficulties in reading and interpreting scripture is nothing new. This has been the case since the beginning of the formation of the church's doctrine.⁵

SELECTED NEW TESTAMENT TEXTS REFERENCING WOMEN/WOMEN IN MINISTRY

1. Matthew 22:29-33, "29 But Jesus answered and said to them, 'You are mistaken, not understanding the Scriptures nor the power of God. 30 For in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are like angels in heaven. 31 But regarding the resurrection of the dead, have you not read what was spoken to you by God: 32 'I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob'? He is not the God of the dead but of the living.' 33 When the crowds heard this, they were astonished at His teaching."
2. Mark 15:40-41, "40 There were also *some* women looking on from a distance, among whom *were* Mary Magdalene (female), and Mary (female) the mother of James the Less and Joses, and Salome (female). 41 When He was in Galilee, they used to follow Him

² Kruse, C. G. "Ministry" in *The Dictionary of Paul and His Letters* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1993), p. 603.

³ Lowry, Andrea C. *Paul's Advice to Women in Worship: An Understanding Informed by the Cultural Contexts of Honor and Kinship*, 2013, p. 22.

⁴ Access Andrea C. Lowry: <http://www.discoverchristchurch.com/resources/cciss-online-learning>

⁵ 2 Peter 3:16; cf., the following comments by Jürgen Moltmann: "I'm old enough to not fear being called a 'heretic'. I read the bible with a presupposition to meet the divine word in human words. And whenever I meet the divine word, which became incarnate in Jesus Christ, his suffering death and resurrection, then I feel to meet the truth. But then I also have a criterion over against the human expressions of this true. Let me give an example or two. In the letters of the apostle Paul Galatians 3:28 we read that in Christ there is not male or female, nor lord or slave, etcetera etceteras, they are all one in Christ and heirs of the kingdoms. And this is certainly a phrase to justify the baptism of male and female, man and women, equally. But then, I read the Apostle Paul is saying that women should "shut up" and be silent in the congregation. Then I ask myself, which sentence is closer to Christ. If the women were all the time silent, then we would have no knowledge of the resurrection of Christ. Because this was of Mary of Magdeline. And one of the co-missionaries, of the Apostle Paul was female. Phoebe was the first bishop of a small congregation. So the entirety of early Christianity was full of women. And they were speaking out. To fulfill the prophecy of the prophet Joel that your daughters will prophesy. And so all the argument that sin came into the world through Eve not through Adam. I think this is human expression, not infallible expressions. I have this criterion of the incarnate of God in Christ. Source: <http://postbarthian.com/2014/01/09/jurgen-moltmann-on-women/>

and minister to Him; and *there were* many other women⁶ who came up with Him to Jerusalem.”

3. Luke 8:1-3, “1 Soon afterwards, He *began* going around from one city and village to another, proclaiming and preaching the kingdom of God. The twelve were with Him, 2 and *also* some women who had been healed of evil spirits and sicknesses: Mary who was called Magdalene (female), from whom seven demons had gone out, 3 and Joanna (female) the wife of Chuza, Herod’s steward, and Susanna (female), and many others who were contributing to their support out of their private means.”
4. Acts 9:36-42, “36 Now in Joppa there was a disciple named Tabitha (which translated in Greek is called Dorcas); this woman was abounding with deeds of kindness and charity which she continually did. 37 And it happened at that time that she fell sick and died; and when they had washed her body, they laid it in an upper room. 38 Since Lydda was near Joppa, the disciples, having heard that Peter was there, sent two men to him, imploring him, “Do not delay in coming to us.” 39 So Peter arose and went with them. When he arrived, they brought him into the upper room; and all the widows stood beside him, weeping and showing all the tunics and garments that Dorcas used to make while she was with them. 40 But Peter sent them all out and knelt down and prayed, and turning to the body, he said, “Tabitha, arise.” And she opened her eyes, and when she saw Peter, she sat up. 41 And he gave her his hand and raised her up; and calling the saints and widows, he presented her alive. 42 It became known all over Joppa, and many believed in the Lord. 43 And Peter stayed many days in Joppa with a tanner named Simon.”
5. Acts 21:7-9, “7 When we had finished the voyage from Tyre, we arrived at Ptolemais, and after greeting the brethren, we stayed with them for a day. 8 On the next day we left and came to Caesarea, and entering the house of Philip the evangelist, who was one of the seven, we stayed with him. 9 Now this man had four virgin daughters who were prophetesses.”
6. Romans 16:1-16, “1 I commend to you our sister Phoebe (female), who is a servant of the church which is at Cenchrea; 2 that you receive her in the Lord in a manner worthy of the saints, and that you help her in whatever matter she may have need of you; for she herself has also been a helper of many, and of myself as well. 3 Greet Prisca (female) and Aquila, my fellow workers in Christ Jesus, 4 who for my life risked their own necks, to whom not only do I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles; 5 also *greet* the church that is in their house. Greet Epaenetus, my beloved, who is the first convert to Christ from Asia. 6 Greet Mary (female), who has worked hard for you. 7 Greet Andronicus and Junias (female) my kinsmen and my fellow prisoners, who are outstanding among the apostles, who also were in Christ before me. 8 Greet Ampliatus, my beloved in the Lord. 9 Greet Urbanus, our fellow worker in Christ, and Stachys my beloved. 10 Greet Apelles, the approved in Christ. Greet those who are of the *household* of Aristobulus. 11 Greet Herodion, my kinsman. Greet those of the *household* of Narcissus, who are in the Lord. 12 Greet Tryphaena (female) and Tryphosa (female), workers in the Lord. Greet Persis (female) the beloved, who has worked hard in the Lord. 13 Greet Rufus, a choice man in the Lord, also his mother (female) and mine. 14 Greet

⁶ Addressing the desiderata of this verse, a few questions are begged: Who were these women and how many were involved in the ministry? Should we understand the phrase “ministered to Him” to imply mobile hospitality services?

Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermes, Patrobas, Hermas and the brethren with them. 15 Greet Philologus and Julia (female), Nereus and his sister (female), and Olympas, and all the saints who are with them. 16 Greet one another with a holy kiss. All the churches of Christ greet you.”

7. 1 Corinthians 1:10-11, “10 I appeal to you, brothers, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that all of you agree, and that there be no divisions among you, but that you be united in the same mind and the same judgment. 11 For it has been reported⁷ to me by Chloe's (female)⁸ people that there is quarreling among you, my brothers.”
8. 1 Corinthians 9:3-7, “3 My defense to those who examine me is this: 4 Do we not have a right to eat and drink? 5 Do we not have a right to take along a believing wife, even as the rest of the apostles and the brothers of the Lord and Cephas?⁹ 6 Or do only Barnabas and I not have a right to refrain from working? 7 Who at any time serves as a soldier at his own expense? Who plants a vineyard and does not eat the fruit of it? Or who tends a flock and does not use the milk of the flock?”
9. Galatians 3:26-29, “26 For you are all sons of God through faith in Christ Jesus. 27 For all of you who were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ. 28 There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free man, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus. 29 And if you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham's descendants, heirs according to promise.”
10. Philippians 4:2-3, 2 I urge Euodia (female)¹⁰ and I urge Syntyche (female) to live in harmony in the Lord. 3 Indeed, true companion, I ask you also to help these women who have shared my struggle in *the cause of* the gospel, together with Clement also and the rest of my fellow workers, whose names are in the book of life.”
11. Colossians 4:15, 15 “Greet the brethren who are in Laodicea and also Nympha¹¹ and the church that is in her house.”
12. 1 Timothy 3:8-13, “8 Deacons likewise must be men of dignity, not double-tongued, or addicted to much wine or fond of sordid gain, 9 but holding to the mystery of the faith with a clear conscience. 10 These men must also first be tested; then let them serve as deacons if they are beyond reproach. 11 Women must likewise¹² be dignified, not malicious gossips, but temperate, faithful in all things. 12 Deacons must be husbands of only one wife, and good managers of their children and their own households. 13 For those who have served well as deacons obtain for themselves a high standing and great confidence in the faith that is in Christ Jesus.”
13. Philemon 1-3, “1 Paul, a prisoner of Christ Jesus, and Timothy our brother, To Philemon our beloved brother and fellow worker, 2 and to Apphia our sister (female), and

⁷ Anthony C. Thiselton argues that Chloe is a “wealthy Asian business woman” and her people represent “business associates, business agents, or slaves acting on her behalf.” Cf., *1 Corinthians* in *The New International Greek Testament Commentary*, p.121. See also Gordon Fee's treatment.

⁸ It is arguable that her “people” included other females.

⁹ Cf., Aquila and Priscilla; Andronicus and Junia, etc.

¹⁰ Paul's use of Greek (Εὐδοίαν παρακαλῶ καὶ Συντύχην παρακαλῶ) indicates these women are in equal status of honor and power in the church(es) at Philippi. It is possible they are leaders who fell into competitive conflict and threatened the harmony and unity of the church(es). Also, Paul indicates they are functionally serving as “apostolic evangelists-gladicators” (ναὶ ἐρωτῶ καὶ σέ, γνήσιε σύζυγε, συλλαμβάνου αὐταῖς, αἵτινες ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ συνήθησαν μοι μετὰ καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν συνεργῶν μου, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν βίβλῳ ζωῆς.) in the work of the ministry.

¹¹ Female. Indicates ownership/leadership in the church in her home.

¹² It is argued that Paul is speaking directly of the ministry of the deaconess.

to Archippus our fellow soldier, and to the church in your house: 3 Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.”

14. 2 John 1:1-3, 1 The elder to the chosen lady and her children, whom I love in truth; and not only I, but also all who know the truth, 2 for the sake of the truth which abides in us and will be with us forever: 3 Grace, mercy *and* peace will be with us, from God the Father and from Jesus Christ, the Son of the Father, in truth and love.” And 2 John 1:12-13, 12 Though I have many things to write to you, I do not want to *do so* with paper and ink; but I hope to come to you and speak face to face, so that your joy may be made full. 13 The children of your chosen sister greet you.”

NEW TESTAMENT TEXTS PROBLEMATIC IN UNDERSTANDING WOMEN IN MINISTRY

1. I want to begin by giving attention to Romans 16. This text features several women who serve the kingdom initiative. Caution should be used when using or referring to titles for functional behaviors in the first century world. It tends toward anachronism to assume the official nature and organizational structure of the third and fourth century church on to the church of the mid-first century. In Romans 16:1-2, Paul writes, “1 I commend to you our sister Phoebe (female), who is a servant of the church which is at Cenchrea; 2 that you receive her in the Lord in a manner worthy of the saints, and that you help her in whatever matter she may have need of you; for she herself has also been a helper of many, and of myself as well.” Συνίστημι δὲ ὑμῖν Φοίβην τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἡμῶν, οὗσαν καὶ διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς, 2 ἵνα αὐτὴν προσδέξησθε ἐν κυρίῳ ἀξίως τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ παραστήτε αὐτῇ ἐν ᾧ ἂν ὑμῶν χρήζη πράγματι, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ προστάτις πολλῶν ἐγενήθη καὶ ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ.
 - a. Historical background:
 - i. Regarding the city of Cenchrea Pausanias refers to “temples of Artemis, Asklepios, Aphrodite, and Isis in or around Kenchreia.”¹³
 - ii. Phoebe is the first “mentioned deacon” in Christian history.¹⁴
 - iii. Based on Phil 1:1; 1 Thess 5:12, Rom 12:6-8; 16:1-2; and [Eph 4:11], Bengt Holmberg asserts functional leadership developed harmoniously in several Pauline churches. And, “as early as the middle of the fifties (within some five to ten years from the founding of the church [at Corinth] we encounter persons who have fixed office titles; this is also an indirect witness to the consolidation of the church.”¹⁵ Dunn states this office was consolidated and confirmed by 1 Timothy, and by Clement and Ignatius.¹⁶
 - iv. Regarding letter bearers and authorized agency, Cranfield posits, “It is highly probable that Phoebe was to be the bearer of Paul’s letter to Rome.”¹⁷ Jewett contends, “It has been frequently asserted that his

¹³ Jewett, Robert J. *Romans: A Commentary in Hermeneia Series* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), p. 943.

¹⁴ Dunn, James D. G. *Romans 9-16 in The Word Biblical Commentary* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1988), p. 886-87.

¹⁵ Holmberg, Bengt. *Paul and Power: The Structure of Authority in the Primitive Church as Reflected in the Pauline Epistles* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978), p. 115, 119.

¹⁶ Dunn, James D. G. *Neither Jew nor Greek in Christianity in the Making Vol 3* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), p. 813.

¹⁷ Cranfield, C.E.B. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, Vol 2 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1979), p. 780.

formula of recommendation [i.e., “I commend to you”] implies that Phoebe was in fact the bearer of the letter to the Romans.”¹⁸ This comports with Ben Witherington who cites the principle work of Ernest R. Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1991), p. 70-73).¹⁹

- v. Not only is Phoebe assigned the responsibility of carrying Paul’s letter to the collective church of Rome, Keener argues it is plausible that she will read the letter *prosopōpoically*, i.e., skillfully using Paul’s intended rhetorical cues and voice inflections as though Paul were present and reading it himself.²⁰

b. Exegesis:

- i. I commend to you our sister Phoebe (female), Συνίστημι δὲ ὑμῖν Φοίβην τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἡμῶν,
 - 1. “Letters of introduction or recommendation such as those in the epistles of Paul and of John the elder provide additional glimpses into travel between Christian groups, and into how they established and maintained connections (e.g., Philemon; Romans 16:3; 2 Cor 3:1-2; 3 John)” and communicated related warnings and advisements.²¹ Letters of recommendation were “usually written by an ecclesiastical authority, to vouch for their good character and to provide proof that they were in good standing with the church.”²² Paul’s “attitude to [the] institutionalization [of the church] is positive. In all cases we know of he supports and recognizes the existing local officials (cf., 1 Thess 5:12 f; Gal 6:6; 1 Cor 16:15 f; Rom 12:3-8; 16:1-2; Eph 4:11; Phil 1:1), primarily [at least] on the ground of their usefulness”²³ in the advancing of the apostolic mission. This practice was so “widespread that it is reported that the emperor Julian became extremely envious of this Christian practice and tried to institute a pagan equivalent, albeit unsuccessfully.” See Sozomon, *Hist. eccl.* 5.16.3; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or IV, Contra Julianum* 1.111.”²⁴ For example, consider *P. Oxy. 292* (H&E 106). *A Letter of Recommendation*. About AD 25. “Theon to the most honoured Tyrannus very many greetings. Heraclides, the bearer of this letter, is my brother,

¹⁸ Jewett, Robert J. *Romans: A Commentary in Hermeneia Series* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), p. 943.

¹⁹ Witherington III, Ben. *Paul’s Letter to the Romans a Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), p. 382.

²⁰ Keener, Craig S. *The Mind of the Spirit: Paul’s Approach to Transformed Thinking* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2016), p. 69. Cf., apostolic agency.

²¹ Harland, Philip A. “Pausing at the Intersection of Religion and Travel” in *Travel and Religion in Antiquity* (Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2011), p. 15. See also Madigan, Kevin and Carolyn Osiek. *Ordained Women in the Early Church: A Documentary History*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.

²² Blumell, Lincoln H. *Letter Christians: Christians, Letters, and Late Antique Oxyrhynchus* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 112.

²³ Holmberg, Bengt. *Paul and Power: The Structure of Authority in the Primitive Church as Reflected in the Pauline Epistles* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978), p. 190.

²⁴ Blumell, Lincoln H. *Letter Christians: Christians, Letters, and Late Antique Oxyrhynchus* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 112.

wherefore I entreat you with all my power to take him under your protection. I have also asked your brother Hermias by letter to inform you about him. You will do me the greatest favour if you let him win your approval. Before all else I pray that you may have good health and the best of success, unharmed by the evil eye. Goodbye. [Addressed] To Tyrannus the dioecetes.”²⁵

2. Συνίστημι (commend) is used at 3:5 and 5:8 “with the connotation to prove or demonstrate, but here it bears the sense of ‘commend’ or ‘introduce.’”²⁶
 3. Φοίβην (Phoebe) was a Gentile²⁷ Christian and probably a freed slave.
- ii. who is a servant of the church which is at Cenchrea; οὔσαν καὶ διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς,
1. Regarding her description as a διάκονον (deacon, servant), Cranfield indicates that with a natural reading of the Greek text and also by noting the particular view “of the way in which Paul formulates his thought (οὔσαν καὶ διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας, κ.τ.λ.), [Phoebe’s description as a διάκονον, should be understood] as referring to a definite office”²⁸ and certainly to an ongoing ministry.²⁹ Cf., the historical references to deaconess by Pliny.³⁰
 2. In fact, Cranfield maintains, “We regard it as virtually certain that Phoebe is being described as ‘a (or possibly ‘the’) deacon’ of the church in question, and that this occurrence of διάκονος is to be classified with its occurrences in Phil 1:1 and 1 Tim 3:8 and 12.”³¹

²⁵ Barrett, C. K. *The New Testament Background: Writings from Ancient Greece and the Roman Empire That Illuminate Christian Origins* (San Francisco: HarperCollins 1989), p. 29.

²⁶ Jewett, Robert J. *Romans: A Commentary in Hermeneia Series* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), p. 942.

²⁷ “A Jewess would scarcely [have] a name deriving from page mythology.” Phoebe (“shining”) was a Titan, a daughter of Uranus and Gaia. Cf., Cranfield, C.E.B. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, Vol 2 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1979), p. 780.

²⁸ Cranfield, C.E.B. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, Vol 2 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1979), p. 781.

²⁹ Witherington III, Ben. *Paul’s Letter to the Romans a Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), p. 382.

³⁰ Pliny, *Letters* 10.96-97. “They asserted, however, that the sum and substance of their fault or error had been that they were accustomed to meet on a fixed day before dawn and sing responsively a hymn to Christ as to a god, and to bind themselves by oath, not to some crime, but not to commit fraud, theft, or adultery, not falsify their trust, nor to refuse to return a trust when called upon to do so. When this was over, it was their custom to depart and to assemble again to partake of food--but ordinary and innocent food. Even this, they affirmed, they had ceased to do after my edict by which, in accordance with your instructions, I had forbidden political associations. Accordingly, I judged it all the more necessary to find out what the truth was by torturing two female slaves who were called deaconesses. But I discovered nothing else but depraved, excessive superstition.” Pliny the Younger was governor of Pontus/Bithynia from 111-113 AD. Source: <http://faculty.georgetown.edu/jod/texts/pliny.html>

³¹ Cranfield, C.E.B. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, Vol 2 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1979), p. 781.

3. Morris indicates “the form of expression here makes it more likely that an official is meant than the more general concept of ‘servant.’”³²
 4. Supporting the role and influence of Phoebe, Elizabeth A. McCabe notes, “Another piece of epigraphical evidence comes from Jerusalem (Mount of Olives); it dates from the latter half of the fourth century. What is fascinating about this writing, found on a stele, are the following words: *Sophia, hē diakonos, hē deuterā Phoibē*.³³
- iii. 2 that you receive her in the Lord in a manner worthy of the saints,
 2 ἵνα αὐτήν προσδέξησθε ἐν κυρίῳ ἀξίως τῶν ἁγίων
1. Cf., authorized agency and the implication of Pauline authority issued to Phoebe. Wuellner agrees with Paul’s commendation of Phoebe, he commands the Roman churches to give her the same “treatment which brother Paul expects for himself from them.”³⁴
 2. By stating ἵνα αὐτήν προσδέξησθε ἐν κυρίῳ ἀξίως τῶν ἁγίων, Paul is not indicating the churches should treat her with general expressions of hospitality.³⁵ Rather, Paul is directing the churches of Rome to follow her directives.
- iv. and that you help her in whatever matter she may have need of you; καὶ παραστήτε αὐτῇ ἐν ᾧ ἂν ὑμῶν χρήζη πράγματι,
1. See above.
- v. for she herself has also been a helper of many, and of myself as well.” καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ προστάτις πολλῶν ἐγενήθη καὶ ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ.

³² Morris, Leon. *The Epistle to the Romans* in *The Pillar New Testament Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), p. 529.

³³ McCabe, Elizabeth A. *A Reexamination of Phoebe as a “Diakonos” and “Prostatis”: Exposing the Inaccuracies of English Translations* in SBC Forum Archives. Further, McCabe writes, “In this inscription, clearly a woman (evident by the feminine definite article) is being coined with the masculine term *diakonos*. If the Didascalia of the Apostles is utilized as the earliest known date for women deaconesses, one could logically conclude that deaconesses came into existence in written accounts from the “first half of the third century.” What is more noteworthy is that women are still being designated as deacons (using masculine terms) even over approximately 150 years later. However, what is especially notable about Sophia is the description of being the “second Phoebe.” Ute E. Eisen comments, Horsley has shown that in non-Christian inscriptions the description, “a second Homer,” or the like is applied to individuals who gave outstanding service to their city. For Sophia, this could mean that her title “the second Phoebe” reflects aspects of Phoebe’s activity beyond her work as a deacon (Rom 16:1-2), such as her title of prostatis. To be called the “second” was an honor bestowed upon an individual. Just as grateful citizens gave this title to their leaders, this notable woman won this acclaim, which may be attributed to “benefactions provided” possibly to “her church.” In addition to Sophia being named a deacon, a woman named Maria also merits the same honor. In evidence from the fourth century, the title is given to Maria of *hē diakonos* in a “stele of grey marble” erected for her tombstone. The exact inscription reads: “*hē . . . diakonos Maria*.” G. H. R. Horsley interprets this inscription as “evidence for a widow who exercised the function of deacon in the Byzantine church.” Source: <https://www.sbl-site.org/publications/article.aspx?ArticleId=830>

³⁴ Wuellner, Wilhem. “Paul’s Rhetoric of Argumentation” in *The Romans Debate*. Karl P. Donfried, General Editor (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2003), p. 138.

³⁵ Certainly Paul believes key leaders among the house and tenement churches of Rome will provide hospitality for Phoebe, cf., Meeks, Wayne A. *The Origins of Christian Morality: The First Two Centuries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 104.

1. What does it mean to be a helper (προστάτις)? Keener argues, προστάτις is a term, which “normally referred in antiquity to patrons, some of whom were women. As a patron, she would own the home in which the church met and hold a position of honor.”³⁶ Ferguson asserts Phoebe, as a προστάτις is one who gives aid and who had the resources to do so.”³⁷ Susan Mathew discounts arguments for the wealthy status of Phoebe since wealth “may not have been an essential prerequisite for being a patron in the early church.”³⁸
2. Margaret E. Köstenberger identifies Phoebe as an administrator.³⁹
- c. Arguments for the official leadership and authorized agency of Phoebe:
 - i. Phoebe is named first in Romans 16. Based on letter writing conventions, e.g., the tendency to feature male names over females names, and the usage of the emphatic position (i.e., Phoebe is named first), etc., argues for her official leadership and authorized agency.
 - ii. “Of all the Pauline senses of the word διάκονος, certainly go beyond the profane notion of ‘servant’; they suggest in each case some sort of mission, some sort of effective action that transcends the person who is acting.”⁴⁰
 - iii. James D. G. Dunn indicates, “The use of διάκονον rather than διάκονέω (cf., 15:25) or διάκονία (cf., 1 Cor 16:15), points more to a recognized ministry or position of responsibility with the congregation.”⁴¹
- d. Arguments against the official leadership and authorized agency of Phoebe:
 - i. Davidson downplays Phoebe’s role by maintaining διάκονος “simply meant practical service of one kind or another performed by [anyone] for the church.”⁴²
 - ii. Meeks cautions that διάκονος, as a title, “cannot, however, tell us anything directly about Phoebe’s status in the macrosociety.”⁴³
- e. Conclusion:
 - i. Keener posits, “At the very least, then, Phoebe held a position of considerable responsibility, prominence, and authority in her congregation. She probably taught the Scriptures as well, but if she did not, she was at least trusted with sufficient regard theologically to be placed in this prominent authority role in the church, and to be

³⁶ Keener, Craig S. “Man and Woman” in *The Dictionary of Paul and His Letters* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1993), p. 589. Cf., Lydia, Euodia and Syntyche.

³⁷ Ferguson, Everett. *Backgrounds of Early Christianity*, 2nd Edition (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), p. 56.

³⁸ Mathew, Susan. *Women in the Greetings of Romans 16:1-16: A Study of Mutuality and Women’s Ministry in the Letter to the Romans* (London: Bloomsbury: T&T Clark, 2013), p. 5.

³⁹ Köstenberger, Margaret E. *Jesus and the Feminists?: Who Do They Say That He Is?* (Wheaton: Crossway Books, 2008), p. 136.

⁴⁰ Martimort, Aimé Georges. *Deaconesses an Historical Study* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1982), p. 18.

⁴¹ Dunn, James D. G. *Romans 9-16 in The Word Biblical Commentary* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1988), p. 776.

⁴² Davidson, Ivor J. *The Birth of the Church: From Jesus to Constantine AD 30-312*, Vol 1 (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2004), p. 125.

⁴³ Meeks, Wayne A. *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 60.

recommended to those who might depend on her to help them understand Paul's letter to them."⁴⁴

- ii. Ersnt Käsemann, using "This approach masks the Pauline view that each Christian is officially brought into the service of his Lord, entrusted with a particular ministry, and must exercise it, as no one else can, in and toward the community. Insofar as Phoebe has a permanent and recognized ministry, as in emphasized by the participle and the place name, one may at least see an early stage of what later became the ecclesiastical office."⁴⁵
 - iii. Phoebe is likely assigned the task of taking the letter to Rome.⁴⁶ According to Jewett, "Ancient epistolary practice would therefore assume that the recommendation of Phoebe was related to her task of conveying and interpreting the letter in Rome as well as carrying out the business entailed in the letter."⁴⁷
 - iv. If Jewett is correct, then Romans 16:1-2, is one of the most compelling examples of a woman in very significant positions of leadership and authorized agency in the New Testament. James D. G. Dunn indicates Phoebe is the "first person in the history of Christianity to be formally designated 'deacon.'"⁴⁸ Compare this text with Revelation 2:20.
 - v. Grant R. Osborne concludes Phoebe, like most deacons, dealt with the "practical needs of the church, for example, caring for the needed (Cranfield, 1979) and financial oversight (Moo, 1996)."⁴⁹
 - vi. Origen (185-253 AD), "I commend to you Phoebe..." This passage teaches by apostolic authority that women also are appointed in the ministry of the church, in which office Phoebe was placed at the church that is Cenchreae. Paul with great praise and commendation even enumerates her splendid deeds... And therefore this passage teaches two things equally and is to be interpreted, as we have said, to mean that women are to be considered ministers in the church, and that such ought to be received into the ministry who have assisted many; they have earned the right through deeds to receive apostolic praise."⁵⁰
2. Romans 16:7, 7 Greet Andronicus and Junias, my kinsmen and my fellow prisoners, who are outstanding among the apostles, who also were in Christ before me. 7 ἀσπάσασθε Ἀνδρόνικον καὶ Ἰουνίαν τοὺς συγγενεῖς μου καὶ συναιχμαλώτους μου, οἵτινές εἰσιν ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, οἱ καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ γέγοναν ἐν Χριστῷ.
- a. Historical background:

⁴⁴ Keener, Craig S. *Paul, Women, & Wives: Marriage and Women's Ministry in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1992), p. 238-39.

⁴⁵ Käsemann, Ernst. *Commentary on Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), p. 360.

⁴⁶ France, R. T. *Women in the Church's Ministry: A Test Case for Biblical Interpretation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), p. 84.

⁴⁷ Jewett, Robert J. *Romans: A Commentary in Hermeneia Series* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), p. 943.

⁴⁸ Dunn, James D. G. *Beginning from Jerusalem in Christianity in the Making Vol 2* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 2009), p. 635.

⁴⁹ Osborne, Grant R. *Romans* (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2004), p. 403.

⁵⁰ Source: [https://books.google.com/books?id=JW0Md2wmQOsC&pg=PT14&lpg=PT14&dq=Origen+\(185-253+AD\),+Phoebe&source=bl&ots=7nJoecAwuF&sig=-A0Ev5nevYXNLkxtniJU549mW-g&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjAzZfiuKrVAhVKx1QKHWMjDH8Q6AEINzAD#v=onepage&q=Origen%20\(185-253%20AD\)%20C%20Phoebe&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=JW0Md2wmQOsC&pg=PT14&lpg=PT14&dq=Origen+(185-253+AD),+Phoebe&source=bl&ots=7nJoecAwuF&sig=-A0Ev5nevYXNLkxtniJU549mW-g&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjAzZfiuKrVAhVKx1QKHWMjDH8Q6AEINzAD#v=onepage&q=Origen%20(185-253%20AD)%20C%20Phoebe&f=false)

i. Andronicus and Junia.⁵¹

1. Andronicus (cf., Andronikos) “is a prestigious Greek name frequently given to slaves or freedmen during the Greco-Roman period.”⁵²
2. Junia “is a Latin feminine name ordinarily given to slaves or freedwomen of the Junia family, of which some 250 examples have been found in Roman evidence.”⁵³
3. According to Douglas J. Moo, the problem associated with this text “arises from the fact that the Greek form used here, *Iounian*, depending on how it is accented, could refer either (1) to a man with the Junianus, found here in its contracted form, “Junias” (cf., NIV; RSV; NASB; TEV; NJB); or (2) to a woman with the name Junia (KJV; NRSV; REB).”⁵⁴
4. Regarding MSS rendering of the word, Moo attests that “it appears that commentators before the thirteenth century were unanimous in favor of the feminine identification.”⁵⁵
5. Lampe observes the very “first church father coming up with the masculine version [of the name Junia] was Aegidius of Rome (AD 1245-1316).”⁵⁶
6. Arguments for a Masculine Reading:
 - a. *Iounian* is a contracted form of Junianus.⁵⁷
7. Arguments for a Feminine Reading:
 - a. MSS shifted to a masculine reading during the thirteenth century.⁵⁸
 - b. There is no other evidence of the masculine contracted form of the name!⁵⁹ This comports with Jewett, who references the work of B. J. Brooten.
 - c. Jewett argues “the evidence in favor of the feminine name ‘Junia’ is overwhelming.”⁶⁰

⁵¹ Throughout this passage Paul presents several couples as husband and wife ministry partners.

⁵² Jewett, Robert J. *Romans: A Commentary in Hermeneia Series* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), p. 961.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 961.

⁵⁴ Moo, Douglas J. *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), p. 921-922. See note on UBS4 and NA27 Greek New Testaments both accent Ἰουνίαν as a contracted form of Junianus. However, “It must be remembered that few of the oldest MSS had any accents at all. The later minuscules, many of which did have accents, reflect the interpretation of the name as masculine that became current from the thirteenth century onward (an exception, however, is the important minuscule 33, which has the feminine form; cf. Lampe, “Romans Christians, p. 223).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 922.

⁵⁶ Lampe, Peter. “The Roman Christians of Romans 16” in *The Romans Debate*. Karl P. Donfried, General Editor (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2003), p. 223.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 922, who argues “there is evidence that Paul uses several other such contractions here.”

⁵⁸ Longenecker, Richard N. *The Epistle to the Romans – The New International Greek Testament Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 2016), p. 1060.

⁵⁹ Moo, Douglas J. *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), p. 922.

⁶⁰ Jewett, Robert J. *Romans: A Commentary in Hermeneia Series* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), p. 961. Cf., the exhaustive research by Brooten, who discover no examples of the masculine name “Junias”, Jewett, p. 961 n 105.

8. On the other hand, Moo states, “the Latin ‘Junia’ was a very common name (see comment by Jewett above).”⁶¹
- ii. What does it mean to be “outstanding among the apostles”?
 1. According to Jewett (οἵτινές εἰσιν ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις), the “adjective ἐπίσημος lifts up a person or thing distinguished or marked in comparison with another representative of the same class, in this instance with the other apostles. The Latin equivalent is *honoratus*, the acknowledgement of the distinction and honor earned by another.”⁶² Bauckham, in gratitude for the work of C. F. D. Moule and C. E. B. Cranfield, indicates the phrase refers to be “marked out, distinguished, outstanding, prominent.”⁶³
 2. Furthermore, Jewett affirms, “Since Paul gives no evidence that they had been associated with a particular congregation, in contrast to Phoebe in 16:1-2, and since his usage of ‘apostle’ is oriented to resurrection witness unless otherwise indicated, it seems likely that he ranked them among “all the apostles who laid claims to being witnesses of the resurrection.”⁶⁴
 3. Richard Bauckham argues that Andronicus and Junia “were the founding apostles of the church in Rome.”⁶⁵
 4. In all likelihood, Andronicus and Junia at “some point earlier were in prison with Paul (cf., a Roman territorial prison at Caesarea).”⁶⁶
- b. Conclusion:
 - i. Jewett, citing the work of Fàbrega and Fitzmyer, indicates that “commentators down through the twelfth century refer to Junia as a woman, often commenting on the extraordinary gifts that ranked her *among* the apostles.”⁶⁷ Dunn argues Junia is “the only woman we know to have been named an apostle.”⁶⁸
 - ii. The New Testament evidence further indicates that in the messianic community some women enjoyed roles of patronage and leadership, such as Phoebe (Rom. 16:1); Prisca and Priscilla (Rom. 16:3; Acts 18:3; 1 Cor. 16:19; 2 Tim. 4:19); Chloe (1 Cor. 1:11); Apphia (Phlm.); Mary, mother of John Mark (Acts 13:12), Lydia (Acts 16:14-15, 40) and the “elect lady”

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 922.

⁶² Jewett, Robert J. *Romans: A Commentary in Hermeneia Series* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), p. 963. The term τὸ ἐπίσημον was used to refer to the badge distinguishing one shield from another (Herodotus *Hist.* 9.74), the flag or figurehead that identifies one ship in comparison with an otherwise identical ship in the same class (Herodotus 8.88), or the device stamped on a coin to distinguish it from another (Plutarch *Thes.* 6.1).

⁶³ Bauckham, Richard. *Gospel Women: Studies in the Named Women in the Gospels* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), p. 172.

⁶⁴ Jewett, Robert J. *Romans: A Commentary in Hermeneia Series* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), p. 963.

⁶⁵ Bauckham, Richard. *Gospel Women: Studies in the Named Women in the Gospels* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), p. 181.

⁶⁶ Longenecker, Richard N. *The Epistle to the Romans – The New International Greek Testament Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 2016), p. 1061.

⁶⁷ Jewett, Robert J. *Romans: A Commentary in Hermeneia Series* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007) p. 963. Italics mine.

⁶⁸ Dunn, James D. G. *Beginning from Jerusalem in Christianity in the Making Vol 2* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 2009), p. 634.

of 2 John (2 John 1). Junia and her husband⁶⁹ Andronicus were saluted by Paul as “persons of note among the apostles [as apostles]” (Rom. 16:7), indicating that she too ranked among the apostles. Those enjoying these apostolic credentials were distinguished from, and superior to, other leaders and believers, as 1 Cor. 12:28-30 makes clear. Barnett suggests Andronicus and Junia were relatives of Paul.⁷⁰ In the case of other women leaders, in addition to their divinely conferred charismata, it appears to have been their elevated economic and social status that positioned them, as it did their male counterparts, to serve as patrons and, hence, as leaders in the churches meeting in their homes.”⁷¹

iii. Osborne indicates Junia is an apostle. She and her husband Andronicus “were probably two of the group of apostles named in I Corinthians 15:5 and 7.”⁷²

2. 1 Corinthians 11:2-16, “2 Now I praise you because you remember me in everything and hold firmly to the traditions, just as I delivered them to you. 3 But I want you to understand that Christ is the head of every man, and the man is the head of a woman, and God is the head of Christ. 4 Every man who has something on his head while praying or prophesying disgraces his head. 5 But every woman who has her head uncovered while praying or prophesying⁷³ disgraces her head, for she is one and the same as the woman whose head is shaved. 6 For if a woman does not cover her head, let her also have her hair cut off; but if it is disgraceful for a woman to have her hair cut off or her head shaved, let her cover her head. 7 For a man ought not to have his head covered, since he is the image and glory of God; but the woman is the glory of man. 8 For man does not originate from woman, but woman from man; 9 for indeed man was not created for the woman’s sake, but woman for the man’s sake. 10 Therefore the woman ought to have a symbol of authority on her head, because of the angels. 11 However, in the Lord, neither is woman independent of man, nor is man independent of woman. 12 For as the woman originates from the man, so also the man has his birth through the woman; and all things originate from God. 13 Judge for yourselves: is it proper for a woman to pray to God with her head uncovered? 14 Does not even nature itself teach you that if a man has long hair, it is a dishonor to him, 15 but if a woman has long hair, it is a glory to her? For her hair is given to her for a covering. 16 But if one is inclined to be contentious, we have

⁶⁹ Longenecker, Richard N. *The Epistle to the Romans* – The New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 2016), p. 1061.

⁷⁰ Barnett, P. W. “Apostles” in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1993), p. 48.

⁷¹ Elliott, John H. “The Jesus Movement Was Not Egalitarian But Family-Oriented.” *Biblical Interpretation* 11, no. 2 (April 2003): 173-210, cited by Andrea C. Lowry, *Paul’s Advice to Women in Worship: An Understanding Informed by the Cultural Contexts of Honor and Kinship*, 2013, p. 20.

⁷² Osborne, Grant R. *Romans* (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2004), p. 407. Cf., 1 Corinthians 15:3-8, “³ For I delivered to you as of first importance what I also received, that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, ⁴ and that He was buried, and that He was raised on the third day according to the Scriptures, ⁵ and that He appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve. ⁶ After that He appeared to more than five hundred brethren at one time, most of whom remain until now, but some have fallen asleep; ⁷ then He appeared to James, then to all the apostles; ⁸ and last of all, as to one untimely born, He appeared to me also.”

⁷³ Joel 2:28-29, “It will come about after this That I will pour out My Spirit on all mankind; And your sons and daughters will prophesy, Your old men will dream dreams, Your young men will see visions. 29 “Even on the male and female servants I will pour out My Spirit in those days.”

no other practice, nor have the churches of God. 2 Ἐπαινῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς ὅτι πάντα μου μέμνησθε καὶ καθὼς παρέδωκα ὑμῖν τὰς παραδόσεις κατέχετε. 3 θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι ὅτι παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἡ κεφαλὴ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστίν, κεφαλὴ δὲ γυναικὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ, κεφαλὴ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ θεός. 4 πᾶς ἀνὴρ προσευχόμενος ἢ προφητεύων κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων καταισχύνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ· 5 πᾶσα δὲ γυνὴ προσευχομένη ἢ προφητεύουσα ἀκατακαλύπτῳ τῇ κεφαλῇ καταισχύνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς, ἐν γάρ ἐστιν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τῇ ἐξυρμημένη. 6 εἰ γὰρ οὐ κατακαλύπτεται γυνή, καὶ κειράσθω· εἰ δὲ αἰσχρὸν γυναικὶ τὸ κείρασθαι ἢ ξυρᾶσθαι, κατακαλυπτέσθω. 7 ἀνὴρ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀφείλει κατακαλύπτεσθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν, εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ ὑπάρχων· ἡ γυνὴ δὲ δόξα ἀνδρὸς ἐστίν. 8 οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἀνὴρ ἐκ γυναικός, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ ἐξ ἀνδρός· 9 καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐκτίσθη ἀνὴρ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ διὰ τὸν ἄνδρα. 10 διὰ τοῦτο ὀφείλει ἡ γυνὴ ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους. 11 πλὴν οὔτε γυνὴ χωρὶς ἀνδρὸς οὔτε ἀνὴρ χωρὶς γυναικὸς ἐν κυρίῳ· 12 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ γυνὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὕτως καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ διὰ τῆς γυναικός· τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ. 13 ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς κρίνατε· πρέπον ἐστὶν γυναῖκα ἀκατακάλυπτον τῷ θεῷ προσεύχεσθαι; 14 οὐδὲ ἡ φύσις αὐτὴ διδάσκει ὑμᾶς ὅτι ἀνὴρ μὲν ἐὰν κομᾷ, ἀτιμία αὐτῷ ἐστίν, 15 γυνὴ δὲ ἐὰν κομᾷ, δόξα αὐτῇ ἐστίν; ὅτι ἡ κόμη ἀντὶ περιβολαίου δέδοται. 16 εἰ δὲ τις δοκεῖ φιλόνεικος εἶναι, ἡμεῖς τοιαύτην συνήθειαν οὐκ ἔχομεν, οὐδὲ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ θεοῦ.

a. Historical background:

- i. The influence of the cults of Dionysius, Isis, Artemis, and Cybele, was substantial and pervasive in the Greco-Roman world. Bernadette J. Brooten indicates that even Jewish women in the Ancient Mediterranean world “lived side by side with communities which women carried out religious functions, including ritual functions, for example, as high priestesses of the imperial cult and female functionaries in the Isis religion.”⁷⁴
- ii. For example, Livy, in his account of the restrictions the Roman government put on the Dionysian cult, lists among the troubling aspects of the cult that it involved sexual misbehavior, men prophesying with contorted bodies,⁷⁵ and women with disheveled hair (*Annals of Rome* 39:13).⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Brooten, Bernadette J. *From Dura to Sepphoris: Studies in Jewish Art and Society in Late Antiquity* (Portsmouth, Rhode, Island: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2000), p. 215.

⁷⁵ Males were eventually excluded from the cult, cf., Erich S. Gruen, *Studies in Greek Culture and Romans Policy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p. 61.

⁷⁶ Johnson, Luke Timothy. *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), p. 131 n 95. Cf., Livy. Books XXXVIII-XXXIX with an English Translation. Cambridge. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann, Ltd. 1936: published without copyright notice. “The woman, thinking without a doubt, as was indeed the fact, that Aebutius had revealed the secret, threw herself at the feet of Sulpicia, and at first began to plead with [2??] her not to try to turn the chatter of a freedwoman with her lover into something that was not merely serious but even fatal: [p. 253] she had spoken thus for the purpose of frightening him, not because she knew anything. [3] At this point Postumius, inflamed with wrath, said that she believed even then that she was jesting with her lover Aebutius, and not speaking in the house of a most respectable matron and in the presence of a consul. Sulpicia too lifted up the terror-stricken woman, and at the same time encouraged her and mollified the anger of her son-in-law. [4] At length regaining her self-control, and complaining much of the treachery of Aebutius, who had returned such gratitude to one who deserved so well of him, she declared that she feared greatly the wrath of the [5??] gods whose hidden mysteries she was to reveal, but far more the wrath of the men who would, if she informed against them, with their own hands tear her limb from limb. [6] Accordingly she

- iii. Livy continues by stating the source of the problems that led to the Roman decree is “A great part of them are women, and they are the source of this mischief” (Annals 39:15).⁷⁷

begged Sulpicia and the consul that they would banish her somewhere outside Italy, where she could pass the rest of her life in safety. [7] The consul bade her be of good cheer and assured her that it would be his responsibility to see that she could safely live in Rome. Then Hispala set forth the origin of the mysteries. [8] At first, she said, it was a ritual for women, and it was the custom that no man should be admitted to it. There had been three days appointed each year on which they held initiations into the Bacchic rites by day; it was the rule to choose the matrons in turn as priestesses. [9] Paculla Annia, a Campanian, she said, when priestess, had changed all this as if by the advice of the gods; for she had been the first to initiate men, her sons, Minius and Herennius Cerrinius; she had held the rites by night and not by day, and instead of a mere three days a year she had established five days of initiation in every month. [10] [p. 255] From the time that the rites were performed in common, men mingling with women and the freedom of darkness added, no form of crime, no sort of wrongdoing, was left untried. There were more lustful practices among men with one another than among women. If any of them were disinclined to endure abuse or reluctant to commit crime, they were sacrificed as victims. [11] To consider nothing wrong, she continued, was the highest form of religious devotion among them. Men, as if insane, with fanatical tossings of their bodies, would utter prophecies. [12] Matrons in the dress of Bacchantes, with disheveled hair and carrying blazing torches, would run down to the Tiber, and plunging their torches in the water (because they contained live sulphur mixed with calcium) would bring them out still burning. [13] Men were alleged to have been carried off by the gods who had been bound to a machine and borne away out of sight to hidden caves: they were those who had refused either to conspire or to join in the crimes or to suffer abuse. [14] Their number, she said, was very great, almost constituting a second state; among them were certain men and women of high rank. Within the last two years it had been ordained that no one beyond the age of twenty years should be initiated: boys of such age were sought for as admitted both vice and corruption.”

⁷⁷ Livy. Books XXXVIII-XXXIX with an English Translation. Cambridge. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann, Ltd. 1936: published without copyright notice. “When the magistrates had been dispatched to these posts, the consuls mounted the Rostra and called an informal meeting of the people, and, when the consul had finished the regular formula of prayer which magistrates are accustomed to pronounce before they address the people, he thus began: [2] “Never for any assembly, citizens, has this formal prayer to the gods been not only so suitable but even so necessary, a prayer which reminds us that these are the gods whom our forefathers had appointed to be worshipped, to be venerated, to receive our prayers, not those gods [3??] who would drive our enthralled minds with vile and alien rites, as by the scourges of the Furies, to every crime and every lust. [4] For my part, I do not discover what I should refrain from telling or how far I should speak out. If you [p. 261] are left ignorant of anything, I fear that I shall leave room for carelessness; if I lay bare everything, that I shall scatter abroad an excess of terror. [5] Whatever I shall have said, be sure that my words are less than the dreadfulness and the gravity of the situation: to take sufficient precautions will be our task. [6] As to the Bacchanalia, I am assured that you have learned that they have long been celebrated all over Italy and now even within the City in many places, and that you have learned this not only from rumour but also from their din and cries at night, which echo throughout the City, but I feel sure that you do not know what this thing is: [7] some believe that it is a form of worship of the gods, others that it is an allowable play and pastime, and, whatever it is, that it concerns only a few. [8] As regards their number, if I shall say that there are many thousands of them, it cannot but be that you are terrified, unless I shall at once add to that who and of what sort they are. [9] First, then, a great part of them are women, and they are the source of this mischief; then there are men very like the women, debauched and debauchers, fanatical, with senses dulled by wakefulness, wine, noise and shouts at night. [10] The conspiracy thus far has no strength, but it has an immense source of strength in that they grow more numerous day by day. [11] Your ancestors did not wish that even you should assemble casually and without reason, except when the standard was displayed on the citadel and the army was assembled for an election, or the tribunes had announced a meeting of the plebeians, or some of the magistrates had called you to an informal gathering; and wherever there was a crowd collected they thought that there should also be a [p. 263] legal leader of the crowd. Of what sort do you think are, first, gatherings held by night, second, meetings of men and women in common? If you knew at what ages males were initiated, you would feel not only pity for them but also [13] shame. Do you think, citizens, that youths initiated by this oath should be made soldiers? That arms should be entrusted to men mustered from this foul [14] shrine? Will men debased by their own debauchery and that of others fight to the death on behalf of the chastity of your wives and children?”

- b. Exegesis: 1 Corinthians 11:5 But every woman who has her head uncovered while praying or prophesying disgraces her head, for she is one and the same as the woman whose head is shaved.
 - i. This text acknowledges the ongoing practice of women:
 - 1. Leading the corporate church through prayer.
 - 2. Leading the corporate church through the gift of prophecy.
 - ii. Furthermore, Johnson, citing Fiorenza, states, “Paul’s concern with veiling can thus be connected to the practices of ecstatic speech among women prophets in shrines such as that of Apollo at Delphi: the tossing of the unveiled and unbound hair by the enthused maiden was a notable feature of such prophecy.”⁷⁸
 - iii. In fact, based on 1 Corinthians 14:23, “Therefore if the whole church assembles together and all speak in tongues, and ungifted men or unbelievers enter, will they not say that you are mad?” Paul believed an assembly of glossolalists could be “mistaken for a séance of manic prophets, so he feared that women speaking ecstatically with unveiled or loose hair could be regarded as a manifestation of the Pythian spirit.”⁷⁹
 - iv. Thiselton indicates, “covered hair denotes *self-controlled sexuality*.” Furthermore, citing Hallpike, Thiselton “correlates the former with ‘undisciplined sexuality’ and the latter with ‘celibacy’ or ‘sexlessness.’”⁸⁰
- c. 1 Corinthians 11:10 Therefore the woman ought to have a symbol of authority on her head, because of the angels.
 - i. Johnson argues this restriction is probably an “allusion to the lust of the angels (1 Corinthians 11:10) [which] sexualizes women’s unveiled ecstatic speech.”⁸¹ Cf., protective measures based on Genesis 6:1-3.
- d. Conclusion:
 - i. According to Winter, the social changes that created a “new woman” in Roman culture spread to major Roman cities. This included government regulation of dress codes for women that included rulings on veils.⁸²

⁷⁸ Johnson, Luke Timothy. *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), p. 131.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 131-32. The Pythia, the name of the High Priestess of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi who also served as the oracle, commonly known as the Oracle of Delphi. The name Pythia is derived from Pytho, which in myth was the original name of Delphi. In etymology the Greeks derived this place name from the verb, πύθειν (púthein) "to rot," which refers to the sickly sweet smell of the decomposition of the body of the monstrous Python after she was slain by Apollo. Pythia was the House of Snakes. The Pythia was established at the latest in the 8th century BC, and was widely credited for her prophecies inspired by being filled by the spirit of the god (or enthusiasmos), in this case Apollo. The Pythian priestess emerged pre-eminent by the end of 7th century BC and would continue to be consulted until the 4th century AD. During this period the Delphic Oracle was the most prestigious and authoritative oracle among the Greeks, and she was without doubt the most powerful woman of the classical world. The oracle is one of the best-documented religious institutions of the classical Greeks. Authors who mention the oracle include Aeschylus, Aristotle, Clement of

Alexandria, Diodorus, Diogenes, Euripides, Herodotus, Julian, Justin, Livy, Lucan, Nepos, Ovid, Pausanias, Pindar, Plato, Plutarch, Sophocles, Strabo, Thucydides and Xenophon. Source:

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pythia>

⁸⁰ Thiselton, Anthony C. *The First Epistle to the Corinthians in The New International Greek Testament Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), p. 829, cf., R. Hallpike, “Social Hair,” 256-64.

⁸¹ Johnson, Luke Timothy. *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), p. 131.

⁸² Winter, Bruce W. *Roman Wives, Woman Widows: The Appearance of New Women and the Pauline Communities* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), p. 42.

- ii. Paul is instructing the Corinthian church to engage in practices that would bring order as a protective against confusion or disorder.
- 3. 1 Corinthians 14:34-36, “34 The women are to keep silent in the churches; for they are not permitted to speak, but are to subject themselves, just as the Law also says. 35 If they desire to learn anything, let them ask their own husbands at home; for it is improper for a woman to speak in church. 36 Was it from you that the word of God first went forth? Or has it come to you only? 34 Αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις σιγάτωσαν, οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπεται αὐταῖς λαλεῖν· ἀλλὰ ὑποτασσέσθωσαν, καθὼς καὶ ὁ νόμος λέγει. 35 εἰ δέ τι μαθεῖν θέλουσιν, ἐν οἴκῳ τοὺς ἰδίους ἄνδρας ἐπερωτάτωσαν, αἰσχρὸν γάρ ἐστιν γυναικὶ λαλεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. 36 ἢ ἂφ’ ὑμῶν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξῆλθεν, ἢ εἰς ὑμᾶς μόνους κατήντησεν;
 - a. Historical background:
 - i. Witherington argues that “during the time of the weighing [cf., 1 Corinthians 14:32-33] of the prophecies some women, probably married women, who themselves may have been prophetesses and thus entitled to weigh what was said, were asking questions, perhaps inappropriate questions, and the worship service was being disrupted. Paul urges in vv.34f. that Christian worship not be turned into a question-and-answer session.”⁸³
 - ii. See material on the gynocentric mystery religions.
 - iii. See material at 1 Timothy 2 below.
 - b. Exegesis:
 - i. The women are to keep silent in the churches; Αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις σιγάτωσαν,
 - 1. The verb, based on context, means either to stop speaking or to refrain from speaking.⁸⁴ With 1 Corinthians 11:5 in view, Paul’s insistence that a woman be silent alludes either to the *stopping* of speaking or “more probably to the possibility of sitting in judgment over prophetic speech which may come from their husbands.”⁸⁵ If Thiselton is correct, this accounts for Paul’s addressing married women.
 - ii. For they are not permitted to speak οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπεται αὐταῖς λαλεῖν·
 - 1. Fee argues the most commonly held view is that which sees the problem as “some form of disruptive speech”⁸⁶ that must not be permitted to continue.
 - iii. Let them ask their husbands at home ἐν οἴκῳ τοὺς ἰδίους ἄνδρας ἐπερωτάτωσαν
 - 1. Keener suggests Paul is issuing a corrective that “women should not ask ill-conceived questions during public lectures.” This is

⁸³ Witherington III, Ben. *Conflict and Community in Corinth: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 1995), p. 287.

⁸⁴ Thiselton, Anthony C. *The First Epistle to the Corinthians in The New International Greek Testament Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), p. 1152.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1152-53.

⁸⁶ Fee, Gordon D. *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), p. 703.

therefore, a “call to order in worship, not to the [silencing] of women.”⁸⁷

- iv. for it is improper for a woman to speak in church. αἰσχρὸν γάρ ἐστιν γυναικὶ λαλεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ.
 - 1. Improper/not proper αἰσχρός refers to that which is dishonorable.
- v. Was it from you that the word of God first went forth? Or has it come to you only? ἢ ἀφ’ ὑμῶν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξῆλθεν, ἢ εἰς ὑμᾶς μόνους κατήντησεν;
 - 1. Witherington states “It was a common rhetorical technique to end a discussion with rhetorical questions. The rhetorical questions in v.36 serve to anticipate future protests [cf., Quintilian *Inst. Or.* 9.2.15-16⁸⁸].”⁸⁹
- vi. Richard Hays summarizes the possible explanations of 1 Corinthians 14:34-36 and its command to silence women:
 - 1. The text does not “forbid women from exercising leadership or speaking in edifying ways to the community; rather, it forbids disruptive speech during the community’s worship.”⁹⁰
 - 2. The text “refers only to married women, whereas the women who are permitted to pray and prophesy (1 Corinthians 11:3-16) must be unmarried. Women who marry become subordinate to their husbands and should keep quiet (Fiorenza, 230-33).”⁹¹
 - 3. The text is an “interpolation,”⁹² not written by Paul but added to his letter by a later scribe or editor (Fee, 699-708).”⁹³
 - 4. The text is the “rhetorical and climatic goal of the entire letter” and reflects Paul’s negative reactions to the female prophets at Corinth (Wire, 135-158).⁹⁴

⁸⁷ Keener, Craig S. *Paul, Women, & Wives: Marriage and Women’s Ministry in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1992), p. 88.

⁸⁸ Quintilian *Inst. Or.* 9.2.15-16, “15 A different form of fictitious question is to be found in the pro Caelio. “Some one will say, ‘Is this your moral discipline? Is this the training you would give young men?’ ” with the whole passage that follows. Then comes his reply, “Gentlemen, if there were any man with such vigour of mind, with such innate virtue and self-control, etc. “A different method is to ask a question and not to wait for a reply, but to subjoin the reply at once yourself. For example, “Had you no house? Yes, you had one. Had you money and to spare? No, you were in actual want.” This is a figure which some call suggestion. 16 Again, a question may involve comparison, as, for instance, “Which of the two then could more easily assign a reason for his opinion?” There are other forms of question as well, some concise, some developed at greater length, some dealing with one thing only, others with several.” Source: http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Quintilian/Institutio_Oratoria/9B*.html#2

⁸⁹ Witherington III, Ben. *Conflict and Community in Corinth: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 1995), p. 288.

⁹⁰ Hays, Richard B. *The Moral Vision of the New Testament – Community, Cross, New Creation: A Contemporary Introduction to New Testament Ethics* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1996), p. 54.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁹² The word *interpolation* refers to a: to alter or corrupt (something, such as a text) by inserting new or foreign matter, b: to insert (words) into a text or into a conversation. Source: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/interpolate>.

⁹³ Hays, Richard B. *The Moral Vision of the New Testament – Community, Cross, New Creation: A Contemporary Introduction to New Testament Ethics* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1996), p. 54.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

- c. Conclusion:
 - i. It can be inferred from context and culture that Paul is *not* silencing women in general. Rather, he is specifically forbidding certain women from disrupting the community. In this sense, the principle becomes genderless. No male or female is allowed to disrupt the unity of the Body of Christ. Or, as Marshall states, “The point is to avoid conduct regarded as shameful in the church,”⁹⁵ turning from “faction and instability toward peace and unity.”⁹⁶ See 1 Clement 21:6-7.⁹⁷
 - ii. Verse 36, could be taken as a corrective to the hubris demonstrated by women who had converted from local mystery religions and brought their cultic tendencies into the church.
4. Philippians 4:2-3, 2 I urge Euodia (female)⁹⁸ and I urge Syntyche (female) to live in harmony in the Lord. 3 Indeed, true companion, I ask you also to help these women who have shared my struggle in *the cause of* the gospel, together with Clement also and the rest of my fellow workers, whose names are in the book of life.”
 - a. Historical background:
 - i. Hays indicates that the relatively egalitarian social structure of the Pauline communities made them particularly attractive to “upwardly mobile” urban women whose education or economic position (“achieved status”) exceeds their hereditary social position (“attributed status”).⁹⁹
 - b. Exegesis:
 - i. Fiorenza demonstrates Paul’s affirmation that women worked with him on an equal basis.¹⁰⁰ Phil 4:2-3 explicitly states that Euodia and Syntyche have “contended” side by side with him.¹⁰¹ As in an athletic race, these women have competed alongside Paul, Clement, and the rest of Paul’s co-missionaries in the cause of the gospel.¹⁰²

⁹⁵ Marshall, I. Howard. *New Testament Theology: Many Witnesses, One Gospel* (Downers Grove, InterVarsity Press, 2004), p. 263.

⁹⁶ Mitchell, Margaret M. *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1991), p. 174.

⁹⁷ The First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, translated by Charles H. Hoole, 1885. 21:6 Let us have respect to our Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood was given for us. Let us reverence them that are over us. Let us honour our elders. Let us instruct the young in the discipline of the fear of God. Let us direct our wives to that which is good; 7 let them show forth the lovely habit of chastity, and exhibit the pure disposition of meekness. Let them make manifest by their conversation the government of their tongues; let them show love, not according to partiality, but equally to all that fear the Lord in holiness.

⁹⁸ Paul’s use of Greek (Εὐδοίαν παρακαλῶ καὶ Συντύχην παρακαλῶ) indicates these women are in equal status of honor and power in the church(es) at Philippi. It is possible they are leaders who fell into competitive conflict and threatened the harmony and unity of the church(es). Also, Paul indicates they are functionally serving as “apostolic evangelists-gladicators” (ναὶ ἐρωτῶ καὶ σέ, γνήσιε σύζυγε, συλλαμβάνου αὐταῖς, αἵτινες ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ συνήθλησάν μοι μετὰ καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν συνεργῶν μου, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν βίβλῳ ζῶῃς.) in the work of the ministry.

⁹⁹ Hays, Richard B., *The Moral Vision of the New Testament – Community, Cross, New Creation: A Contemporary Introduction to New Testament Ethics* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1996), p. 53.

¹⁰⁰ Fiorenza, Elisabeth Schüssler. *In Memory of Her* (New York: Crossroad, 1994), p. 169.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 169-70.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 170, citing the work of W. D. Thomas, “The Place of Women in the Church at Philippi,” *Exp Tim* 83 (1972), p. 117-20.

- ii. Paul considers the authority of both women in the community at Philippi so great that he fears that their dissension could do serious damage to the Christian mission.¹⁰³
- iii. Hays suggests that these two women, though not explicitly described as leaders of the Philippian church, are given prominence that Paul accords them in this letter addressed to the whole congregation suggests that they are persons with an important role in the community.¹⁰⁴ Ray F. Robbins believes these women were deaconesses (cf., Related passage at Romans 16:1) who had been of great service in establishing the church.¹⁰⁵
- c. Conclusion:
 - i. I. H. Marshall suggests that these women were among the *episkopoi* to whom Paul felt a need to refer in the opening address in Phil 1:1.¹⁰⁶ Witherington concludes following the lead of M. Silva, that most likely...what we have here is not a personal quarrel...but rather a substantive division within the church leadership which from the very beginning consisted largely of faithful women.¹⁰⁷
 - ii. Although Paul's words point toward an apostolic and pastoral dynamic, the precise nature of their leadership status or official titles is unknown to us. However, whatever leadership and influence they did have, it had the potential to destroy or strengthen an entire church. Euodia and Syntyche were *not* low-status people in the Philippian church.
- 5. 1 Timothy 2:8-15, “8 Therefore I want the men in every place to pray, lifting up holy hands, without wrath and dissension. 9 Likewise, I want women to adorn themselves with proper clothing, modestly and discreetly, not with braided hair and gold or pearls or costly garments, 10 but rather by means of good works, as is proper for women making a claim to godliness. 11 A woman must quietly receive instruction with entire submissiveness. 12 But I do not allow a woman to teach or exercise authority over a man, but to remain quiet. 13 For it was Adam who was first created, and then Eve. 14 And it was not Adam who was deceived, but the woman being deceived, fell into transgression. 15 But women will be preserved through the bearing of children if they continue in faith and; love and sanctity with self-restraint.” 8 Βούλομαι οὖν προσεύχεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, ἐπαίροντας ὁσίους χειρας χωρὶς ὀργῆς καὶ διαλογισμοῦ. 9 ὡσαύτως καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς, μὴ ἐν πλέγμασιν καὶ χρυσίῳ ἢ μαργαρίταις ἢ ἱματισμῷ πολυτελεῖ, 10 ἀλλ’ ὃ πρέπει γυναῖξιν ἐπαγγελλομέναις θεοσεβείαν, δι’ ἔργων ἀγαθῶν. 11 γυνὴ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ μανθανέτω ἐν ἀσπὶ ὑποταγῇ· 12 διδάσκειν δὲ γυναικὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω, οὐδὲ αὐθεντεῖν ἄνδρός, ἀλλ’ εἶναι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ. 13 Ἀδὰμ γὰρ πρῶτος ἐπλάσθη, εἶτα Εὕα· 14 καὶ Ἀδὰμ οὐκ ἠπατήθη, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἐξαπατηθεῖσα ἐν παραβάσει γέγονεν. 15 σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας, ἐὰν μείνωσιν ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ καὶ ἀγιασμῷ μετὰ σωφροσύνης.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

¹⁰⁴ Hays, Richard B., *The Moral Vision of the New Testament – A Contemporary Introduction to New Testament Ethics* (New York: HarperCollins, 1996), p. 53.

¹⁰⁵ Robbins, Ray Frank. *Philippians: Rejoice in the Lord* (Nashville: Convention Press, 1980), p. 120.

¹⁰⁶ Witherington III, Ben. *Friendship and Finance at Philippi* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1994), p. 108, citing Marshall, *Philippians*, p. 108.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 108-09, citing M. Silva, *Philippians* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992), p. 221.

- a. Historical background:
 - i. Regarding the social impact of some mystery religions in the New Testament world, Gritz references an “ancient manuscript referring to the Mother Goddess (Isis) exclaimed, ‘Thou... gavest to women the same power as men.’ The mysteries, consequently, claimed the loyalty of many women.”¹⁰⁸
 - ii. Gritz demonstrates “The Phrygian Cybele became identified with the Greek goddess Artemis in Ephesus with its characteristic fusion of Eastern and Western religious ideas.”¹⁰⁹ “The Ephesian Artemis ‘united virginity, motherhood and queenship in one person.’ Isis further enriched her functions by making her the symbol of women’s liberation. [In fact], She exemplified the fulfillment of womanhood by motherhood without male assistance.”¹¹⁰
 - iii. The cult of Cybele was “violent, orgiastic, and ecstatic. Barbaric music and frenzied dances characterized the cultus like those of Dionysius. Self-mutilation by the lacerating of one’s arms and body occurred in the celebrations of the Goddess.”¹¹¹
 - iv. Citing Guthrie and Showerman, Gritz indicates the Cybele/Artemis cult featured “promiscuous sexual indulgence or ceremonial licentiousness [as a form/part] of the temple rites for this Mother Goddess.”¹¹²
- b. Exegesis: 12 But I do not allow a woman to teach or exercise authority over a man, but to remain quiet.
 - i. The phrase, “I do not allow” or “I do not permit” could be taken as a temporary ruling on the abuses that were taking place in the Ephesian church.¹¹³
 - ii. Gritz associates 2 Timothy 3:6-7 with the Ephesian women who were vulnerable to corrupting religious influences.¹¹⁴
 - iii. In addition, this verse implies that women were in fact teaching and that certain women teachers, in all likelihood, brought in cultic teaching and corruptions to the essential Christian kerygma, and Paul was impelled to address the problem harshly.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁸ Hogden Gritz, Sharon. *Paul, Women Teachers, and the Mother Goddess at Ephesus: A Study of 1 Timothy 2:9-15 in Light of the Religious and Cultural Milieu of the First Century* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1991), p. 35.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 36, Citing Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 2:480.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 39, citing Barth, *Traditions in Ephesus*, p. 16.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹¹³ Mounce, William D. *The Pastoral Epistles* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2000), p. 110. Mounce acknowledges this is one possible interpretation.

¹¹⁴ Cf., 2 Timothy 3:6-7, “6 For among them are those who enter into households and captivate weak women weighed down with sins, led on by various impulses, 7 always learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.”

¹¹⁵ Paul’s protective and passionate commitment to the purity of his gospel in Galatians 1:6-10, “6 I am amazed that you are so quickly deserting Him who called you by the grace of Christ, for a different gospel; 7 which is really not another; only there are some who are disturbing you and want to distort the gospel of Christ. 8 But even if we, or an angel from heaven, should preach to you a gospel contrary to what we have preached to you, he is to be accursed! 9 As we have said before, so I say again now, if any man is preaching to you a gospel contrary to what

- c. Conclusion:
 - i. “The prohibition of women in regards to teaching and exercising authority over men as expressed in 1 Timothy 2:9-16 resulted from the particular situation in the primitive Ephesian church, a situation complicated by pagan influences from the beliefs and practices of the cult of the Mother Goddess Artemis in Ephesus which had infiltrated the church through false teachers.”¹¹⁶
 - ii. Simply stated, Martin argues well that “Paul has no desire to silence women in the church or keep them from praying or prophesying publicly.”¹¹⁷
- 15. 2 John 1:1-3, 12-13, “1 The elder to the chosen lady and her children, whom I love in truth; and not only I, but also all who know the truth, 2 for the sake of the truth which abides in us and will be with us forever: 3 Grace, mercy *and* peace will be with us, from God the Father and from Jesus Christ, the Son of the Father, in truth and love.” And 2 John 1:12-13, 12 Though I have many things to write to you, I do not want to *do so* with paper and ink; but I hope to come to you and speak face to face, so that your joy may be made full. 13 The children of your chosen sister greet you.”
 - a. Exegesis:
 - i. Addressee: An Individual
 - 1. “The tenderness of the tone of this letter stamps it as a personal communication.”¹¹⁸
 - 2. Barnes argues the name Cyria was known to have been used by others in ancient times. In addition, the fact that the ancient Peshito Syriac and the Arabic versions of the New Testament translate the term as a proper name show that this is an ancient view accrediting this epistle to an individual.¹¹⁹
 - 3. Clement of Alexandria clearly states that the recipient is a certain Babylonian lady by the name of “Electra.”¹²⁰
 - 4. Raymond E. Brown notes the following who interpret this text as a female leader, e.g., Deissmann, de Wette, Ebrand, Harris, Lücke, and Ramsay.¹²¹
 - ii. Addressee: A Church
 - 1. I. Howard Marshall argues, the phrase “chosen lady and her children” is a metaphor, a personification of the church and its

you received, he is to be accursed!” 10 For am I now seeking the favor of men, or of God? Or am I striving to please men? If I were still trying to please men, I would not be a bond-servant of Christ.”

¹¹⁶ Hogden Gritz, Sharon. *Paul, Women Teachers, and the Mother Goddess at Ephesus: A Study of 1 Timothy 2:9-15 in Light of the Religious and Cultural Milieu of the First Century* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1991), p. 157.

¹¹⁷ Martin, Dale B. *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 199.

¹¹⁸ Everett, Gary. *The Epistle of 2 John*.

https://www.academia.edu/17894368/The_Epistle_of_2_John_2017_edition

¹¹⁹ Everett, Gary. *The Epistle of 2 John*.

¹²⁰ Everett, Gary. *The Epistle of 2 John*.

¹²¹ Brown, Raymond E. *The Epistles of John* (New York: Doublday, 1982), p. 652-55.

members. The language perhaps adumbrating the church as the bride of Jesus.¹²²

2. Marianne Meye Thompson agrees with Marshall stating, “The congregation to which he is writing is designated metaphorically as *the chosen lady and her children*; we would say ‘the church and its members.’”¹²³

b. Conclusion:

- i. Once again the problem of desiderata frustrates our need to have confidence in concluding if the “chosen lady” is in fact a female pastor or a euphemism for the church as the bride of Christ.
 - ii. It is with caution that I lean toward the “chosen lady” as referencing a female pastor. My position is based in part on the history background of Revelation 2:20 and the woman called Jezebel.
6. Revelation 2:18-29, “18 And to the angel of the church in Thyatira write: The Son of God, who has eyes like a flame of fire, and His feet are like burnished bronze, says this: 19 ‘I know your deeds, and your love and faith and service and perseverance, and that your deeds of late are greater than at first. 20 But I have this against you, that you tolerate the woman Jezebel, who calls herself a prophetess, and she teaches and leads My bond-servants astray so that they commit acts of immorality and eat things sacrificed to idols. 21 I gave her time to repent, and she does not want to repent of her immorality. 22 Behold, I will throw her on a bed of sickness, and those who commit adultery with her into great tribulation, unless they repent of her deeds. 23 And I will kill her children with pestilence, and all the churches will know that I am He who searches the minds and hearts; and I will give to each one of you according to your deeds. 24 But I say to you, the rest who are in Thyatira, who do not hold this teaching, who have not known the deep things of Satan, as they call them—I place no other burden on you. 25 Nevertheless what you have, hold fast until I come. 26 He who overcomes, and he who keeps My deeds until the end, to him I will give authority over the nations; 27 and he shall rule them with a rod of iron, as the vessels of the potter are broken to pieces, as I also have received authority from My Father; 28 and I will give him the morning star. 29 He who has an ear, let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches.” 18 Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐν Θυατείροις ἐκκλησίας γράψον· Τάδε λέγει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ ἔχων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ὡς φλόγα πυρός, καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ· 19 Οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα, καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν διακονίαν καὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν σου, καὶ τὰ ἔργα σου τὰ ἔσχατα πλεόνα τῶν πρώτων. 20 ἀλλὰ ἔχω κατὰ σοῦ ὅτι ἀφεῖς τὴν γυναῖκα Ἰεζάβελ, ἡ λέγουσα ἑαυτὴν προφῆτιν, καὶ διδάσκει καὶ πλανᾷ τοὺς ἐμοὺς δούλους πορνεῦσαι καὶ φαγεῖν εἰδωλόθυστα. 21 καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτῇ χρόνον ἵνα μετανοήσῃ, καὶ οὐ θέλει μετανοῆσαι ἐκ τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς. 22 ἰδοὺ βάλλω αὐτὴν εἰς κλίνην, καὶ τοὺς μοιχεύοντας μετ’ αὐτῆς εἰς θλίψιν μεγάλην, ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσωσιν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῆς· 23 καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς ἀποκτενῶ ἐν θανάτῳ· καὶ γνώσονται πᾶσαι αἱ ἐκκλησίαι ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἑραυνῶν νεφροὺς καὶ καρδίας, καὶ δώσω ὑμῖν ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν. 24 ὑμῖν δὲ λέγω τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς ἐν Θυατείροις, ὅσοι οὐκ ἔχουσιν τὴν διδαχὴν

¹²² Marshall, I. Howard. *The Epistles of John* in *The New International Commentary on the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), p. 60-61.

¹²³ Thompson, Marianne Meye. 1-3 John in *The IVP New Testament Commentary Series* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1992), p. 151.

ταύτην, οἵτινες οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὰ βαθέα τοῦ Σατανᾶ, ὡς λέγουσιν, οὐ βάλλω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἄλλο βάρος· 25 πλὴν ὃ ἔχετε κρατήσατε ἄχρι οὗ ἂν ἴξω. 26 καὶ ὁ νικῶν καὶ ὁ τηρῶν ἄχρι τέλους τὰ ἔργα μου, δώσω αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν, 27 καὶ ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ ὡς τὰ σκευὴ τὰ κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται, 28 ὡς κἀγὼ εἴληφα παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου, καὶ δώσω αὐτῷ τὸν ἀστέρα τὸν πρωϊνόν. 29 ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.

a. Historical background:

b. Exegesis:

i. Regarding the possible identifications for Jezebel, several proposals feature:

1. In view of the literary genre of Revelation and its obvious use of symbolism, we should not rule out the possibility the Jezebel is a symbolic figure.¹²⁴ Beale argues the possibility that the Jezebel reference may be directed toward only “one individual false teacher, who could be a woman.”¹²⁵ Cf., 2 John 1 and related arguments.
2. It is oddly conjectured that Lydia, the seller of purple (Acts 16:14-16) is identified as Jezebel, although there is “no substantial reason why we should identify the two.”¹²⁶
3. Aune states, Jezebel was possibly a patroness or hostess of one of the house churches that made up the Christian community at Thyatira who found herself in conflict with other Christian patrons, probably over an attempt to accommodate Christian practices to the surrounding culture by justifying the eating of meat offered to idols.”¹²⁷
4. Citing Schürer, Mounce indicates Jezebel may be Sibyl Sambathe, “whose sanctuary was outside the walls of the city and apparently in existence at the time of Revelation.”¹²⁸ Mounce posits this view is untenable since religious syncretism would have scarcely “infected the church to the point that a Sibylline priestess could also function so effectively within the church itself.”¹²⁹
5. Comporting with George E. Ladd, who identifies Jezebel as a female leader in the church,¹³⁰ Robert Mounce argues Jezebel is a real woman, “probably some prominent woman within the church who, like her OT counterpart, was influencing the people of God to forsake loyalty to God by promoting a tolerance toward and involvement in pagan practices. This extended to sexual

¹²⁴ Schürer, Von Emil *Die Prophetin Isabel in Thyatira, Offenb. Joh 2:20, Theologische Abhandlungen* (Freiberg I. B.: J. B. C. Mohr, 1892), p. 40.

¹²⁵ Beale, G. K. *The Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), p. 260.

¹²⁶ Mounce, Robert H. *The Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), p. 86-87.

¹²⁷ Aune, David E. *Revelation 1-5* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1997), p. 203.

¹²⁸ Mounce, Robert H. *The Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), p. 87, cf., Von Emil Schürer *Die Prophetin Isabel in Thyatira, Offenb. Joh 2:20, Theologische Abhandlungen* (Freiberg I. B.: J. B. C. Mohr, 1892), 39-40.

¹²⁹ Mounce, Robert H. *The Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), p. 87.

¹³⁰ Ladd, George Eldon. *A Commentary of the Revelation of John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), p. 51.

immorality and participation in the religious feasts connected with membership in trade guilds.”¹³¹ Witherington states, Jezebel is a woman leading [the church at Thyatira] astray into idolatry and immorality, just like the ancient queen of Israel (see 1 Kings 18-19; 2 Kings 9:22).¹³²

6. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza associates this female prophetess with the Nicolaitans who were an integral part of the churches in Thyatira and Pergamum.¹³³

ii. It is possible the author of Revelation is shaming the pastor of the church at Thyatira by personifying him as a woman and giving him the name of Jezebel.

7. Conclusion:

- a. It is historically plausible that Jezebel is a woman in significant leadership in the church(es) in Thyatira. Her leadership included teaching, prophesying and possibly patronage.
- b. Identifying Jezebel as a female is both plausible and arguable when understood in historical context. In this case, this text represents another compelling example of a female in significant leadership in the New Testament specifically identifying this leadership in the context of teaching and prophesying.

CONCLUSION

1. Regarding the spiritual giftedness and leadership ability of women, Andrea C. Lowry asks, “Does it honor God and the body of Christ to assume that God has not given women anything to say for the upbuilding of the body? Does it honor God and the body of Christ if a woman is given words to speak from God and yet she refrains from sharing?”¹³⁴ Both questions demand *no* for an answer.
2. Osiek, MacDonald, and Tulloch, indicate, “The married woman, the Roman *matrona*, had a surprising amount of authority and autonomy in her own household, and this social reality predates the Christian era.”¹³⁵ The New Testament gives strong evidence that Christian women were empowered and honored in positions of leadership which included speech-based gifts. Ben Witherington argues John 19:25-27, reveals “the new equality of male and female disciples beneath the cross of Jesus.”¹³⁶

¹³¹ Mounce, Robert H. *The Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), p. 87.

¹³² Witherington III, Ben. *Revelation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 104.

¹³³ Schüssler Fiorenza, Elisabeth. *The Book of Revelation: Justice and Judgment* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), p. 116.

¹³⁴ Lowry, Andrea C. *Paul’s Advice to Women in Worship: An Understanding Informed by the Cultural Contexts of Honor and Kinship*, 2013, p. 22.

¹³⁵ Osiek, Carolyn, Margaret Y. MacDonald, and Janet H. Tulloch. *A Woman’s Place: House Churches in Earliest Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), p. 144.

¹³⁶ Witherington III, Ben. *Women in the Ministry of Jesus: A Study of Jesus’ Attitudes to Women and their Roles as Reflected in His Earthly Life in the Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 123. See John 19:25-27, “²⁵ Therefore the soldiers did these things. But standing by the cross of Jesus were His mother, and His mother’s sister, Mary the wife of Clopas, and Mary Magdalene.²⁶ When Jesus then saw His mother, and the disciple whom He loved standing nearby, He *said to His mother, “Woman, behold, your son!” ²⁷ Then He *said to the disciple, “Behold, your mother!” From that hour the disciple took her into his own household.”

3. The historical background to the texts prohibiting women from speaking in the congregation are based on the abuses associated with Corinthian and Ephesian Christians participation in ecstatic speech as per “dishevelled hair and head thrown back...typical for the maenads in the cult of Dionysius... Cybele, the Pythia at Delphia...in the worship of Isis.”¹³⁷
4. Even when the principle texts in question, i.e., 1 Corinthians 14:34-36 and 1 Timothy 2:8-15, are researched well, there are still desiderata and a resulting near Gordian knot. There will be tension in one’s effort to interpret the texts resulting in a satisfactory resolution.¹³⁸ These texts must be interpreted in view of the greater social context of Paul’s churches. For example, “There are some nineteen inscriptions from *ca.* 27 B.C. through the sixth century A. D. in which women bear such titles as ἀρκισυνάγωγος and ἀρκισυναγωγίσσα, “head of the synagogue,” ἱέρισσα, “priestess,” μήτηρσυνάγωγῆς, “mother of the synagogue,” πρεσβυτέρα, “elder,” and προστάτης and ἀρκήγισσα, “leader.”¹³⁹ It is irresponsible to ignore the historical realities of women involved in ministry.
5. Therefore, one may conclude Paul is not *forbidding* women to speak or lead in church. To assume this creates a far more significant problem by way of direction contradiction of 1 Corinthians 11:5; etc. Rather, these texts must be understood and applied in principle form and not as transcultural-supracultural absolutes. To understand these texts in principle form means to acknowledge that no one, regardless of gender, is allowed to disrupt and upset the body of Christ for adiaphoric reasons. Each member of the body of Christ must flesh out that which makes for peace and righteousness, cf., Romans 14:13-19.¹⁴⁰
6. Scriptural evidence for women in positions of leadership and influence in the New Testament:
 - a. Food Service: Simon’s mother-in-law (Luke 4:39); Martha and Mary (Luke 10:38-42).
 - b. Financial Benefactors:¹⁴¹ Mary Magdalene, Joanna the wife of Chuza,¹⁴² Susanna, Lydia and many others (Luke 8:1-3; Acts 16:14-15).

¹³⁷ Thiselton, Anthony C. *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* in *The New International Greek Testament Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), p. 830, citing E. Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad and London: SCM, 1983), p. 230, cf., 226-30.

¹³⁸ deSilva, David A. *Honor, Patronage, Kinship, and Purity: Unlocking New Testament Culture* (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2000), p. 231.

¹³⁹ Aune, David E. *Revelation 1-5* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1997), p. 203, citing Cohen (*Conservative Judaism* 34 [1980], p. 25-26).

¹⁴⁰ “¹³ Therefore let us not judge one another anymore, but rather determine this—not to put an obstacle or a stumbling block in a brother’s way. ¹⁴ I know and am convinced in the Lord Jesus that nothing is unclean in itself; but to him who thinks anything to be unclean, to him it is unclean. ¹⁵ For if because of food your brother is hurt, you are no longer walking according to love. Do not destroy with your food him for whom Christ died. ¹⁶ Therefore do not let what is for you a good thing be spoken of as evil; ¹⁷ for the kingdom of God is not eating and drinking, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit. ¹⁸ For he who in this way serves Christ is acceptable to God and approved by men. ¹⁹ So then we pursue the things which make for peace and the building up of one another.”

¹⁴¹ It is a cultural reality that patrons or benefactors also given authority and official capacities.

¹⁴² Chuza was probably a Nabataen and served as Herod Antipas’s house steward.

- c. Resurrection Witnesses: Mary Magdalene, Joanna,¹⁴³ Mary the mother of James; Salome, and the other women (Matthew 28:1; Mark 15:47-16:1; Luke 24:10; John 20:1).
 - d. Disciple: Tabitha (Acts 9:36-42).
 - e. Deaconess: Phoebe (Romans 16:1-2) and possibly Euodia and Syntyche, (Philippians 4:2).
 - f. Apostle: Junia (Romans 16:7), cf., a high ranking apostle who possibly met in part, the apostolic criteria of Acts 1.¹⁴⁴ Although Mathew, citing Epp, states, “There is no evidence that they witnessed the resurrected Jesus.”¹⁴⁵
 - g. Administrator/overseer (?): Chloe (1 Corinthians 1:11).
 - h. Prophetess: Women of Corinth (1 Corinthians 11:5).
 - i. Pastors/Patron (?): Priscilla, Euodia, Syntyche, The Elect Lady (1 Corinthians 16:19; Philippians 4:2; and possibly cf., 2 John 1:1-3, 12-13).¹⁴⁶
 - j. Teacher(s): Priscilla and the “Jezebel” (Acts 18:26; Revelation 2:20).¹⁴⁷
7. Is there explicit Biblical evidence that Jesus, Paul, James, Peter, etc., selected, appointed, commissioned, and endorsed females for leadership positions?
 - a. The answer is yes. However, the evidence is limited to Paul, e.g., Phoebe, Junia, Euodia, and Syntyche.
 - b. Ironically, it is Paul, the one who endorses and empowers women to serve the body of Christ who is most blamed for failing to do so.
 8. There is explicit evidence that the ratio of males to females in leaderships profoundly points to male dominance. This in no way should surprise nor offend us since the Greco-Roman world was clearly androcentric. This observation raises an important aspect of hermeneutics; what is the appropriate interpretive response to the descriptive text in contrast to the prescriptive text of God’s Word? For example, does the evidence of male dominance in leadership *prove* that women *shouldn’t be* involved in positions of leadership, or, does it prove the cultural realities of their world? If there answer is the former, then the essential scholarly disciplines of hermeneutics immediately collapse. In this sense, necessary interpretive boundaries no longer apply. If it is the later, then Paul is seen as a change agent, as someone advocating and supporting women in ministry. I conclude the later is in fact the case.
 9. The influence of Phoebe and Junia remains unquestioned.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ Lynn H. Cohick discusses with some detail the possibility that Joanna and Junia are the same person. This is of course implausible unless Chuza had died. See Lynn H. Cohick, *Women in the World of the Earliest Christians: Illuminating Ancient Ways of Life* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2009), p. 314-16.

¹⁴⁴ Cf., Acts 1:21-26, “²¹Therefore it is necessary that of the men who have accompanied us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us—²²beginning with the baptism of John until the day that He was taken up from us—one of these *must* become a witness with us of His resurrection.”²³ So they put forward two men, Joseph called Barsabbas (who was also called Justus), and Matthias.²⁴ And they prayed and said, “You, Lord, who know the hearts of all men, show which one of these two You have chosen²⁵ to occupy this ministry and apostleship from which Judas turned aside to go to his own place.”²⁶ And they drew lots for them, and the lot fell to Matthias; and he was added to the eleven apostles.” Cf., the wider semantic range of the term ἀπόστολος.

¹⁴⁵ Mathew, Susan. *Women in the Greetings of Romans 16:1-16: A Study of Mutuality and Women’s Ministry in the Letter to the Romans* (London: Bloomsbury: T&T Clark, 2013), p. 8. By “they” we mean both Andronicus and Junia.

¹⁴⁶ I acknowledge the limited evidence and present this cautiously.

¹⁴⁷ Cohick, Lynn H. *Women in the World of the Earliest Christians: Illuminating Ancient Ways of Life* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2009), p. 217. Lynn states, “this ‘Jezebel’ could be a historical woman.”

10. Finally, what is the response of the body of Christ today?

- a. As the body of Christ today, we must believe the same Holy Spirit who abides in born again males, abides in born again females.
- b. The Holy Spirit is no respecter of gender, cf., Genesis 1:27; Joel 2:28 (daughters will speak prophetically).
- c. Women have the opportunity to be obedient with their spiritual gifting and their Spirit-inspired words for the body of Christ, just as males do. This includes the gifting and ministry of the prophecy, the gift Paul desired all to have (cf., 1 Corinthians 14:5).
- d. Comporting with the way the strong and weak learned to properly relate to one another over a vegetable diet verses eating meat or drinking wine, these same principles of grace, love and truth-telling must be applied to the woman who is afraid to speak in church and to the man who believes he is superior to women by virtue of his gender or a faulty reading of scripture. Both need biblical education and the development of the fruit of the Holy Spirit.
- e. Paul appeals to the order of creation as a means of establishing order and harmony and not for the purpose of presenting one gender as superior to another. It is based on the principles of unity and harmony (cf., 1 Corinthians 14:33, “For God is not a God of confusion but of peace) applied to worship and relationships in church.

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