

Women in the Authentic Letters of Paul

Nina E. Livesey

Paul's reputation for treating women as equals is not good. A fair number of Pauline scholars—those with more than just a cursory knowledge of his letters—argue that Paul subordinates women to men.¹ While these scholars acknowledge that Paul cites several women leaders, passages such as 1 Cor 14:33b–36, and in particular 1 Cor 11:3–16, convince them that in the end Paul exhibits signs of patriarchy similar to other males of his time.

Often Paul's stance with regard to women is conflated with later and pseudo-Pauline writings such as 1 Timothy, Colossians, and Ephesians in which there are clear instances of male superiority or patriarchy (1 Tim 2:9–15; Col 3:18–19; Eph 5:22–24, 33),² and also with the book of Acts (e.g., Acts 18). Yet even when assessing Paul on women exclusively from his seven authentic letters,³ his equal regard of women and men comes into view only partially and with difficulty. Not only does the history of the interpretation influence one's own evaluation, but also in some cases the authentic letters themselves are unreliable. As I indicate below, beginning as early as the second-century, scribes added entire passages that have Paul silencing and subordinating women to men. These intentional modifications to the Greek texts have not only greatly contributed to Paul's poor reputation with regard to his equal treatment of women but also have made him appear untrustworthy and self-contradictory on this subject.

My goal with this essay is not to make Paul into an exemplary figure on women's equality, turning him into someone who stands well above the throng

1. See Castelli, "Paul on Women and Gender," 228–29; MacDonald, "Reading Real Women," 215–16. Added to that, some of these same modern Pauline scholars, already assuming that Paul subordinates women, find instances in which Paul formulates his arguments in ways that appear to esteem men more highly than women. See, e.g., Marchal, *Politics of Heaven*, 53, passim. According to Marchal, Paul employs distinctly male language and requires conformity to male models like himself (85). Along these same lines, Elizabeth Castelli maintains that with his call to "be imitators of me," Paul constructs "the early communities with a hierarchical 'economy of sameness,' the structuring of thought and social life around the uniquely valued concept of *identity*." Castelli, *Imitating Paul*, 17 (italics, the author's).

2. On this point, see Furnish, *The Moral Teachings*, 97–102.

3. Most recent studies of Paul assess that he wrote seven of the thirteen canonical letters attributed to him. These letters are 1 Thessalonians, Galatians, 1–2 Corinthians, Philemon, Philippians, and Romans. On this issue, see especially Dewey et al., *The Authentic Letters of Paul*; Roetznel, *The Letters of Paul*, 85–126, 141–66.

of other males of his time, but instead to unearth as much as possible concerning his own treatment of women and to bring greater clarity to this issue. I argue this based on a preponderance of evidence about women within Paul's writings and by exposing as much as possible the long history of textual emendations within these writings. Paul becomes inconsistent and far less egalitarian toward women due to these later scribal emendations; they serve to bring him under a patriarchal system. Paul himself makes no rulings and offers no judgments against women leaders. To the contrary, he speaks of being dependent on women as well as on other men.

Paul's characterization of the status and role of women is even-handed and positive. Without qualifying his remarks, he names several women as leaders, one an apostle and another a deacon. The apostle Junia assumed that role prior to Paul's attainment of it, and Phoebe was *his* leader. According to Paul, women and men worked together to advance the "world-transforming message;"⁴ women like men risked their lives for the cause of this message and to safeguard Paul. Women and men had equal conjugal rights and equal influence and responsibilities toward their spouse. In contrast to Roman law, which ruled in favor of marriage regardless of the circumstances surrounding it, Paul counseled single women (and men) to remain unmarried, if so desired. Below, I discuss the status and the role of many women Paul knows and refers to and often by name, interpret two Pauline passages that deal specifically with women, and in a final section interpret two passages that are best assessed as non-Pauline interpolations, passages that when viewed as Paul's own writings only serve to confuse and reverse his otherwise positive assessment of women as full and equal members and leaders of his early communities of Jesus followers.

The Women Paul Knew

Paul refers to just over a dozen women either explicitly by name or by association with some other named person. There would have been no need to mention these women were they not in some way strategic to his mission. The number and location of the women within Romans 16 provides an indication of their importance.⁵ Of the twenty-five individuals greeted by name in Rom 16:1–16, eight or slightly less than one-third are women. Females are the first two names listed. Among the first seven names, four are female. Paul names three women together with their male companions, likely spouses, Prisca and Aquila (Rom 16:3), Andronikos and Junia (Rom 16:7), and Philologos and Julia (Rom 16:15). He lists two other unnamed women along with a named male, Rufus, and his mother (Rom 16:13) and the sister of Nereus (Rom 16:15). Yet Paul also refers

4. For this term, see Dewey et al., *The Authentic Letters of Paul*, 21, 205–6, *passim*.

5. This final chapter of Romans was itself likely a separate letter that accompanied the larger one (Romans 1–15). Dewey et al., *The Authentic Letters of Paul*, 200.

to women without reference to a man, indicating that women functioned on their own for the mission and/or to further the message. These women include Phoebe, who heads the list of names in Romans 16 (v. 1),⁶ Miriam⁷ or Mary (Rom 16:6), Tryphaina and Tryphosa (Rom 16:12), most likely sisters,⁸ and Persis (Rom 16:12). In addition to this larger cluster of women, Paul elsewhere refers to Chloe and those who belong to her (1 Cor 1:11), Apphia, the sister⁹ of Philemon (Phlm 1b–2), and Euodia and Syntyche (Phil 4:2–3).

Junia: A Female Apostle

Paul refers to Junia and Andronicus as ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις (“out-standing¹⁰ or notable among the apostles”; Rom 16:7). The two were Jews like Paul (συγγενεῖς),¹¹ “fellow prisoners” with Paul (συναιχμαλώτους), and associated with or in the Anointed prior to him (πρὸ ἐμοῦ γέγοναν ἐν Χριστῷ). Given that Paul’s primary self-designation is “apostle” (Rom 1:1; 11:13; 1 Cor 1:1; 2 Cor 1:1; Gal 1:1), this title designated for Junia already provides a strong indication of Paul’s acknowledgment of the high status of women. In the case of Paul, the title “apostle” (ἀπόστολος) gives him authority and justifies his mission. The root meaning of ἀπόστολος is a person who is sent, a messenger, but its religious meaning is “messenger from God.”¹²

Karl Rengstorf (*TDNT*) fully explored this term and its various meanings within ancient Greek writings. According to him, the term ἀπόστολος is almost non-existent in Hebrew scripture¹³ and its meanings within the New Testament are distinct from classical and Hellenistic Greek thought, as well as from Cynic and Stoic philosophy. According to Rengstorf, Paul breathes new life into the term, regards it highly (see 1 Cor 12:28), and attributes various and significant

6. The SV translators Dewey et al. understand Rom 16:1–23 as a separate letter of recommendation for Phoebe. Other Pauline scholars have argued that Romans 16 circulated separately and was destined not to Rome but to Ephesus. See the discussion in Whelan, “Amica Pauli,” 72. By contrast, Robert Jewett understands Romans 16 as the concluding section/chapter of the larger letter, the *peroratio*. Jewett, *Romans*, 941. For the purposes of this paper, I am following the SV translators and assuming that Rom 16:1–23 was a separate letter and intended for a Roman audience.

7. Robert Jewett remarks that the textual evidence is evenly divided between Μαρίαν and Μαριάμ. He favors the latter and reports that Miriam was likely a Jewish convert from Rome and “one of the earliest members of the church at Rome.” According to him, the church’s organization was due to her influence. Jewett, *Romans*, 961.

8. Jewett, *Romans*, 968.

9. According to Victor Furnish, it is unlikely that Apphia was Philemon’s wife because Paul addresses her as “the sister.” Furnish, *The Moral Teachings*, 123.

10. This is Jewett’s preferred translation of ἐπίσημοι. Chrysostom writes, “Even to be an apostle is great, but also to be prominent among them—consider how wonderful a song of honor that is!” Jewett, *Romans*, 963.

11. On this point, see Jewett, *Romans*, 962.

12. *LSJ* 220.

13. The Greek noun ἀπόστολος occurs only once in the LXX (Aquila and Symmachus) at 1 Kgs 14:6. In that verse, the prophet Ahijah is sent to the wife of King Jeroboam regarding the fate of her sick son. K Rengstorf, “ἀπόστολος,” *TDNT* 1.413.

meanings to it.¹⁴ With regard to the term “apostle” and Paul’s employment of it, Rengstorf found four primary meanings.

In the first place, an apostle is someone sent and commissioned by God. Paul justifies his mission based on his self-identification as being God-commissioned (see especially Gal 1:1; 1 Cor 1:1; 2 Cor 1:1; Rom 1:1). Thus, due to his sense of apostolic mission, Paul “integrates himself into the world plan of God as a significant and indispensable member; his indispensability derives not from himself, but from God (1 Cor 3:5).”¹⁵ Furthermore, employing his status as an apostle, Paul makes demands on others (see 1 Thess 2:7).

In the second place, an apostle can be commissioned by a gathering of the faithful. By taking the collection to Jerusalem, Titus and Paul function in this capacity (see 2 Cor 8:23). In that the Philippians sent Epaphroditus to Paul (Phil 2:25), he too functioned as one commissioned by a gathering.¹⁶

In the third, apostles are “bearers of the NT message.”¹⁷ Yet here Rengstorf’s interpretation suffers from the influence of Acts and from his own prejudice against the notion of women apostles. While Rengstorf remarks that unlike the Lukan author, who referred to a closed circle of twelve males (Acts 15; 16; cf. Acts 1:13, 26), Paul does not limit the number of apostles to twelve.¹⁸ Yet he, and like the author of Acts, does assess that only men were apostles. Rengstorf understands the name “Junia” in Rom 16:7 to be “Junias,” a male name. He writes, “It [apostle] always denotes a *man* who is sent, and sent with full authority.”¹⁹ This third definition also requires some refinement with respect to its breath: Paul does more than simply “bear the message;” he proclaims it. Rengstorf’s amplification of this definition comes later in his article, when he remarks that Paul functioned as a prophet.²⁰

In the fourth, being an apostle means having had the experience of the risen Jesus (1 Cor 9:1).²¹ According to Rengstorf, this implies that such persons had an “apostolic consciousness.”²² According to Paul, the risen Jesus appeared first to Cephas, next to the twelve, then to more than five hundred “brothers” (ἀδελφοίς), then to James and “to all the apostles” (τοῖς ἀπόστολοις πᾶσιν)

14. Rengstorf, *TDNT* 1.420–23, 437–43.

15. Rengstorf, *TDNT* 1.438–39.

16. Rengstorf, *TDNT* 1.422.

17. Rengstorf, *TDNT* 1.422.

18. On this point, see Schüssler Fiorenza, “The Apostleship of Women,” 136. Schüssler Fiorenza remarks, “[T]he Pauline texts also indicate that many more apostles existed in early Christianity than we now know by name.”

19. See Rengstorf, *TDNT* 1.422 n. 93. Italics are my own.

20. See Rengstorf, *TDNT* 1.441.

21. Rengstorf, *TDNT* 1.423; Brooten, “Junia,” 143.

22. Rengstorf, *TDNT* 1.438. According to Rengstorf, Paul recognized that God called him and that he is now part of God’s mission (Rom 1:1; Gal 1:15).

and finally to Paul himself (1 Cor 15:5–9). Thus, according to Paul, there were certainly more than twelve apostles, and while the five hundred are specified as male (brothers), the term “all the apostles” lacks an explicit gender specification.

Apart from these definitions, Paul also speaks of an apostle as someone “condemned to death” (ἐπιθανάτιος; 1 Cor 4:9). While it is difficult to know whether or not Junia and Andronicus faced death, Paul mentions they were his “fellow prisoners” (συναιχμαλώτους μου; Rom 16:7).²³

Based on this assessment of the term, some general conclusions can be made with regard to Paul’s understanding of an apostle and how it pertains in the case of Junia. As an apostle, Junia held the highest among Paul’s list of religious rankings; and she like Paul and others would have been considered God-commissioned or God-appointed. Furthermore, Junia was likely among those who had a vision of the risen Jesus.²⁴ While there is no mention that Junia was commissioned by a gathering, one can nevertheless assume that she proclaimed the message and likely did so prior to Paul, as Paul mentions that she and Andronicus were “in” the Anointed before he was (πρὸ ἐμοῦ γέγοναν ἐν Χριστῷ). Furthermore, her appointment involved risks, as is evident by her imprisonment.

Due to prejudice and blatant deceit, Paul’s reference to a female apostle was very nearly lost.²⁵ Accordingly, in the late medieval period and then more recently in the early twentieth century, incredulous and/or opposed to the existence of a female apostle, authors and editors responsible for developing Greek editions of the NT changed the accent mark on the accusative form of the proper name in Rom 16:7 from an acute (Ἰουνιάν) to a circumflex (Ἰουνιάων). In so doing, they changed from a female-designated name (Junia) and created what they believed to be a male one (Junias). The 1927 alteration to Ἰουνιάων can be observed in the Nestle^{13–21}, the Nestle-Aland^{22–27} (4th printing 1996) and in the GNT^{1–4} (2nd printing 1994). The name is only changed back to a female-designated one in the late 1990s, and can be observed in its corrected form (Ἰουνιάων) in the Nestle-Aland²⁷ (5th printing 1998) and in the GNT⁴ (3rd printing 1998).²⁶ Those adopting the name Junias reasoned it was derived from the Greek male name Ἰουνιάς, -ᾶ, ὁ or Ἰουνίας, -α, ὁ. Yet these editors failed to verify whether or not the ancient male name Junias ever existed. To date, there are no extant

23. As Robert Jewett writes, as in Phlm 23, here too Paul refers to a joint imprisonment between Andronicus, Junia, and Paul. Jewett, *Romans*, 962.

24. Bernadette Brooten remarks that Paul must have recognized the experience of the risen Jesus in those whom he called “apostles.” See Brooten, “Junia,” 143.

25. Even recent scholars appear to be unaware that Paul names a woman an apostle. See Corley, *Maranatha*, 130.

26. On these issues, see Jewett, *Romans*, 950 n. h.

inscriptions of this name nor is there textual evidence for it.²⁷ As Eldon Epp explains, the name Junias would have been a contracted form of either Ἰουνιανός in Greek or of *Iunianus* in Latin. However, there is no evidence that either of those longer Greek and Latin names ever had a contracted form Junias.²⁸ The feminine accusative singular Ἰουνίαν from the feminine name Ἰουνία, -ας, ἡ is the correct reading, attested in every Greek NT, with the exception of Alford (1862) and some early medieval minuscules, since Erasmus (1516) and up until 1927. The feminine form also occurs in all extant early translations, Old Latin, Vulgate, Sahidic and Bohairic Coptic, and Syriac.²⁹ While the name Junia appears in the most recent editions of the Greek NT, such was not the case less than two decades ago. This history merits retelling because it is an example of one among many instances of the denial of the notion of female leaders. This and similar types of tampering with Greek passages on the subject of Paul and women play a significant role to confuse the issue of Paul's treatment of women, and to diminish the reputation of Paul on the subject of women's equality.

Phoebe: A Female Deacon and Leader

Phoebe is another woman Paul knows and names. He refers to her as a fellow sister, a "deacon" (διάκονον) of the gathering in Kenchreia, and a "leader" (προστάτις) of many including Paul himself. Phoebe was likely also the bearer of Paul's letter to the Romans (Rom 16:1–2).³⁰ And as Robert Jewett remarks, a letter bearer did more than simply declaim the written words. "Ancient epistolary practice would . . . assume that the recommendation of Phoebe was related to her task of conveying and interpreting the letter in Rome as well as in carrying out the business entailed in the letter."³¹ Thus, based on Jewett's understanding of the ancient function of the letter bearer, one can assume that Phoebe could read Greek and interpret the text to its hearers. She functioned, then, not unlike later rabbis.

27. Jewett, *Romans*, 24, 44. Bernadette Brooten carried out the investigation of the inscriptions, and, as mentioned, she found no evidence of the name "Junias." Furthermore, exegetes from ancient and medieval times, including Origen, John Chrysostom, Jerome, Hatto of Vercelli, Theophylact, and Peter Abelard understood the name to be feminine. Aegidius of Rome (1245–1316), however, and for no apparent reason, took the name to be masculine. While Aegidius seems to be the one who got the ball rolling in the male-oriented direction, Martin Luther's commentary on Romans kept it spinning. Luther followed Faber Stapulensis' commentary, which took the accusative form of the Greek name to be "Junias" (masculine). See Brooten, "Junia," 141–43.

28. See Epp, *Junia*, 40–44.

29. Epp, *Junia*, 23–24.

30. L. Michael White remarks that the one delegated to carry the letter would have been one of Paul's "most trusted co-workers." White, *From Jesus to Christianity*, 211. According to these SV translators, Romans 16 appears to be a recommendation of Phoebe. See Dewey et al., *The Authentic Letters of Paul*, 251.

31. Jewett, *Romans*, 943.

In ancient sources a διάκονος is either a “servant,” “messenger,” or an “attendant or official in a temple or religious guild.”³² The feminine noun διακονία means “service” or “business,” or “attendance on a duty, ministry,” and the verb διακονέω means “to wait on” or “to serve: to furnish, supply.” The earliest Greek attestations of the verb indicate the sense of “to wait at table,”³³ or more simply “to serve.”³⁴

Like its ancient counterpart, the modern English word “deacon” denotes a male religious official who serves other officials of higher rank. The OED, for example, defines a deacon as “a subordinate officer in a Christian church.”³⁵ In the modern sense, a woman would not be a deacon but instead a deaconess, and like her male counterpart, she too would be in the role of an assistant, reporting to someone of higher rank within a religious organization.³⁶ Although Paul lived and was active *prior* to the establishment of church offices and rankings, this modern sense of a subordinate to a higher religious official within an institutional religious community often governs how Pauline interpreters understand the meaning of deacon. For instance, Andrew Clarke remarks that a “more menial connotation” of the term διάκονος is “fundamental to Paul’s understanding of ministry.”³⁷ C. E. B. Cranfield writes that a deacon is a person concerned with the “practical service to the needy.” And, according to Cranfield, a deacon implies a church office.³⁸

Paul’s use of this term, however, differs from these modern and ancient meanings and provides little or no indication of a rank designation beneath someone in higher authority. In many cases, the person identified as a διάκονος (“deacon”) or who does the work of διακονία (“service or ministry”) reports directly to God and not to anyone else. As was the case with ἀπόστολος, Paul infuses διακον words with power and authority. And unlike the modern sense

32. *LSJ* 398.

33. As mentioned in Aristophanes (ca. 446 BCE–ca. 386 BCE), *Ach.*, 1015ff. Hermann Beyer, “διακονέω, διακονία, διάκονος,” *TDNT* 2.82. According to Dennis E. Smith, slave servants would greet guests at the door, lead them to the dining hall; other servants removed guests’ shoes and washed their feet. Once in the hall, other slave servants brought water for washing the guests’ hands. Slave servants delivered the food by transporting it on tables or trays. Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 27–28.

34. Beyer, *TDNT* 2.82. *LSJ* mentions the meaning “rendering service,” which can also mean rendering service to a god (398).

35. This is true for the Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Congregational churches. A deacon is also defined as a cleric, “who acts as principal assistant at a solemn celebration of the Eucharist.” “deacon, n. 1,” OED Online, March 2014, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/47603> (accessed May 21, 2014).

36. “deaconess, n. 1,” OED Online, March 2014, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/47607?redirectedFrom=deaconess> (accessed May 22, 2014).

37. Clarke, “Jew and Greek,” 115–16.

38. According to Cranfield, it is quite natural to understand the term διάκονος as referring to a particular office. *Epistle to the Romans*, 2.781.

of the word “deacon,” in Paul’s writings there is no indication of a church office associated with this function.

Persons to whom Paul associates this term do not undergo a loss of agency and status, but instead experience a rise in these personal attributes. Very often the noun διακονία (Rom 11:13; 2 Cor 3:9; 4:1; 5:18; 6:3; 11:8), the title διάκονος (1 Cor 3:5; 2 Cor 3:6;³⁹ 6:4) and the verb διακονέω (Phlm 13) regard the “world-transforming message.”⁴⁰ For example, both Apollos and Paul are διάκονοι, and due to their work in this capacity other persons have come to trust in the message (διάκονοι δι’ ὧν ἐπιστεύσατε; 1 Cor; 3:5b). As John N. Collins remarks, the Corinthian hearers would have understood that Paul and Apollos “have been entrusted with the god’s message, that they have the duty to pass it on and the right to be heard and believed, and that their rights and duties are equal.”⁴¹ The SV paraphrases and enlarges upon the Greek: “We [Apollos and Paul] are servants (διάκονοι) through whom you came to put your trust in God’s world-transforming message in accordance with the role God assigned to each of us” (1 Cor 3:5b).⁴² According to Paul, being a “servant” (διάκονος) to God is unlike being a servant or slave to a human master. The sense of servant-hood is reversed. God calls and marks people with a special designation and on account of this, personal esteem rises. In addition, Paul refers to himself as being in the διακονία (“service or ministry”)⁴³ “to the nations” (ἔθνεσιν; Rom 11:13b).⁴⁴ And in 2 Cor 5:18, Paul and others⁴⁵ are in the διακονίαν τῆς καταλλαγῆς⁴⁶ (“ministry of reconciliation,” NRSV). The ministry of reconciliation⁴⁷ is “the

39. Paul refers to himself and others as διακόνους of the new covenant. According to Victor Furnish, the others are Paul’s associates. See Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 197.

40. For this term, see Dewey et al., *The Authentic Letters of Paul*, 8 and passim. John N. Collins assesses sixteen of Paul’s διακον- words as pertaining to the “word.” He breaks down these uses into three categories. Under “mediating the word,” he lists 1 Thess 3:2; 1 Cor 3:5; 2 Cor 3:3; 6, 7, 8, 9; 5:18; 6:3, 4; 11:15, 23. Under “mandated for the word,” he includes Rom 11:13; 12:7; and under “on the mission for the word,” he lists 2 Cor 11:8; Phlm 13. Collins, *Diakonia*, 338.

41. Collins, *Diakonia*, 196.

42. There is no definite object for the verb “to trust.” The SV supplies “God’s world-transforming message.” Dewey et al., *The Authentic Letters of Paul*, 81–82.

43. The SV translates the noun as “ministry.” Dewey et al., *The Authentic Letters of Paul*, 236. The same translation is found in the NRSV, ASV, and NIV. The KJV, however, translates the noun as “office.”

44. Robert Jewett defines the διακονία as serving “in behalf of the gospel and the formation of communities of faith.” Jewett, *Romans*, 679.

45. Paul uses the pronoun we. See, e.g., 2 Cor 5:20. The “we” likely refers to Paul and some other people, but who these people were is unclear.

46. The SV translates the phrase as “ministry of change.” Dewey et al., *The Authentic Letters of Paul*, 128. See their note on 2 Cor 5:18. I understand the expression διακονίαν τῆς καταλλαγῆς as pertaining to Paul and to those with him, which makes sense of Paul’s appeal to the Corinthians to be reconciled to God (2 Cor 5:20). By contrast, Victor Furnish understands the term as applying to the “whole believing community.” Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 321.

47. It pertains to the “message of reconciliation” (2 Cor 5:19). According to Victor Furnish, the message is “God’s word, the gospel.” Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 337.

coming together of God and man⁴⁸ in the Anointed, and those involved in it are “ambassadors of the Anointed” (Χριστοῦ οὖν πρεσβεύομεν; 2 Cor; 5:20).⁴⁹

Like Paul and Philemon, the slave Onesimus is also involved in the *διακονία* for the message. Onesimus does the work for the message in the place of Paul, while and because the latter is in prison. A common misunderstanding of the *διακονία* Onesimus performs is in service *to* Paul,⁵⁰ and as a result Onesimus’ role of direct service for the message is often lost. The translation of the phrase *μοι διακονῆ* as “he might be of service to me” (Phlm 13b) is at the heart of this misconception. The entire Greek phrase reads, ἵνα ὑπὲρ σοῦ μοι διακονῆ ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου. The NRSV, for example, translates, “so that he [Onesimus] might be of service to me in your place during my imprisonment for the gospel” (Phlm 13b).⁵¹ In this NRSV translation, the word “gospel” (εὐαγγελίου) functions as the cause of Paul’s imprisonment. However, the extended prepositional phrase ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου is adverbial and thus modifies the subjunctive verb *διακονῆ*. The subject of the verb is Onesimus. The final modifier of the phrase τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, emphatic by position, specifies the type of work or type of service Onesimus performed and not the cause of Paul’s imprisonment. The phrase is best translated, “so that he [Onesimus] might serve for (instead of) me in your place in the bonds of the world-transforming message.”⁵² In this translation, Onesimus does the work of proclaiming the message because Paul is unable to do so; and Paul refers metaphorically to the proclamation of the message as a work of bondage.⁵³ Such a metaphor fits the context of the slave Onesimus and Paul’s imprisonment. Furthermore, the repeated ending sound οὐ forges a connection between Philemon, “your” (σοῦ), and τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (the gospel), and thereby reinforces Philemon’s own

48. Collins, *Diakonia*, 205.

49. John N. Collins writes, “Paul is clearly thinking of this commission as one involving the delivery of the message.” Collins, *Diakonia*, 205.

50. Focusing on the etymology of the name Onesimus (“useful”), Joseph Marchal has suggested that he may have served Paul in a sexual capacity. Marchal, “The Usefulness of an Onesimus: The Sexual Use of Slaves and Paul’s Letter to Philemon,” 749–70. However, the overall context of the letter does not suggest such a meaning for “useful.”

51. Joseph Fitzmyer translates as “so that he might serve me on your behalf during my imprisonment for the gospel.” Fitzmyer, *The Letter to Philemon*, 110. According to him, the reason why Paul is in prison is for the “ministry of evangelization” or “service of the gospel” (111). The SV translators write, “so that he could assist me on your behalf while I am in prison for proclaiming God’s world-transforming message.” Dewey et al., *The Authentic Letters of Paul*, 157.

52. Translation is my own.

53. John N. Collins translates the phrase in Phlm 13 as I am suggesting. Following the RV translation, he writes, “that in thy behalf he might minister unto me in the bonds of the gospel.” With regard to the type of service he understands Onesimus to have performed, he writes, “Such a sentence, then, would be speaking of more than a butler for a gaoled apostle, and we are led to read ‘minister for me’ in the sense of going out on errands—here, in the interests of the gospel—with the dative ‘for me’ having the same grammatical function as the dative ‘for the saints’ at Rom 15:25, namely, to designate the person organizing and authorizing the activity.” Collins, *Diakonia*, 222.

involvement with the message (see Phlm 6, 17). There is the sense in which Onesimus serves in the place of Paul (μοι διακονῆ; “for me”), yet so also does Philemon (ὑπὲρ σοῦ; “in your place”). Like the other forms of διακον words, in this passage too the service itself does not indicate subordination to another person. Peter Arzt-Grabner remarks that Paul and Philemon have a type of business partnership, a “partnership of faith” (κοινωνία τῆς πίστεως; Phlm 6), and that in this letter he (Paul) is requesting that Philemon receive Onesimus as he would Paul, as a “business partner” (see Phlm 17).⁵⁴ Both Onesimus and Philemon serve as equals in the capacity for the message. There is no sense in which Paul subordinates Onesimus, rather he seeks to promote him to the status of “brother” (Phlm 16).

Elsewhere in Paul’s writings, the person performing the work of διακονία has full authority and commands respect. For instance, as a function of his own work of service, Paul considers himself authorized to command his gentile audience in Romans. He forcefully and directly addresses his listeners, Ὑμῖν δὲ λέγω τοῖς ἔθνεσιν (“But now to YOU⁵⁵ I speak, to the gentiles”; 11:13a). The second-person plural pronoun (Ὑμῖν) is in first position and added only for the purpose of emphasis. Paul also speaks of “glorifying” (δοξάζω) his διακονία,⁵⁶ a role or position highly esteemed and similar in function to his apostleship (Rom 11:13b).

Furthermore, Paul uses διακον-related words in a specialized sense to refer to the collection for the saints (διακονίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους; 2 Cor 8:4; 9:1).⁵⁷ In these cases, he reports to those in Jerusalem and not solely to God. In a related verse Paul writes, ἵνα . . . ἡ διακονία⁵⁸ μου ἢ εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ εὐπρόσδεκτος τοῖς ἁγίοις γένηται (“so that . . . my service to Jerusalem might be acceptable to the saints”; Rom 15:31). Paul is commissioned to do the work of ministry, in the same way as he was commissioned for his work as an apostle

54. Arzt-Grabner, “How to Deal with Onesimus?” 139–42.

55. The pronoun is emphatic by position. In an inflected language, pronouns are not needed to make sense of the phrase, thus when present, they signify emphasis.

56. Some commentators make excuses for Paul and remark that he boasts not of his own merits (see Rom 3:27) but rather of his service to God. Jewett, *Romans*, 679. While the SV translators downplay the notion of glorification, likely on account of its rather obscure meaning, they nevertheless see a consequential relationship between Paul’s apostleship and his διακονία. They translate, “In view of my being an envoy [apostle] to the nations, I make large claims about my ministry [διακονία] . . .” (11:13b). Dewey et al., *The Authentic Letters of Paul*, 236.

57. See also 2 Cor 9:12, 13; Rom 15:25, 31. According to John N. Collins, the meaning of the διακον- words in these verses is “emissary of the church.” He locates Phoebe in this category. Collins, *Diakonia*, 338–39.

58. While there is much manuscript support for the Greek word “διακονία” in Rom 15:31, a few manuscripts such as B D* F G ar b d* substitute δωροφορία (“gift-bringing”). According to Jewett, the former gives a sense of Paul’s subordination to Jerusalem, while the latter lessens that connotation. See Jewett, *Romans*, 920 n. t.

(see Gal 2:7–10). While Paul agrees to make the collection, he dismisses the notion that James, Cephas, and John are his superiors (see Gal 2:6).⁵⁹

Finally, Paul considers διακονία (ministry or service) as one of seven God-given gifts (χαρίσματα) for individual members in the community (Rom 12:3). The gift of prophecy heads the list (Rom 12:6), but as Robert Jewett comments, one cannot assume that the first gift mentioned is the most important, because the list itself “reflects a random sequence.”⁶⁰ There is also no indication that the διακονία or any of the other χαρίσματα within the list refers to a church office.⁶¹ As was the case with apostle, there is the sense in which a διάκονος can be subjected her or himself to harm and hardship (2 Cor 6:4–5; 11:23).

As seen within the writings of Paul, the dominant sense of διάκονος and διακον-related words concern the proclamation of the message. There are no indications of a ranked position or an office associated with this function. Paul refers to himself as a διάκονος; and the functions associated with it are similar to that of an apostle. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that like Apollos, Philemon, Onesimus, Paul, and others, Phoebe was also involved in some way with the message.⁶² The διάκονος, who is involved with the message, reports to no one. Like Paul, Phoebe would have derived authority from this position. As someone involved with the message, Phoebe ranked equal to Paul and to other named males in the similar role.

Phoebe was not only a διάκονος but also a προστάτις (“leader”). Her leadership is described more fully as καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ προστάτις πολλῶν ἐγενήθη καὶ ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ (“for she herself is a leader of many and also of me”; Rom 16:2). According to LSJ, the noun προστάτις is the feminine form of προστάτης. The latter means “the one who stands before,” “a leader or a chief,” “a ruler,” “a president”⁶³ or presiding officer,” “one who stands before and protects,” or a “patron.”⁶⁴ In LSJ, the feminine form of the noun means “protectress.”⁶⁵ However, a

59. The issue of Paul’s status vis-à-vis the early leaders (James, Cephas, and John) mentioned in Galatians 2 is rather complicated. There is the underlying suggestion that Paul was meant to report to these persons. Paul, however, claims that these “leaders” have no real authority over him (see Gal 2:6–10). For more on this issue, see Betz, *Galatians*, 92–95.

60. Jewett, *Romans*, 746

61. Jewett, *Romans*, 745, 748–49.

62. John N. Collins places Phoebe in a special category distinct from other persons Paul designates with this same term. Collins names Phoebe the “community’s emissary,” yet he also states that the precise nature of her business is unknown. What appears odd is that he also categorizes Stephanas (1 Cor 16:15) in this same way, as an “emissary of the community,” yet in the case of Stephanas, the “ministry” regards the work of the gospel. Collins, *Diakonia*, 224–25.

63. Ray Schulz opts for this meaning of the term and calls Phoebe a “president.” See Schulz, “A Case,” 126. Schulz, however, also understands “president” to be a church office. Since it is unlikely that Paul is referring to any office within this passage, the meaning “president” is not the best choice.

64. *LSJ* 1526–27.

65. *LSJ* abridged version, 607.

Logeion search of *προστάτις* yields, “champion, leader.”⁶⁶ “Leader” or literally someone who stands (*στάτ*) before (*προ*) is the dominant sense for this noun.

As was the case with Junia, so too late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century English translations de-emphasize Phoebe and downplay her various leadership roles. Many of those English-language bibles (Darby Version [1890], ASV [1929], RSV [1952], BBE [1965], NAS [1971], NKJV [1975]) translate *προστάτις* incorrectly as “helper” or as “succourer” (KJV), demoting Phoebe to an inferior position. Moreover, ancient manuscripts reveal much earlier attempts to diminish Phoebe’s role as a leader and as deacon. The 27th (1996) Nestle-Aland Greek edition of Rom 16:1–2 reads as follows.

1. Συνίστημι δὲ ὑμῖν Φοίβην τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἡμῶν, οὕσαν [καὶ] διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς,
 - 2a. ἵνα αὐτὴν προσδέξησθε ἐν κυρίῳ ἀξίως τῶν ἁγίων καὶ παραστήτε αὐτὴ ἐν ᾧ ἂν ὑμῶν χρῆζῃ πράγματι·
 - 2b. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ *προστάτις* πολλῶν ἐγενήθη καὶ ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ.
1. Now I commend to you Phoebe our sister, she is [also] a deacon of the assembly in Kenchreia.
 - 2a. so that you receive her in the lord, as is worthy of the saints, and provide for her in whatever she may need from you.
 - 2b. for she herself has become a leader of many and also of me.⁶⁷

The manuscript tradition divides equally between the inclusion and absence of the *καὶ* (“also”) before the *διάκονον* (“deacon”) (v. 1).⁶⁸ When included, the *καὶ* emphasizes Phoebe’s role as a deacon and provides the indication of her multiple responsibilities in Kenchreia.⁶⁹ Several manuscripts⁷⁰ change *αὐτὴν* *προσδέξησθε* to *προσδέξησθε αὐτὴν* (v. 2a). The modification results in a change from “her receive” to “receive her,” placing less emphasis on Phoebe herself, as the feminine pronoun (*αὐτὴν*) before the verb is emphatic. In some instances,⁷¹ the *αὐτὴ* (“she herself”) before the *προστάτις* (v. 2b) is changed to *αὕτη* (“this woman”). This variant also serves to de-emphasize Phoebe. Finally, there are instances⁷² of *προστάτις* (“leader”) changed to *παραστάτις* (“helper” or “assistant”; v. 2b), which clearly, and as we saw above, removes the sense of leadership.

66. “*προστάτις*,” Logeion Online, <http://logeion.uchicago.edu/index.html#προστάτις> (accessed May 23, 2014).

67. The translation is my own.

68. Jewett, *Romans*, 941 n. c.

69. Robert Jewett comments that the *καὶ* “lends weight to Phoebe’s qualifications.” Jewett, *Romans*, 941 n. c.

70. These are B C D F G ar mon. Jewett remarks that while this reading is “strongly attested,” it is also “probably secondary.” Jewett, *Romans*, 941 n. d.

71. See Jewett, *Romans*, 941 n. e.

72. F and G contain this variant reading. See Jewett, *Romans*, 941 n. f.

Moreover, rather than understanding *προστάτις* as “leader,” many modern scholars⁷³ translate this noun in Rom 16:2 as “patroness,” and assume that Phoebe was of a high social class and helped Paul financially with his mission.⁷⁴ To justify his translation choice, Robert Jewett⁷⁵ cites Ramsay MacMullen’s survey of ancient rescripts, in which a tenth of the addressees were women, those deemed able to donate funds to various *collegia*. Based on that study and those of the social settings of early Christianity, Jewett reasons that “upper-class benefactors, both male and female” played important roles in early Christian communities.⁷⁶ Absent from his discussion, however, is any direct evidence of Phoebe’s wealth or social status. Even while remarking that the Greek word *προστάτις* literally means “one who stands before” and that this term was often used for the presiding officer, Victor Furnish similarly adopts the translation “patron” for Phoebe.⁷⁷

Indications within Romans argue against her being a wealthy patron of Paul. As Esther Ng remarks, “it is very unusual in Greco-Roman letter writing for one to recommend somebody superior to oneself in social standing.”⁷⁸ And if being a patron garnered special distinction, Paul would have referred to her in first place in that role. However, Paul refers to Phoebe foremost as “our sister” (τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἡμῶν), next as a διάκονος (Rom 16:1), and in last position as a *προστάτις*. Moreover, Paul urges those in Rome “to receive” (*προσδέξασθε*) and provide for Phoebe, to literally “stand by” (*παραστήτε*) her in whatever she “might need” (*χρηζή; Rom 16:2*). Those needs could certainly have been material ones.⁷⁹

73. See Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 181–82. Caroline Whelan also argues that Phoebe was a wealthy patroness. See Whelan, “Amica Pauli,” 82–85. Wayne Meeks, who likewise maintains that this noun should be translated as “patron,” seems puzzled by the fact that Phoebe could be a leader over Paul. He writes, “it is difficult to imagine what Paul could have meant by describing Phoebe as ‘also presiding over me.’” According to Meeks, Phoebe was an independent woman of wealth and also a leader in the church of Kenchreia. See Meeks, *The First Urban Christians*, 60. Was calling Phoebe a “patron” a way of avoiding the “problem” of having Phoebe be a leader over Paul?

74. The Book of Acts’ depiction of women as benefactors may sway the interpretations toward the view that Phoebe was Paul’s patron. See, e.g., Acts 16:14; 17:4, 12.

75. Jewett, *Romans*, 941. Robert Jewett’s theory with regard to Phoebe and her role as a patroness is complicated. Jewett surmises that Phoebe was underwriting Paul’s Spanish mission, and she was also to arrange for the translators needed for the mission (947–48). This arrangement, however, is highly atypical of Paul. While Paul gives the impression of being in need of funds for his work, he was conflicted when it came to asking for help (see 1 Cor 9:1–18; 2 Cor 11:9–10). C. E. B. Cranfield translates this word as “source of assistance.” Cranfield, *Epistle to the Romans*, 751. By contrast, Esther Ng argues that there is no indication from the text that Phoebe was a patroness. See Ng, “Phoebe as Prostatis,” 8. The SV treats the noun *προστάτις* as a verb and translates it as “provided help.” Dewey et al., *The Authentic Letters of Paul*, 251. This translation seems apt, as it allows for the sense of leadership and skirts the notion of subordination implied with “helper.”

76. Jewett, *Romans*, 946–47. See also MacDonald, “Reading Real Women,” 209.

77. Furnish, *The Moral Teachings*, 119–20.

78. Ng, “Phoebe as Prostatis,” 12.

79. On this point, see Ng, “Phoebe as Prostatis,” 10.

Paul's word choice indicates a play on the Greek word for "stand,"⁸⁰ which helps to guide his meaning. Both *παραστήτε* and *προστάτις* have roots in the Greek verb *ἵστημι* ("to stand"). Paul, then, asks his addressees to "stand by" Phoebe, as she herself has already "stood before" others, thereby emphasizing Phoebe's role as one who stands before others, that is, as a leader. Moreover, Paul employs the cognate verb *προΐστημι* twice (1 Thess 5:12; Rom 12:8) to imply leadership. While Jewett renders the Greek participle *προϊστάμενος* (Rom 12:8) as "the leader/presider," he nonetheless insists that the verbal form is distinct from its cognate noun *προστάτις*, which he considers an upper-class designation.⁸¹

Given the lack of evidence of Phoebe's wealth or of her high social standing, the dominant sense of *προστάτις* as "leader," and Paul's use of the cognate term *προΐστημι* as leader, it is likely that Phoebe was a leader⁸² of many and also of Paul. Furthermore, and as mentioned, as letter bearer, Phoebe would have read and interpreted the Greek text to its hearers. The debate regarding how best to translate the term *προστάτις* concerns not the ambiguity in the Greek word, because the term commonly means "leader," but instead the fact that a female is designated by it. Here, too, interpreters appear to stumble over the issue of female leadership.

Chloe, Prisca and Paul's Unnamed Women

Paul makes one small reference to another female leader, Chloe. We hear of those "of" Chloe (τῶν Χλόης; 1 Cor 1:11). While Joseph Fitzmyer seems reluctant to consider her a leader of a group,⁸³ evidence from Paul's writings already marshaled in support of women working in leadership roles supports this understanding of her role.⁸⁴ Like Junia and Phoebe, Chloe too worked to further the mission. We first hear of Chloe when Paul responds to a report given to him by some of Chloe's people about divisions within the Corinthian community (1 Cor 1:11).⁸⁵ While the information regarding her is very slight, that Paul would

80. As Esther Ng notes, there appears to be a plea on Paul's part for the Roman addressees to respond in kind to Phoebe. Ng, "Phoebe as Prostatist," 10.

81. Jewett, *Romans*, 752–53.

82. In a recent *Fourth R* article, William O. Walker also assesses Phoebe to have been a leader and not a benefactor. See William O. Walker, "Paul on the Status and Role of Women," 6.

83. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 141. According to Fitzmyer, those of Chloe could be members of her own household, slaves or former slaves. As Fitzmyer remarks, "Nothing in the text suggests that she was the overseer of a house church" (141).

84. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza comments, "the communities of Corinth and vicinity had . . . at least three outstanding women leaders in their midst: Chloe, Prisca, and Phoebe." Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 219.

85. According to Joseph Fitzmyer, Chloe did not necessarily send people to Paul; they appear to have been in Ephesus for another reason. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 141.

drop her name is of significance. In mentioning her, Paul lends weight to his own argument.⁸⁶ As Victor Furnish remarks, “[T]he fact that Paul identifies her only by name suggests that she was someone already well known to the Corinthians and respected by them.”⁸⁷

Beyond the designations of ἀπόστολος, διάκονος, and προστάτις, Paul refers to several women as “fellow workers” (συνεργοί) and to others as “those who labor hard” (τὰς κοπιώσας).⁸⁸ Prisca (Rom 16:3), Euodia, and Syntyche (Phil 4:2–3) are called “fellow-” or “co-workers,” and Mary (Rom 16:6), Tryphaena, Tryphosa, and Persis (Rom 16:12) are those who work hard.

Among the group of women-workers, Prisca is best known. Paul refers to her in two separate letters (Rom 16:3; 1 Cor 16:9). In addition, the author of 2 Timothy refers to her (2 Tim 4:19), and the author of Acts mentions a “Priscilla” (Acts 18:3, 18, 26), the diminutive of Prisca, likely to refer to the same Prisca mentioned in Romans and 1 Corinthians.⁸⁹ From the list of twenty-five named persons in Rom 16:1–16, Prisca’s name is second after Phoebe. The names “Prisca” and “Priscilla” never appear in isolation from Aquila.⁹⁰ In Rom 16:3 Paul mentions Prisca’s name prior to Aquila’s,⁹¹ which could indicate her higher social status,⁹² yet he reverses the order of their names in 1 Cor 16:19, making such an assumption unlikely.⁹³

86. Antoinette Wire finds it significant that Paul breaks from his more usual habit, such as is seen in 5:1, 11:18, and 15:12, 35, and cites his source. As she says, her name must “add in some way to the credibility of his description.” Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets*, 41.

87. Furnish, *The Moral Teachings*, 122. Victor Furnish surmises that she had “material resources” and was of a “relatively high social status.” Furnish, *The Moral Teachings*, 122.

88. A feminine plural accusative participle of the verb κοπιᾶν, “to work hard, work till one is weary.” Paul only employs verbal forms of this word.

89. I am following Robert Jewett on the assumption that NT references to Prisca or to Priscilla refer to the same person. See Jewett, *Romans*, 955 n. 29.

90. They share a house; he is likely her husband. Whereas Aquila could be Prisca’s brother, that relationship seems less likely, because Paul appears to explicitly signal those types of relationships (see Rom 16:15).

91. Prisca’s name also appears prior to Aquila’s in 2 Tim 4:19.

92. Stanley Stowers writes that Prisca “possessed a higher status” than her husband. According to him, she was probably freeborn and a Roman citizen. Stowers, *Rereading of Romans*, 75. See also Robert Jewett, who argues that Prisca came from a noble background. Jewett, *Romans*, 955; and see Meeks, *The First Urban Christians*, 59.

93. Acts refers to this same couple, with Aquila’s name appearing first in Acts 18:2, and then in second place in Acts 18:18, 26. See Pervo, *Acts*, 451. In Acts, there is no mention of the couple being co-workers in the Lord, but instead they work along with Paul as tentmakers (Acts 18:3). Of these three, only Paul is involved in testifying or witnessing for Jesus as the Messiah (Acts 18:5). In Acts, Aquila and Priscilla teach, but they only instruct Apollos and do so in private (Acts 18:26). In turning the name “Prisca” into a diminutive and omitting mention of the gathering in Prisca’s and Aquila’s home, the author of Acts not only subordinates Prisca, but also diminishes their joint leadership roles for the mission. They are no longer seen as equal to Paul and others in spreading the message.

Prisca (Πρίσκαν)⁹⁴ and her husband Aquila are co-workers with Paul in the Anointed Jesus (τοὺς συνεργούς μου ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ; Rom 16:3). One can reasonably infer that the couple worked as equals.⁹⁵ The act of proclamation of the message can be inferred by analogy to others designated as co-workers.⁹⁶ Euodia and Syntyche,⁹⁷ for example, are co-workers “for the message” (ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ; Phil 4:2–3).⁹⁸ Additional persons similarly designated include Timothy, “a co-worker for God for the message of the Anointed” (συνεργὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ; 1 Thess 3:2), Urbanus, a “co-worker in the Anointed” (συνεργὸν ἡμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ; Rom 16:9), Apollos, and Paul himself (1 Cor 3:9). According to Robert Jewett, the expression “in the Anointed” is an indication that the work involved the message.⁹⁹ Furthermore, Prisca and Aquila hosted gatherings of Jesus-followers (ἐκκλησίαν) in their house¹⁰⁰ (Rom 16:5; 1 Cor 16:19),¹⁰¹ indicating their leadership role.¹⁰² There is some debate over whether the couple hosted gatherings in one house or two.¹⁰³ Finally, the two

94. Robert Jewett notes that manuscripts of the Textus Receptus replace the name “Prisca” with “Priscilla.” According to Jewett, these are secondary manuscripts and conform to Acts’ characterization of Prisca. Jewett, *Romans*, 949 n. a. Priscilla is the diminutive form of Prisca and thus its use indicates the diminution of her status.

95. On this point, see Walker, “Paul on the Status and Role of Women,” 6.

96. Wolf-Henning Ollrog writes that according to Paul a co-worker is 1) a “representative” (*Beauftragte*) of God; 2) “works cooperatively in the same work of Christ as Paul”; and 3) “proclaims the mission” (*Missionverkündigung*). Ollrog, *Paulus und seine Mitarbeiter*, 68–72.

97. In contrast to what I am arguing here, Joseph Marchal finds that Paul is trying to bring these two women back under his control. See Marchal, *Politics of Heaven*, 103–4.

98. That they are involved in missionary preaching, similar to that of Paul and his various other associates, see Furnish, *The Moral Teachings*, 122. See also Margaret MacDonald, who reasons that the two women worked together as leaders and were involved in “the evangelizing of nonbelievers.” MacDonald, “Reading Real Women,” 205.

99. The expression τοὺς συνεργούς μου ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ is “technical language for missionary colleagues.” Jewett, *Romans*, 957. Schüssler Fiorenza calls Prisca a missionary co-worker. Schüssler Fiorenza, “Missionaries, Apostles, Coworkers,” 429.

100. Having a house could indicate a degree of wealth, as Robert Jewett remarks. See Jewett, *Romans*, 956–57. By contrast, Peter Lampe argues against their being wealthy. See Lampe, “Prisca,” *ABD* 5.468.

101. There is no such gathering in their house in either 2 Tim 4:19 or Acts 18:2–26. In 2 Tim 4:19 one finds mention of the household of Onesiphorus, and in Acts 18:2 Paul is said to stay with Aquila and Priscilla (in their house) because they are all in the same trade as tentmakers. Thus, while they have a house, it is not for the purpose of hosting a gathering of Jesus followers.

102. According to Robert Jewett, the two led the congregation in their home. Jewett, *Romans*, 959.

103. If Paul wrote 1 Corinthians from Ephesus, as is generally assumed (see, Dewey et al., *The Authentic Letters of Paul*, 73; Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 48, 627), then the reference to their house made in 1 Cor 16:19 would likely have been a location in Ephesus. Paul’s reference in 1 Cor 16:19 to Aquila and Prisca’s house is one reason why some scholars have maintained that Romans 16 was not destined for those in Rome but instead for those in Ephesus. On this point, see Whelan, “Amica Pauli,” 72. With the understanding that Romans 16 was destined for those in Rome, the house of Prisca and Aquila to which Paul refers in Romans would have been in Rome. This would have meant that the couple had two homes, one in Ephesus

are said to have risked their own necks for Paul's life (ὕπερ τῆς ψυχῆς μου τὸν ἑαυτῶν τράχηλον ὑπέθηκαν;¹⁰⁴ Rom 16:3). While neither of them died over this incident(s), whatever they did might have resulted in their death. To sum up, Prisca along with her husband worked together as equals with Paul for the Anointed Jesus, most likely as proclaimers of the message, they hosted gatherings of Jesus-followers in their home(s) (1 Cor 16:19; Rom 16:5), and they risked their lives for Paul. The work of Prisca and Aquila is similar to that of Euodia, Syntyche, Urbanus, Apollos, Timothy, and Paul, all mentioned as co-workers. As co-workers, none of these persons mentioned answered to anyone else in authority over them.

Paul also describes four other women-workers using a different Greek word for work, κοπιάω. This work also likely regarded the message. Κοπιάω has a stronger connotation than συνεργέω; its root is the Greek word κόπος, which means "beating, weariness as though one had been beaten, and the exertion or trouble which causes this state."¹⁰⁵ In Homer, κόπος is synonymous with another Greek word πόνος, which denotes strenuous effort.¹⁰⁶ In NT and Hellenistic usage, the verb κοπιάω means "to become weary/tired" or "to exert oneself physically, mentally, or spiritually."¹⁰⁷ Thus, by contrast to συνεργέω, κοπιάω entails work that causes weariness. Paul and Apollos grow weary from working with their hands (1 Cor 4:12). Paul also works hard on behalf of the message (Gal 4:11; 1 Cor 15:10; Phil 2:16). Mary¹⁰⁸ or Miriam¹⁰⁹ "worked hard (to the point of exhaustion) for those in Rome" (πολλὰ ἐκοπίασεν εἰς ὑμᾶς; Rom 16:6). Persis "labored very hard" (πολλὰ ἐκοπίασεν) "in/for the lord" (ἐν κυρίῳ; Rom 16:12), as do two other women, Tryphaena and Tryphosa (κοπιώσας ἐν κυρίῳ; Rom 16:12). Such work merits respect: Paul urges the Thessalonians "to recognize" (εἰδέναι) such persons (1 Thess 5:12) and the Corinthians "to subordinate" themselves (ὑποτάσσησθε) to these workers (1

and another one in Rome. According to Robert Jewett, Prisca and Aquila were evicted from Rome (Acts 18:2), went to Corinth where they met Paul, and then traveled to Ephesus with him (Acts 18:2–21). Sometime later they went back to Rome. For a fuller description of these events, see Jewett, *Romans*, 955. Stanley Stowers follows on Jewett's historical reconstruction. See *Rereading of Romans*, 75. Jewett and Stowers base their information of the events regarding Prisca and Aquila on Acts, yet according to Richard Pervo, the scenario narrated in Acts cannot be confirmed. Pervo writes, "Acts 18:1–18 is very far from the kind of prose on which anyone would want to depend for the detailed reconstruction of past social, political, or religious history." Pervo, *Acts*, 447.

104. This expression is used elsewhere in Greco-Roman literature. See Jewett, *Romans*, 957, n. 58.

105. F. Hauck, "κόπος, κοπιάω," *TDNT* 3.827.

106. Hauck, *TDNT* 3.828.

107. *BAGD* 558.

108. Dewey et al., *The Authentic Letters of Paul*, 251.

109. The textual evidence is evenly divided between Mary (Μαρίαν) and Miriam (Μαριάμ). Robert Jewett prefers the latter, as it is the more difficult reading. Jewett, *Romans*, 949, n. f.

Cor 16:16). Based on an analogy with Paul's own hard work for the message,¹¹⁰ I understand all four of these women to have worked tirelessly and independent of external authority to promote the message of the Anointed Jesus.

In sum, while editors and exegetes from ancient to modern times have attempted to either erase or diminish the leadership roles of several women Paul names, he clearly considered them as leaders and as having equal authority to himself and to other men he mentions. He referred to Junia as an apostle. He recognized Phoebe, Chloe, and Prisca as leaders in their own right of assemblies of Jesus-followers. These and other named women (Euodia and Syntyche, Mary, Tryphaena, Tryphosa, and Persis) were involved in the work of the message. All of these women worked with *and not for* Paul and others. They functioned in the very same way as Paul and other men he named. Some women even endured hardship and risked their lives for their work.

Paul on Relations between Women and Men

Paul's remarks regarding the relations between women and men fall primarily within two passages of his authentic writings (1 Cor 7:1–34; Gal 3:26–28). Both of these structural units indicate Paul's egalitarian treatment of women and men. As is the case within all of his letters, the situation determines Paul's remarks. In 1 Corinthians, Paul responds to several problems within the community, including divisions among the members (1 Corinthians 1–4), immoral sexual behavior (1 Corinthians 5), and suing each other in a court of law (1 Corinthians 6). He also addresses certain issues, among them are the relation between women and men (chapter 7), whether or not one should eat meat sacrificed to idols (chapter 10), and conduct of participants at the Lord's meal (chapter 11). Chapter 7 is in response to an issue the Corinthians themselves raise. Gal 3:26–28 is likely an earlier and non-Pauline baptismal formula that Paul cites in support of his argument for why gentiles have no need to practice aspects of Jewish Torah.

Equal Status in Martial Relations: 1 Corinthians 7

In 1 Corinthians 7, Paul spelled out his views on sexual relations between women and men and on marriage. In these passages he counseled equality with regard to sexual rights between married couples; he upheld the rights of women to remain single; and he was of the opinion that both wife and husband have the same types of responsibilities and influence over their non-believing spouse. Because both men and women are vulnerable to involuntary sexual desire, Paul suggested it was best to marry.

110. Jewett, *Romans*, 968, and Peter Lampe, "Tryphaena and Trphosa," *ABD* 6.669 regard the expression *κοπιώσας ἐν κυρίῳ* as referring to either missionary work or church leadership.

While Paul affirmed heterosexual marriage, his reasons for doing so at first glance appear paternalistic.¹¹¹ Indeed, he begins his discussion of the topic (1 Cor 7:1b) with the advice that it is best for men to avoid women, if possible. His opening comment on this subject was in response to a prior Corinthian correspondence concerning their advocacy of sexual abstinence. He writes,

7:1b καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ γυναικὸς μὴ ἄπτεσθαι¹¹²

7:2 διὰ δὲ τὰς πορνείας ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐχέτω καὶ ἕκαστη τὸν ἴδιον ἀνδρα ἐχέτω.

7:1b it is good for a man not to “fasten onto” a woman

7:2 but because of sexual immorality, let each man have his own wife and let each woman have her own husband (1 Cor 7:1b–2).¹¹³

Whether he quoted from their prior letter or summarized it,¹¹⁴ he agreed with their prior assessment.¹¹⁵ Paul’s concern was sexual immorality or πορνεία (1 Cor 7:2). As Kyle Harper explains, Paul desired to distinguish his community from the surrounding culture and did this in part by strengthening the range of meanings for πορνεία (1 Cor 7:2). While in classical Greek, πορνεία¹¹⁶ means “to prostitute oneself” or to sell access to one’s body,¹¹⁷ in line with Jewish writings from the Hellenistic period, such as in the Book of Sirach, the Book of Tobit, and the works of Philo, Paul broadened the sense of πορνεία to mean incest (1 Cor 5:1–13), male sexual relations with prostitutes (1 Cor 6:12–20), and extramarital sex (1 Cor 7:2–9). Harper adds, in a culture rampant with the sexual exploitation of slaves and prostitutes, marriage proved to be the answer for the problem of uncontrolled desire.¹¹⁸

111. Indeed, Antoinette Wire understands Paul’s statement in 1 Cor 7:1 as a male problem but one that Paul takes up with the community at large. According to her, Paul is trying to convince female members of the community to relinquish thoughts of sexual abstinence and the celibate life to help curb the potential of male sexual immorality. Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets*, 78–79.

112. The Greek verb ἄπτω literally means “to fasten” or “to fix upon a thing.” In the middle voice found here, it has the sense of “to cling to” or “grasp.” Modern translations, such as the NRSV, KJV, and NAS, render the verb in English as “to touch.” Yet as Gordon Fee has demonstrated, the Greek phrase used in conjunction with a woman (γυναικὸς), as it is in this case, is a “euphemism for sexual intercourse.” Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 278.

113. Translation is my own.

114. There are interpreters on both sides of this issue. See Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 278.

115. Suggesting that this phrase is not a direct quote but that Paul is in agreement with it, the SV translators write, “I do think it is better for a man to abstain from sexual intercourse with a woman.” Dewey et al., *The Authentic Letters of Paul*, 87.

116. Kyle Harper remarks, “The Greek root πορν already suggested the public sexual availability of the prostitute, and it made the association between the term πορνεία and the types of sexual license permitted in Gentile culture practically inevitable.” Harper, “Porneia,” 374–75.

117. Harper, “Porneia,” 369–74.

118. Harper, “Porneia,” 379.

Harper, however, fails to mention that for Paul the problem of uncontrolled sexual desire affects not just men but women as well. While two of Paul's discussions regarding *πορνεία* assume men as the active agents of sexual immorality (1 Cor 5:1–13; 6:12–20), his statements regarding the control of sexual desire in 1 Cor 7:2 recognize that *both* women and men can fall victim to it (see also 1 Cor 7:5). Both the unmarried (women and men) and the (*female*) widows (τοῖς ἀγάμοις καὶ ταῖς χήραις) need “to practice self-control” (ἐγκρατεύονται; 1 Cor 7:8–9).

Paul called for equality within the sexual relationship between married couples.¹¹⁹ Each partner can make demands of the other and neither one has complete authority over her or his own body. Paul's position is apparent through a close reading of the Greek text of 1 Cor 7:3–4. He writes,

7:3a τῇ γυναικί ὁ ἀνὴρ τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἀποδιδότω,

7:3b ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ.

7:4a ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει ἀλλὰ ὁ ἀνὴρ,

7:4b ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει ἀλλ' ἡ γυνή

7:3a Let the husband give to the wife (her) due,

7:3b and in the same way *also* the wife to (her) husband.

7:4a The wife does not have authority of (her) own body but the husband (does),

7:4b and in the same way, the husband also does not have authority of (his) body but the wife (does).¹²⁰

In these verses, one finds the same number of references to “wife” (γυνή) and to “husband” (ἀνὴρ) and similarly patterned grammatical structures that reinforce the parallel treatment for each sex. For example, in the first verse (7:3), Paul begins with the man as the subject, but reverses that order in the next verse (7:4). The second half of each verse (7:3b and 7:4b) parallels the structure and wording of its own first half. The parallel grammatical structures within each verse reinforce Paul's point regarding the equality of the sexes.

Paul recognized that both wives and husbands have equal responsibilities, influence, and power to save their non-participatory spouse (1 Cor 7:12–16). The Greek for non-participatory spouse¹²¹ is ἄπιστος (literally, “faithless”). Once again, parallel expressions with nearly identical wording provide clear

119. The equivalences observed in this passage (1 Cor 7:3–4, 12–16) have been called the “rule of justice.” See Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets*, 25. Yet Antoinette Wire finds that Paul overdramatizes the equivalences for women and men so as to gain support from the women to return to a marriage commitment. Wire's position is weakened, however, by the fact that Paul also counsels women not to marry (1 Cor 7:25–26) and even suggests that marriage can cause them distress (1 Cor 7:28).

120. Translation is my own.

121. For this meaning of the term, see Dewey et al., *The Authentic Letters of Paul*, 88.

evidence of the important role the participatory spouse—woman and man alike and in the same way—plays in the life of their non-participatory partner.

7:12 εἴ τις ἀδελφὸς¹²² γυναῖκα ἔχει ἄπιστον καὶ αὕτη συνενδοκεῖ οἰκεῖν μετ' αὐτοῦ, μὴ ἀφίετω αὐτήν·

7:13 καὶ γυνὴ εἴ τις ἔχει ἄνδρα ἄπιστον καὶ οὗτος συνενδοκεῖ οἰκεῖν μετ' αὐτῆς, μὴ ἀφίετω τὸν ἄνδρα.

7:14a ἡγίασται γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἄπιστος ἐν τῇ γυναικί

7:14b καὶ ἡγίασται ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἄπιστος ἐν τῷ ἀδελφῷ

7:14c ἐπεὶ ἄρα τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν ἀκάθαρτά ἐστιν, νῦν δὲ ἅγια ἐστιν

7:15 εἰ δὲ ὁ ἄπιστος χωρίζεται, χωρίζεσθω· οὐ δεδούλωται ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἢ ἡ ἀδελφὴ ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις· ἐν δὲ εἰρήνῃ κέκληκεν ὑμᾶς ὁ θεός.

7:16a τί γὰρ οἶδας, γυναί, εἰ τὸν ἄνδρα σώσεις;

7:16b ἢ τί οἶδας, ἄνερ, εἰ τὴν γυναῖκα σώσεις;

7:12 If a brother has a wife who is non-participatory and she agrees to live with him, let him not abandon her.

7:13 And if a wife has a husband who is non-participatory and he agrees to live with her, let her not abandon him (7:13).

7:14a For the husband who is non-participatory becomes sanctified by the wife.

7:14b and the wife who is non-participatory becomes sanctified by the brother.

7:14c otherwise, your children are impure, but now they are holy.

7:15 But if the non-participatory spouse separates, let him separate; in these cases, the brother or the sister is not bound. But God has called you for peace.

7:16a For what do you know, wife, whether you will save (your) husband?

7:16b Or, what do you know, husband, whether you will save (your) wife?¹²³

Both the husband and wife have equal power over their non-participatory spouse. Each has the authority to send the non-participatory partner off (ἀφίημι; 1 Cor 7:12–13). In the NRSV, the Greek word ἀφίημι translates as “divorce.” One can understand, then, that each sex has the right to divorce, and

122. It is not entirely clear why Paul switches to the word “brother” here in the place of “husband,” and yet he does not similarly change from “woman” to “sister.” We see the same use of “brother” without the corresponding change to “sister” in 1 Cor 7:14b. By contrast, in 1 Cor 7:15 Paul uses brother and sister terminology to remark that each one is not bound to their non-participatory spouse, should the latter choose to leave. Joseph Fitzmyer remarks that by not using the term “sister,” Paul loses the perfect parallel he established earlier with regard to marital relations. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 299.

123. Translation is my own.

this “rule” applies to the non-participatory spouse as well (1 Cor 7:15). If the pair does not separate, both the woman and the man have the power to save their non-participatory spouse (1 Cor 7:16a, 16b). According to Dale Martin, Paul refers here to issues of purity and pollution (1 Cor 7:14a, 14b). The non-participatory spouse is made pure by contact.¹²⁴ Such contact extends to sexual intercourse, as the offspring of this couple is born holy (1 Cor 7:14c). Martin remarks: “He [Paul] insists that the purity of Christ holds such power that it may, in certain situations, purify even nonbelievers.”¹²⁵ Thus, according to Paul there is a spiritual power within both female and male members of the community that is strong enough to infuse the non-participatory partner and bring about positive change.

One of Paul’s more radical views concerned the right of women and men to remain unmarried. Such a stance broke with the Augustan legislation *lex Julia et Papia*,¹²⁶ which penalized celibacy. This law affected unmarried women between the ages of 20 and 50, including widows who had not remarried within a year (later two years) and divorcees who had not remarried within a year (later 18 months).¹²⁷ It was aimed more specifically at the wealthier class in that violators were banned from inheriting legacies under a will, and those with assets exceeding 20,000 sesterces¹²⁸ were subject to a one percent tax.¹²⁹ In contrast to the cultural norm and legislative rulings, but also due to his understanding of the approaching end of time¹³⁰ (1 Cor 7:26, 29–31), Paul counseled “the unmarried” (τοῖς ἀγάμοις), “the never married” (τῶν παρθένων),¹³¹ and “the widows” (ταῖς χήραις) to remain celibate (1 Cor 7:8, 25, 27). According to him, by remaining single, both women and men can devote themselves more fully to the affairs of the Anointed (1 Cor 7:32–34).

No Sexual Distinctions in the Anointed: Gal 3:26–28

Elsewhere Paul quotes what is likely an early baptismal formula (Gal 3:26–28),¹³² which many interpreters take to be highly determinative for assessing

124. Martin, *The Corinthian Body*, 218. According to Joseph Fitzmyer, the concept of holiness discussed here is highly debated and “not easy to explain.” Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 300.

125. Martin, *The Corinthian Body*, 218.

126. On this point, see Walker, “Paul on the Status and Role of Women,” 7.

127. Gardner, *Women in Roman Law and Society*, 77.

128. These were small silver coins worth one quarter of a denarius. A denarius is thought to have been equivalent to a day’s wages. See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Denarius>, accessed on Dec. 31, 2012.

129. Gardner, *Women in Roman Law and Society*, 78.

130. On this point, see Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 313.

131. Joseph Fitzmyer extends the phrase “τῶν παρθένων,” normally translated “concerning virgins” to both women and men.

132. See Furnish, *The Moral Teachings*, 107. See also Hans Dieter Betz, who writes that Gal 3:26–28 is a saying that “must have had its place and function in early Christian baptismal liturgy.” Betz, *Galatians*, 181. According to Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, several factors indicate that Gal 3:26–28 is a “baptismal confession” Paul quotes. There is a shift in person

Paul's views on women.¹³³ The formula declares the lack of distinctions between persons along certain ethnic and social categories and between the sexes. The heart of the formula is

3:28a οὐκ ἔνι Ἰουδαῖος οὐδὲ Ἕλληγν, οὐκ ἔνι δοῦλος οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος, οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ.

3:28b πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἰς ἔστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

3:28a There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female;

3:28b for all of you are one in the Anointed Jesus.¹³⁴

Paul's letter to the Galatians regards the issue of Torah observance and gentiles. Paul argues that gentiles have no need to observe aspects of the Torah such as circumcision. Of the three oppositional pairs, the first (no longer Jew or Greek) fits this general context the best, yet Paul uses the word "gentile" for non-Jews throughout the letter rather than the word "Greek" used in the formula. While the notion of slavery is mentioned, issues regarding sex are otherwise absent from the letter.

With regard to the last oppositional pair, our main interest, there is a slight difference in its designation from the other two: the οὐδὲ ("or") used for the first two pairs (Jew/Greek and slave/freeperson) becomes καὶ ("and") for the male/female (ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ) or last pair. The variation in the coordinating conjunction signals an inter-textual reference to Gen 1:27, in which the same wording is found (ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ, LXX). Genesis discusses separation into distinct entities as something to be affirmed, with prospects for fertility lying at the heart of biological differences in the species (Gen 1:21, 24–25, 27). Thus, we see that in Gen 1:28 and just after the creation of male and female, God says, "Be fruitful and multiply" (NRSV).¹³⁵

between "we" (v. 25) to "you" (v. 26); the immediate context does not concern baptism nor social relationships; Paul does not speak of Greeks, as the formula states; and the male and female pair are otherwise entirely absent from Galatians. Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 208.

133. E.g., William Walker writes, "Paul quite clearly and unequivocally affirms his radically egalitarian position." Walker, "Paul on the Status and Role of Women," 7. According to Elizabeth Castelli, the statement implies "a radical dissolution of socially constructed differences." However, Castelli finds that elsewhere (such as in Gal 4:22–26) Paul does not erase these differences but instead inscribes them. Castelli, "Paul on Women and Gender," 230–31. According to Schüssler Fiorenza, "patriarchal marriage—and sexual relationships between male and female—is no longer constitutive of the new community in Christ." Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 211. Gal 3:28, she writes, "offered a new religious vision to women and slaves, it denied all male religious prerogatives in the Christian community based on gender roles" (218).

134. Translation is my own.

135. On this point, see Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 211. She writes, "The reference here alludes to Gen 1:27, where humanity created in the image of God is qualified as 'male and female' in order to introduce the theme of procreation and fertility."

In contrast to the Genesis narrative, the baptismal formula envisions the abolition of sexual difference (“there is no longer male and female”; 3:28).¹³⁶ By dissolving the differences between the sexes, the baptismal formula affirms not “life as it is” or “life as the God in Genesis meant it to be” but instead a different kind of existence. With no distinctions between the sexes, there would be no possibility for the subjugation of one sex to the other, but there is also no affirmation of life as it is and no possibility for its continuation. The formula evokes not the work-a-day world but another and imagined realm. For instance, the baptized person is to imagine “being clothed” (ἐνεδύσασθε) with the Anointed (Gal 3:27),¹³⁷ an otherworldly being. Wayne Meeks calls this formula “performative language,” an utterance that helps shape a symbolic universe.¹³⁸ The final explanatory phrase πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἰς ἓστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (“for you are all one”¹³⁹ in the Anointed Jesus”) provides the justification for the dissolution of the two distinct entities. If the formula is “radically egalitarian”¹⁴⁰ with respect to women and men, it is only so in a particular and symbolic sense:¹⁴¹ it envisions no biological differences between the sexes, and thus no possibility for the subjugation of one sex to the other.¹⁴² However, it fails to be radically egalitarian in two ways: 1) by envisioning the erasure of biological sex, women are no longer women and men no longer men,¹⁴³ and 2) it offers no real solutions for inequalities within life as it is.

136. According to Hans Dieter Betz, the statement could be interpreted along gnostic and apocryphal lines. If so, “it would claim the metaphysical removal of the *biological* sex distinctions as a result of the salvation in Christ.” If this is the case, one is speaking of androgyny. See Betz, *Galatians*, 196 (italics, the author’s).

137. Thus, Alan Segal writes, “[Enoch’s] transformation is effected through a change of clothing. The clothing functions as or symbolizes Enoch’s new, immortal flesh, as they are immortal clothes emanating from the throne room, not from earth.” Segal, *Paul the Convert*, 48. Daniel Boyarin quotes this passage by Segal. See Boyarin, *Radical Jew*, 24.

138. See the discussion in Betz, *Galatians*, 189.

139. It is difficult to know what the formula means by the idea of “one.” J. Louis Martyn comments, “Members of the church are not one *thing*; they are one *person*, having been taken into the corpus of the One New Man.” Martyn, *Galatians*, 377 (italics, the author’s). Hans Dieter Betz mentions that Paul does not explain what he means by the notion of being “one in Christ Jesus.” Betz, *Galatians*, 200.

140. For this expression, see Walker, “Paul on the Role and Status of Women,” 7.

141. With regard to the meaning of Gal 3:28, Victor Furnish writes, “They [the newly baptized persons] *now inhabit a realm* in which their lives are no longer defined by the religious, social, and gender distinctions they had previously taken for granted as ‘the way the world works.’” Furnish, *The Moral Teachings of Paul*, 107 (italics, my own). According to Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, the language of the formula is similar to that of the mystery religions. Schüssler Fiorenza, however, understands the formula to bring about some kind of actual change within the community. She writes, “Being baptized into Christ means entering the sphere of the resurrected Lord, the life-giving Spirit whose *reality and power are manifested* in the Christian community.” Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 214 (italics, my own).

142. Gal 3:28, Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza writes, “offered a new religious vision to women and slaves, it denied all male religious prerogatives in the Christian community based on gender roles.” Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 218.

143. On this point, see Daniel Boyarin, who writes, “For Paul male-and-female means neither male nor female in the non-corporeal body of the risen Christ.” Boyarin, *Radical Jew*, 24.

In sum, with regard to marital relations, Paul treats women and men with equality, he honors a woman's right to remain single and understands that both husband and wife have the same responsibilities and influence over their non-participatory spouse. Paul does not adopt the one-sided approach that only men need to practice self-control. Marriage is Paul's solution for uncontrolled desire for both women and men. While Gal 3:28 informs our understanding of Paul's treatment of women, its otherworldly orientation limits its practical application. It is radically egalitarian only in so far as the baptized person thinks of her or himself as being sexually non-distinct and thereby not susceptible to subjugation by the other. Its power for this world lies in the hearers' belief that in the Anointed differences in biological sex do not count for anything.

Non-Pauline Interpolations

Paul's treatment of specific women, his longer reflection on sexual relations between married couples, marriage and celibacy in 1 Corinthians 7, and his reference to a baptismal formula in Galatians 3 comprise the majority of his extant and explicit comments on the subject of women. Printed editions and manuscripts of the Pauline corpus, however, contain two other passages pertaining to women, namely, 1 Cor 14:33b–36 and 11:3–16. These passages have also been highly determinative of Paul's views on women. While included in modern print editions of 1 Corinthians, they are most likely of a later hand. These passages are best understood as interpolations, defined as "foreign material inserted deliberately and directly into the text of a document."¹⁴⁴ Conceptually, they agree decidedly more with later non-Pauline writings such as 1 Tim 2:8–15, Col 3:18, Eph 5:22, 24, 33, and 1 Pet 3:1–7 than with Paul's own accounts of women. When taken to be the work of Paul, these passages have done more to muddy the issue of Paul's equal treatment of women and men than any of the previously discussed textual or translation issues.

Paul's Alleged Silencing of Women: 1 Cor 14:33b–36

First Corinthians 14 is an extended discussion on speaking aloud in the context of public worship. In his discussion, Paul distinguishes between ecstatic speech, which, because it is not readily understood without an interpreter, functions to diminish the good of the group (1 Cor 14:4, 6, 7–12, 13–19) and unsettle outsiders (1 Cor 14:23), from prophecy, which he argues is more helpful in building up the group because, unlike the former, is readily understood (1 Cor 14:5, 22, 24–25, 29–33a, 39–40). Interrupting this discussion regarding speaking in public are verses 1 Cor 14:33b–36, in which "Paul" calls for the silencing of women.

144. Walker, *Interpolations*, 23. Walker argues convincingly that both 1 Cor 14:34–35 and 11:3–16 are interpolations (63–90, 91–126). I am following William Walker's careful work on interpolations within the writings of Paul for this section of my paper.

In the modern scholarship on Paul, 1 Cor 14:33b–36 has strong but not unanimous support for being a later non-Pauline interpolation.¹⁴⁵ Some modern English translations such as the NRSV and NAB either set these verses apart from others and/or remark in a footnote that scholars consider them to be later and non-Pauline insertions. The verses are as follow:

- 33b Ως ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων
 34 αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις σιγάτωσαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπεται αὐταῖς λαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ ὑποτασέσθωσαν, καθὼς καὶ ὁ νόμος λέγει.
 35 εἰ δέ τι μαθεῖν θέλουσιν, ἐν οἴκῳ τοὺς ἰδίους ἄνδρας ἐπερωτάτωσαν· αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἔστιν γυναῖκι λαλεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ.
 36 ἢ ἀφ' ὑμῶν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξῆλθεν, ἢ εἰς ὑμᾶς μόνους κατήντησεν;
- 33b As in all the assemblies of the saints,
 34 the women, let [them] be silent in the assemblies, for they are not permitted to speak, but let them be subordinate, as the law also says.
 35 But if there is anything they desire to know, let them ask their own husbands at home, for it is shameful for a woman to speak in the assembly.
 36 Or did the word of God come from you? Or did it reach only to you?¹⁴⁶

The call for women to be silent is not only highly atypical of Paul's statements elsewhere concerning women but also out of place in a chapter that concerns types of speaking in public worship. William Walker cites eight different types of evidence for why this passage is likely a non-Pauline interpolation. These are text-critical, contextual, linguistic, ideational, comparative, situational, motivational, and locational.¹⁴⁷ Below, I discuss four among these types of evidence.

There is text-critical evidence for 1 Cor 14:33b–36 as a non-Pauline interpolation. According to Walker, text-critical evidence for interpolation is “data in early witnesses to the text—manuscripts, versions, lectionaries and/or ecclesias-

145. For a very good discussion on this issue, see Jouette Bassler's short article in the *Women's Bible Commentary*. Bassler writes that these verses are “strange by any reckoning of the matter.” She wonders how women like Euodia, Syntyche, Prisca, Mary, Junia, and others can function as co-workers in the churches if they cannot speak out. According to her, these verses were a scribal gloss that wound up being included into the text of the letter. Bassler, “1 Corinthians,” 564–65. For this same position, see Furnish, *The Moral Teachings*, 102–6; Walker, “Paul on the Status and Role of Women,” 9; Walker, *Interpolations*, 63–90; and Dewey et al., *The Authentic Letters of Paul*, 112, who extends the interpolations from v. 33b up through v. 38. By contrast, Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza writes, “Since these verses cannot be excluded on textual-critical grounds but are usually declared inauthentic on theological grounds, it is exegetically more sound to accept them as original Pauline statements and then explain them within their present context.” Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 230. Thus, also Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets*, 152–58.

146. Translation is my own.

147. See Walker, *Interpolations*, 63–90.

tical writers—suggesting that a passage may at one time not have been a part of the Pauline letter in which it now appears.”¹⁴⁸ Within the manuscript tradition, verses 34 and 35 float from one location to another; they can be found either in their present location or after verse 40.¹⁴⁹ When a passage moves from one location to another, there is the distinct possibility that the verses began as a marginal gloss, and that scribes at some later time placed the verses within the text itself, either in one nearby location or another, as they saw fit.¹⁵⁰

In addition to text-critical evidence, there is good contextual evidence for interpolation. The passage is a poor fit within its present location (after verse 33a). Stylistically, the passage interrupts the immediate context, one that concerns ecstatic speaking and prophesying.¹⁵¹ Chapter fourteen concerns *speaking out* in the assemblies (1 Cor 14:13–19, 20–25) and doing so clearly and distinctly (1 Cor 14:6–12). Indeed, Paul’s discussion in chapter fourteen can be described as how best to “make noise” about the Anointed. Types of sounds to be made include the interpretation of tongues (1 Cor 14:13), prophecy (1 Cor 14:3), singing (1 Cor 14:26), reading aloud (1 Cor 14:26), and giving a revelation (1 Cor 14:26). The various noises are for the purpose of building up the assemblies (1 Cor 14:3, 5, 12, 26). By contrast, verses 34 and 35 call for silence. Furthermore, whereas 1 Cor 14:33b–36 regards only women,¹⁵² the surrounding larger passage is gender neutral and refers to everyone present (see 1 Cor 14:5, 18, 23, 24, 26, 31).¹⁵³ There is more reason than not to imagine that women were among the noisemakers.¹⁵⁴

Linguistic evidence, defined as the presence of “non-Pauline vocabulary . . . and/or stylistic features (genre, grammar and syntax, various types of rhetorical and artistic devices, and the like),”¹⁵⁵ also suggests interpolation. The vocabulary within verses 34 and 35 exhibits a high degree of similarity to 1

148. Walker, *Interpolations*, 66.

149. As Joseph Fitzmyer comments, in the manuscripts of the Western textual tradition, D, E, F, G, 88* and in some forms of the *Vetus Itala* (d, g), and in some later patristic and medieval writers such as Ambrosiaster, Sedulius, and Scotus, verses 34–35 follow what is now v. 40 in most printed editions. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 529. While these are not the majority of the manuscripts, taken together, they constitute a primary reading within the Western tradition. On this point, see Walker, *Interpolations*, 69–70.

150. On this point, see Bassler, “1 Corinthians,” 564–65. In addition, see Furnish, *The Moral Teachings*, 103–4.

151. The SV translators remark, “This passage . . . interrupts the coherence of Paul’s argument in this chapter on the relative value of ecstatic speech and prophetic speech.” Dewey et al., *The Authentic Letters of Paul*, 112.

152. Walker comments, “[T]he exclusive focus on women in vv. 34–35 distinguishes these verses from the remainder of ch. 14.” Walker, *Interpolations*, 87.

153. By contrast, William Walker regards this type of difference as ideational evidence for interpolation. Walker, *Interpolations*, 82.

154. In particular, see Antoinette Wire, who argues for the presence of women within the Corinthian assemblies. Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets*. Victor Furnish writes, “Paul drops not even the slightest hint that the gifts of prophecy and ecstatic utterance are bestowed only on male believers.” Furnish, *The Moral Teachings*, 104. Paul, however, uses the word “brothers” in 1 Cor 14:6, 20 and not “brothers and sisters.”

155. Walker, *Interpolations*, 76.

Tim 2:11–12. While the Greek word used for “keeping silent” (σιγαῶν) in 1 Cor 14:34–35 differs from the Greek noun for silence employed in 1 Tim 2:11–12 (ἤσυχος), two other primary verbs are the same. The verb for “submitting” (ὑποτάσσω; 1 Cor 14:34; 1 Tim 2:11) and the one for “permitting” (ἐπιτρέπω) stated in the negative (as in, “do not permit”; 1 Cor 14:34; 1 Tim 2:12) occur in both passages. Furthermore, this passage conforms to a literary pattern that serves to keep “women in their place.” The pattern consists of three elements: 1) a general statement or command regarding the proper role of women, 2) a reason or justification for the statement, and 3) a mitigating statement that serves to provide an additional reason for the statement itself.¹⁵⁶ First Timothy 2:11–12 is a very clear example of this pattern and 1 Cor 14:33b–36 is a close and only slightly weaker example of it.¹⁵⁷

Finally, there is ideational evidence for interpolation. Ideational evidence is “data suggesting that significant features of the substantive content of the passage are not characteristically Pauline, or in some cases, perhaps that they are even anti-Pauline.”¹⁵⁸ As indicated, Paul remarks that women were leaders of assemblies and involved in the work of the message, likely spreading the message in one way or another. Surely these women were not doing these sorts of tasks in silence. Nowhere does Paul indicate that women in particular are to consult with their husbands in private rather than speak their opinion openly. Indeed, some of the women signaled as being in leadership roles and who work on behalf of the message appear in the texts without any mention of a husband (e.g., Phoebe, Chloe, Euodia and Syntyche, Mary, Tryphaena, Tryphosa, and Persis). In contrast to Paul’s equal treatment of women and men as leaders found within his authentic writings, this passage calls for women to be silent and subordinate to men.

In sum, there is considerable and solid evidence for ruling 1 Cor 14:33b–36 a non-Pauline interpolation. Text-critical evidence indicates that the passage floats from one location to another, suggesting that it likely originated as a marginal gloss that was later incorporated into the text. Contextually, it is a poor fit in its present location: in a larger passage that concerns various forms of speaking out, 1 Cor 14:33b–36 calls for silence. Linguistically and ideationally, the passage conforms more closely to 1 Tim 2:11–12 than to Paul’s other and multiple statements that regard women as leaders who work on behalf of the message.

156. Walker, *Interpolations*, 80.

157. The fact that this passage conforms linguistically and even ideationally to 1 Timothy also qualifies it as comparative evidence for interpolation. Comparative evidence is “data suggesting that significant features of a passage—linguistic, ideational, and/or situational—are more closely akin to those of known non-Pauline (and particularly post-Pauline and pseudo-Pauline) writings than to those of the authentically Pauline letters.” Walker, *Interpolations*, 84.

158. Walker, *Interpolations*, 82.

Issues of Hierarchy and Head Coverings: 1 Cor 11:3–16

First Corinthians 11:3–16 is not only difficult to understand, but like the previous passage discussed, fits very poorly within its present context. It too interrupts a larger discussion. The topic of the Lord's meal begins in chapter ten and ends at the conclusion of chapter eleven. It includes the meaning of the cup and bread (1 Cor 10:14–22), whether or not one is free to eat meat sacrificed to idols (1 Cor 10:23–11:1), correct behavior at the Lord's meal (1 Cor 11:17–22, 33–34), a rehearsal of the words spoken during the institution of the Lord's meal (1 Cor 11:23–26), and the correct attitude regarding the meaning of the meal (1 Cor 11:27–32).

Unlike 1 Cor 14:33b–36, many scholars, both female¹⁵⁹ and male,¹⁶⁰ consider 1 Cor 11:3–16 authentically Pauline. On the other hand, William Walker, G. W. Trompf, and more recently the authors of the SV of Paul's letters argue convincingly for it being a non-Pauline interpolation.¹⁶¹ There is strong contextual and linguistic/ideational evidence for interpolation. Furthermore, the wide acceptance for 1 Cor 14:33b–36 being a non-Pauline interpolation weighs in favor of another passage in the same letter, which also diminishes women, as being in the same category.

In so far as the contextual fit, like 1 Cor 14:33b–36, 1 Cor 11:3–16 abruptly¹⁶² interrupts the flow of Paul's discussion.¹⁶³ Rather than dealing with a meal, 1 Cor 11:3–16 concerns the proper way for women and men to pray and prophesy (11:4–5, 13), issues regarding head coverings, especially with regard to women (11:5–7, 10, 13–15), and various unqualified statements regarding how men are superior to women (11:3, 7–9).¹⁶⁴

159. According to Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, in this passage, "Paul . . . makes a more or less convincing theological argument for the 'proper' hairstyle as the cultic symbol for women's spiritual power and equality in the Lord. The goal of his argument, then, is not the reinforcement of gender differences but the order and missionary character of the worship community." Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 230. See also her more lengthy evaluation of the passage on pp. 227–30. In addition, see Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets*, 116–34. See also MacDonald, "Reading Real Women," 215–16; Castelli, "Paul on Women and Gender," 228–30.

160. See Martin, *The Corinthian Body*, 229–49; Furnish, *The Moral Teachings*, 109–15; Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 404–25. See also Victor Furnish, yet he argues that Paul does not subordinate women to men in this passage. Furnish, *The Moral Teachings*, 112–13.

161. Walker, *Interpolations*, 91–126; Trompf, "On Attitudes Toward Women," 198–209; Dewey et al., *The Authentic Letters of Paul*, 110–11.

162. Regarding this point, William Walker comments that the passage disrupts the overall context. Walker, *Interpolations*, 120. See also Dewey et al., *The Authentic Letters of Paul*, 110–11.

163. G. W. Trompf writes, "It is manifest that Paul's discussion in 1 Corinthians 10–11 proceeds much more smoothly if we omit 11:3–16 from the text." Trompf, "On Attitudes Toward Women," 198. Trompf makes the point that in verse 18, which comes after the passage in question, Paul raises an issue of first importance. That issue is factions in the assemblies. If the issue of factions is of *first* importance, how is it that Paul could have mentioned head-coverings prior to it? (see 198).

164. By contrast, in 1 Cor 11:12 Paul writes that women come from men just as men come from women and, as such, he treats the sexes with equality.

Features that can either be categorized as linguistic or ideational strongly support a non-Pauline interpolation.¹⁶⁵ Atypical of Paul, 1 Cor 11:3–16 issues statements that affirm divinely sanctioned rankings by sex, the necessity to recognize authority, and an excessive concern for the behavior of women and men and head-coverings. These issues do not conform linguistically/stylistically and ideationally with Paul’s statements found elsewhere.

Among the linguistic aspects most telling of a non-Pauline interpolation is the passage’s use of the Greek word for “head” (κεφαλή).¹⁶⁶ The number of occurrences—all grouped together in a concentrated fashion—and the particular metaphoric use of the word to indicate authority over someone are otherwise absent from Paul’s writings. Elsewhere Paul employs the Greek word for head only *twice* and in separate letters (Rom 12:20; 1 Cor 12:21), yet the word for “head” occurs *nine times* within this short passage (1 Cor 11:3 [3x], 4 [2x], 5 [2x], 7, 10). Moreover, in 1 Cor 11:3–10 the author uses κεφαλή metaphorically to signify authority five times,¹⁶⁷ a sense not found in either Rom 12:20 or in 1 Cor 12:21.¹⁶⁸

The word κεφαλή (“head”) understood as “ruler” not only dominates the first verse (1 Cor 11:3) but also informs and sets the tone for the entire passage. There are three instances of the word κεφαλή in the first verse, and all three are metaphors for “ruler.”¹⁶⁹ The first verse of the passage reads,

- 3a Θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι ὅτι παντὸς ἀνδρός
 3b ἢ κεφαλή ὁ Χριστός ἐστίν,
 3c κεφαλή δὲ γυναικὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ,
 3d κεφαλή δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ θεός.

3a But I want you to understand that of every man

165. As Walker notes, “[I]t is often difficult to maintain a distinction between *linguistic* and *ideational* features in a passage.” Walker, *Interpolations*, 103.

166. According to Walker, the atypical use of κεφαλή is a linguistic feature more similar to pseudo-Pauline literature than to Paul’s authentic writings. Walker, *Interpolations*, 108.

167. The first three uses of κεφαλή (1 Cor 11:3) are clearly metaphorical and signify “ruler,” the same can be said for the second instance of this word in verses 4 and 5.

168. In Rom 12:20, Paul quotes Prov 25:21–22, in which the word for head is used in a literal sense. That quote refers to heaping burning coals on one’s head. In 1 Cor 12:14–26, Paul creates an extended allegory to explain how the various “parts of the body” relate to one another. In 1 Cor 12:21, he personifies the literal use of “head.” The head, he states, cannot say to the feet that it has no need of them. In this passage, Paul undermines the notion that one “member” is more worthy of honor than another.

169. Victor Furnish minimizes the subordination of women to men implied by 1 Cor 11:3. He reads the Greek word for “head” as a metaphor for “source,” as found in Gen 2:18–23. He acknowledges that even by understanding the “head” to mean “source,” the passage can still be read as subordinating women to men. Yet, according to Furnish, Paul does not intend the subordination of women but instead *distinctiveness* between the sexes. Furnish, *The Moral Teachings*, 112 (italics, the author’s). Distinctiveness, itself, however, is also problematic, as Paul does not make these types of distinctions elsewhere; and Gal 3:28 implies an erasure of gender distinctions.

- 3b the Anointed is the **head**,
 3c and the man is the **head** of the woman,
 3d and God is the **head** of the Anointed.¹⁷⁰

A literal reading of the Greek yields, “The *head*, the Anointed is . . . the *head* the man is . . . the *head* God is.”¹⁷¹ The repetitive¹⁷² Greek word κεφαλή is emphatic by position in each of three short similarly structured cola or phrases (3b, 3c, 3d) and thus draw attention.¹⁷³

The metaphoric sense of κεφαλή (as in “ruler”) influences its subsequent literal use in the verses the follow. For instance, the issue of proper head coverings in 1 Cor 11:4 and 5 is not about simply whether or not a woman or a man should put something on her or his head but instead also concerns the recognition of authority. The woman and the man must respect the head, not “dishonor” (καταισχύνει) it (1 Cor 11:4–5).¹⁷⁴ Furthermore, the reason the man is not to have his head covered is because he is in the “image and glory of God” (εἰκῶν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ ὑπάρχων) and receives honor and authority on account of his status (11:7). By contrast, the woman is to have “authority” (ἐξουσίαν) on her head (11:10) because God deems a woman authoritative only indirectly and through the man (11:7, 9).¹⁷⁵ The insistence upon honor and authority found here is common within the pseudo-Pauline literature (Col 1:18; 2:10, 19; Eph 1:22; 4:15; 5:23), but not within Paul’s other extant writings. In these later non-Pauline writings, κεφαλή is used metaphorically and often to indicate rule over something or someone (Col 1:18; 2:10; Eph 1:22; 5:23).¹⁷⁶ In particular, the metaphoric use of κεφαλή found in 1 Cor 11:3 is very close linguistically and ideationally to Eph 5:23.

170. Translation is my own.

171. Italics are my own.

172. According to Lee and Scott, repetitive sounds influence the reception of further uses of the same word. On the strong influence of repetition on oral reception, see Lee and Scott, *Sound Mapping*, 112.

173. Lee and Scott, *Sound Mapping*, 142.

174. In contrast to my argument here, Antoinette Wire understands the passage to be Pauline. Wire, however, understands the issue of head coverings in ways that parallel my own reading, namely, having to do with issues of honor and shame. See Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets*, 118–30.

175. First Corinthians 11:10 is hard to decipher. It states that, because of angels, women should have authority (a symbol of?) on their head. Joseph Fitzmyer considers the phrase “because of the angels” to be “highly enigmatic.” He provides seven different proposed interpretations of this phrase. He prefers his last listed interpretation, “because of (good) angels.” These good angels assist at the public gatherings. Fitzmyer writes that the woman must have authority on her head because “she is in the presence of men” and also because she is “praying in the presence of God and His angels.” Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 417–19. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza finds that the angels give the women power. Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 228. Victor Furnish, who does not find that Paul subordinates women in this passage, writes that the head coverings are to indicate the authority that women already have. Furnish, *The Moral Teachings*, 113.

176. Walker, *Interpolations*, 108.

Although it is somewhat attenuated (see vv. 4, 11, 12), the passage focuses on women more so than on men. For example, women and what they have on their hair or scalp are the topics of verses 5 (2x), 6 (4x), 13, and 15 (2x), whereas men come into view only in verses 7 and 14. As G. W. Trompf remarks, "The really contentious issue . . . is not the dress and role of men but of women, . . . since references to men only serve to disclose the real need for appropriate female behavior which steadily becomes the author's dominant concern (vv. 5–7, 10, 13–15)."¹⁷⁷

Moreover, 1 Cor 11:3–16 concerns precise details of male and female behavior in worship not otherwise so closely specified elsewhere in Paul's writings. As Walker remarks,

[I]n his undoubtedly authentic writings Paul nowhere indicates any concern for such 'incidental' matters as whether men and women should pray and prophesy with their heads covered or uncovered or whether their hair should be long or short or confined or loose.¹⁷⁸

In a somewhat comparable situation, while Paul counsels men and women to offer conjugal rights to their spouse and to decide between themselves whether or not to abstain for a time from sexual acts, he does not offer specific details regarding the sex act itself, nor does he specify the duration of time the couple should avoid sexual activity (1 Cor 7:3–5). In the immediately preceding chapter of 1 Corinthians, Paul is open-minded and flexible with regard to the partaking of meat sacrificed to idols. Whether or not the Corinthians eat meat sacrificed to idols is dependent not on some predefined rule but instead on the present circumstances (see 1 Cor 10:25–29).¹⁷⁹

Thus, based on contextual, ideational, and linguistic grounds, one can reasonably assume that, like 1 Cor 14:33b–36, 1 Cor 11:3–16 is also a non-Pauline interpolation. The passage breaks the flow of a discussion dedicated to meals, one that begins at 1 Cor 10:14 and, without the intervening passage, picks up again at 1 Cor 11:17 and continues to 1 Cor 11:34. The passage's use of the Greek word for head is distinctive and not found elsewhere within Paul's writings. The use of κεφαλή found in 1 Cor 11:3 conforms linguistically and ideationally with pseudo-Pauline writings, as seen especially in Eph 5:23. Paul does not elsewhere indicate any compulsion to adhere to customs aimed at recognizing honor and authority,¹⁸⁰ and he is generally unconcerned with so-called inci-

177. Trompf, "On Attitudes Toward Women," 206. As he maintains, "The core of the argument lies in the general statement of v 7, where woman is distinctly subordinated to man in worship."

178. Walker, *Interpolations*, 114.

179. On this point, See Trompf, "On Attitudes Toward Women," 202.

180. See Walker, *Interpolations*, 119.

dental matters such as headcoverings. More importantly, ranking authority is absent from Paul's authentic writing: elsewhere Paul chides the Corinthians for regarding one person over the other (1 Cor 3:4–9), and remarks that all those in the Anointed comprise a single body with each member having equal worth (1 Cor 12:4–31). As Trompf notes, "[T]he idea of man's inherent superiority over woman is foreign to the best attested passages of the epistles."¹⁸¹ In that it ranks women beneath men, subordinating them to men, the passage is similar ideationally to 1 Cor 14:33b–36, itself widely considered to be a non-Pauline interpolation.

According to Walker, in the period after Paul, women leaders within the assemblies of Jesus followers may have been perceived as a problem, in turn motivating insertions such as 1 Cor 14:33b–36 and 1 Cor 11:3–16.¹⁸² Passages such as these would have been a way of gaining Pauline authorization for these later patriarchal positions.

Conclusion

By altering the texts and at times rendering inaccurate translations of Greek words, editors and interpreters from ancient to modern times have made numerous attempts to diminish women's status and role within Pauline writings. Yet a careful and more nuanced reading of his letters yields a different, less confusing, and more uniform treatment of women. As indicated, Paul has a high and equal regard for women. He unapologetically and, one might even say unselfconsciously, refers to women as leaders. According to Paul, many women worked to promote the world-transforming message, enacting the same function as Paul himself and the other male leaders he names. Paul counsels that both women and men respect each other's conjugal rights; marriage is his best advice to men and women, both equally prone to uncontrolled sexual desire. He remarks that both women and men can be highly influential in the life of their non-participatory spouse, serving as a positive force to bring them into the community of the Anointed. Contrary to Roman legislation, Paul does not require

181. Trompf goes on to remark, "On the one hand, for instance, the gifts of the Spirit are not bestowed on one sex as against another (12:4–11; Rom 12:6–7). On the other hand, Paul is afraid that anyone among his fellow Christians could be deceived, like Eve was, by the serpent's cunning (1 Cor 11:3); women are no more prone to sin than men (cf. Rom 3:9–18). He castigates men who misuse women (1 Thess 4:3–5). In Gal 4:19 he depicts himself as woman, giving birth to disciples, and in 1 Thess 2:7 as a nurse. The Son of God himself, he avers, was born of a woman (Gal 4:4), and in one of his allegories Christians are described as children of the free woman Sarah, who is mother through God's promise rather than through fleshly desire (22–31). Christ is the second Adam, indeed the perfect redemptive substitute for the first man, for it is Adam (Rom 5:12–21; 1 Cor 15:21–22; 45–49) and not Eve (cf. 1 Tim 2:8–15) who was the original transgressor." Trompf, "On Attitudes Toward Women," 211.

182. Walker, *Interpolations*, 86.

that single women (or men) marry. Indeed, Paul's equal treatment of women and men and his recognition of women as leaders of groups was recognized quite early in the Christian tradition and likely motivated those who desired to institute patriarchal views to alter Greek manuscripts and insert passages such as 1 Cor 14:33b–36 and 1 Cor 11:3–16. These interpolations have functioned to confuse the issue of Paul and women.

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