GOOD ORDER IN THE CHURCH

THE HEAD OF MAN IS CHRIST

THE HEAD OF WOMAN IS MAN

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INTRODUCTION

Christians are deeply divided over the issue of ordaining women to the Ministry of the Church.[1] For one group of Christians in the Church the trend to welcome women into the ordained Ministry is received with great joy, while in another it is looked upon as a breakdown in God's good order.[2] While the first group look forward to having their first woman Archbishop, or Moderator of the General Assembly, the second group see it as the clearest indication that the Church is desperately sick. When the Bible is used to justify positions which are polar opposites one suspects that something has gone seriously awry.

The position adopted in this work is that men and women are both to have dominion over God's creation (Gen 1:28) and each was created by a wise God with a different but complementary purpose in mind. The difference in purpose is based on gender: "male and female created he them." Man, as "the glory of God," is to fulfil the purpose God meticulously planned for him; and woman, as "the glory of man," is to fulfil a different purpose that God has meticulously planned for her as seen in her different constitution—physical, mental, and emotional.

If we safeguard the equality of men and women as created in the moral image of God, we also safeguard their humanity. The perfect model of a human being is the Lord Jesus. He is the Adam who did not fall. In him we see what it is like to be a "normal human being." He alone teaches us how to be fully human. Anything less than his standard is debased humanity. We shall see below what is required of every person if s/he is to be truly human. It is important for what follows to safeguard the full humanity of Jesus, "he was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin" (Heb 4:15). He was a man, not a woman; he is "the glory of God," not "the glory of man." Both male and female can be fulfilled human beings provided they fulfil their ordained roles. If either departs from their set roles then they cease to be "normal" in God's eyes and bring shame on themselves. They become rogue elements in His world, creating havoc and disorder until they return to the complementary roles He has planned for them.

Man did not choose to be head of woman. He was put in this position by his Creator. Woman did not choose her station in life. She was created to be man's helper. Man has nothing to boast about because what he has is a gift or privilege from God. In any case with headship[3] comes the awesome responsibility to render to his Creator and the Lord Jesus Christ the honour and worship that is due to them.

Woman has nothing to regret because her responsibility is to be a helper suitable for man. She is answerable to God, through Jesus Christ, for the way she fulfils her creation calling toward Man/Mankind. Man probably has the more daunting responsibility, but both must face up maturely to the challenge that their different stations in God's creative order

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[1] This work arose out of a discussion paper which I presented to the Kirk Session in my own church (Alexandra Presbyterian Church, Belfast) on the question of ordaining women to the Ministry, or Teaching Elder, in March, 1973.

[2] For the view of the Reformed Churches see *Acts and Reports of the Reformed Ecumenical Synod, Amsterdam, 1968* (p. 35), and *Acts and Reports of the Reformed Ecumenical Synod, Australia, 1972* (pp. 52-59). Writers who adopt the historic view of the Christian Church are Peter Brunner, *The Ministry and the Ministry of Women* (St. Louis: Concordia Pub. House, 1971); G. W. Knight, *The New Testament Teaching on the Role Relationship of Men and Women* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1977); and Fritz Zerbst, *The Office of Woman in the Church* (St. Louis: Concordia Pub. House, 1958). This work contains some fine exegesis and is a textbook on the subject. It also has an excellent European bibliography.

[3] The term 'headship', like 'trinity' and dozens of other theological terms, does not occur in the Bible, but it is necessary to sum up what Scripture teaches on the subject of the relation of Christ to God, man to Christ, and woman to man. Thus the concept of 'headship' is as much present in the text of Gen 2-3 and 1 Tim 2 as it is in 1 Cor 11.

demands of them. Rather than talk about woman being in subjection to man we should view man and woman having their own special agenda to fulfil, and these, when cemented in a loving relationship, are truly complementary and beautiful in their outcome. Without love, binding man and woman into one flesh, the relationship breaks down and force, or physical coercion, is resorted to by man in order to achieve his goals which may not relate to his duty toward his Maker.

Both Adam and Eve sinned, so it is wrong to suggest that Genesis 3:15 teaches that as a direct punishment for her sin Eve was subordinated to Man, that is, that Woman was made subject to Man as a *penalty* for her sin, as though an initial equality with Adam was replaced by inequality, which would be a reduction in her original status.[4] The harsh "rule" of man over woman came about as a *consequence* of sin, just as weeds and birth-pains did, so that the pre-Fall headship and the pre-Fall moral image of God both underwent a fundamental change when sin entered the souls of Adam and Eve.

The action of God in bringing Eve to Adam *before* she sinned was a beautiful action, and encapsulated the union of two complementary natures whose distinctive genders ensured a life-long relationship to keep them together. The giving of themselves to each other was the first act of mutual love by both of them.[5] It is to this pre-Fall scene that Jesus directs the mind of his disciples when considering his view of marriage.

So voluntary, loving submission, *per se,* is not the problem. It is Man's inability to love the Woman after the pattern of the Lord's love for the Church that is his problem. And it is the refusal of Woman to accept her preordained station alongside Man, which is her problem. But Paul links the covering of the Woman's head with her pre-Fall calling to fulfil her mission to be Man's finest helper, and not to her post-Fall condition. He links Man's uncovering with his pre-Fall calling to be the image and glory of God,[6] which he can now become fully (potentially) in Christ.

In Paul's view the coming of the Messiah marked a new age for mankind (a *tabula rasa*) in which man and woman appear once more capable of fulfilling their assigned responsibilities, as on the day they were created, through the help of the Holy Spirit, and the presence of Christ within their bodies. It is in recognition of this new opportunity and new beginning with all its possibilities to fulfil their original set goals that Paul's doctrine of covering and uncovering of the head relates to, as we shall see in the following sections.

Man and Woman can achieve equal dignity by fulfilling their respective roles under Christ and not by taking over the other's role. The sign of their distinctive roles is symbolised in the covering of the head (for women) and the uncovering of the head (for men). For a woman to come before God with an uncovered head is a clear signal to Him that she has discarded her original (pre-Fall) assigned role, and prefers to emulate the role that He has assigned to man. The same can be said of man *mutatis mutandis.*

From the commencement of the New Testament Church men and women were full members of it through a common baptism (Acts 1:14; 12:12), and this is confirmed by the many women that Paul included in his greetings to the churches (Rom 16:1,3; 1 Cor 9:5, etc.). The fact that women were to accept the love-headship of their husbands in the created order is no diminution of her dignity any more than Christ's dignity is diminished in relation to God.

The gender and other differences between men and women arising from the creation, and the unity and equality of the sexes *in Christ* as a result of redemption are two different things, and on different levels, as we shall see. Rather, their distinct God-created genders

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[4] This view was advocated by P. Jewett, *Man As Male And Female* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), pp. 22, 114.

[5] Paul was aware of this in his advice to married couples in 1 Cor 7:3. This perfect, pre-Fall headship is still operative in all Christian marriages.

[6] For the significance of this phrase see L.J. Lietaert Peerbolte, "Man, Woman and the Angels in 1 Cor 11:2-16," in *The Creation of Man and Woman,* edited by Gerard P. Luttikhuizen (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 76-92, esp. pp. 83--85.

complement their God-given roles, and make them attractive to one another in a loving relationship.

> The equality of the sexes, being "all one in Christ Jesus' (Gal 3:28), does not imply a theological equality, but refers to the status of being children of God, which men and women equally inherit through baptism. The priority established in the order of creation is a fact that remains unchanged. 1 Cor 14:34 cannot therefore be simply an example of a temporally conditioned judgement about the position of women in the liturgy, but must be a conscious decision of fundamental significance.[7]

The conclusion of this work is that God has given different dress-codes to men and women when they appear in worship before Him, either in formal, public worship, or in family worship, or in private devotions.

The dress-codes are different because He has given to man and woman different powers and responsibilities. To Man He has given the authority to lead[8] his own family and to be head to his own wife..

Because He made man and woman with different purposes in mind He has made Man head of the Woman. As head He has given man the prime responsibility and duty to worship Him in His appointed manner. In fulfilling this headship role the woman is to be a silent, supporting participator.

In Part 1 the theological reasons undergirding headship are set out. Central to this section is the need to show that the terms "head," "submission" and other related terms should be given the meaning they have in the Greek of the New Testament. This is followed by four factors that help to clarify what is meant by the Headship of Man.

Part 2 is taken up with eight popular arguments which have been used to undermine the theological case set out in Part 1. This is followed by two minor sections on, the case for a distinctive Christian culture, and compromises made by some evangelicals to the position adopted in this work. It was intended that each objection and its reply should stand alone, consequently there is some unavoidable repetition in the different sections.

Part 3 sets out the practice of the Early Church until about AD 400 which complements the theological reasons set out in Part 1.

Part 4 sets out some recommendations or practical conclusions in the light of the entire presentation.

Following these four parts come three Excursuses and nine Appendices, seven of which examine particular key words in some depth. A special section contains 21 charts illustrative of the theology of the present work. These should be consulted before reading the text.

All females, married or unmarried, have one dress-code. All males, married or unmarried, have one dress-code. The practices relate to the positive authority that God has invested men and women with. They differ in authority and it is *this difference* that the practices speak of, and witness to. This difference is located at the spiritual level—the spirit in a male body. Headship is located in the "breath" that was breathed into his body. All males have it by birth. No one is born genderless, but all are born cultureless. The former is

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[7] Article "Woman," in *Encyclopaedia of Biblical Theology*, ed. J.B. Bauer. 3 vols (London: Sheed & Ward, 1970), III, 985-991, esp. p. 990. See 4.2. below for a fuller treatment of Galatians 3:28.

[8] The word ἐπιμελήσεται 'to take care of' occurs only three times in the NT, Lk 10:34, 35; 1 Tim 3:5. Paul avoided using the normal terms for rule such as, προΐστηναι 'to rule/maintain' (8x); βραβεύω 'to rule' (1x); ἡγεόμαι 'have the rule over' (3x); ἄρχω 'rule over' (2x). The idea of *taking care of* brings out the twin ideas of love and control being used for the good of the whole family.

determined by God; the latter by man. The former passes imperceptivity from gene to gene; the latter passes perceptively from mouth to mouth.

The positive interpretation that Paul gives to the two theological dress-codes (and an uncovered head is as much a conscious act as covering the head) means that a covering on a woman's head should never be interpreted as a sign that she is under her husband's authority. This is not how Paul saw it. If Christ voluntarily submits himself to the Father, and man voluntarily submits himself to Christ, then woman should voluntarily submit herself to man. But man's uncovered head is not a symbol of his submission to Christ. Scripture says his head is to be uncovered because "he is the image and glory of God" (1 Cor 11:7). Likewise woman's covered head is not a symbol of her submission to her husband, because then unmarried women would not be required to cover their heads.. Scripture says her head is to be covered because she is "the glory of man" which is a reference back to her creation from the Creator's perspective and evaluation.

She is to submit herself to man's love-headship after the manner of Christ's submission to the Father's will, because of the position that has been granted to Man, through his headship, *but the theological practice of covering her head stands for her own positive authority.* It has as much a *positive* significance as the man's uncovering has. When she puts the covering of her own God-given authority on her head she is acknowledging her station and position in God's authority structures. The covering must not be re-interpreted solely to remind her that she is under the headship of man. That could give the covering a negative significance in the eyes of some, whereas Paul gives it a positive significance. He calls it "authority." The different theological dress-codes remind men and women of their place in God's order, and the duties and privileges that go with that position. The two distinct theological practices speak of a God-ward, not a Man-ward, relationship; a vertical, not a horizontal, orientation. Nevertheless, there will be profound implications for the way men and women fulfil their distinctive roles in God's world given the existence of headship within the human family.[9]

[9] For a summary statement of this Introduction see the first part of Excursus 1: Critique of John Stott's position.

PART ONE: THE THEOLOGICAL CASE FOR HEADSHIP

There are two crucial questions that need to be answered from Scripture if we are to understand the role of men and women in the Christian Church and in the Christian family. The two questions are:

1. What *authority* has God given to men and women?
2. What *function* has He given men and women within His world?

The answers cannot be found in inherited knowledge. We are all born cultureless and lacking in knowledge. We acquire knowledge gradually as we grow up. There is true and false knowledge about the Creator and the purpose of our existence here on earth. Because of the consequences of the Fall we need special revelation to restore the true knowledge that our first parents had before they sinned. True knowledge is contained in the Word of God (both Old and New Testaments). When we become new creatures in Christ we receive the Holy Spirit to enable us to recognise truth, and to guide us into a deeper understanding of the Word of God and the world and mind of God as we mature in the faith.

Men need to know why God created them and what authority God has given to him. Women, likewise, need to know why God created them and what authority He has given them, and how this relates to the authority and role He has given to men. This knowledge has to be acquired through revelation; it is not inherited.

According to Genesis 2:15 Adam had been given his reason for living *before* God created Eve. Consequently his reason for living could not have included Eve in it. He was placed on earth to take control of it under the Creator's delegated authority and headship. *He was to serve the Creator in a direct headship relation.* God was his head.[10] Adam had to bear in mind at all times that he was under authority and answerable to God for the way he fulfilled the purpose of his creation. He was not given a free hand to do whatever he liked with the creation.

Before Eve existed God exercised His headship by placing Adam under a single restriction—not to eat of the Tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Gen 2:16-17). But there was love in this headship relation. God was not simply Adam's Maker, like a watchmaker might make a watch and love the object he has made. Adam was a person; he was God's son (Lk 3:38) and God was his Father/Begetter. Adam's service was thus a service of love and it was done to please his Father God. His relation to God was not one of servant to master, or of robot to its creator, or of citizen to king (though God was his Master, Maker and Monarch), but that of a loving son to a loving Father. As a created son he was in an obedience relationship. Jesus, the second Adam, was the Son of God, and God was his Head only when he became man (1 Cor 11:3). The first Adam failed to obey his Father; the second Adam obeyed Him perfectly. The first Adam was a type of the second Adam (Rom 5:14; 1 Cor 15:21-22).

Some time after Adam had been on this earth, and had contemplated the cycle of animal life, mating, (producing young?) and showing affection for their offspring, he became aware of his singleness, his solitariness, his lack of a human companion. The Lord God took the initiative once His son had arrived at this "sense of need." In His wisdom God did not create Eve until this "sense of need" had matured in Adam, until Adam was "ready" and eager to share his world with another human being. The impression given by Genesis 1:26-27

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[10] The term 'head' (Greek κεφαλὴ) is used about 281 times to translate Hebrew ראש which concretely refers to the physical head of the body, and from this meaning it is used in many ways with the central idea of being the controlling force on the concrete analogy of the head/brain being in control of the body. It has a metaphorical meaning of "authority over" in Jud 10:18; 11:8, 9, 11 [ms. A only]; 1 Kgs 21:12 [ms. A*]; 2 Sam 22:44; Isa 7:8-9; Jer 31:7 [38:7 LXX]).

is that Adam and Eve were created *at the same time,* but Genesis 2-3 takes us closer—indeed, into the exact sequence of events.[11]

God created Eve *for* Adam. Her origin arose from a "sense of need" that originated in Adam, not in God. God's need was for a man to till the ground (Gen 2:5b) and rule over His creation, mastering it and bringing out the best in it. The fashioning of Eve's body, mind, and soul was carried out with the sole intention of providing Adam with the most perfect companion he could wish for. The result was a perfect mate. The Father brought His first daughter and gave her away to His son in marriage, and such was the perfect match that Adam instinctively recognised in her the "helpmeet" he had sought. It was love-acceptance at first sight. Adam was now her husband. She entered into a permanent love-headship from the moment they became "one flesh."

Eve's purpose for living was determined by the pre-existence of Adam. She was to be a loving companion, wife and mother. She was designed to remove Adam's sense of need for a like companion. The original sense of need was seen by the Lord God as something that was "not good" in His perfect creation. Her purpose for living was different from that given to Adam. The purpose of Adam's creation was not altered by the gift of a perfect companion. His primary purpose was still to "rule . . . over all the earth" (Gen 1:26) under the loving care of the Lord God, in a permanent love-headship relation.

Eve, on the other hand, coming later, entered into a world already committed into Adam's hands, and who was also in a permanent love-headship relation with his Father God. But being his wife, and by virtue of the two becoming one flesh, she shared in his God-given status. This was a loving relationship and no doubt Eve accepted with joy the reason for her existence. Not a thought of rejecting Eve passed through Adam's mind, or vice versa. It was a perfect relationship, and as harmonious as that between the Lord God and Adam. Both Adam and Eve accepted the different status relation that God originated for each of them. The head of Adam was God: the head of Eve was Adam. Each knew the other's and their own position within the totality of relations. Common to both headships was love. Without love these two headships would have degenerated into a master-servant, or employer-employee relationship. Adam and Eve differed in status because headship was gender-specific. We learn from Genesis 1:28 that male and female have a joint-responsibility to look after God's world under His direction. And what they have jointly cannot constitute the difference between them.

If we define love as an outgoing concern for another's good, then Adam's love for the Lord God expressed itself continually in the thought "not my will but *yours* be done." Likewise Eve's desire was to carry out Adam's will as fully, and to the same degree of commitment, as Adam carried out God's will. Love, not force or compulsion, motivated all they did for each other. But all was done for the glory of God. Both looked to please God by fulfilling the specific gender roles He allocated to them.

There are two elements that characterise the love-headships of God and Adam. First, the relationship is a love relationship. There was no element of compulsion in it. Second, this love expressed itself continually in the desire of one to do the will of the other. Adam delighted to do God's will, and Eve delighted to do Adam's will. The supreme example of a love-relationship is that of the Lord Jesus to his Father. Continually he is found expressing his sole purpose for living was to do the Father's will. He was fully human and had a will of his own, but he rejected every attempt by Satan to get him to follow it.[12]

God's headship was expressed in His right to govern Adam's life. Before Eve was created He defined Adam's liberty and imposed one restriction on his freedom, namely, he could not eat of *one* Tree in the Garden.

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[11] See Chart 4. Title: "The Two Accounts of the Creation of Adam."

[12] See further on this under 1.1. below.

> This small restraint it was fit to lay upon Adam to make him sensible, that though he had dominion over all things, yet he was not their lord; but a servant of the Most High: who required this abstinence in token of his subjection, and to prove his obedience to Him. . . . For as, in observing this law, he had testified his unspotted love and obedience to God; so, in violating it he threw off the divine government, and opposed his own will to God's.[13]

Adam accepted the Lord God's right to make any decision He wanted regarding his life. He accepted the one restriction until, later on, his wife led him into sin, to choose not to do the Lord God's will but to do his own will. Man's first sin was against God's headship of him. Love should have prevented Adam from doing his own will and should have prompted him to do the will of his Head. But his love for his wife clouded his first love, and he deliberately chose to follow her suggestion, and ate the fruit she offered him.

The sin of Adam and Eve had catastrophic consequences. Punishment followed rebellion. In the expulsion from the Garden the focus is on Adam. No mention is made of Eve's expulsion. In his expulsion hers is included, just as in his governance of the earth she is included by virtue of her "one flesh" relationship with him. When the Lord God came to communicate with *adam* He called for Adam by name (not for Eve, or for both) as the one who was directly responsible to Him. And Adam is held responsible for sin entering the world, not Eve, even though she was the first to sin. "Sin entered the world through one man . . . and . . . death came to all men" through Adam, not through Eve (Rom 5:12). The command not to eat of the Tree was laid on Adam *before* Eve was created. Unless Yahweh repeated His prohibition to Eve personally it would appear that Adam was responsible for putting Eve under the same prohibition that he was put under by a loving God, unless at their marriage Yahweh restated His prohibition to them both. However, her addition of the words, "and you [plural] must not touch it" (3:3) was not included in the original stipulation given to Adam in Genesis 2:16-17, and could conceivably be Adam's own addition to ensure that Eve kept well away from the temptation to follow her own will, and not Adam's, which should have been her heart's desire.

The entrance of sin brought about irreversible alterations to the whole of creation. Pure, unadulterated love, so essential in the two love-headships died within the Human[14] soul as an inherited characteristic of being Human. It was replaced by a fallen human nature which was characterised by self-interest, self-assertion, self-importance, and every form of self-centredness imaginable, and this fallen nature has been transmitted to all men. Adam "begat a son in his own likeness, in his own image," not in the image in which he had been created. That first, perfect "image of God" was permanently lost as an inherited characteristic of what constituted man's once perfect Human nature. Although a vestige of that original Human nature is a characteristic of every human being since Adam's time, man is not truly "Human." Man is a fallen, incomplete version of the Human nature that left God's hands. In Jesus can be seen what that original Human nature looked like in all its perfection. He was perfect man.

Also, as a perfect man, we see in Jesus' headship relation to his Father the perfect obedience that Adam (and all his descendants) should have given to God. Jesus, as the second Adam, lived a life of perfect obedience to the will of his Father, and as a result his righteous life and death can be offered to all who will accept him as their head. To those who

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[13] Patrick, Lowth, Arnald, Whitby, and Lowman, *A Critical commentary and Paraphrase on the Old and New Testament and the Apocrypha* (4 vols. London: William Tegg & Co., ND). Vol 1 by Symon Patrick (Gen-Joshua). See under Genesis 3:17.

[14] In what follows I shall retain 'Human' to refer to the unfallen human nature, and 'human' to refer to the fallen human nature which all men come into the world with. Only the Lord Jesus was *born* with a Human nature; Adam was *created* with one.

accept Jesus as their head he has begun the task of restoring them to the original Human nature, that is, Christians are being changed into his likeness. In Jesus Christians see what the restoration of the image should look like in them. Through this union with the Lord Jesus they are being transformed into His likeness and nature, but it is a sanctification process that is never fully accomplished in this life. But it is something which some human beings have and others do not have, and consequently it divides humanity into the "haves" and the "have nots," into Christians and non-Christians, into sheep and goats, into sons of light and sons of darkness. That likeness to Christ, however, will involve the restoration of the love-headships that characterised mankind in the beginning.

If the first casualty of sin was the death of pure love, its corollary was the emergence of a loveless creation. Sin penetrated deeply and permanently into the entire creation. Nothing in the present world is as it left the hand of a perfect Creator. Everything has the mark of imperfection about it. Imperfect human beings were born. In place of a natural love-headship being an inherited characteristic of every male born into the world we find a force-headship emerging: "he shall rule over you." Out of the ground emerge thorns and thistles. Accompanying the birth of humans comes pain so great as to extinguish the life of the mother in the act of giving birth. Of these catastrophic changes that now grip and engulf the whole of creation only the reversal of some of the damage done to the original moral image of God is possible. All the other side-effects of the Fall will not be reversed before the "restoration of all things."

This means that force-headship will be the natural inherited condition for the post-Fall world, and will characterise all societies, peoples and nations which do not have Christ as their head. Christ alone can transform and lessen the manifestation of force-headship with his love-headship. Man cannot regain the original love-headship with Woman until he *first* has a love-headship with Christ, because "the heart is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked" (Jer 17:9).

No non-Christian married couple can ever experience the original love-headship relation that Adam and Eve experienced. Only in Christ can fallen nature be crucified and transformed by his new Nature, and pure love can only be found in his new Nature. Without this pure love a love-headship cannot be formed between human beings. The default or inherited human headship is a force-headship in the post-Fall world. To accept this fallen condition as "human" and something to be proud of is to undermine the completed work of God in redeeming fallen, human nature. When Christians aspire to be Human they do not think in terms of the best that fallen human nature is capable of , but they aspire to the pre-Fall Human nature that Adam and Eve enjoyed, and which Christ alone had as perfect man. Christians only become truly Human again in Christ: "those who are in the flesh cannot please God" (Rom 8:8). That is, every human being is born a sinner and cannot help sinning from birth. It follows that nothing that comes out of such a human being will ever please God. All their "good works" are as filthy rags in His pure sight. Unless mankind becomes truly Human they shall not enter the Kingdom of God.

For the purpose of redeeming mankind God *made* Jesus Christ the head of every man, and Jesus took on a new relation to his Father which he never knew before—*the Father became his Head.* The original, pre-Fall headship of Man and Woman was unchanged by this new arrangement because the New Kingdom was to restore the original love-headships between Man and Woman, and between Man and God through Christ as Man's new head.[15]

If we take God's headship, as expressed in His relation to Adam, as our definition of "headship" then we see that headship involves God's right to govern Adam's life totally. He was created *for* God. Woman was created *for* Man, therefore Man must likewise be fully in control of his delegated sphere of authority and responsibility. He has this God-given status

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[15] See Chart 14. Title: "The difference that Christ's coming as God's Mediator made to the reordering of heavenly powers;" also, Chart 3. Title: "From Adam to Christ: The Three Love-Headships;" Chart 5. Title: "The OT Love-Headship Relationships;" and contrast this with, Chart 6. Title: "The NT Love-Headship Relationships."

for all time. "There is no denying that the word κεφαλή denotes 'head' and connotes 'authority and supremacy over'."[16]

The second characteristic we see in God's headship is that He is a loving God. Everything He does for Man is out of love for him. He planted a perfect Garden for him to live in, not a disorderly jungle with the parting command, "Go, and subdue it." We see then that in a world of perfect love there is perfect care and thoughtfulness and preparation for another's happiness and welfare.

Thirdly, as a God of love He is also characterised as being a God of order. Disorder is a direct challenge to His headship over everything. Perfect love manifests itself in perfect obedience to the Head of creation. In God's world, order and obedience are inseparable. Disorder and disobedience are two sides of one coin. Jesus said: "If you love me, keep my commandments" (Jn 14:15). He showed perfect love to the Father because he obeyed Him perfectly—*in everything.* In all love-headships perfect obedience is at the core of the relationship. Without it disorder takes its place and the headship that creates harmony breaks down. When this happens, if the head wants to restore order, that is, wants the relationship to continue, then we learn from God's example with disobedient Israel that He reasons with her and pleads with her ("Come now and let us reason together," says the Lord [Isa 1:18]), and is very patient ("He is slow to anger and of great kindness" [Ps 103:8; 145:8; Neh 9:17), and only as a last resort does He *exercise force* (having exhausted every other avenue of persuasion) to restore His position. In other words, His love-headship is temporarily turned into a force-headship in order to restore the love-headship. It is for Israel's good that force has to be used because He will not give her up: He loves her and will not let her go. His patience ran out with her stubborn refusal to return to Him and His anger against her culminated in the horrors of the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile to Babylon in 586 BC. But behind this display of force-headship lay the goal of restoration. The tragedy of Hoshea's marriage to Gomar illustrates Yahweh's relationship to Israel.

In the case of Jesus' headship of each man, and the Church collectively, where disorder and disobedience rears its ugly head he, too, resorts to warning followed by the threat of discipline (or exercising his force-headship) by *imposing* his will on the disobedient members. He even threatens to cut off whole churches unless they repent and return to their first love (Rev. 2:5 [Ephesus], 16 [Pergamos]; 22-23 [Thyatira]; 3:3, 5 [Sardis]; 16 [Laodicea]). The exercise of his righteous anger is always for the good of his Bride to restore her first love for him only.

In the case of Man's headship of Woman, we can be sure that in the perfect setting of the Garden of Eden, the mutual love Adam and Eve showed to each other was perfect and

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[16] See Yeo Khiok-khng, "Differentiation and Mutuality of Male-Female Relations in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16," *Biblical Research* 43 (1998) 7-21, esp. p. 15. He points out that in the LXX, *kephale* appears 281 times as the translation for Hebrew *rosh* in the sense of chief or ruler, when used of an authoritative figure. See also W. Grudem, "Does κεφαλή Mean 'Source' or 'Authority Over' in Greek Literature? A Survey of 2,336 Examples," *Trinity Journal* 6 (1985) 38-59; idem, "The meaning of κεφαλή ('Head'): A Response to Recent Studies," *Trinity Journal* 11 (1990) 3-72; J. A. Fitzmyer, "Another Look at ΚΕΦΑΛΗ in 1 Corinthians 11.3," *New Testament Studies* 35 (1989) 503-11, who notes that "a Hellenistic Jewish writer such as Paul of Tarsus could well have intended that κεφαλή in 1 Cor 11:3 be understood as 'head' in the sense of authority or supremacy over someone else" (p. 510). Yeo Khiok-khng responded (op. cit., p. 16) by noting that "this is to assume Paul's use of the word ['head'] cannot exceed the semantic range of his contemporaries. An analysis of Paul's exegesis of Exodus in 1 Corinthians 10, for example, reveals that Paul is a creative thinker who often uses old patterns and concepts in a new way to prove his point." But this is special pleading for importing a new "concept" in order to avoid the normative use of the word.
Others prefer to see 'head' as a metaphor for 'source', which is not impossible according to Stephen Bedale, "The Meaning of *kephale* in the Pauline Epistles," *JTS* n.s. 5 (1954) 211-15; C. K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), p. 249; Robin Scroggs, "Paul and the Eschatological Woman," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 40 (1972) 283-303, esp. pp. 298-99; J. Murphy-O'Connor, "Sex and Logic in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16," *CBQ* 42 (1980) 482-500, esp. pp. 492-93; Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (The New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), p. 503; Kitty Diane Bendixen-Park, "Dramatism and Headship: A Survey of Text-Linguistic and Rhetorical Theory to Elucidate Paul's Use of ΚΑΦΑΛΗ in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16" (PhD Diss., Northwestern University, 1994), 484.

channelled through the knowledge they had of each other's purpose for existing. He, as directly responsible for all of God's creation (having given names to all, including Eve) was to care for it *and her* in particular ("Husbands, love your wives"); and she, as set in the Garden alongside Adam, expressed her perfect love by obeying him in everything ("just as the church is subject to Christ, so let wives be to their own husbands in everything" [Eph 5:24][17]). Given this pre-Fall perfection of love and obedience among Human beings it is not surprising to find that Jesus goes back to the pre-Fall status of humanity to find his doctrine of indissoluble marriage. Hence it is that Christ tells his followers to look to *that* period of human history, and not to the post-Fall period, for their standards and status, which he has restored to fallen human beings who become his followers. This explains why the apostles urge men to love their wives and urge wives to be obedient to their husbands because "it was so from the beginning."

Wives are expressly commanded to submit to their husbands *in everything* after the pattern of the Church submitting to Christ, and of Jesus submitting to his Father. Man is to love after the pattern of the Lord's love for the Church.[18] This is the core meaning of love-headship: submitting freely to love, and being loved in return for that submission.

Both God and Christ were forced to resort to discipline in order to retain their headship positions. Similarly Man must not permit disorder to reign in his home, any more than Christ will permit it to reign in his Church, or God will permit it to reign in His creation. The latter point might appear to be contradicted by history. The whole of human history is one long night of misrule and disorder, but that does not mean that God is not in control and about to bring it back to order. This might be seen as a long-term example of what we see happening in the short-term in the case of Jesus' headship of the Church. Between the moment disorder first makes its presence felt in his Church and the moment good order is re-established, he still continues to be head *during the period of disorder.* It is just a matter of time before he reimposes his headship on the disobedient. Likewise between the Fall in Eden and the Restoration (still future) God is still Head of all things through Christ, and good order will be restored to His creation once the work of gathering in all the elect has been completed. The Book of Revelation shows that the end has already been written and history will follow its script.

Likewise in the home, when disorder/disobedience appears to get its way, the head can reason and plead but in the end he has authority to *impose his will* on the disobedient, otherwise they lose his fatherly love and care, and may, as a last resort, be sent out of his house, if they cannot accept his God-given authority to lead his own house in the way that pleases the Lord Jesus.

Because God is a God of order He has set Man as head over Woman, just as He has set Christ as head over every man (Christian and non-Christian). In view of this analogy it would be against good order for man not to obey Christ, his head, in everything, and for Woman not to obey her husband in everything. The two go together. If perfect love casts out fear, then lack of love results in fear (1 Jn 4:18). The former results in a love-headship, the latter in a force-headship. Force-headship was not an original part of Adam's constitution. It could not exist in his pure Human nature because he had perfect love for his wife. It did not exist until sin entered his perfect world and produced fear. And fear became a permanent feature of human relationships. When the Lord God said to the woman, "and he shall rule over you," He was just pointing out the consequences of her action because she had broken a spiritual law which was as real as the law of gravity.

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[17] That is, lawful and right, not in things criminal and wrong, such as a demand to leave off the things that save the soul. Her God and her soul must come first (Mt 22:37; Lk 14:26-27). Obedience to the husband in all things is not based upon him loving his wife as Christ does the Church. She is to obey the good and gentle as well as the stubborn and crooked (cf. 1 Pet 2:18) "as unto the Lord" (Eph 5:22).

[18] On this point in more detail see 1.3 below.

So long as she remained away from her proper headship relation to her husband she would experience his "force" to remain in control[19] of his own life and the world he was given to rule. Her sin *produced* a force-headship in Adam, and sin, unfortunately produced a force-headship in God (toward Adam and Israel), and in Jesus (toward disobedient churches). Because force-headship is the final means—the last resort—to counter disobedience and disorder, in itself it cannot be an evil thing. God and Christ both resort to using it to retain/regain control of their worlds. God used it before the Fall of Adam to defeat Satan.

From a study of the character of God's headship and that of the Lord Jesus it is clear that headship involves three things. It involves (1) ***control of one's designated sphere.*** In the case of God He is in control of His world and He had the right to control Adam's world. He exercised this right by laying down restrictions and granting freedoms. Adam was made acutely aware that he was not free to do as he pleased. Yet he was also acutely aware from the beginning that he was in a loving relationship with his Creator.[20] It involves (2) ***love of the one over whom one is set.*** Again, the love of God and Christ are legendary and unquestionable. Love is the engine of the headship relation. And it involves (3) ***the right to use force or discipline for the good of the one over whom one is set.*** We see this demonstrated in God's care and discipline of Israel, and in Jesus' care and discipline of us as individuals and as whole churches (cf. seven churches of Asia in the Book of Revelation). This aspect of God's nature we have called force-headship to distinguish it from His love-headship.

However, although God and the Lord Jesus will always use their force-headship correctly because of their God-natures, this cannot be said of fallen human males. Not until the fallen human male accepts the headship of Christ and receives Christ's new Nature can he use his force-headship correctly to create good order in his home. "Good order in the home" cannot be an end in itself. It must be achieved in order that the whole household can come under the headship of Christ. Any use of authority derived from man's headship which does not contribute directly to maintaining the headship of Christ over his family, through his headship, is exploitation. But misuse does not demand disuse. There is a right and a wrong use of force-headship.

The man who does not have Christ as his living head is bound to exploit his position. Consequently exploitation will predominate where Christ is not recognised as head. We see it in use in all societies, tribes and nations of the world not only today but in the whole history of humanity. It bears out God's words to Eve, "he shall rule over you." Likewise a Christian man who does not adopt a loving, submissive attitude toward his Saviour's will can manipulate force-headship to his selfish advantage within his own family. *The door of opportunity to exploit his wife and family never closes until the day of his death.* It is a constant source of temptation to him and it will require wisdom, maturity, and vigilance to prevent its wrong use. Likewise in the case of a Christian woman, the door of opportunity to disobey her husband never closes until the day of her death. She, too, must be vigilant over her actions and never usurp her husband's right to lead his family.

There is a right use of the force-headship (e.g., discipline) and a wrong use (exploitation). Force-headship is as much a part of human nature as it is of the God-nature. It is, like "power" and "authority," open to abuse or right use, but it cannot be abolished. Like thorns and thistles, force-headship is here to stay, but the more men and women come closer to being like the Lord Jesus the less likely will they experience force-headship to maintain good order. The following table summarises the above section.

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[19] In Liddell & Scott's *Greek Lexicon,* the verb δαμάζω is used in Classical Greek literature (cf. *Illiad,* 18.432) of maidens, *to make subject* (to a husband). In Mk 5:4 the same verb is used of the inability of the local people to bring Legion *under control* with chains and fetters.

[20] Even when the whole work of redemption is finished the Son will hand back everything to the Father so that God will be supreme head over everything once again, cf. 1 Cor 15:28.

HEADSHIP

HEADS	LOVE-HEADSHIP	FORCE-HEADSHIP
GOD	CANNOT EXPLOIT IT	CANNOT EXPLOIT IT
CHRIST	CANNOT EXPLOIT IT	CANNOT EXPLOIT IT
CHRISTIAN MAN	INCONSISTENT USE	CAN EXPLOIT IT
NON-CHRISTIAN MAN	DOES NOT EXIST	CONSISTENTLY EXPLOITS

When the Lord God brought Eve to Adam, neither of them could have known what force-headship was. Adam could only experience love-headship because force-headship requires disobedience to manifest itself. So up until Eve sinned she never experienced force-headship or knew of its existence. But as soon as she sinned Yahweh was able to inform her that she had brought force-headship into existence for the very first time, and that, like the thorns and thistles and child-birth pains, it would be part of her experience to the end of time.

Even as a Christian woman, force-headship can never be completely abolished from her world any more than sin can be completely abolished from her new life in Christ, or birth-pains, or thistles from her physical world. The reason for this is that she remains capable of sin after her conversion to Christ, and in addition to this her Christian husband remains capable of sin after his conversion to Christ. But just as the Christian man should never disobey Christ in anything (and so avoid experiencing the Lord's force-headship over him), so neither should a Christian woman disobey her husband in anything (and so avoid experiencing her husband's force-headship over her). Self-control has to be acquired and exercised for as long as the headship relation exists.

As soon as Adam sinned Yahweh used His force-headship to retain control of him. Part of that control involved loss of privilege: he was expelled from the Garden lest he commit further acts of disobedience. The opportunity to disobey the command not to eat of the Tree was removed from him. No further "law" was laid down it would appear. But Yahweh did not withdraw His presence from Adam and his growing family. Worship involving sacrifice arose but whether instituted by Yahweh or Adam we are not informed. It was not until Adam's grandson was born that we learn of men beginning to "call on the name of the Lord" (Gen 4:26). The next indication of worship is the statement that "Enoch walked with God" (Gen 5:24). If Genesis 6:1-2 is a picture of the merging of God's followers (His elect, the Church) with the world then we have an explanation for the Flood. God begins His fellowship again with Noah and his family. Although we read of no external law Noah is said to be a "righteous man, blameless among the people of his time, and he walked with God" (Gen 6:9). On account of his personal righteousness his family was saved with him (Gen 7:1). After the Flood "God blessed Noah and his sons" and made a covenant with the menfolk (9:1, 8). Up until this time the focus is always on the men. It is taken for granted that what is bestowed on the men is bestowed on the women.

The next major event is the covenant made with Abraham in which all the males were to have the mark of the covenant in their bodies. The women were included in the covenant by virtue of their 'one-flesh' relationship with the males. The next major event is the Exodus and the setting up of a distinct Hebrew culture which was to be the envy of the world. Again the focus is on the men throughout. When Yahweh set up His tabernacle, the priesthood and the service to go with it, the focus is always on the men. Throughout the rest of Israel's history the focus is always on the men. *The reason for this can be found in the headship that God had with the men, not with the women.* Their head was man and they were answerable to men directly and to God indirectly through their menfolk.

Since God and Man are in a direct headship relation, all of God's dealings govern his life. Man is expected to govern the life of the woman hence the silence of the Old Testament

on her relation to God. She was given no special part of her own in anything to do with the worship of God. *She served Yahweh through her head.*

When we come to the New Testament nothing has changed because there has been no change in the headship of Man to Woman. Here again she is told to play a silent, supporting, submissive role, consequently only the male members are to represent the women and children in the worship of God. All the New Testament epistles which were written to churches are addressed to the men directly and to the women through their menfolk.[21]

Throughout the entire history of Yahweh's dealings with Man He never reneged on the position He appointed Adam to in relation to Eve. He has always given Man his place when he followed Him, and when He set up His religion. The headship of Man can be seen throughout the Old Testament. It is there before Moses, before Abraham, before Noah, before Eve.

Only when God's people became apostate does He take away their natural male leaders—their heads—and permit women to rule over them. When God threatened to punish Jerusalem and Judah Isaiah says (3:1-5, 12):

> See now . . . the Lord Almighty is about to take from Jerusalem and Judah . . . hero and warrior, the judge and prophet, the soothsayer and elder . . . . I will make boys their officials; mere children will govern them. . . . The young will rise up against the old. . . . Youths oppress my people, women rule over them.[22]

Nowhere in the Old Testament does Yahweh appoint a woman to lead His people *when they are in a right relation to Him.* This would be contrary to the position He gave Adam and violate His own order. So clearly the normal order is for men to rule; the abnormal order (or disorder) is when women, youths or children rule His people. God's order is turned upside down when Woman is made the head of Man. This is so whether it happens at the national level, the church level, or in the home. Wherever a woman rules a man, that is, where he is in the permanent position of having to carry out her will, then this is an abnormal state of things.

Since Yahweh nowhere appointed a woman to have a leadership role over a man as a "normal" thing throughout recorded history going back to Adam for the reason that the head of Woman is Man, it should be no surprise to find that He is consistent in the period from the sending of His Son to the present day, and for the same reason. He is a God of order and a consistent God. Paul clearly understood the consistent principle that governed all of God's dealings with His people as regards leadership when he stated: "the head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is the man, and the head of Christ is God" (1 Cor 11:3). Patriarchy, not matriarchy, is His creation order.

Given this unambiguous blueprint for good order in His creation, in His Church, and in the family unit, one would expect consistency in His dealings with mankind over the whole course of human life here on earth, from the moment He created the earth to the moment He will destroy it by fire. Anything not consistent with this blueprint is a period of disorder. The cosmological principle is that in all human relations Man is given the position of leader, and Woman is given the position of being his helpmeet. This applies to all relations

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[21] This point is expanded under 4.3.3. See Chart 19. Title: "Paul and the New Testament writers addressed their letters to men."

[22] When Yahweh undermined the powerful Babylonian army "they became women" (Jer 50:37; 51:30), in spirit, no doubt. The physical strength was still there but Yahweh put timidness and fear into their minds and spirits, making them an easy pushover in battle. The constitutional weakness of women is recognised by Peter who described them as "the weaker vessel" (1 Pet 3:7) without any disrespectful overtones. His teaching takes into account a *fact* of nature (as does Paul's with respect to the function of hair on a woman's head [1 Cor 11:14-15]). Their teaching goes *with* the grain of nature, not *against* it. God made man the stronger 'vessel' and the leader and protector of his family.

between men and women outside and inside the Church: since there is no change in the creation principle in any department of their relations. There is no equality of *status* in God's eyes. There is no equality of *roles* in God's eyes. Indeed, because of these distinct positions and roles, God has commanded that they be given physical expression in the culture He created for His people.

When God's people came before Him in worship, He placed the women together in one court ("the Court of the Women") and placed the men apart in a separate court ("the Court of Israel"). This reflects the different powers and responsibilities He had given to each gender. *This is in keeping with the headship of Adam over Eve.* Adam was "the glory of God"—the finest thing He ever created. Adam was the apple of His eye: the one to whom He could delegate power and authority to rule the earth on His behalf and for His glory. That was his function; that was why he was made.

Eve, on the other hand, was created, not to fulfil Adam's role directly but indirectly, through the specific task of being his helpmeet. She had a different glory: she was created to be "the glory of man"—the finest thing he could possess.[23] She was made specifically *for* him and derived her origin *from* him. So they differed in glory and they differed in function or role. *Gender determines their glory and gender determines their role.* This explains why Yahweh separated His people according to gender when they appeared before Him in worship, both in the period before the sending of His Son and after it. This explains why He absolutely forbids any confusion between the genders. They must not wear each other's clothes or look like each other. This explains why God retained a visible distinction between the genders in His Son's Church when they come into His presence: He separated the genders because of the different authority He gave to each. Man's authority is to act as God's representative and so it is different from that given to women. They do not have the same authority because they do not have the same function or role in God's creation or order. Authority is gender specific. There are many and different powers and authorities in God's creation, but God has distributed these according to the counsel of His own will, and Christians should be content with the station He has placed each gender in. He has revealed that *authority is gender specific,* and this was so *from the beginning,* before any culture existed.

The women are to cover their heads because they are female, and men are not to cover their heads because they are male. The reason give is based on gender not on prevailing culture: "A man ought not to cover his head, since he is the image and glory of God; but the woman [is to cover her head because she] is the glory of man" (1 Cor 11:7, 10).[24] To remove the visible distinction *put there by God Himself* between the genders is to throw His order into confusion, and it is to introduce disorder into His Kingdom.

Paul is in no doubt regarding the reasons why God has given different authorities to men and women, and he was in no doubt how He wanted the genders to appear before Him: the men are not to cover their heads and the women are to cover their heads. In the actual worship, again Paul is in no doubt what part each gender is to play in the worship service. The women are to be silent and the men are to offer the worship to God acting as heads of their families, or in their own right as males.

A feminist, then, is a man or woman who believes that the gender distinction has been done away with in Christ; that there is no distinctive way in which Christian men and women should dress or behave in His Presence; that Scripture is no longer authoritative in man-woman relationships; that parts of its teachings are out-of-date and out-of-place in the twenty-first century; that it is for the Church to decide in every age what parts of Scripture it can choose to obey and what parts to ignore.

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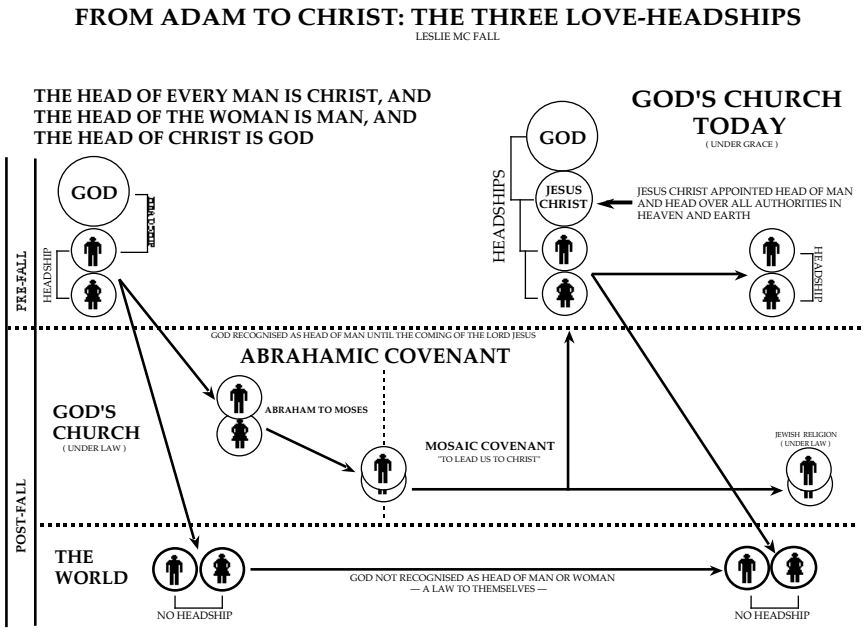
[23] In the Jerusalem Talmud a story is told of Rabbi Jose the Galilean who was advised to divorce his wife because 'she is not your glory' (*j Ket* 11.3). See J. T. Marshall, *Manual of the Aramaic Language of the Palestinian Targum* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1929), pp. 184-85, for the full incident. Prov 12:4, "An excellent wife is the crown of her husband, But she who causes shame is like rottenness in his bones."

[24] See under 4.10.3. for a fuller treatment of this point.

In the sections that follow the nature of "feminism" will be explained and how its many facets and subtle approaches can be recognised and refuted.

~~SUMMARY DIAGRAM~~



1. THE TERMS "HEAD" AND "SUBJECTION/ SUBMISSION"

In the modern fallen world the words "obedience" and "being submissive" indicate servility or weakness, and are an affront to human pride—the same pride that brought about the present ungovernable world, and is the cause of all strife. The reason for this is because these words mistakenly convey the unfavourable connotation of one thing or person being inferior to another.[25]

It would not be helpful to change the terms as these are the ones used in Scripture. Also if these terms are given their biblical connotation, rather than allow the popular meaning to predominate, this will facilitate the understanding of those passages in which the terms appear.

The biblical writings show that the concept of "being under authority" pervades the whole of God's universe. Nothing lies outside God's authority structure even the Son is subject to God the Father[26] (1 Cor 15:28); Christians are subject to God (Heb 12:9; Jas 4:7); angels are subject to archangels. Everything in the world is subject to some higher authority (1 Cor 11:3; 15:27-28; Rom 13:1-7; Tit 3:1; 1 Pet 2:13-17). Animal life is subject to human

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[25] Elisabeth Elliott writes in "Why I Oppose the Ordination of Women," in *Christianity Today*, June 1975, p. 13: 'The modern cult of personality makes submission a degrading thing. We are told that we cannot be "whole persons" if we submit. Obedience is thought of as restrictive and therefore bad. "Freedom" is defined as the absence of restraint, quite the opposite from the scriptural principle embodied in Jesus' words, "If ye continue in my words, then are ye my disciples, and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." Freedom in God's view lies always on the far side of discipline, which means obedience. Wholeness is achieved not by casting off restraint but by obeying the laws of creation.'

[26] On the subject of subordination within the Trinity see the section, The Creeds of the Church, below.

authority (Gen 1:27-30); the universe is subject to Christ (1 Cor 15:27; Eph 1:22). Unseen spiritual powers are subject to Christ (1 Pet 3:22). Evil angels are used by God to do His will (Ps 78:49). Demons are subject to Jesus' disciples (Lk 10:17). Within the human family children are subject to their parents' authority (Exod 20:12; Eph 6:2; Lk 2:51; Col 2:20; 1 Tim 3:4). Young men are to be subject to older men (1 Pet 5:5; Heb 13:17); servants are subject to their masters (Tit 2:9; 1 Pet 2:18); citizens are to obey every authority instituted among men (1 Pet 2:13); the Church is to be subject to Christ (Eph 5:24); Church members are to be subject to faithful church leaders (1 Cor 16:15-16 [cf. 1 Clement 42:4]; 1 Pet 5:5); and one to another[27] (1 Pet 5:5; Eph 5:21). The wife is subject to her husband's authority (1 Cor 11:3-12; Eph 5:22-24; Col 3:18; 1 Tim 2:11-12; Tit 2:5; 1 Pet 3:1, 5-6), who, in turn, is subject to Christ's authority (1 Cor 11:3; Phil 3:21; Eph 1:23), who, in turn, is subject to God's authority (1 Cor 15:27-28; Heb 2:8), who is Head over all.[28] Even today He places a supervising angel with each child of His, "for I say to you that in heaven their angels always see the face of My Father who is in heaven" (Mt 18:10). At the invisible level angels are on the earth as ministering angels (Heb 1:14) who also observe all that is going on on the earth (1 Cor 4:9), including homes and churches (cf. 1 Cor 11:10).[29]

Since all creation is subject to God, and He has set in place subordinate authorities in creation it is not surprising to find the same concept of "being under authority" in the government of His Church. The government of the Church is structured in such a way that it is founded on Man's headship. All the elders of all the churches were men.

The term submission (or subjection) is used where there is a natural hierarchical authority structure. From the cradle to the grave all men are in subjection to powers and authorities that God has ordained. There is no man who is free from the duty of subjecting himself to a higher power. The natural man's reaction is to reject authority; he is born that way inclined.

The term head, however, has a more specialised application.[30] While there are many authority structures, principalities and powers in the world, there are only three *headships* in

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[27] See under 4.7. for a fuller treatment of this point.

[28] It is interesting that, "When God divided up the world among the nations, He gave each of them a supervising angel" (Deut 32:8, *Living Bible*). This translation depends on the Greek translation (LXX) which reads, "When the Most High divided the nations, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God."

[29] On angels as guardians of the created order see G. B. Caird, *Principalities and Powers: a Study in Pauline Theology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), pp. 17-22.

[30] For a comprehensive study of the meaning of this word both in Scripture and classical Greek literature see W. Grudem, "Does *Kephale* mean 'source or 'authority over' in Greek literature? A survey of 2,336 examples," *Trinity Journal* 6 (1985) 38-59; ibid, "The meaning of *Kephale* ('head'): A response to recent studies," *Trinity Journal* 11 (1990) 3-72; ibid, "The Meaning of κεφαλή ("Head"): An Evaluation of New Evidence, Real and Alleged," *JETS* 44 (2001) 25-65. In these articles he refutes the idea that the term *kephale* means 'source' or 'origin' which was put forward by S. Bedale, "The Meaning of *kephale* in the Pauline Epistles," *JTS* n.s. 5 (1954) 211-15. He argued that 'head' denotes a relationship with the being of another person based on the order of creation, and it was not a relationship of overlordship. Grudem did not find any instances with this meaning in classical literature. The predominant meaning was 'authority over'. This was confirmed by other studies, cf. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Another Look at *kephale* in 1 Corinthians 11:3," *NTS* 35 (1989) 503-11, and in "*Kephale* in 1 Corinthians 11:3," *Interpretation* 47 (1993) 52-59. But for opposing studies see David M. Scholer, "The Evangelical Debate over Biblical 'Headship'," in *Women, Abuse, and the Bible.* Eds., Catherine Clark Kroeger & James R. Beck (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1996), pp. 28-57, esp. p. 43, whose own view is that 'head' = 'source' which means that the source of Christ is God, the source of Man is Christ, and the source of Woman is Man. This gives the term 'head' three different meanings in 11:3. The meaning 'source' has been advocated by F. F. Bruce, *1 and 2 Corinthians.* New Century Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans, 1971), p. 103; C. K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), p. 248; and G. D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians,* The New International Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), pp. 491-92. What makes this view difficult is that Christ is also a 'head'. In other words, God is the authoritative Head of Christ and not His Source. To say that the Son originated in God the Father is to be guilty of the heresy of Arianism (*Evangelical Dictionary of Theology,* ed. Walter A. Elwell [Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1984], *s.v.* 'Arianism,' by V. L. Walter, pp. 74-75). Cf. also A. C. Perriman, "The Head of a Woman: the Meaning of *Kephale*

the whole of creation. These belong to God, Christ and Man (1 Cor 11:3).[31] While there may be subjection between same gender pairs ("submit to another"[32]—1 Pet 5:5 [younger men to elders]; Eph 5:24 [men to Christ]), there cannot be *headship* between equals. The term implies that there is only one authority.[33] Delobel concedes that "head" in 1 Corinthians 11:4 can indeed indicate the person as a whole.[34] Woman was made *for* Man, therefore her head is Man. Christ, as mediator between God and man, was made a little lower than the angels (Heb 2:9 and note Mt 24:36), therefore his head is God.

As the body cannot function as it should unless it is completely united to its head, so neither can the Church function unless it is completely united, *and totally submissive, by a voluntary act of its own will,* to the will of its Head *in everything.*[35] Likewise in the union of man and wife: "Now as the church submits to Christ, so also wives should submit [themselves] to their husbands in everything" (Eph 5:22-24). The best example of this total commitment of oneself to one's head can be seen in Christ:

> "By myself I can do nothing . . . for I seek not to please myself but him who sent me" (Jn 5:30).
> "For I have come down from heaven not to do my will but to do the will of him who sent me" (Jn 6:38).
> "My food . . . is to do the will of him who sent me and to finish his work" (Lk 2:42).
> ". . . the world must learn that I love the Father and that I do exactly what my Father has commanded me" (Jn 14:31).
> "Not my will but yours be done" (Lk 22:42).

Jesus taught his disciples to say: "Your [i.e., the Father's] will be done on earth as it is in heaven" (Mt 6:10).[36] The pattern of love-headship is Jesus' obedience to His Father (1 Cor 15:28; Gal 4:4; Heb 5:5, 8, etc.). Headship, then, involves the total commitment of the body to the head. Jesus had a will but he sought to use it to do someone else's will. At the heart of headship is the loving desire to see another person's will achieved. *Submission in function, whether of woman to man or Christ to God, is consistent with equality of moral nature.*

In conclusion there are two terms which we need to distinguish very carefully: "headship" and "obedience." Not all obedience relationships are headship relationships, but all headship relationships are obedience relationships. Not all girls are virgins, but not all virgins are girls. Not all fruits are apples, but all apples are fruits.[37] If love-headship relationships are vertical (e.g., Christ to God; Man to Christ; and Woman to Man), then obedience relationships are diagonal (e.g., son to father, citizen to ruler, employees to employers).

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in 1 Cor 11:3," *JThS* ns 45 (1994), 602-622 and Wayne Grudem, "The Meaning of κεφαλή ("Head"): An Evaluation of New Evidence, Real and Alleged," *JETS* 44 (2001) 25-65, espec. p. 27 on Chrysostom's [AD 344-407] view.

[31] There very probably is another, namely, between God and His Archangels and angels, but since this relationship is not relevant for Man's salvation it is not revealed directly, but may be inferred from the nature of angels and their work. The term "sons of God" is found only five times in the OT and every time it is used of angels (Gen 6:1-4 [disputed because it may refer to God's elect people]; Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7).

[32] Note, not: 'submit to one another,' i.e., mutual, see 4.7. below.

[33] All studies of the term 'head' (*kephale*) are agreed that the idea of 'authority over' is a well-established meaning of the word. Some even think that the idea of 'pre-eminence' best sums up its basic meaning in the Hellenistic period, cf. Richard S. Cervin, "Does *kephale* Mean 'Source' or 'Authority Over' in Greek Literature? A Rebuttal," *Trinity Journal* 10 (1989) 85-110.

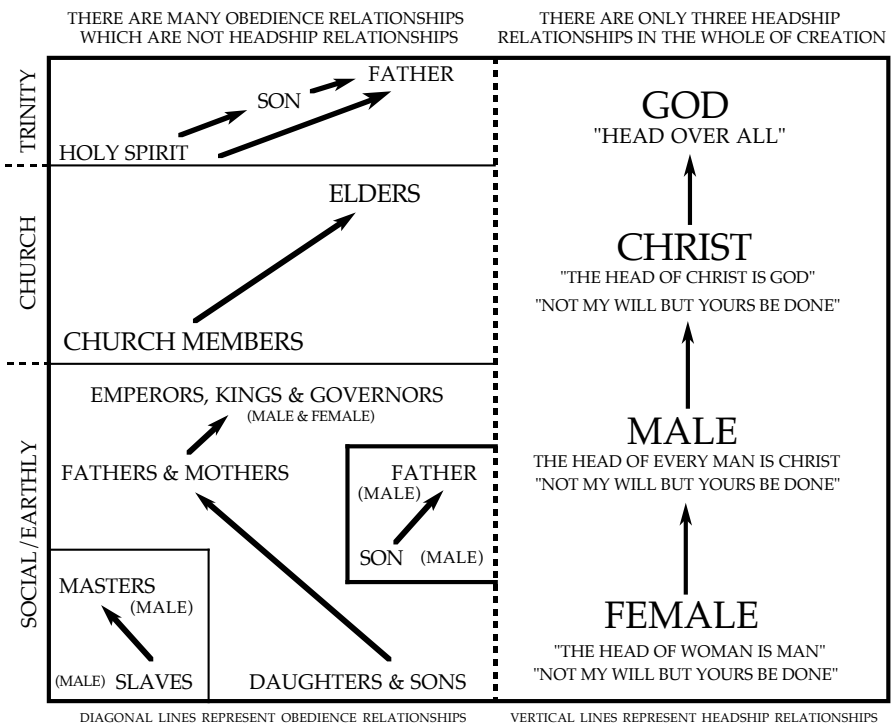
[34] Jöel Delobel, "1 Cor 11,2-16: Towards a Coherent Interpretation," in *L'apôtre Paul. Personnalité, style et conception du ministère* (ed. A. Vanhoye. BETL 73; Leuven: Leuven University/Peeters, 1986), p. 373.

[35] The ancient Greeks may not have known the neurological connection between the brain and the body but can we infer from this that they did not know that the head controlled the movements of the limbs? Paul's use of the body analogy suggests that at least he knew.

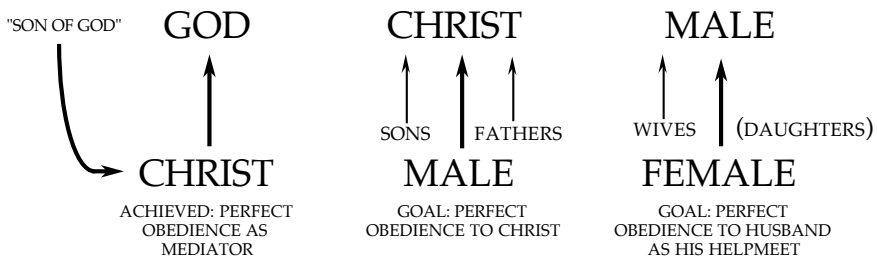
[36] Jesus lays considerable emphasis on his followers doing the will of his Father (Mt 7:21; 12:50; 18:14; Mk 3:35; Jn 7:17; 9:31; Acts 22:14) as did Paul (Eph 5:17; Col 1:9; 1 Thess 5:18; Heb 10:36; 13:21) and John (1 Jn 2:17). Man's chief end is to glorify God and enjoy Him forever, not to indulge his appetites doing his own will.

[37] See Chart 1. Title: "The difference between 'Obedience' and 'Headship' relationships."

Headship is more than just leadership. The term "head" implies a functional subordination, whereas "headship" implies a creational subordination,[38] consequently headship is a lifelong commitment to do another's will to the utmost of one's ability through love and respect for the position God has allotted to each sex in His authority structures.



"NOT MY WILL BUT YOURS BE DONE"



NOT EVERY **OBEDIENCE** RELATIONSHIP IS A **HEADSHIP** RELATION,
BUT EVERY **HEADSHIP** RELATION IS AN **OBEDIENCE** RELATIONSHIP

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[38] Functional and creational subordination as they relate to the Trinity and Man's headship are expanded in Excursus 6.5.

1.1 THE HEAD OF CHRIST IS GOD

It would be a theological blunder to substitute "Son of God" for "Christ" in 1 Corinthians 11:3. "Christ" here refers to his mediatorial office.[39] "Soteriological in its connotation, the title focuses on the human Jesus who is the object of God's saving activity."[40] In order to carry out this work Jesus needed to become a man. We cannot say that there is a headship between the "Son of God" and God, though there is a "head" relation at the end of the ages (cf. 1 Cor 15:28). The theological reason for this is that there is no headship relation between a father and son, either at the human or the divine level.[41] The Father-Son relationship can only be a love-obedience relationship. Likewise on the human level, the human son is not in a headship relation with his earthly father (though he is the head of the family). The son is to obey or revere his father (Lev 19:3). The son's head is Christ, *not* his earthly father. On the other hand, the wife is not only *lovingly* to obey her husband, but he is also her creational or constituted head.[42]

I prefer not to use the term "subordination" to describe the relation between Jesus and God even though the Early Church Fathers were extremely careful to distinguish between subordination of *function* and subordination of *being*. If we must safeguard Jesus' full humanity, we must also safeguard his full deity. Jesus was equal in nature with the Father, yet he did not have the same role as his Father. There is a hierarchy of function not a hierarchy of being. There is equality of nature but not identity of roles: the Father *sends* the Son, not vice versa. The Son *delights* to do the Father's will, not vice versa.[43]

Digression

It is necessary to hold both the equality of Jesus' nature: he was God the Son, and also his obedience to the Father, as Leatham, Dahms and Grudem have shown.[44] J. O. F. Murray

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[39] This error mars Stephen Rees' work, "How Feminism Affects Your Theology," in *Men, Women and Authority,* ed. Brian Edwards (Bromley. Kent: Day One publications, 1996), pp. 133-157, esp. pp. 141-42. He has not distinguished between the Son's pre-incarnation obedience relationship to the Father and His incarnation status when He came under the Father's headship in order to take Man's place whose head was God from Adam to Christ. He became in all points like us including our headship relationship to God. This was a new experience for Jesus. To avoid this error see Charles Hodge, *A Commentary on 1 & 2 Corinthians* (London: Banner of Truth ed., 1975), p. 207.
God is the authoritative Head of Christ and not His source. The objections to 'source' are set out briefly by M. J. Ovey, "Equality but not Symmetry: Women, Men and the Nature of God," *Cambridge Papers* [UK] 1.2 (June 1992) 1-4, esp. p. 2.

[40] Raymond F. Collins, *First Corinthians* (Sacra Pagina Series, Vol. 7. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1999), p. 406.

[41] "Just as Christ is not a second-class person or deity because the Father is his head, so the woman is not a second-class person or human being because man is her head" (George W. Knight, *The New Testament Teaching on the Role Relationship of Men and Women* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1977], p. 33). Only the *man* Christ Jesus has God the Father as His head. As the Son of God, the Father is not His Head. Care needs to be taken to keep to Paul's terms.

[42] Some evangelicals have wrongly assumed that "the secondary (but not inferior) role that woman held in relation to man was mirrored upon the relation of God the Son to God the Father" (Stephen Rees in, "Interpreting the Bible on Gender," in *Men, Women and Authority,* ed. Brian Edwards (Bromley. Kent: Day One publications, 1996), pp. 70-92, esp. p. 71.). This is confusing the "headship" with the "obedience" relationship. There is no headship among the Persons of the Trinity. When Jesus hands back the headship of Man to His Father, he is excepted from this headship. He reverts to his Sonship position with the Father, which is a 'head,' not a 'headship,' relationship. Father-son is a *head* relationship; God-Christ/husband-wife is a *headship* relationship.

[43] Cf. M. J. Ovey, "Equality but not Symmetry: Women, Men and the Nature of God," *Cambridge Papers* [UK] 1.2 (June 1992) 1-4, esp. p. 2.

[44] Wayne Grudem, "The meaning of κεφαλή ('Head'): A Response to Recent Studies," *Trinity Journal* 11 (1990) 3-72, esp. pp. 54-56. It would be superfluous to repeat his careful reply here. Cf. also John V. Dahms, "The

comments: "We find it very hard to realize that it is no less divine to obey than to command: that there must be Sonship in the Godhead as well as Fatherhood, a principle of subordination as well as a principle of authority."[45]

The other danger to watch out for is the idea that Jesus' maleness was nominal or irrelevant; that His true gender comes from His divine nature, which includes both male and female: "that the person of Christ is the individuality of the Logos and not that of a man . . . the human existence of Christ was, is, and continues to be that of the gender-inclusive Logos."[46] Some then identify the Logos with Wisdom/Sophia and claim that "Jesus is Lady Sophia incarnate." This is a heresy hardly distinguishable from Apollinarianism (Chalcedon refuted the idea that the Logos took possession of an existing male person called Jesus). Rigorous feminism denies that Jesus had a complete human male nature. All attempts, therefore, to degenderise Jesus and eliminate His maleness and so turn Him into a sexless or unisex being, is a heresy. This is a danger inherent in all feminist works.[47] If Jesus warned His disciples to beware of the "leaven of the Pharisees," the Church ought to be warning all its teachers to beware of the "leaven of feminism." Cottrell sums up the danger well:

> A fully male (or female) individual possesses the common human nature but also possesses something *in addition to it:* maleness (or femaleness). Being male, as was Jesus, in no way subtracts from the fullness of the humanity shared by males and females alike. Eliminating his maleness does not make him *more* human; it makes him *less* than human.[48]

The "addition" or difference between male and female is spelled out by Paul in 1 Corinthians 11:7. Man "is the image and glory of God: but the woman is the glory of the man." The sin of Eve did not bring about the Fall of mankind: it was the sin of Adam, the first man, that ruined mankind, *even though she sinned first.* Adam, not Eve, acted for the whole race of human beings when he sinned in the Garden of Eden *even though he was last to sin.* Eve could not act for the whole of mankind, because she was not a man, but created "for the man." The male encompasses the female; but the female does not encompass the male as the first sin demonstrates.

Now, as in Adam all (male and female) die, so in Christ shall all (male and female) be made alive. Consequently to say that a male Lord Jesus could not redeem the whole race (male and female) denies the validity of the parallel Paul draws between Adam and the Lord Jesus (Rom 5:12-19; 1 Cor 15:22). A female Messiah could only have redeemed females, because the female does not include the male in her actions (as the first sin demonstrates); nor does she have the representative role that man has (as Adam's sin demonstrates); whereas a

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Subordination of the Son," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 37 (1994) 351-64; Robert Leatham, "The Man-Woman Debate: Theological Content," *Westminster Theological Journal* 52 (1990) 65-78; and Else Kahler, *Die Frau in den Paulinischen* (Frankfurt: Gotthelf-Verlag, 1960), who demonstrates how one can carefully handle the texts for and against 'some kind of subordination of the Son to the Father' without slipping into 'subordinationism' or 'adoptionism'. Those who deny that the head of Christ is God do so (1) out of fear, because they are unsure of their ground, and/or how to handle the texts for and against a relationship between Jesus and his Father that implies that in some respects the Father is greater than the Son, or (2) out of fear to detract from the full deity of Jesus, or (3) they assume equality of essence implies equality of functions—an assumption that derives from rationalism. The three Persons of the Trinity are similar in nature *and* dissimilar in roles and functions. Adam and Eve were not clones even though they were both 'Human'.

[45] J. O. F. Murray, *Jesus Christ According to St. John* (London/New York: Longmans, Green, 1938), p. 259; cf. O. Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament* (2nd. ed.; London: SCM, 1963), p. 266.

[46] Karen and Leif Torjesen, "Inclusive Orthodoxy: Recovering a Suppressed Tradition," The Other Side (December 1986) 17. See the reply by Jack Cottrell, "The Gender of Jesus and the Incarnation: A Case Study in Feminist Hermeneutics," *Stone-Campbell Journal* 3 (2000) 171-194, esp. p. 190,

[47] For a critique of John Stott's idea that God is male and female, see Excursus 1, section 4.

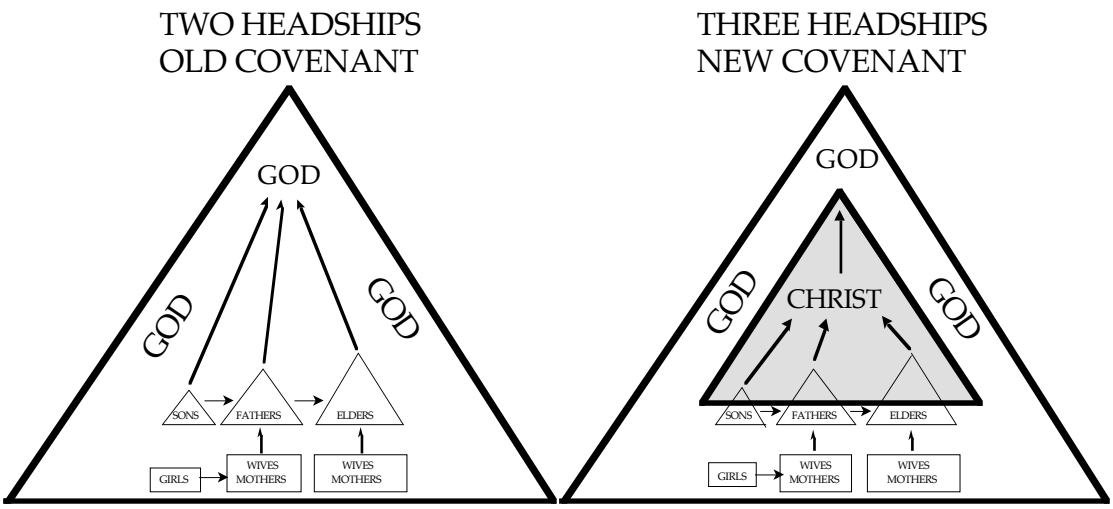
[48] Jack Cottrell, "The Gender of Jesus and the Incarnation: A Case Study in Feminist Hermeneutics," *Stone-Campbell Journal* 3 (2000) 171-194, esp. p. 191.

male Messiah could redeem both male and female, because the male involves the female in his actions.

End of digression

It is necessary to hold both the divinity and the maleness of Jesus as He came to fulfil the Father's will. The father/son language of respectful and willing obedience best sums up the beautiful and harmonious relationship that existed, and continues to exist, between Jesus and his Father. Each of the three headship relationships are love-relationships and consequently the term "subordination" today carries too much of a dominant, military connotation to capture the delicate and truly beautiful voluntary submission of Jesus to his Father, which is the perfect model for the headship between Man and Christ, and between Woman and Man. The term "love-headship" best captures this unique relationship between men and women, Christ and the Church, and Jesus and the Father.

For the purposes of man's redemption the Father put the Son over "everything" except Himself. As a result of this the Son took on a new relation to his Father which he did not have before, and also a new relation to Man which he did not have before. In relation to his Father, God *became* his head at the moment of his incarnation, that is, when he became a Man. The previous relation being one of Father and Son which is an obedience but not a headship relation. In relation to Man, Christ became his head, whereas before the incarnation God the Father was Man's head. "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given [or transferred] to me" (Mt 28:18);[49] "Father . . . glorify your Son . . . . For you have given him authority over all men that he might give eternal life to all those you have given to him" (Jn 17:2; cf. 5:27); "For in Christ all the fulness of the deity lives in bodily form, and you have this fulness in Christ, who is the head (κεφαλὴ) over every power and authority" (Col 2:9-10; cf. 1:16); "For God has put everything under his feet . . . . this does not include God himself" (1 Cor 15:27; cf. Eph 1:10; Heb 2:7-8; 1 Pet 3:22; Rev 12:10).



MAN WITHOUT CHRIST AS HIS HEAD MAN WITH CHRIST AS HIS HEAD

HORIZONTAL ARROWS INDICATE SUBORDINATE RELATIONSHIPS. VERTICAL ARROWS INDICATE HEADSHIP RELATIONSHIPS

Under the Old Covenant, then, the head of Man was God the Father.[50] But Man could not enter into His immediate presence with an uncovered head.[51] The high-priest and

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[49] This would involve control of all the angelic forces. The archangels, Gabriel and Michael, now take their orders from the Lord Jesus and not from God the Father. All angels and men are placed by God the Father under an obligation to do Jesus' will from this point onwards in time (i.e., his ascension).

[50] See Chart 3. Title: "From Adam to Christ: The Three Love-Headships." Yahweh regarded all Israelites as His servants (Lev 25:55) because He brought them out of Egypt in accordance with His Covenant with Abraham.

all the priests had to cover their heads when engaged in their mediatorial work. All of them had to wear an artificial covering on their heads, "Then they made the tunics of finely woven linen for Aaron and his sons, the turban of fine linen, the head-dresses of fine linen" (Ex 39:27 Jerusalem Bible; cf. also Ex 28:40; 29:9; Lev 8:9, 13). On no account could a priest remove his head-covering, not even as a sign of mourning. To do so meant death, "Do not uncover your heads nor tear your [priestly] garments, lest you die" (Lev 10:6; cf. 21:10).[52] In Ezekiel's vision of the priesthood, the priests have their heads covered: "Linen turbans shall be on their heads" (Ezk 44:18, NAS).[53] We are not told how the ordinary male worshippers were dressed when they came to worship at the Temple. However, it is significant that all their worship was directed to God through a priesthood that had to be covered in the presence of God. This was particularly so in the case of the high-priest, who alone could enter the Holy of Holies (Lev 16:4, 23) and who was not permitted to uncover his head even on the death of his father or mother (Lev 21:10). Note that men did not wear veils in the presence of God, but something *on* their heads. When Elijah encountered God he instinctively "wrapped his face in his mantle" thus covering over his head (1 Kgs 19:13).

We might consider here the theological implications behind the suggestion that Christ could have been a woman just as easily as being a man.[54] First, the female Jesus could not have been an ordinary priest, never mind high-priest. Intercessory work between God and man could not be performed by a female priest. Unlike all other contemporary religions, Israel did not have priestesses throughout its entire history.[55] Only as a man could a male Jesus fulfil the Law *for men.* He came to fulfil the Law not to abolish it, as would have been the mission of a female Messiah.

Second, the Lamb of God that was to take away the sin of the world had to be a male "lamb" without blemish. Much of the symbolism of the Old Testament would be inappropriate if the one who was to fulfil them was female.

Third, if Jesus had come as a woman "she" could not have had God as "her" head but Man, since it is written: "the head of man is Christ, and the head of woman is man." If Christ were born a woman "she" would be in a headship relationship to man and perfect obedience would mean that "she" would carry out *man's* will perfectly. Also if Christ were born a woman—and since Christ is the head of every man—then the head of every man would be a woman, which makes a mockery of the cosmological statement in 1 Corinthians 11:3. Instead,

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Both His headship through creation and the Covenant through Abraham made them doubly His.

[51] This also appears to have been the custom in pagan religions. 'For how can they be called gods? . . . and in their temples the priests sit with their clothes torn, their heads and beards shaved, and their heads uncovered' (*The Letter of Jeremiah* 6:31). All four situations are shameful states.

[52] The leper must not cover his head but leave it uncovered, Lev 13:45.

[53] Interestingly, the turbans and caps wore by the priests were not made by the women as one have expected but by the men (Exod 28:3, 37-39; 29:6, 9; 39:28; Lev 8:13; 16:4). According to 1QM (col. VII. l. ii) in the eschatological battle the priests will wear turbans when they go out to war, see F. G. Martinez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated.* ET by G. E. Watson (Leiden: Brill, 1994) p. 100.

[54] See Jack Cottrell, "The Gender of Jesus and the Incarnation: A Case Study in Feminist Hermeneutics," *Stone-Campbell Journal* 3 (2000) 171-194, esp. p. 179, who notes that Jesus is called *anthropos* (32x), *aner* (6x: Jn 1:30; Lk 24:19; Acts 2:22; 17:31; 2 Cor 11:2; Rev 21:2), and *arsen*/male (3x: Lk 2:23; Rev 12:1, 13). If the term *anthropos* is gender-neutral (i.e., a "human being"), as feminists assert, why is it never used of a woman, per se? Cottrell shows that, "In general this term is used in two distinct ways. First, it often refers to mankind or humanity or human beings *collectively;* second, it often refers to specific and particular *individuals,* in which case it always refers to males. . . . when this term is used for *individuals,* it always refers to *males.* There are no exceptions" (idem pp. 182-83). When Jesus is called an *anthropos* it calls attention to his humanness as distinct from his divinity. See Appx H for the biblical terms for man.

[55] But that did not prevent Fritz Hommel, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen arabistisch-semitiologischen Inhalts* (3 pts; München: G. Franz, 1892-1901 [1897]), p. 30f., and T. Engert, *Ehe- und familienrecht der Hebräer* (München: J. J. Lentner, 1905), p. 11 from speculating that a priestess might have existed in ancient Israel. During the Egyptian Old Kingdom period a certain high-priest of Hathor, called Nek'onkh, appointed his daughter as well as his sons to act as priests of the goddess Hathor. The daughter had the same function as the sons and received the same stipend, see A. M. Blackman, "On the position of Women in the Ancient Egyptian Hierarchy," *JEA* 7 (1921) p. 25.

the male Christ came to do his Father's will, and in order to do this God had to be his Head, therefore he had to be born a man, if mankind was to be redeemed.

In order, then, to bring in the new and better Covenant Christ was born a man; for only man under the Old Covenant had God the Father as his head. He became "a great high priest" (Heb 4:15—5:10), the only "mediator between God and men" (1 Tim 2:5) to offer "for all time one sacrifice for sins" (Heb 10:12), enabling mankind "to enter the Most Holy Place by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way" (Heb 10:19-20). For this reason the old priesthood, which had its head covered in the presence of God, has been superseded in Christ, because the ministry Jesus has received is superior to theirs (Heb 8:6). We now have access to the Holy of Holies through a High-priest who is the perfect "image and glory of God," and who, therefore, ought not to have his head covered. He is also perfect man and worships God with an uncovered head, therefore his brothers are encouraged not to cover their heads when they worship in the presence of God (1 Cor 11:4, 7; cf. Heb 2:11).

The mystery of God, namely, "to bring all things in heaven and on earth together under one head, even Christ" (Eph 1:9-10), was unknown to the Old Testament saints. Paul tells the Ephesian Christians (3:4-6):

> In reading this, then, you will be able to understand my insight into the secret of Christ, which was not made known to men in other generations as it has now been revealed by the Spirit to God's holy apostles and prophets. This mystery is that through the gospel the Gentiles are joint-heirs [with Israel], joint-body [with Israel], and joint-sharers [with Israel] in the promise in Christ Jesus.[56]

God has placed Christ Jesus at His right hand (Eph 1:22; 1 Cor 15:24-28). Christ, then, is the person God has placed between Himself and mankind to whom all men are directly responsible in the first place for their actions. To overthrow, despise, or turn upside down, the authority God has given to the Head of the Church would be to rebel against His rule and to cast scorn on His system of government.

The rebellion of Korah, Dathan and Abiram is instructive. A group of Levites and non-Levites became insolent and opposed Moses their leader. Their argument was the old one of equality. They *all* wanted to be priests even though God had specifically designated only Aaron's family to be priests. They were so persuasive in their arguments that they won over 250 "well-known community leaders" to their cause. They came as a group and confronted Moses and Aaron with their objection to God's order with the words: "You have gone too far! The whole community is holy, every one of them, and the Lord is with them. Why then do you set yourselves above the Lord's assembly" (Num 16:1-3). Moses' reply was, "the Lord will show who belongs to him and who is holy." He pointed out to the Levites that they had been privileged to be allowed to come nearer to Yahweh than the other eleven tribes, but he knew they had a hidden agenda. They were not satisfied with the permanent position God had allocated to them for all time. Moses saw through their use of the 250 non-Levites to challenge the permanent position the priestly family of Aaron had been allocated, "you are trying to get the priesthood too" (16:10), Moses said. Yahweh told Moses and Aaron to separate themselves from the rebels so that "I can put an end to them at once" (16:21). God did not immediately punish the 250 community leaders, the non-Levite contingent. He reserved the full force of his anger for the rebellious Levites. In a defiant gesture they came out of their tents and stood there with their wives, children and infants. The ground under them split apart and Korah, Dathan and Abiram and their families went down live into the fissure with everything they owned (cf. Deut 11:6). The fissure closed, burying them. Fire

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[56] This verse helps to clarify Gal 3:28. Here Paul makes it plain that there is no Jew or Gentile in Christ. *Both* are heirs, members and sharers in the same promise of reconciliation through Christ Jesus. The key expression is "joint- [with Israel]", and that is precisely what Paul says again negatively in Gal 3:28 (see 4.2 below).

then came out from God and burned the 250 community leaders alive. The Levites never again attempted to reach for authority that God had not allocated to them. In Numbers 18:1-7 Aaron is told in no uncertain terms that he was responsible to see that the Levites did not do duties that belonged to the priests. "They [the Levites] are to be responsible to you and are to perform all the duties of the Tent, but they must not go near the furnishings of the sanctuary or the altar, or both they and you will die. They are to join you and be responsible for the care of the Tent of Meeting." Here we have a union not unlike the union of Adam and Eve. Adam was given dominion over the earth before Eve was created, but after their union she was joined to him to be his helpmeet, and to join in the task of having dominion over the earth (Gen 1:28).[57] She was not to try to take the lead from Adam.

In Jude 6 we read: "And the angels who did not keep their positions of authority but abandoned their own home—these he has kept in darkness, bound with everlasting chains for judgment on the great Day" (cf. 2 Pet 2:4). It is clear that God has established a hierarchy among His myriads of angels and hell awaits any angel who would try to usurp another angel's power or position, or challenge God's authority structure.

1.2 THE HEAD OF MAN IS CHRIST

Since Christ is the head of the Church it follows that he is the head of all its members through the heads of families. Because man has been given leadership over his own family he will direct his own house in the way that Christ tells him to, so in this way Christ has control over every family *through the husband/father.*

> "And he [God] has put all things under his [Christ's] feet and has made him the head of all things for the church" (Eph 1:22).
> "But speaking the truth in love, we must grow up in every way into him who is the head, into Christ" (Eph 4:15-16).
> "But I want you to understand that Christ is the head of every man" (1 Cor 11:3).
> "He is the head of the body, the church" (Col 1:18).[58]
> ". . . and you have come to fulness in him, who is the head of every ruler and authority. . . . Let no one cheat you . . . by his fleshly mind, and not holding fast to the head" (Col 2:10, 19 NRSV).

We noted above that the Old Testament saints, and those who lived under the Law, were completely ignorant of the role Christ was to play in man's redemption (Eph 3:4-6). They did not know that God had a Son. They did know, however, that God would raise up a prophet for them like Moses, and they were to obey him (Deut 18:15). But so far as they knew they had only one God: "Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord" (Deut 6:4). *God* was head over his people Israel. They served him at a sanctuary that was a copy and shadow of what was in heaven (Heb 8:5; 9:7-9, 23; 10:1).

God has placed Christ between Himself and all men, therefore all men should "honour the Son just as they honour the Father. He who does not honour the Son does not honour the Father who sent him" (Jn 5:23). In Paul's theology Christ now represents all men in matters related to God. Men must go *through* the Lord Jesus Christ in all their spiritual worship. Only in that way will man be accepted before God. For a man to think that he can

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[57] Because man was head of the family God sometimes punished his whole family with him, see the principle and the punishment meted out in Lev 20:5; 26:39; cf. also Achan and his household in Josh 7:24; 22:20.

[58] Thus, not so much an organisation as an organism—a living thing.

by-pass his Head, and come before God on his own authority, would be like an Israelite by-passing the priests and walking into the Holy of Holies on his own authority. It would not matter if he were carrying in a ton of pure gold as a gift to God, he would die for not coming through the appointed means (Num 3:10; 4:20, 38; 8:9; 16:40; 17:13; 18:7). The fact that they were carrying in a ton of pure gold is irrelevant. "To obey is better than sacrifice" (1 Sam 15:22). Similarly, if the priests had encouraged their womenfolk to become priestesses against the command of God they also would have died.

We noted above that when God was the direct head of man under the Old Covenant, man had to come before Him with his head covered (i.e., through priests whose heads were covered). The Mishnah embodies a tradition going back to Exod 28:4, 37-38 and Ezek 44:18: "The high priest ministers in eight pieces of raiment, and the common priest in four—in tunic, drawers, turban and girdle" (*m. Yoma* 7:5). This has been used to argue against Paul: "In consequence no Jew of the period would have entertained the notion that to pray with covered head was to obscure the image of God, or that it was in any way shameful."[59] But this only shows that the introduction of bare-headed worship was distinctively Christian. And, theologically, it points to man having a new head—Christ Jesus, the only Mediator between God and all men in the future. All Jews and Gentiles have been given a new head by God Himself, and that is to be acknowledged in the male worshippers coming before God with uncovered heads. So it was a denial of the new relationship that God had placed all men in, in relation to Himself, if men refused to uncover their heads when they appeared before Him in worship. Consequently, it was crucial in Paul's theology that every Christian man uncover his head. By doing so they were honouring Christ as the new Head of mankind. By not doing so they were dishonouring the position given to Him by His Father. This explains the vehemence with which Paul denounces anyone who wants to throw out the universal Church tradition handed down from the Apostles.

If Christ is the head of every man it also follows that there is no other priesthood that is legitimate in God's eyes. No other religion can bring a man into the presence of God, for God will accept no one if they do not come *through* the great High Priest—Jesus Christ the Righteous One (Acts 4:12).

The submissive attitude *in everything* that Man should adopt toward his Head is beautifully expressed and captured by the Psalmist:

> Nothing is perfect except your words. Oh, how I love them. I think about them all day long . . . they are my constant guide . . . I am ever thinking of your rules . . . I will remain obedient to your Word . . . your words are sweeter than honey. And since only your rules can give me wisdom and understanding, no wonder I hate every false teaching . . . . I'll say it again and again: I will obey these wonderful laws of yours. . . . I will not give up obedience to your laws . . . I will not turn aside. Your laws are my joyous treasure forever. I am determined to obey you until I die (Ps 119:96-112, *The Living Bible*).

We can hear the heartfelt, beautiful, and expressive submissiveness in his words. A man overcome with such a beautiful, submissive spirit must be a joy both to the Lord, and his wife, and family, and community. Yet this spirit should characterise every man who claims to be a Christian.

Under the Old Covenant when God was the head of man, he stipulated how he wanted the total devotion of every man. "Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your strength" (Deut 6:5); "And now, O Israel, what does the Lord your God ask of you but to fear the Lord your God, to walk in all his ways, to love him, to serve the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul, and to observe the Lord's commands and decrees that I am giving you today for your own good?" (Moses to

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[59] Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "1 Corinthians 11:2-16 Once Again," *CBQ* 50 (1988) 267.

Israel, Deut 10:12-13); "if you faithfully obey the commands I am giving you today—to love the Lord your God and to serve him with all your heart and with all your soul—then I will send rain, etc. . . . Be careful, or you will be enticed to turn away and worship others gods . . . . Then the Lord's anger will burn against you . . . . Fix these words of mine in your hearts and minds. . . . Teach them to your children, talking about them when you sit at home and when you walk along the road, when you lie down and when you get up" (Deut 11:13-19). There is no room here for the modern fallacy of "time to relax." This spiritual exercise is the litmus test for spotting the fake lover from the genuine lover of God. The exercise is a delight to the one and a total bore to the other: that is how to tell a born again believer from an unborn believer.

Israel is not to be enticed away by false prophets and visionaries who are there because, "The Lord your God is testing you to find out whether you love him with all your heart and with all your soul" (Deut 13:3).[60] The Psalmists show that what God required of every man was attainable. The Psalms reveals fallen human beings in whom is this spirit of total submission to God; compare Psalms 63:1, 8; 84:2; 119:167; 143:6. If they could experience this tremendous yearning to serve God *in everything,* how much more intense must this yearning be in Christ's followers as they contemplate the sacrifice of love he made for them on the Cross. Nothing less than "all your heart and all your soul" is the Christian's response.

Man has the paradigm or example of the relationship between Christ and God by which to understand what it means by "the head of man is Christ." He does not need to go to a Greek dictionary or a computer data base and look up the word "head" to come to an understanding of what is involved in the three headships of 1 Corinthians 11:3. The "Head" became flesh and dwelt among men, setting them an example how they should relate to him, through his own example of total obedience to the Father in everything.

If we take the model of the Lord Jesus and how He related to His Father this would provide every man and woman with an attainable standard of commitment to their head. In the case of woman, she would serve her husband to the same extent of complete devotion ("in everything") that Jesus showed toward His Father; and man would have two examples—Christ and his wife—to help him serve Christ Jesus with all his soul, with all his mind and with all his strength.

1.2.1 THE "IMAGE AND GLORY OF GOD"

Man is said to be "the image and glory of God," and this resides in his maleness—in his creation to be God's helpmeet ("because there was no man to till the ground" Gen 2:5). The Greek term used here for "to be" is not ἐστιν but ὑπάρχων which means, "to exist from the beginning."[61] Woman is said to be (ἐστιν) the "glory of man" and this resides in her femaleness—in her creation to be man's helpmeet ("I will make a helpmeet for him" Gen 2:18).[62] There were two very distinct goals in their creation. If both fulfil their divinely-appointed functions then they will fulfil God's design for both. If they try to switch functions then disorder ensues and God receives no glory from His creation. Every cell in each of their bodies is designed to enable them to fulfil their respective callings.

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[60] Other texts stressing the need to love the Lord their God with all their heart and soul are Deut 26:16; 30:2, 6, 10; 1 Kgs 2:4; 8:48; 1 Chr 22:19; 2 Chr 6:38; 15:12; 34:31.

[61] From ὑπο *under,* and αρχὴ *the beginning.* See John Groves, *A Greek and English Dictionary* (London: Cowie, Jolland & Co., 1840). The idea is that man emerged fully formed from the beginning of his existence as the "image and glory of God," and not that he existed and then God picked on him to reflect His image and to be judged as His most glorious creation—the 'being' He took most pride in creating. The idea that woman was needed to complete his "image" is not taught in Scripture. Single men are not incomplete in the "image of God."

[62] For a critique of John Stott's idea that God is male and female, see Excursus 1, section 4.

If man is the "image" and "glory" of God , then in his "image" he bears a special relation to God which woman does not, and in his "glory" he bears a special relation to God which woman does not.[63] These terms are not interchangeable, one is not a gloss on the other.

Taking the term "glory" (δόξα) first, this is explained by the context. In 1 Corinthians 11:15 Paul describes the woman's hair as "her glory," meaning something she takes tremendous pride and joy in; something that she values very highly. This captures what Man means to God: Man is God's pride and joy because of the direct, creational relationship that Man enjoys in God's world. Woman, on the other hand, is Man's pride and joy because of the direct, creational relationship that she enjoys in Man's world. Man was created to relate directly to his Creator. Woman, on the other hand, was created to relate to Him through being related directly to Man. She brings glory to God by fulfilling her very specific Manward function. Man brings glory to God by fulfilling his very specific Godward function. He must be clear why he is here on the earth, and likewise she must be clear why she is here on the earth. Their roles are completely different yet complementary under his headship.

Paul uses the term "glory" elsewhere with the same meaning of pride and joy when he describes the Thessalonians as "our glory and joy" (1 Thess 2:20). He can also note that what others take pride in ("their glory") turns out to be their shame (Phil 3:19). So that "glory" is the object of a person's joy, love and devotion.

Taking the term "image" (εἰκων), this is explained by the term "glory" which we have seen is creational. The two terms are like two sides of the one coin. Man is "God's glory" precisely because he was created with a specific task in mind—to rule over the earth (Gen 2:15; 9:1-7)—to act as God in the place of God. He was given a subordinate role under God's direct control. He was not made answerable to angels or archangels placed between him and God. The relation was direct and personal. The whole design of his body and mind was such as would make the task possible. God did not build in a design flaw that would frustrate man's ability to carry out what he was commanded to do. This design, and the abilities that went with it, reflected God's own design and abilities. Man could stand in the place of God and do what God could have done. The role that Man was called into being to fulfil, is what is meant by Man being "in the image of God." It distinguished him from Woman whose design was different. Man had his purpose for existing given to him before Woman was created. His purpose for existing does not presuppose the existence of Woman—it presupposes the existence of God. Her purpose for existing presupposes the existence of Man, but not necessarily the existence of God (although it does so ultimately). He derives his origin directly from God Himself, who breathed into his nostrils the "breath of life." She derives her origin (body and breath of life) directly from Man himself, but ultimately from God.

Paul captures this creational and functional design difference in summarising Man as being "in the image and glory of God"; and in summarising Woman as being "the glory of Man." [64]

1.3 THE HEAD OF WOMAN IS MAN

> "Now I want you to realise that the head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is the man, and the head of Christ is God" (1 Cor 11:3 NIV).[65]

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[63] See under 4.3.10, for an expansion on this point.

[64] For further notes on this topic see §6.4.3. Definition of "image of God," and Excursus 6.3. Feminist Terminology and Woman's "image of God."

[65] The NRSV has: 'But I want you to understand that Christ is the head of every man, and the husband is the head of

". . . submitting [ὑποτασσόμενοι] one to the other in the fear of Christ, the wives[66] to their own husbands[67] as to the Lord, for the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church, his body, of which he is the Saviour. But as the church submits [ὑποτάσσεται] to Christ, so also the wives[68] to the husbands in everything . . . . and the wife must respect [φοβῆται[69]] her husband" (Eph 5:21-24, 33[70]).

"Wives, submit [ὑποτάσσεσθε] to your husbands, as is fitting in the Lord" (Col 3:18).

"I also want women to dress modestly, with decency and propriety, not with braided hair or gold or pearls or expensive clothes, but with good deeds, appropriate for women professing godly piety. A woman should learn in quietness [ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ[71]] and full submission [ὑποταγῇ [72]]. I do not permit a woman to teach or to have authority[73] over a man; she must be quiet [ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ]. For Adam was formed first, then Eve. And Adam was not the one deceived; it was the woman who was deceived and became a sinner" (1 Tim 2:9-14).[74]

"Wives, in the same way be submissive [ὑποτασσόμεναι[75]] to your husbands so that, if any of them do not believe the word, they may be won over without talk by the behaviour of their wives, when they see the purity and reverence of your lives. Your beauty should not come from outward adornment, such as braided hair and the wearing of gold jewellery and fine clothes. Instead, it should be that of your inner self, the unfading beauty of a gentle and quiet spirit, which is of great worth in God's sight. For this is the way the holy women of the past who put their hope in God used to make themselves beautiful. They were submissive (ὑποτασσόμεναι) to their own husbands, like Sarah, who obeyed Abraham and called him "Master." You are her daughters if you do what is right and do not give way to fear" (1 Pet 3:1-6).[76]

Because Woman is the "glory of Man" and was created out of his body and purpose-made for him, she therefore naturally relates to man as man does to Christ, and as Christ does to God. It is in helping Man that Woman should find her truest expression of fulfilment. There is no suggestion in Scripture that in order to be a true helper of man she must be married. That would be to set one aspect of her help above another, and reduce virginity to an undesirable state. Woman was made for Man and she can find fulfilment in helping him without being married (cf. 1 Cor 7).[77] The woman is not "directionless" until she is married, no more than a man is "directionless" until he becomes a Christian. All men—Christian and non-Christian—came into physical being through Christ, and have him as their head whether

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his wife, and God is the head of Christ' (1 Cor 11:3). The words 'man' and 'husband' are the same word in the Greek. The possessive pronoun 'his (wife)' is not in the Greek. So there is a level of legitimate inference, not translation, given here.

66 There is no verb in the Greek at this point. The verb appears in v. 21 and is carried over into v. 22. See Appendix E for other occurrences of 'submit' (ὑποτάσσω).

67 Note the indirect way Paul imparts his instructions to the women in contrast to the direct way he addresses the men in v. 25. Compare with this 1 Cor 14:34, "If they want to inquire about something, they should ask their own husbands at home."

68 There is no verb in the Greek at this point. The verb appears in v. 24a and is carried over into v. 24b.

69 Servants are to "obey with fear" (μετὰ φόβου) their earthly superiors as though they were serving Christ (Eph 6:5); cf. Col 3:22 where slaves are to obey their earthly masters "fearing [φοβούμενοι] the Lord." The motive for obeying is the fear of displeasing the Lord.

70 For a well-researched study on Eph 5:21-33 see J. Paul Sampley, *And the Two Shall Become One Flesh* (Cambridge: University Press, 1971).

71 This refers to disposition not vocalisation. For other occurrences of this word in the Bible see Appendix D.

72 Or 'subjection.' In this context it refers to accepting without reserve the authority of a male Church teacher. It applies only to females; it does not apply to men. Cf. 1 Cor 15:28, "Now when everything is subjected to him [Jesus], then the Son also himself will be subject to Him who did subject everything to him."

73 See Appendix G for further study on this word.

74 For a fuller treatment of these verses see 4.8 and Appx. B, but especially 4.3.10. on the deception of Eve.

75 Servants are told to be submissive [ὑποτασσόμενοι] "in all fear" (φόβῳ)(1 Pet 2:18).

76 James R. Slaughter, "Sarah as a Model for Christian Wives (1 Pet. 3:5-6)," *BibSac* 153 (1996) 357-365. Despite the explicitness of these texts some writers manage to conclude that there is no evidence for an hierarchical view of the relation between the sexes (see Paul K. Jewett, *Man as Male and Female* [Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 1975]).

77 On Paul's view of marriage see the fuller treatment under 4.6.

they acknowledge him or not. All women—married and unmarried—were created from the body of Man, and have him as their goal whether they acknowledge him or not.[78] Naturally, when a woman marries a man, that man becomes her immediate head and so the help she can give to mankind in general is now channelled through one man in particular without, of course, cutting her off from helping the community in the course of her calling.

1.3.1. WOMEN'S VOWS AND MAN'S HEADSHIP

Under the Old Covenant God recognised Man's headship in that when a man made a vow to God he had to keep it (Lev 5:5; cf. ch. 27; Deut 23:21-23), but when his wife made a vow to God the husband could cancel it if he disapproved of it, and Yahweh respected his authority to do so. Likewise if a man's daughter made a vow to God, her father could cancel it if he disapproved of it. If a woman made a vow to God before she married, her husband could cancel it if he disapproved of it, and God accepted the husband's power to cancel it (Num 30:3-15). When a widow or divorced woman made a vow to God then she had to keep it (Num 30:9). Presumably a single woman not living under her father's roof would come into the same category. But once she married then her husband could cancel her vow if he disapproved of it.[79]

If wives or daughters could make vows to God, which husbands or fathers could do nothing about, they would cease to be in control of the family: chaos could soon set it. In His wisdom God placed the husband/father between the womenfolk and Himself, so that their vows to Him must come through the head of the house.

> A wife or daughter could not overrule the husband's or father's authority in the home by claiming she made a vow to the Lord, a higher authority than her male attachment, which she was obliged to fulfil. A direct vow to the Lord could not overrule their earthly authority. The Lord stands behind the authority of a husband or father. This is not because women are inferior but to protect the male leadership of the home. That the ruling is based on male leadership, not on male superiority, can be seen in the provision that the vow of a woman who was without male attachment was as binding upon her as that upon a man ([Num] 30:9).[80]

Although it never explicitly states in the Old Testament, as it does in the New Testament, that "the head of woman is man," yet underlying all the Old Testament laws is this creation fixture.[81] God's marriage laws for His people are dominated by the principle of patriarchy. Marriage was certainly not "egalitarian" in the modern sense of the word. At the same time it was not the hierarchy of master and servant, but a covenant bond between loving intimates. Although the husband had authority over his wife, this did not exclude a relationship of mutual help, love and trust.[82] When a woman became the wife of an Israelite

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[78] Baldwin ("The Biblical Basis for Women's Ministry," in *Evangelicals and the Ordination of Women.* Ed. C. Craston [Grove Booklet on Ministry and Worship No. 17. Bramcote, England: Grove Books, 1973], p. 20) makes the mistake of saying that, 'The unmarried woman submits directly to Christ.' But in the Church the unmarried woman takes her place with the women, not with the men.

[79] On the position of single women, see Ex 21:7-10; 22:16; Lev 21:3; 22:12.

[80] Bruce K. Waltke, "The Role of Women in the Bible," *CRUX* 31 (no. 3, 1995) 29-40, esp. p. 38.

[81] Ben Sira (2d cent. BC) warns his readers: "To son or wife, to brother or friend, do not give power over yourself, as long as you live" (33.19). There seems to be the recognition here that a man has power over himself which he can give away.

[82] N. Stienstra, *YHWH Is the Husband of His People: Analysis of a biblical metaphor with special reference to translation.* Kampen, 1993, pp. 70-85.

man she passed from the authority of her father into that of her husband (1 Sam 18:17, 19, 27).[83] Before marriage, the will and the inclination of the girl were, however, taken into account (Gen 24:39, 58). The right of divorce belonged to the husband alone (Deut 24:1-4; cf. 22:13).[84] The highest happiness an Israelite woman could achieve was that of motherhood (Gen 24:60; 30:1; 1 Sam 1:6f; Ps 113:9). As a fruitful mother she constituted the focal point of family life, and as such was the object of honour on all sides and was highly praised and prized. Her love became the symbol of divine love, "As a mother comforts her child, so I will comfort you" (Isa 66:13).

Under the New Covenant this creation fixture remains in place because Christ places the husband/father between the womenfolk and Himself. Man's headship has not be abolished with the coming of Christ, it has been safeguarded in the formula, the head of woman is man; the head of man is Christ.

In the Old Testament the sign of entry into the community of God's people was circumcision. Women did not have a separate initiation ceremony. They entered the Covenant because their husbands, their heads, were in it. If the head of the house was not circumcised then his whole household, including the women, were debarred from entry into the Old Testament Church. No foreigner could eat the Passover until he and the male members of his family were circumcised (Exod 12:43, 48), then his womenfolk could eat it with the circumcised males.

Under the Old Covenant only males could inherit the Promised Land but if a man had no sons, only daughters, these daughters had to marry a blood-related relative in order for the family land to remain within the possession of their father's clan (Num 27:5-7; 36:4; Josh 17:3). The land then passed down to the daughters' male offspring, and never to the female line. Once again, by ensuring that man should be head of the household, God gave him control of the economics of the family. If land had passed down through the female line she would have ruled the household economically. God, in His wisdom, built in safeguards to the headship of man. "It is hard," writes David Wenham, "to avoid the conclusion that Paul believed the husband to have a position of God-given leadership in the family."[85]

1.3.2. WOMEN'S SILENT PARTICIPATION IN WORSHIP

Under the Old Covenant only the men directly participated in the worship of God. "With regard to religion, the woman contributes in a silent yet active, supporting role to the man, to the extent that she is excluded from all official acts of the cult. Israel, unlike other ancient peoples, had no priestesses."[86] In this regard the position of men and women is asymmetrical. There was no equality of responsibility or obligation. Some writers (e.g., Phyllis Bird[87]) distort the biblical picture by suggesting that men and women were virtually equal in all respects while others suggest that it is the male writers of the OT who have hidden women behind "the facade of generic male terminology." Gender counted, yet

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[83] So *Ket.* 4.5, 'She continues within the control of the father until she enters into the control of the husband at marriage.' The rights of a husband over his wife were nearly as extensive as those of a father over his daughter. The reason lies in the patriarchal structure of Jewish society; see Léonie J. Archer, *Her Price is Beyond Rubies: The Jewish Woman in Greco-Roman Palestine* (JSOT Supplement Series 60; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), p. 205.

[84] This law was not given by God but by Moses 'for the hardness of your [male] hearts' (cf. Mt 19:8; Mk 10:5).

[85] *Paul: Follower of Jesus or Founder of Christianity?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995) p. 238 n. 54.

[86] Cf. 'Woman,' in *Encyclopaedia of Biblical Theology,* ed. J. B. Bauer (3 vols. London: Sheed & Ward, 1970), III, 985-991, esp. p. 988.

[87] Phyllis Bird, "The Place of Women in the Israelite Cultus," p. 411.

women, although living in the shadow of their male relatives, did participate in the worship of their God, as full members of the Covenant people, in a variety of ways.

In a comprehensive study of female and male cultic personnel in the Bible and the Ancient Near East one author concluded: "It is seen, then, that there were no women inside the temple as personnel, but immediately outside the temple, and, indeed, in a special area, we find "ministering women," Ex 38.8, and we recall that during the wilderness wanderings, some rites were carried out at the door. Ex 40.6.12."[88]

It is possible that these rites included the woman's gift of a lamb and a young pigeon or turtle-dove "to make atonement for herself" after the birth of a child (Lev 12:6). Both sexes could place themselves under Nazirite vows (Num 6:22). Unlike men, women's role in Yahweh's worship was not essential, but neither was it ignored by God, or that of children.

The females of priests and Levites benefited to the extent that they could eat of the meat and other food that was offered to God (Lev 10:12-15; 22:12-13; Num 18:18-19; cf. Dt 12:12, 18; 16:10-11, 13-14; 1 Sam 1:4-5; 2 Sam 6:19; 1 Chr 16:3). But even in this area some parts of the sacrifices could only be eaten by males; these parts were forbidden to their wives and families. There was no circumstance where the son of a priest could lose his privileged status (apart from some gross violation). He could marry a non-Levite girl (but not a divorcee). But the privileged status of a daughter of a priest depended on her continuing relationship with her father or a husband who was a priest. If a priest's daughter married an ordinary Israelite man she lost her right to eat of the sacrifices offered to God at the temple because she passed under the headship of a man who was not a priest. Her rights were *derived* rights coming through her father or through her priestly husband (Lev 22:13).[89] The prospective wife of a priest must reflect his holiness (Lev 21:7). He could not marry a divorced woman, because the priestly semen could not enter a "vessel" previously "used" by another man. Ezekiel (44:22) warns priests to marry only virgins or priests' widows. The High Priest could only marry a virgin of his own people (Lev 21:4).

No Israelite woman could become a priest. This contrasts sharply with the cultures around Israel, where women priestesses are found and where standards of purity in the presence of the Deity were as strict as those in Israel, so that menstruation was not a bar to their participation in the priesthood on the same terms as men, as some have tried to explain the exclusion of women to the priesthood in Israel.[90] It was a male-specific function in Israel where women could not even enter the Temple but only to a court specially set apart for them. Thus architecture, geography, and theology are all focused on the Men of Israel to be primarily in charge of Israel's (or the Church's) worship of God. It was man's work—the work of the one who "is the image and glory of God" (1 Cor 11:7).[91]

In general, the worship of God by each family was conducted by the menfolk, who alone had to appear three times a year before God. According to Exodus 23:17; 34:23 and Deuteronomy 16:16 only men were required to attend religious festivals, yet women and children are considered members of the same Covenant as their menfolk (Dt 29:9-10 [10-15]), and they were obliged to appear before Yahweh once every seven years to hear the terms of the Covenant read out to them (Dt 31:10-12; cf. Josh 8:35; Ezr 10:1); they also took part (as we would expect) in the sacrificial meals and religious festivals, especially welcoming the returning soldiers and rejoicing with them (Pss 148:12; 68:26 [25]). Although we do not have

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[88] Richard A. Henshaw, *Female and Male: The Cultic Personnel. The Bible and the Rest of the Ancient Near East* (Pennsylvania: Pickwick Publications, 1994), p. 26. Men and women danced in separate groups in most NE cultures. For seven types of dances in Hebrew culture see ibid., p. 123.

[89] See B. J. Brooten, *Women Leaders in the Ancient Synagogue* (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1982), pp. 78-83.

[90] Another reason sometimes given for the exclusion of women is the theory that Israel reacted so strongly to sacred and divine marriages which involved ritual or sexual re-enactment by humans in all NE fertility religions that it banned all women from the cultus so as not to slide into this abhorrent, yet attractive religion. This overlooks the revelatory nature of the origin of Israel's cultus. It came from God, not man.

[91] This is one of Paul's main points of continuity between the Old Church and the New Church of God.

any examples of children's or slaves' prayers we do have a few of women's prayers. See Genesis 21:16-17; 25:22; 29:35; 30:24; Exodus 15:21; Judges 5:1-31; Ruth 1:8-9; 4:14; 1 Samuel 1:10, 12-15; 2:1-10; 1 Kings 10:9. Some even regard Psalm 131 as composed by a mother, but the inscription notes that it is a Psalm of David.

However, the women were exempt from all religious taxes (Ex 30:12; 38:26). There were moral laws and laws that directly affected them as females (menstruation, etc., the laws of leprosy in Lev 13; Deut 13:6).[92]) which they must keep as members of the Covenant community.

Tal Ilan noted that a Jewish woman's position in the whole system of religious commandments was exactly the reverse of her position in the Jewish legal system. In the latter, the operating assumption was that women are included in every verdict or punishment described in *halakhah* unless specifically excluded, while in the former, the commandments connected to divine service are assumed to exclude women unless otherwise stated. A *baraita* reads: "R. Judah says: A person must say three blessings every day: Blessed be He who did not make me a gentile, Blessed be He who did not make me a woman, Blessed be He who did not make me an ignoramus [or slave] . . . who did not make me a woman, because women are not obligated to fulfil commandments" (*tBer.* 7.18; cf. *bMen.* 43b).[93] [94]

Because of the solidarity of the family, what the husband did he did on behalf of the whole household. God's laws assume the solidarity of the family and that the husband/father is in total control of his own household. This control carries with it total responsibility if anything goes wrong. The idea of corporate responsibility for the actions of a rogue tribe (cf. Deut 13:12; Josh 22:18) is just an extension of the family principle to the larger grouping.

Women definitely took up a silent, supporting role when it came to participation in the worship in the Temple at Jerusalem. *The women remained silent in the worship of God throughout the Old Testament Church period.* This was the way Yahweh wanted it. He gave them no individual part in the service of His Temple. It was not as if *men* kept them at arm's length from participating directly, in their own right, in the worship of God. The Scriptures make it plain that Yahweh was in charge of setting up His own worship in all its minute detail and He gave them no right to participate directly in the worship service. He gave detailed instructions and patterns to Moses to follow.

Even the stitching and sewing and repair of the Tent of Meeting (work which might be considered best done by women) was done by men between the ages of 20 and 50. Men were given the responsibility of making all the priestly garments, including the very ornate High Priestly garments (Ex 28:3, 5-6, 15; 35:10; 39:1). God could have given the necessary skills and gifts to women, just as easily as to men, but He deliberately chose an all-male workforce to do everything belonging to the Tent of Meeting (Ex 31:1-11; 35:30; 36:1—38:23). Where women do participate they do so along with the ordinary Israelite men in a supporting role, by providing materials for the Tabernacle (Ex 35:25), which Moses then gave to the workmen (Ex 36:3, 8-9). *Yahweh expected the men to carry the full contribution and responsibility for His worship.* Only men were permitted to construct the Tabernacle; only men could sew the curtains together;[95] only men could make the priestly garments, tunics and

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[92] An example of exploiting every vestige of female contribution to the Hebrew cult is Ismar J. Peritz, "Woman in the Ancient Hebrew Cult," *JBL* 17 (1989) 111-48.

[93] Tal Ilan, *Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Palestine* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996), p. 176. For parallels in Greek literature see W. A. Meeks, "The Image of the Androgyne: Some Uses of the Symbol in Earliest Christianity," *History of Religions* 13 (1973/74) 167-168.

[94] Compare the editors' prayers in *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood: A Response to Evangelical Feminism,* ed. John Piper and Wayne Gruden (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 1991), p. xiv. The woman's prayer is, "I understand much more fully what it means to be a woman, and I am *thankful* that God made me a woman, remarkably different from a man, yet immeasurably valuable in God's sight and in His plan for the world." The man's prayer is, ""I understand much more fully what it means to be a man, and I am *thankful* that God made me a man, remarkably different from a woman, yet immeasurably valuable in God's sight and in His plan for the world."

[95] This is not to underestimate the value of freewill offerings that men and women made to provide the raw

turbans, and only men could make the perfume. The whole worship of God was placed squarely on man's shoulders. Even the job of creating the special perfume of the anointing oil was a man's job (Ex 30:23). Women were excluded by God Himself from having a direct input into any aspect of His worship. He dictated to Moses every single rule on how men were to carry out His worship. The women were silent, but present, as the Law reveals.[96]

1.3.3. CONTAMINATION AND WORSHIP

When God made man and woman He made them male and female, with different bodily discharges. The discharges of the woman meant that for a period of a few days each month God regarded them as unclean and they could not come before the door of His Tent of Meeting. The exclusion order covered the period of the discharge itself and the next seven days after it stopped. In effect she was excluded from worship for about one-third of every month, or one-third of every year. While in a state of impurity her uncleanness was contagious. Anything she touched (including her husband), or sat on, or slept on, became unclean and had to be ritually washed with water. On the birth of a son she was excluded from attendance at worship for 33 days, and in the case of a girl, for 66 days.[97]

The discharge of the man could be a medical condition, or just simply sleeping with his wife. In the latter case he was unclean until the following nightfall (Lev 12:1-8; 15:18). A priest who slept with his wife could not re-enter God's service until he was clean again. If he did God's service in an unclean state he was permanently disqualified from His service (Lev 22:3). If a woman has a monthly discharge (Lev 15:19) and her husband touches her while in her unclean state, he becomes unclean for the next seven days and if he touches any of the holy things dedicated to the Lord he is cut off from God's presence (Lev 22:3). Everyone had to pay strict attention to the state they were currently in if they were not to contaminate the rest of the family and visitors.

Strict rules governed the lives of men and women.[98] The need to avoid contamination dominated everyone's life. Husbands and sons needed to know when menstruation occurred among their females. Women and girls needed to be able to seclude themselves in women's quarters during these periods of impurity, so as not to cause

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materials for the Tabernacle. The women spun yarn with their hands and the men gave any furniture they had which was made of valuable wood, especially acacia wood, also both gave precious metals, jewellery and stones (Exod 35:22-26). But the execution of the building was carried out by the men of Israel.

96 It is sometimes objected that nowhere in the Law/Torah does it say *in actual words* that women were to be silent (cf. 1 Tim 2:12). If the idea is *implied* in the text this has as much authority as the actual words. For example, the Sadducees denied the resurrection (Acts 23:8) because they accepted only the Torah/Pentateuch as Scripture. But Jesus found the doctrine of the resurrection in the Torah *by implication* in the words, "I am the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob' (Exod 3:6). Talmud *b. Hul* 131b-132a, "we may infer what is not explicitly stated from what is explicitly stated." Paul used five sources of authority: Jesus, Scripture (Law), his own apostolic authority, custom, and common sense; see P. J. Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law: Halakha in the Letters of the Apostle to the Gentiles* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990).

97 The survival of the menstrual laws virtually unchanged following the destruction of the Second Temple has been put down to 'a conscious emphasis on, and an attempt at the inculcation in a particularly significant area of human interest, of that self-discipline which must be—in all aspects of life—an integral element in the Jewish ideal of cultivating "holiness" *(qedushah)'* (R. Loewe, *The Position of Women in Judaism.* London: S.P.C.K., 1966, p. 48). For the instructive way in which the cultic categories of 'clean' (purity or wholeness, normality) and 'unclean' (unwhole and abnormal) have been continued but transformed in the New Covenant see Jerome H. Neyrey, "Clean/Unclean, Pure/Polluted, and Holy/Profane: The Idea and System of Purity," in *The Social Sciences and New Testament Interpretation* (ed. Richard Rohrbaugh; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996), pp. 80-106. There are 14 terms for 'purity' and 7 for 'impure', which indicates how endemic these concepts were for the Hebrew/Jews.

98 For a harsh picture of woman under the Law and the outcome of Gen 3:15-16, 'he shall rule over you,' see Caroline M. Breyfogle, "The Social Status of Women in the Old Testament," *Biblical World* 35 (1910) 110-111.

unnecessary disruption to the lives of their menfolk, particularly the priests and Levites who were not allowed into the Temple to do their work if they were unclean.[99] Safrai has suggested that the reason for separate men's and women's quarters in Jewish houses was not moral but *halakhic,* i.e., the menstruant woman had to be secluded so as not to contaminate the utensils in the house or the other people who lived there. Safrai found evidence for separate women's quarters in an Amoraic source (*b.Qidd.* 81a).[100]

Yahweh created a culture for His own people in which every minute of their lives was governed by at least one of 613 laws. Religion dominated every minute whether waking or sleeping. Everything was either "clean" or "unclean," "holy" or "common." It is hard for modern Westerners to enter into the culture that Hebrew men and women took for granted in the Mosaic Law. Mixing with women generally, or touching them in crowded market-places, could unwittingly make a man unclean. If in doubt he washed himself when he came home and waited until the evening (when he became ritually "clean") before performing any religious duty.

When Yahweh called out the men for a special task, they had to be in a ritually clean state, hence the command not to sleep with their wives in the days leading up to the call out (Exod 19:15; 1 Sam 21:4-5; cf. 1 Cor 7:5).

The New Testament view of the place of women within the Christian community is that her natural vocation is the bearing of children (increasing the "sons of God"). It is through this that woman finds her rightful place in the divine order, provided she has faith and love (1 Tim 2:15).[101]

It was noted above that when priests worshipped before their Head (God, not Christ) under the Old Covenant they did so with covered heads. The Head of Christ is God, but Christ does not have a covering on his head when he appears before God on man's behalf. Under the New Covenant all male worshippers have been instructed to change their approach to God because Christ now represents them with his head uncovered. Christ and all male worshippers are now brothers (Jn 20:17; Heb 2:11[102]). He is the only High Priest without a head covering because he is the exact image of God, which should not be hidden with a covering. The same reason is now given why men should not have a covering on their heads, "because he is the image and glory of God" (1 Cor 11:7). If man has permission to appear before God without a head covering it is very unlikely that Christ has to cover His head in the presence of God.

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[99] See B. J. Brooten, *Women Leaders in the Ancient Synagogue* (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1982), pp. 78-83. See Stuart L . Love, "Women's Roles in certain Second Testament Passages: A Macrosociological View." *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 17 (1987) 50-60, for a particularly helpful insight into Greco-Roman and Jewish/Hellenistic agrarian societies provisions for women's privacy.

[100] S. Safrai, "Home and Family," in *The Jewish People in the First Century.* Edd. S. Safrai and M. Stern (2 vols.; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1976), II, 728-92, esp. pp. 730-35. Women's quarters were also a characteristic part of Greek culture, see Elaine Fantham, *et al., Women in the Classical World* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 104.

[101] Article 'Woman," in *Encyclopaedia of Biblical Theology,* ed. J.B. Bauer. 3 vols (London: Sheed & Ward, 1970), III, 985-991, esp. p. 990. See the footnotes in Appx. B for further comments on this text.

[102] Cf. also Ps 22:22 and Mt 28:10.

2. THE THEOLOGICAL REASONS ON WHICH THE TEACHING OF HEADSHIP RESTS

There are three crucial texts that must be taken into account in any discussion of the subject. The central texts are:

1 CORINTHIANS 11:7-10

7 ἀνὴρ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀφείλει κατακαλύπτεσθαι τὴν κεφαλήν, εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ ὑπάρχων· ἡ[103] γυνὴ δὲ δόξα ἀνδρός ἐστιν. (8) οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἀνηρ ἐκ γυναιλός ἀλλὰ γυνὴ ἐξ ἀνδρός· (9) καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐκτίστη ἀνὴρ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν ἄνδρα. (10) διὰ τοῦτο ὀφείλει ἡ γυνὴ ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐπί τῆς κεφαλῆς διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους.

7 On the one hand, man, indeed, ought not to cover [or: hide] the head, being the image and glory of God, but on the other hand, ›the‹ [woman ought to cover the head because] woman is man's glory. (8) For man is not of woman, but woman [is] out of man.[104] (9) And also, man was not created on account of the woman, but woman on account of the man. (10) Because of this the woman ought to have authority upon the head on account of the angels.

1 CORINTHIANS 14:33b—37[105]

Ὡς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων, (34) αἱ γυναῖκες ὑμῶν[106] ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις σιγάτωσαν, οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπεται[107] αὐταῖς λαλεῖν· ἀλλὰ ὑποτασσέσθωσαν,[108] καθὼς και– ὁ νόμος λέγει. (35) εἰ δέ τι μαθεῖν θέλουσιν, ἐν οἴκῳ τοὺς ἰδίους ἄνδρας ἐπερωτάτωσαν, αἰσχρὸν γάρ ἐστιν γυναικὶ[109] λαλεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ.[110]

(33)As in all the assemblies of the saints (34) your women in the assemblies—let them be silent. For it has not been permitted to them to speak, but to subject themselves, as also the Law says [teaches]. (35) And if anything they are wishing to learn, in [the] house of their own men let them question; for it is a disgrace to women—in an assembly—to speak.

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103 The Majority Greek text plus $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ ℵ*C omit the article; other mss (ℵcBA) have it.

104 To substitute the terms 'husband' and 'wife' for 'man' and 'woman' would not make sense in this text as is attempted by J. Winandy, "Un curieux *casus pendens:* 1 Corinthians 11:10 et son interprétation," *New Testament Studies* 38 (1992) 621-29. For example 11:11, "Yet the wife is not apart from the husband, nor the husband apart from the wife in the Lord; for just as the wife is [created] from the husband, so also the husband is [born] through the wife."

105 See Appx A for 36 translations of 14:33b-35.

106 The Majority Greek text has ὑμῶν 'your' following 'women'; other mss (ℵBA) omit it.

107 The Majority Greek text has ἐπιτέτραπται (perf. ind. pass., from —τρέπω.), meaning, 'it was [and still is] permitted'; a few older mss (ℵBA) read: ἐπιτρέπεται (3 sg. pres. indic. pass., from —τρέπω.), meaning, 'it is permitted [now]'.

108 The Majority Greek text reads ὑποτάσσεσθαι (pres. infin. mid.), a few older mss (ℵBA) read: ὑποτασσέσθωσαν (3 pl. pres. imper. mid.). The Middle voice is in meaning much closer to the Active than to the Passive. It is something the women are to do, rather than something done to them by others.

109 The Majority Greek text reads the plural here, γυναιξίν, 'women'.

110 This is the word order in some older mss (mainly the Egyptian tradition). The Majority Greek text reads: γυναιξὶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ λαλεῖν. The transposition of the phrase 'in [the] church' brings out a difference of emphasis. In the Majority Greek text the meaning is: 'for a shame it is to women in [the] church to speak.' This suggests that it is not a shame if they speak outside the church. The alternative text reads: 'it is a shame to woman to speak in church.' This puts the emphasis on gender; whether young or old, single or married, *females* are not permitted to speak in church.

1 TIMOTHY 2:11-15[111]

(11) γυνὴ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ μανθανέτω ἐν πάσῃ ὑποταγῇ· (12) διδάσκειν δὲ γυναικὶ[112] οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω οὐδὲ αὐθεντεῖν[113] ἀνδρός, ἀλλ᾽ εἶναι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ. (13) Ἀδὰμ γὰρ πρῶτος ἐπλάσθη, εἶτα Εὔα· (14) καὶ Ἀδὰμ οὐκ ἠπατήθη, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἐξαπατηθεῖσα[114] ἐν παραβάσει γέγονεν· (15) σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας, ἐὰν μείνωσιν ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ καὶ ἁγιασμῷ μετὰ σωφροσύνης.

(11) Let a woman in quietness learn in all subjection. (12) And a woman to teach I do not permit, nor to rule a man, but to be in quietness. (13) For Adam was first formed, then Eve. (14) And Adam was not deceived, but the woman, having been thoroughly deceived, into transgression came. (15) And she shall be saved [as she goes] through the [cursed] child-bearing, if they remain in faith, and love, and sanctification with seriousness.

2.1 THE TEACHING OF HEADSHIP RESTS ON THE ORDER OF CREATION

"I do not permit a woman to teach or to have authority over a man; she must be silent. For *[here is the theological reason]* Adam was formed first, then Eve" (1 Tim 2:12).[115] Adam was the first human being formed in the image of God. From him emanated the entire human race including Woman. "The first reason is that the order of creation of man and woman (Adam and Eve) is expressive and determinative of God's order of relationship and authority. The one formed first is in His image and likeness, the one formed after and from him is to remain in a loving and obedient relationship to him."[116]

Waltke noted from his study of the two creation accounts in Genesis 1 and 2 that:

> The order of creation, which is set forth in these two accounts, stands behind the order of redemption, which is represented in the rest of Scripture. For example, the Fourth Commandment (Exod. 20:8-11) to refrain from work on the Sabbath is based on the first creation account that God ceased his own work on that day (2:2-3). The Seventh commandment (Exod 20:14) to not commit adultery is founded on the institution of marriage in the Garden of Eden according to the

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111 See Appx B for 36 translations of 2:11-15.

112 The Majority Greek text (with some exceptions) reads: γυναιξὶ δὲ διδάσκειν.

113 See the footnote on this unique word in Appx B.

114 The Majority Greek text plus B reads: ἀπατηθεῖσα (1st aor. pass. ptc. fem. acc. sg. fr. ἀπατάω) as against other MSS (א*A) which read as the UBS[4] text (fr. ἐξαπατάω). The MT means, 'to be self-deceived, mistaken', whereas the UBS[4] form means, 'to be deceived thoroughly' (Liddell & Scott).

115 For a further exegesis of this text see 4.3.10. M. F. Stitzinger, "Genesis 1-3 and the Male/Female Role Relationship" (*Grace Theological Journal* 2 [1981] 23-44). This is the clearest explanation of Paul's use of Genesis 1-3 that I have consulted. Another helpful work is that by Ann L. Bowman, "Women in Ministry: An Exegetical Study of 1 Timothy 2:11-15," *BibSac* 149 (1992) 193-213. She notes (pp. 203-04) that Paul was not simply referring to two verses taken from Gen 2-3. Instead he was using a common rabbinic method of referring to the OT, a method known as summary citation. An example of a single statement recalling an entire story is Luke 17:32, 'Remember Lot's wife' (Gen 18:22—19:26). If Paul were referring to a specific verse he would quote it. For a comprehensive listing of introductory formulas of OT scriptures see Bruce Metzger, "The Formulas Introducing Quotations of Scripture in the New Testament and the Mishnah," *JBL* 70 (1951) 297-307; cf. also J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament," *NTS* 7 (1960-61) 299-305. For Paul's rabbinic technique of exegesis see Anthony J. Hanson, *Studies in Paul's Technique and Theology* (London: SPCK, 1974), 136-257.

116 G. W. Knight, "The Role Relation of Man and Woman and the Teaching/Ruling Functions in the Church," *JETS* 18 (1975) 81-91, esp. p. 85.

second account (Gen 2:18-25). The Sixth Commandment (Exod 20:13) protects innocent life because every life is created in God's image (Gen 1:26-28; cf. 5:1-3; 9:6).

Moreover, our Lord aimed to recapture for his church the Creator's original intention for marriage (Matt 19:3-9), and the Apostle Paul based on these accounts his arguments concerning the roles of women in the home and in the church (1 Cor 11:3-12; 1 Tim 2:12-15).

In sum, the Bible is a story of Paradise lost in the first Adam and being regained in the Second. The Garden of Eden symbolically represents the ideal culture that was lost and that Moses restores in the Law and that Christ restores more perfectly in his church through the Spirit. These accounts present what is normative for the role of women in "worship."

. . . . male authority in the home and in the Church is founded on the order of creation and reinforced in the order of redemption as presented in both the Old and New Testaments.

Is it not plausible to assume . . . that had he [God] intended equality in government he would have formed Eve and Adam at the same time and have said, "It is not good for the man or the women to be alone, I will make them to be helpers suitable to each other"? If he had wanted a matriarchy, would he not have formed Eve first and created the husband to be a suitable helper to his wife?[117]

Waltke rightly recognises the importance of the two Genesis accounts of the creation of mankind for the restoration of God's original plan for mankind, which both Jesus and Paul point up in their uncovering of the new life lived according to the Spirit. It is worthwhile, therefore, spelling out some crucial, theologically laden facts about these two accounts.

God formed Adam on the sixth day of creation as His master-piece.[118] He was created to rule and control the earth, and this is reflected in his physical and psychological make-up. He was not only created in the image of God but created to reflect that image in his control over the earth. He was born a controller, a governor, a king, a leader. Taking the Genesis story as a whole, we cannot fail to notice a being of singular nobility and endowed with phenomenal powers and attributes; a being who towers high above all other creatures, in fact, their king and their crown. He bowed to none, all were subordinate to him. He showed his dominion over them by giving to each of them a name.

Unlike any other creature God made, Adam was the first "son of God" (Lk 3:38); the first who was made in His image.[119] To him was given dominion over all His world *before* He created woman (Gen 2:15). Man was created with the *primary purpose* of governing the creation that God had made.[120] He was given the authority and ability to accomplish what he

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[117] Bruce K. Waltke, "The Role of Women in the Bible," *Crux* 31 (no. 3, 1995) 29-40, esp. pp. 29-30. See Chart 4. Title: "The Two Accounts of the Creation of Adam."

[118] Baldwin (*op. cit.,* p. 17), having rejected the literal account of woman's creation, declares that man and woman were created like the rest of creation, 'by the word of God'.

[119] Some have tried to undermine Paul's foundation by pointing out that in the order of creation there is a climax in Genesis 1 leading up to the creation of mankind on the sixth day, and since Woman was created last she is superior to Man. Stitzinger (*op. cit.,* pp. 28-30) has replied to this notion.

[120] It has been suggested that Adam's privilege or chronological primacy in creation is linked with the OT concept of primogeniture. In the OT the firstborn son received a number of specific privileges. First, he succeeded his father as head of the family and leader of the family worship (Dt 21:15-17)(See R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel,* 2 vols. [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961], I:42, 53). The rabbis affirmed this in the Mishnah (*Baba Bathra* 8:4, 5; *Bechoroth* 8:1, 9, 10). Second, he received a 'double portion' of the inheritance. Paul was possibly asserting that Adam's status as the oldest carried with it the leadership fitting for a firstborn son. Jesus was given the title 'firstborn among many brothers' (Rom 8:29); 'firstborn from the dead' (Col 1:18); 'firstborn of all creation' (Col 1:15), and so He inherits everything now. It seems to me that inheritance through headship rather than through primogeniture explains the case of Adam and Christ best.

had been assigned to do. Woman, on the other hand, was created with a totally different *primary function* in mind, namely, to fulfil a need in Man's desire for company. She was designed and formed specifically (in her whole constitution) to be a fit companion for Man. Her role was a supporting one. It was never intended that she do anything but help him to achieve his ends. Their roles were different, fitting, beautiful and complementary because of their love for one another.[121]

The apostle contrasts the two glories that man and woman display.

> Of the man he says that he is the "glory of God," but of woman he says that she is the "glory of man," (verse 7). As verses 8 and following seem to indicate, this evaluation is based on the more immediate creation of man by God and the creation of woman from and out of man. Thus, the man will reflect the one who directly created him and thus, also, the woman will inevitably reflect and be the glory of the one from whom she was created, namely man.[122]

Stitzinger has noted five signs of Man's headship in Genesis 2. First, in 2:7 man is created prior to woman. Second, Man is called *"adam"* (2:20), a term that is used to cover Eve and all their offspring. Third, Adam was invested with the position of leadership, authority and responsibility to keep the Garden before Eve was created (2:15).[123] Fourth, God prepared Adam for his leadership role by having Adam name the living creatures (Gen 2:19-20) *before* giving him his bride.[124] Fifth, Adam's leadership role is emphasized by his need of a helper (2:18-20). Up until this point Adam's helper/companion had been his superior—God, now God supplied him with a human helper who would not threaten him by being superior or equal in physical strength, but a perfectly formed "weaker vessel"[125] who would respond to his love and his need for companionship.

Waltke having examined the two stories of creation came to the conclusion that:

> the situation represented in these first two chapters of Genesis is regarded as normative for humanity in the rest of Scripture. This ideal is not imposed on men and women but presented to help them understand their natures and the roles for which they were created. Their sexuality lies deeper than their physical characteristics to reproduce, but in their very embodiment as human beings, in the way they view the world and in the way they are perceived.[126]

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[121] It is a feature of those who reject Paul's teaching to play up Gen 1 and play down Gen 2, or treat them as contradictory and so of little or no value today.

[122] G. W. Knight, "The Role Relation of Man and Woman and the Teaching/Ruling Functions in the Church," *JETS* 18 (1975) 81-91, esp. p. 86; and cf. H. Schlier, *T.D.N.T.,* Vol. III, p. 679.

[123] Woman's sphere was "to keep home." "He maketh the barren woman to keep home: and to be a joyful mother of children" (Ps 113:8, *Book of Common Prayer* [*The Great Bible*]).

[124] J. A. Motyer, "Name," in *The New Bible Dictionary* (ed. J.D. Douglas et al.: Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962), p. 862, observed that to give a name is the prerogative of a superior. Adam also gave Eve her name, and God gives Adam his name. He also gives names to all that He created. Naming is a form of control. The Israelites renamed the conquered Transjordan cities (Num 32:38). Pharaoh Necho asserted his control over Eliakim by renaming him Jehoiakim (2 Kgs 23:34). After the Lord gives Adam his bride, Adam tactfully uses the passive form of construction to give her her generic name: "she shall be called Woman . . ." (Gen 2:23b). After the Fall, he names her "Eve" (3:20). There are 26 cases in the OT where mothers give the child its name; in 14 cases it is the father, and in 5 cases it is given by God.

[125] This terminology would seem to be Peter's way (1 Pet 3:7) of stating the femininity of the woman in relation to the masculinity of the man in terms of a comparison with no disparagement intended (see G. Statlin, *T.D.N.T.,* Vol. I, p. 491). John Knox (1505-1572), in particular, expounded this idea as an argument against female monarchs and matriarchs in his tract, "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women" (see under 4.1.1.1.).

[126] Bruce K. Waltke, "The Role of Women in the Bible," *CRUX* 31 (no. 3, 1995) 29-40, esp. p. 29.

2.2 *THE TEACHING OF HEADSHIP RESTS ON THE ORIGIN OF WOMAN*

"On the one hand, a man ought not to cover his head, *[here is the theological reason]* being the image and glory of God; but, on the other hand, the woman [ought to cover her head *[here is the theological reason]* because] she is the glory of man.[127] For man did not come from woman, but woman from man; neither was man created for woman, but woman for man" (1 Cor 11:7-9).[128]

Just as God is sometimes glimpsed taking counsel in the heaven, for example, "Let us make man . . . .," and pictured as having communion with a Being of like nature,[129] so He understands Adam's solitariness and his need to commune with another being of like nature. He therefore resolved to alleviate his loneliness saying:

> It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make an help meet [suitable] for him. . . . And the Lord caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept: and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof; and the rib, which the Lord God had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man. And Adam said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man" (Gen 2:18-23).

Adam's words of joy on seeing his wife are the only recorded words of a human being before the Fall, when he had all his God-given powers in their full prime. He is able instantly and joyfully to recognise in her someone who was on the same level as himself as

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[127] G. G. Findlay makes the observation that instead of saying woman was the 'image and likeness' of man he substitutes for 'likeness' the word 'glory' which is the word the LXX renders the synonymous Heb. term 'form' in Ps 17:15, God's glory being His likeness; cf. Heb 1:3. Woman is the glory of man (ἀνήρ), not of the race (ἄνθρωπος), but of the stronger sex. Paul does not say she is the 'likeness of man' because she is not man's reflection, but his counterpart—not 'like to like, but like in difference,' wedded as 'perfect music unto noble words.' She partakes through him, of the image of God (Gen 1:27) ("The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians," in *The Expositor's Greek New Testament* [5 vols. Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans, 1897-1910], III. 873). D. J. A. Clines has shown that the 'image of the deity' stands for the powers of the deity, in a cuneiform text dated about 675 BC: "It was said to Esarhaddon, 'A free man is as the shadow of god, the slave is as the shadow of a free man, but the king, he is like the very image of god'" ("The Image of God in Man," *Tyndale Bulletin* 19 (1968) 53-103, esp. p. 84).

[128] Robin Scroggs ("Paul and the Eschatological Woman," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 40 [1972] 283-303, esp. p. 301) appears to have found these verses too difficult to understand and retorts: 'to modern readers the logic is blackly obscure.' This does not give one much confidence in his handling of the passage or the subject. He appears to find almost everything too difficult for him in the passage. On 11:2-16 he says (p. 297): 'In its present form this is hardly one of Paul's happier compositions. The logic is obscure at best and contradictory at worst. The word choice is peculiar; the tone, peevish. All these difficulties point to some hidden agenda, hidden probably to the Apostle himself as well as his readers . . . .' This statement is more a reflection on Scroggs' ignorance of the passage than on Paul's God-given wisdom. F. F. Bruce, likewise, did not know what Paul was talking about and so ignored his theological arguments, to the detriment of his case ("Women in the Church: a Biblical Survey," *Journal of the Christian Brethren Research Fellowship* 33 (December, 1982) 7-14, esp. p. 11). For example he treats Paul's principles based on Genesis as only 'guide lines' in one situation (Corinth) and should not be turned into laws binding for all time. He then overrides Paul's teaching with his own rule-of-thumb, namely 'whatever in Paul's teaching promotes true freedom is of universal and permanent validity; whatever seems to impose restrictions on true freedom has regard to local and temporary conditions' (p. 11). And who, we might ask, is to be the judge of what is 'true freedom'? This could be seen as a licence to permit gays and lesbians into positions of leadership otherwise we are infringing on their 'true freedom'. Due to self-confessed ignorance of Paul's theological foundation he dismisses any bar to women teaching or having authority over men in the church (p. 12).

[129] Cf. Isa 6:8; Gen 1:26; 3:22.

regards her humanity. She was not "man" like himself, so in this sense he did not see her as "equal" if by equal we mean identical in form. He saw her as the female counterpart to himself. But his words "bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh" are a penetrating insight into her equality with him as regards her person and worth. She emerged from him and her life was derived from his own life, and yet she was attractively "different" and "complementary." In his words the Creator knew He had successfully completed His creation. She was the last of His works.

Eve, together with Adam, is given dominion over all living creatures (1:27-28). Both Adam and Eve are called *"adam"* in Genesis 5:2, so that it is clear that Woman is not inferior to Man in her moral nature, though of course she was designed at the root level to be subject to him: "Now I want you to realise that the head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is man, and the head of Christ is God" (1 Cor 11:3). "For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church . . . . Now as the church submits to Christ, so also wives should submit to their husbands in everything" (Eph 5:23-24).

Woman was designed physically and psychologically to complement man and to be his perfect helper. Any disparagement of Woman, *per se,* is an attack on her Creator's wisdom to equip her for a very specific role in Man's life. Eve was not left in the Garden of Eden to find Adam, or left there for Adam to find her. When the Creator begins a work He completes it. When He finished creating her He *brought her to Adam*. She was never intended to be independent of him. The theological importance of the Creator bringing the Woman to the Man (and not vice versa) should not be under-estimated theologically. The "bringing" is an affirmation and extension of Man's love-control. He named her, just as he named everything else in his world. She was now answerable to him as he was answerable to God in how they carried out His will to subdue the earth. In Packer's words:

> God . . . gave woman the role of "help meet" for man, and her fitness for it depends on God having made her a "side" of man which he would otherwise lack. So the way for men and women to be free and fulfilled is that in all their joint activities the psychological dynamics of the "help meet" relationship be maintained, and the woman be felt throughout to be helping men. Anything less would be more or less unnatural, and would issue in something less than contentment for both parties. This relational pattern matters most in marriage, the closest and richest of man-woman relationships, but it has some importance wherever men and women work together.[130]

Thus in the Genesis story we see that woman—perfect woman—was subject to her husband before she fell. So that even if men and women could be restored to their original states the wife would still be subject to her husband.

The Genesis account (2:21-22) of Woman's origin establishes another important Scriptural doctrine, namely, the solidarity of the human race. The human species has descended from *one man* (Rom 5:18ff.). For if the sexes had two separate sources or origins, mutual contempt or envy or contentions over equality might have arisen. But God removed that possibility when He formed Eve from Adam and brought her to him to stay with him and to be subject to his perfect love and guidance. The world has never seen a more perfect marriage, nor indeed can it, for sin has separated man and woman beyond complete recovery of the Edenic state in this life (Gen 2:25b). Only when the Husband (Christ) comes for his Bride (the Church), who will be without spot or wrinkle or any such thing, shall the

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130 J. I. Packer, "Thoughts on the Role and Function of Women in the Church" in *Evangelicals and the Ordination of Women.* Ed. C. Craston (Grove Booklet on Ministry and Worship No. 17. Bramcote, England: Grove Books, 1973), p. 23.

redeemed Adamic family understand how perfect was the first human marriage. Every marriage is a shadow of what God once designed it to be.

We see, then, that in the origin and purpose of Woman in the original and perfect creation loving submission was a suitable and fitting element in her constitution.

2.3 THE TEACHING OF HEADSHIP RESTS ON THE ORDER OF THE FALL

> "And Adam was not the one deceived; it was the woman who was deceived and became a sinner" (1 Tim 2:14).[131]
>
> "But I am afraid that just as Eve was deceived by the serpent's cunning, your minds may somehow be led astray from your sincere and pure devotion to Christ" (2 Cor 11:3).
>
> "Unto the woman he [God] said, I will greatly multiply your sorrow and your conception; in sorrow you shall bring forth children; and your desire shall be to your husband,[132] and he shall rule over [κυριεύσαι[133]] you" (Gen 3:16).

Paul uses the word "deceived" to refer to the whole account of the Fall. Adam also sinned, but Eve *led the way* and caused him to sin. Her initiative in breaking the commandment they both were under is an historical fact. Adam's sin consisted not in his listening to his wife's voice, for that was music in his ears (as any lover knows), but in not questioning her about the fruit and where she got it from. We do not know how she managed to persuade Adam to eat the fruit. He must have known what the forbidden fruit looked like. Paul does not develop this reason and we must be content with the brevity of his statement,

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131 See the fuller treatment of this verse under 4.3.10.

132 Some have understood the text to mean that woman would seek to dominate man. How this curse has worked itself out in secular society can be seen in Menander's advice, "The wife ought always to take second place in speaking (*legein*), and the husband ought in all things to take the lead. For there is not a home in which a wife takes first place which has not been utterly ruined" (edition by A. Körte [1910], quoted from Quinn & Wacker, *1-2 Timothy,* p. 225). Menander, the Attic poet, lived between 343 and 292 BC. It is interesting to note the Jewish attitude toward 'headship' in Jesus's day as seen through the writings of Josephus and Philo. Josephus (*Con. Ap.* 2.201), 'The woman, says the Law, is in all things inferior to the man. Let her accordingly be submissive, not for her humiliation, but that she may be directed; for the authority *(to kratos)* has been given by God to man.' Philo (*Op. Mun.* 167), 'In the next place she tasted deprivation of liberty and the authority of the husband at her side, whose command she must perforce obey.' Others have pointed out as a truism of anthropology that male leadership is normative in every culture and that there is no evidence of matriarchy (see Bruce K. Waltke, "The Role of Women in the Bible," *CRUX* 31 [no. 3, 1995] 29-40, esp. p. 36, who has a cross-reference to George Gilder, *Wealth and Poverty* [New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1981], p. 136.).

133 Luke 22:25, "And he said to them, 'The kings of the nations do exercise lordship [κυριεύουσιν] over them, and those exercising authority [ἐξουσιάζοντες] over them are called Benefactors, but you are not so, but he who is greater among you, let him be as the younger; and he who is leading [ἡγούμενος], as he who is serving." In the parallel passages in Mt 20:25 and Mk 10:42 the terms are κατακυριεύουσιν and κατεξουσιάζουσιν respectively. Luke's term is found in Rom 6:9 where death has no more *lordship* over the risen Christ, and in 6:14 sin has no more *lordship* over those under grace. In Rom 7:1 the marriage law has *lordship* over a man as long as he lives, and in 14:7 Christ is *lord* of the living and the dead. Jesus is called Lord of lords in 1 Tim 6:15. In 2 Cor 1:24 Paul denies that he and Timothy acted as *lords* over the Corinthians but, rather, he saw himself as a fellow-worker with them. These are the seven occurrences of Luke's term in the NT. Matthew's term occurs in Acts 19:16 where a demon possessed man leap on the seven sons of Sceva and *overpowered* them. Peter warns elders not to exercise *lordship* over church members but be a pattern for them to follow (1 Pet 5:3). Matthew's term occurs only four times in the NT. Because each man has Christ as his Lord then no man may be lord of another man. This agrees with Christ's headship. As regards headship *all men are equal* and no man (bishop or elder) may dominate another man against his conscience toward God. This is not to rule out church discipline. Paul is aware that the authority of an apostle which he had received from Christ was to be used to build up the Church (2 Cor 10:8; 13:10; 2 Thess 3:9) not to 'cast it down,' but if necessary he would use his apostolic authority to discipline the disorderly in order to preserve the flock from being led astray.

which looks like a summary reference to something that Timothy was familiar with. One may logically infer that in citing this foundational incident Paul is telling Timothy that when the role established by God in His creative activity and order was reversed by Eve, it led to the break-up of a perfect creation.

> It is of note that no cultural reason is given or even alluded to in this passage [1 Tim 2:8-12], but rather the most basic foundational reasons which are always germane to men and women are given, namely, God's creation order and the fall. Nothing more basic and binding could be cited. Paul thus follows the example of Jesus Christ in dealing with the basic question of the relation of men and women; he cites the Father's basic creative action (cf. Mt. 19:3ff.).[134]

In the text of Genesis the ultimate responsibility before God rested with Adam who allowed himself to be knowingly led astray by his wife. That Adam was responsible can be seen in Romans 5:12, because it was through him, and not through Eve, that sin entered the world. God recognised his headship by addressing His questions to him first, and not to Eve. God blamed him for listening/obeying the voice of his wife.

Paul's point is that God's perfect creation was plunged into its present groaning state of death and decay because Eve reversed roles. The implication is that woman's reversal of roles must not be repeated in the church or in the home. She must not be permitted to lead men or her husband in obedience to her initiative or to overthrow/reverse what is accepted as the transmitted tradition of doctrine and practices. Eve questioned the original commandment and was deceived by her own initiative. The impulse to take the initiative should never have been followed. It was not her place to initiate a way of getting round the commandment. Adam, it would appear, was prepared to live in obedience to the command but she was not content with her allotted station.

The character of the temptation illustrates Satan's craftiness. There was nothing said at first to awaken suspicion in Eve, or to shock her moral sense; merely a shy insinuation calculated to excite a natural curiosity. Then there was a direct lie, combined, however, with just enough truth to give it plausibility (Gen 3:4-5). Three steps lead to Eve's transgression: (1) doubt about God's Word (cf. Rom 14:23); (2) an addition to God's Word (cf. 2 Cor 4:2-4; Rev 22:18-19); (3) and an outright contradiction of God's Word (cf. Gen 2:17) (suspicion, addition, contradiction). Adam's sin was not caused by the deception that brought down his wife (the inference of the story is that the serpent's method would not have worked on Adam). Eve's mind was engulfed by the deception, she was "thoroughly deceived" (1 Tim 2:14). It would appear that she did not set out to disobey God deliberately, but was tricked into doing so through the appeal the forbidden fruit had physically, aesthetically, and intellectually for her.

On the other hand, Adam thought about the possibility of disobeying God's command and then he made a conscious decision not to obey God. Paul seems to have thought deeply about the manner in which mankind fell. Sin entered into two perfect, sinless human beings in different ways which are gender specific. The sinless woman was tricked into sin, and the sinless man made a conscious decision to sin. For this reason there was a command of Christ given (1 Cor 14:37b) that the new Eve in Christ must never teach or exercise authority over the new Adam in Christ (1 Tim 2:11-14). Paul, drawing on the analogy of the original sinless pair, feared that "by some means, as the serpent deceived Eve in his cunning, so your thoughts might be spoiled from the pureness which is due to Christ" (2 Cor 11:3). He is addressing "brothers" here which indicates that the new man in Christ is not in the same advantageous position as the first Adam, who was not deceived. The Christian man

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[134] G. W. Knight, "The Role Relation of Man and Woman and the Teaching/Ruling Functions in the Church," *JETS* 18 (1975) 81-91, esp. p. 85.

in Christ is now as vulnerable to sin through deception as much as the sinless woman was in Eden. Hence his oft repeated warnings to be on their guard. But if Eve, in her state of sinless perfection, could fall for a trick, how much more vulnerable is she in her fallen condition. She can be tricked at will (it would seem) by Satan, at any time he chooses. Paul taught that even in her restored position "in Christ" the vulnerability is still there in her feminine nature, hence his theologically-based disqualification to teach or rule men in the Church is gender specific and is for all time and in all places.

A woman could lead a man into the truth (e.g., Priscilla[135] [assisting Aquila] and Apollos) but in this good deed lies the potential for leading him the other way; it is for this reason that leadership *per se* is taken away from her altogether, so that there is no opportunity given to her to lead her husband into sin again, despite all the potential there is to lead him into the truth.[136] By coming under the oversight of her husband and receiving her doctrine from him ("ask your men at home"—1 Cor 14:35) the orthodoxy of her knowledge can be secured. But the impulse to take the initiative to change what has been handed on to her may always be present. If this impulse was present when she was in a sinless condition, then how much more after she is fallen? The regeneration of her soul does not restore her to her sinless state, consequently the impulse to change her allotted place will always remain a potential threat to her salvation and to good order in the Church.[137]

Some see Satan in the form of a serpent who tempted Eve to commit the first trespass, I am not so sure that Satan was present in a world which God pronounced "very good." Eve may have sinned without involving the necessity for Satan to be present in the Garden of Eden. The serpent who spoke to Eve was an amoral animal who could not sin, who was not capable of sinning. We are told that he had superior guile to any other animal that God had made. He did not acquire this ability: he was created the way he was. Now for an amoral creature to suggest to Eve that she might be equal to her Creator was not a sin, but Eve was a moral creature. So that what the serpent said and what she heard were two different things. In the serpent's "not-possible-to-sin" world what he suggested had no moral connotation for him, but what Eve heard had moral connotations. This is how the *idea* was conveyed to Eve in a perfect creation. We have a parallel in the words of Peter to Jesus—words full of concern for Jesus' safety—but nevertheless what Peter said and what Jesus heard were two different things. What Jesus heard, made him rebuke Peter with the words, "Get thee behind me Satan" (Mt 16:23) much to Peter's surprise and consternation, no doubt.

In the biblical account sin entered the world when Adam and Eve *reversed the leadership order:* she led and he followed (deliberately). In 2 Corinthians 3:11 Paul stresses that Eve was completely deceived. She—a sinless, perfect creature—was, as Stitzinger noted, "led to believe something that was not true. She was doctrinally beguiled into hostility toward God and sensual desire for the unknown."[138] In 1 Timothy 2:14 Paul again notes that it was the woman who was deceived, not Adam, and he uses this as a supporting argument for the limitations given to women with regard to positions of leadership in the church. Stitzinger

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[135] It is sometimes speculated that Priscilla wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews. See A. Harnack, *Über die beiden Recensionen der Geschichte der Prisca und des Aquila in Act* xviii. 1-27 in the *Sitzungsberichte des königl. preuss. Akademie zu Berlin,* 1900, pp. 2-13. Against this is the masculine participle διηγούμενον in Heb 11:32, 'for the time will fail me *recounting* about Gideon.' The fem. form would be διηγούμενην.

[136] See 4.5.1 below on Peter's injunction to Christian wives not to preach to their unconverted husbands.

[137] I am not convinced of D. J. Moo's position that 'Paul cites Eve's failure as exemplary and perhaps causative of the nature of women in general and that this susceptibility to deception bars them from engaging in public teaching' ("1 Timothy 2:11-15: Meaning and Significance, *"Trinity Journal* 1 [1980] 78). But the fact that women can never exercise authority over a man ensures to some extent that she will not repeat the Adam and Eve scenario again. It is within this supervised context that she can use her teaching gift to help other women, and contribute enormously in guiding her children into the way of truth, as Lois and Eunice did in the case of Timothy. In the normal situation a woman's ministry will come under the oversight of her husband or male relatives (father/brothers) who in turn will come under the oversight of the local church.

[138] *Op. cit.,* p. 36.

notes, "In contrast to Paul's appeal in 1 Corinthians, the deception described in 1 Timothy could only happen to women."[139] He goes on to say:

> The apostle may have had more than one idea in mind by this mention of the woman's deception in 1 Tim 2:14. He may be suggesting that a woman's emotional faculties are different than man's in such a way that she is more apt to be led into a course of *unintentional* error, and/or he may be using this verse as an argument for what her deception precipitated, namely a usurpation of her role as helper.
> In either case, Gen 3:1-7 indicates that Eve allowed herself to listen to the serpent. In the course of this, she was deceived and subsequently sinned. She then introduced her husband to sin, who wilfully ignored his headship and partook of the fruit. Eve's sin was disobedience to God, which expressed itself, in part, by a self-assumed position of leadership above her husband.

Adam *freely chose* to obey the voice of his wife, maybe because he realised what she had done and that it could not be undone, and in order to stay with her through the consequences he joined her in eating the forbidden fruit. His sin began the moment he failed to maintain control over his own decisions. It is yet another indication of his headship that not until *he* sinned was the entire human race plunged into decay and death (Rom 5:19; 1 Cor 15:22). One wonders what would have happened if Adam had not followed Eve into sin. Paul has warned the Church not to permit women to reverse the roles again, hence the prohibition on her speaking in Christ's Church which would lead to her talents taking up a position of authority once again over man.

Two aspects of Eve's punishment are worth noting:

First, "and your desire shall be to your husband."

There is no need to emphasize the aspect of sexual desire, though that is there. It is more likely that the idea is that woman, because she has less physical strength, will desire man for protection after they are banned from the Garden of Eden and placed in a hostile world in which brutality and force would be the order of the day. Then the desire would also have as a result that man would rule over her, which is the second aspect:

"and he shall rule over you."[140]

What is remarkable about the state Eve was in when she was completely deceived by the words of the serpent was that *she was sinless.* Even while she was in the perfect state, and under Adam's faultless care—she fell, and was the first to do so. What was to prevent her from falling again into a worse state? Hence God put her more firmly under her now fallen husband's rule, and how despotic history has shown that to be. She has, since that fateful day, been cruelly treated, exploited, abused, raped and dishonoured. Who can calculate what she has suffered at the hands of what was once a perfect being, whose every movement was once for her well-being?[141]

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[139] *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

[140] Banks remarks: "That which is new in 3:15 is not that the husband shall rule but that his rule will be painful" ("Paul and Women's Liberation," *Interchange* 18 [1976] 81-105, esp. p. 213). F. F. Bruce ("Women in the Church: a Biblical Survey," *Journal of the Christian Brethren Research Fellowship* 33 [December, 1982] 7-14, esp. p. 8) makes the mistake of saying that it is not in the creation narrative but in the Fall narrative that subordination is first mentioned. Gen 1 is pitted against Gen 2 in a destructive manner. He is also misleading when he says that Phoebe delivered the Romans Epistle to Rome. Rom 16:1 says no such thing. The bearer of the Epistle is unknown (see 4.5.2). Against it we can safely say that it is very unlikely that a woman travelled alone in those times. The same assumption is made by H. Wayne House, "The Ministry of Women in the Apostolic and Postapostolic Periods," *BibSac* 145 (1988) 387-99, esp. p. 387.

[141] For a useful summary of the post-Fall status of woman see Caroline M. Breyfogle, "The Social Status of Women in the Old Testament," *The Biblical World* 35 (1910) 106-116, 405-418; esp. p. 110. The woman is the possessed and

But it has been suggested that God is not here ordaining her subjection but predicting it, just as in the case of Adam's punishment thorns and thistles would spring up. And since no one would consider it impious to rid the ground of them, so neither is woman's attempt impious to be free from man's dominance (it is argued). It is simply an attempt to ameliorate the evil caused by sin. The fact is that there is not a single nation or tribe where women or children rule men successfully. And it would appear that there is not a single country that is free from thorns or thistles—even the deserts have them. But there is one nation—the Israel of God—where, by a strange paradox, the more lovingly and willingly the wife fulfils her God-given role the less she experiences the more evil consequences of fallen man's force-headship. Peace comes to her through obedience, whether her husband is a Christian or not.

The New Testament writer, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, understood "he shall rule over you" to be both causal and descriptive; in God's saying it He was ordaining it.[142] He could see the consequences because He ordained them to come into effect should disobedience occur. He is the Cause (sometimes direct, sometimes indirect) behind every effect.

In Paul's thinking the teaching of headship is reinforced at the time of the Fall.[143] Man can no more turn back the fallen nature of men and women to what they were originally than he can cause thorns and thistles to revert to what they were originally. Both in her perfect state and in her fallen state God ordained that Woman should be accountable to her head. What, then, is her position under the New Covenant, in the new creation in Christ Jesus?

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not the possessor, and legally the wife is the property of her husband. He was her Baal, master, or owner (Exod 21:3, 22; Prov 31:11). Sarah calls Abraham her Master. There can be no doubt that the Fall affected the total person (physical, mental, spiritual, etc.) detrimentally, and both Adam and Eve underwent a diminution of their original image of God, leading to a distortion of that image and resulting in Adam and Eve experiencing an estrangement (i.e., two minds not quite in harmony over the way forward) which did not exist before the Fall; an estrangement that is not allowed to develop because of God placing Eve under the headship of Adam in a manner that would not have developed had they both remained sinless. Fortunately, with the coming of Christ the image of God can be renewed once again and men and women can, to some degree, return to the pre-Fall situation and live out their original callings with the aid of the Holy Spirit. See George H. Tavard for the prelapsarian and postlapsarian views of woman as inferior and subordinate to man (*Woman in Christian Tradition* [Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1973]).

[142] This text was a thorn in the side of the early feminists, including Sarah Grimké (1837), and they sought to get rid of it by altering the translation of the Hebrew verb forms from 'shall' to 'will' 'rule over you', thereby turning God's words into a prediction rather than His timeless rearrangement of the relationship between the sexes. See De Swarte Gifford, "American Women and the Bible: The Nature of Woman as a Hermeneutical Issue," in A. Yarbo Collins (ed.), *Feminist Perspectives on Biblical Scholarship* (SBL Centennial Publications; Biblical Scholarship in North America, 10; Chico CA, 1985). Elizabeth Cady Stanton produced her own translation, *The Woman's Bible* (1895-98) in reaction to the Revised Standard Version's all-male version made between 1881 and 1885. The English Revised Version was made by an all-male, 27-man Committee between 1870 and 1881, and the Authorised Version was made by 54 reputable bishops and godly divines. Her one-woman project was to counter any suggestion that the Bible taught that women were to be subordinate to their husbands. This work had a wider goal in that it was also a deliberate attempt to de-patriarchalise the Bible. She treated the Bible as just another human production, written by men and reflecting their view of the world (i.e., patriarchy). She repudiated its divine authority commenting, the Scriptures "bear the impress of fallible man, and not of our ideal great first cause, 'the Spirit of all Good'" (*The Woman's Bible,* p. 13), and, accepting the Darwinian view of the progress of humanity, regarded the story of the Fall in the Garden of Eden as a myth (here she drew on higher critical studies); she exonerated the snake and praised Eve's struggle to be emancipated (see her conclusion in the second part of *The Woman's Bible,* p. 214). The ideals of liberty, justice and equality became her new Gospel when she realised that patriarchy was not just a veneer but fundamental to both Testaments. In the course of her translation he gave up the attempt to accuse male translators of mistranslating the Bible to support male-domination when she became convinced that the Bible was a patriarchal book which did not contain a message of equality for the sexes; that a hierarchy within humanity pervaded the Bible from beginning to end.

[143] A view endorsed by Ann L. Bowman, "Women in Ministry: an exegetical study of 1 Timothy 2:11-15," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 149 (1992) 193-213. Women are to learn, not teach, because male headship was established at creation, and this principle was violated through role reversals in the Fall.

2.4 *THE TEACHING OF HEADSHIP RESTS ON THE ORDER OF THE NEW CREATION*

> "Wives, in the same way be submissive to your husbands so that, if any of them do not believe the word, they may be won over without talk by the behaviour of their wives, when they see the purity and reverence of your lives. Your beauty should not come from outward adornment, such as braided hair and the wearing of gold jewellery and fine clothes. Instead, it should be that of your inner self, the unfading beauty of a gentle and quiet spirit, which is of great worth in God's sight. For this is the way the holy women of the past . . . used to make themselves beautiful. They were submissive to their own husbands, like Sarah, who obeyed Abraham and called him her master. You are her daughters if you do what is right" (1 Pet 3:1-6).

Many interesting points emerge from Peter's exhortation to the women. First, he is not culturally bound when he tells the wives to be submissive to their husbands, since he goes back to around 2066 BC for his ideal Christian wife—to Sarah. Two thousand years on Sarah still remains the ideal for the daughters of the Church to follow. The use of Sarah does not suggest that the New Testament writers were culturally bound. It does, however, suggest that they combed the Scriptures carefully for their models.

Second, he says, "Wives, in the same way . . . " and this takes us back to the verses immediately preceding this passage, where we find Peter exhorting the slaves in the following manner: "Slaves, submit yourselves to your masters with all respect, not only to those who are good and considerate, but also to those who are harsh . . . ." He then goes on to set before the slave the example of the Lord enduring the cross without any resistance, showing how far one can take submissiveness to one's master.

And third, Peter mentions two qualities that every Christian woman should seek to cultivate, since they are said to be of great worth in God's estimation, namely, a gentle and quiet spirit. A "gentle" spirit, denoting the absence of self-assertion, or speaking in public with an authoritative voice. A "quiet" spirit, denoting a calm tranquil disposition that pervades all she does, and which communicates itself to others producing a similar state in them.[144]

> "Wives, submit to your husbands, as is fitting in the Lord" (Col 3:18). "Wives, submit to your husbands as to the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church . . . . Now as the church submits to Christ, so also wives should submit to their husbands in everything" (Eph 5:22-24).

These are very instructive passages since it is highly unlikely that the Church would ever have the audacity to tell Christ what to do, therefore wives should not put themselves in a position of telling their husbands what to do.

> Likewise, teach the older women to be reverent in the way they live, not to be slanderers or addicted to much wine, but to teach what is good. Then they can

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[144] Based on her own participation in the women's world of the Bedouin (closed to male eyes) Lila Abu-Lughod uses the word 'modesty' to sum up the female moral code of shyness, self-restraint, and a deferential attitude, the Arabic term for which is *hashama* which is translated by 'a cluster of words including modesty, shame and shyness, in its broadest sense, it means propriety' (*Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986], p. 105). By contrast the image of the Western 'liberated' woman is one who is brash, loud, and self-assertive.

> train the younger women to love their husbands and children, to be self-controlled and pure, to be busy at home, to be kind, and to be subject to their husbands, so that no one will malign the word of God (Titus 2:2-5).

These four texts explicitly state that the wife in the New Creation is to be subject to her husband. It would appear, therefore, that whether a woman lived in the Garden of Eden, or at the base of Mount Sinai, or on the top of Calvary, she was to be subject to her husband. The example of submission is that of Man to Christ and of Christ to God, and of the Church to Christ, "as the church submits to Christ, so also wives should submit to their husbands in everything" (Eph 5:24). And if wives are to submit after the example of the Church, then husbands are to love their wives after the example that Jesus has left of his love for the Church:

> Husbands, love your wives, just as Christ loved the church and gave himself for her to make her holy . . . . In the same way, husbands ought to love their wives as their own bodies. He who loves his wife loves himself. After all, no one ever hated his own body, but he feeds and cares for it, just as Christ does the church . . . each one of you also must love his wife as he loves himself, and the wife must respect her husband (Eph 5:25-33).

From which it may be inferred that if Christ's men were to love as Christ did, and the Church's women were to submit as the Church should, then the governments of this world would have a model example of a peaceful and harmonious society. A society held together by mutual love for its members, and built upon a patriarchal authority structure, where the natural laws would be in harmony with the spiritual. The Church's calling is to be such a model, not as an end in itself, but because it is the desire of its Head—the Lord Jesus Christ.

Given the clear, unambiguous role that God had designed woman to fit into, in relation to man, is it appropriate that she should aspire to exercise leadership over her own husband? The answer is clearly, No. It follows that if her position is one of submissiveness to her husband then she is in no position to exercise any role of any description over another woman's husband. Her sphere of influence is best fulfilled in the home environment, under the leadership and headship of her own husband (or the direction of her father if she is unmarried).

The older women are given the role of teaching younger women how to be good wives, but the sphere in which women are to operate and exercise this teaching role is clearly in the home according to Titus 2:2-5, and just as clearly it is exercised over other younger women. If older women fulfilled this God-given function today would there not be greater harmony between men and women in Christian marriages? Would there not be less divorces among Church members? Have women failed women to reach their God-given potential? Where are the books written by older women for younger women? The areas delegated to older Christian women to pass on to the next generation of women are set out in Titus 2:4. They are: (1) to teach what is good, (2) to encourage the young women to love their husbands, (3) to love their children, (4) to be self-controlled, chaste, and kind, (5) to be good managers of the household, (6) to be submissive to their husbands, so that the word of God may not be discredited. The home and family is the sphere in which women are envisaged fulfilling God's will for their lives and bringing credit to His Gospel.

SUMMARY

We have noted that the teaching of Headship rests on the order of creation. Adam was formed first; the first of a new order of beings directly related to God and made in His

image (which the lower creation is not, being amoral creatures). To Adam (representative Man) was given dominion over all the earth before Eve (representative Woman) was formed.

We have noted that the teaching of Headship rests on the origin of woman. Whereas Man had his life breathed into him directly from the mouth of God (denoting something emanating from the very being of God Himself, rather than God taking a pre-existing creature and "converting" it into a Man), Woman receives her life from the directly created living substance of the Man. A living part of him is taken away and from it a Woman is formed and brought to Man to be with him for life.

We have noted that the teaching of Headship is reinforced in the Fall of creation through the first sin which was made by Woman, who was deceived into reaching for power and authority which was not hers to take. She was in a state of sinless perfection when she sinned. Having lost that state she was instrumental in bringing her husband into a state of disobedience: but he was not deceived into sinning; he chose to sin. If she could be deceived in a perfect state how much more in a fallen state? She is not permitted to put herself in a position of authority over Man lest she be subject to the same deception, and again lead Man, renewed Man this time, into sin once again.

We have noted that the teaching of Headship is upheld in the New Creation in Christ Jesus. Through the Holy Spirit, women are commanded not to speak in the Church, and not to aspire to positions of authority over men. We noted that even in a pure state she fell because she reached for a position of authority that God never intended her to have. Speaking, and speaking powerfully with authority, is one sure way of gaining (or regaining) dominance over one's hearers, and inducing them to be one's followers. God prevents this avenue of opportunity from opening up by demanding that women be silent in the New Testament Church, as He had ensured they were in the Old Testament Church. But man and woman are part of the New Creation in Christ Jesus, and this opens up a new era for both: they have a real opportunity to fulfil the roles that He had set for them "in the beginning." With the presence of the Lord Jesus within, and all the resources of the Holy Spirit at their disposal the Christian man can be a second Adam again, and the Christian woman can be a second Eve again, and both can try once again to live within the spheres of their God-given powers and responsibilities and do a better job of it this time round.

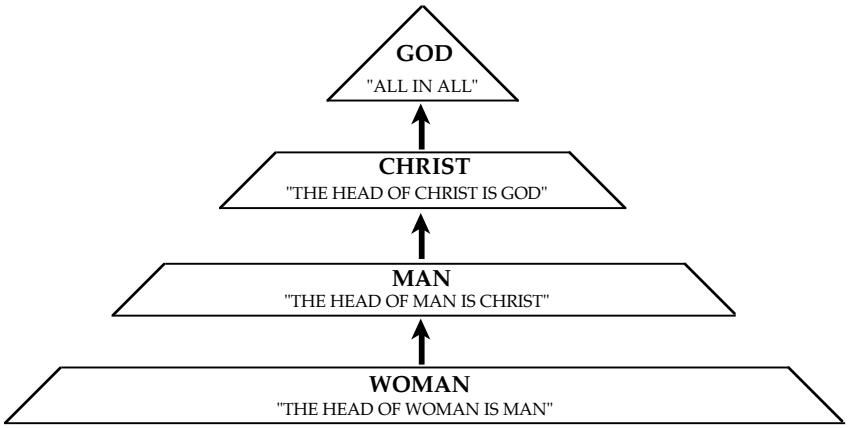
3. THE OFFICE OF ELDER AND ITS QUALIFICATIONS

Every family has its male head who "must manage his own family well and see that his children obey him with proper respect" (1 Tim 3:4). Paul taught that through the Holy Spirit the Lord Jesus Christ has committed the oversight of His Church (the aggregate of all the families) only to those heads of families who have managed their own house well, "If anyone does not know how to manage his own family, how can he take care of God's church?" (1 Tim 3:5).[145] Certain men are excluded from managing the larger unit of the church on the grounds that they have not proved themselves to have the necessary skills to manage a smaller unit, namely, their own family. Since women are not permitted to be head of their own husband they can never be eligible to rule over other heads of families in the larger unit of the church. Only the head of a family is eligible to rule over the heads of other families.

The following diagram may help to illustrate God's authority structure.

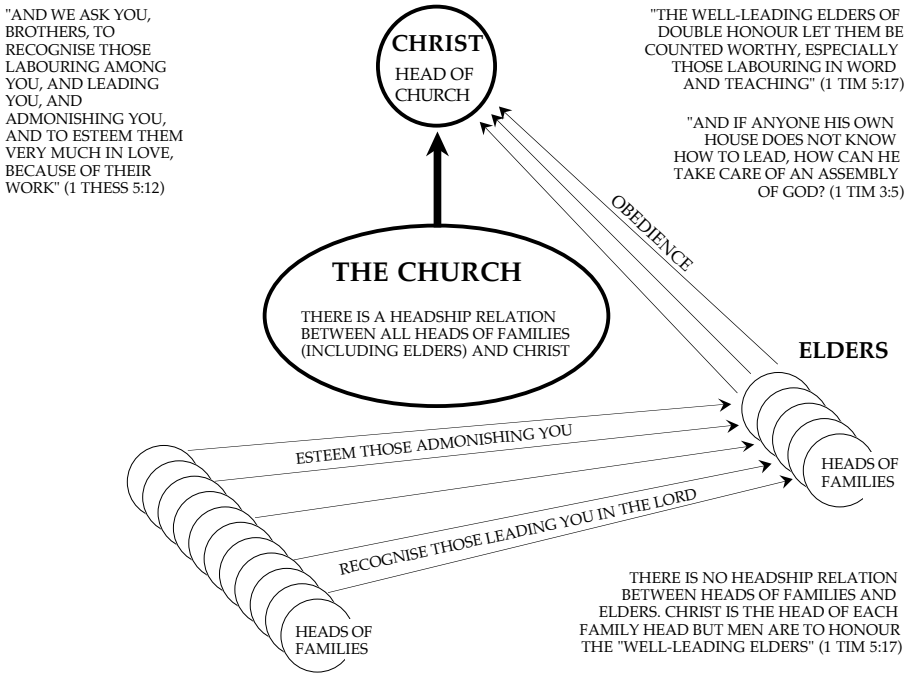
[145] It is interesting that in the Roman world of Plutarch (AD 45-125) a similar view was expressed: "A man therefore ought to have his household well-harmonized who is going to harmonize State, Forum, and friends." Plutarch, *Moralia* 144.43 (Loeb Classical Library [1971]. Vol. II, p. 333)

AUTHORITY STRUCTURE IN CREATION



AUTHORITY STRUCTURE IN THE CHURCH

CHRIST IS HEAD OVER EVERY MAN



No man can be the head of another man, since all men have Christ as their direct head. The Elders do not have a headship position over other heads of families, or single men. Their position is not comparable to the relation between Christ and the Father as might appear at first sight. Though Christ and the Father are equal in nature, as are men and Elders, yet God is the head of Christ whereas men and Elders are heads of wives/women. The Elders, therefore, manage Christ's household on His behalf because the office of Elder has been created by the Lord, and is a gift from Him. The Elders are to see that they exercise their authority correctly.

The Elder is to "lead" not to "rule" the Church according to 1 Timothy 3:5 where "to lead" is explained by "to take care of." [146] The term "to lead" (προΐστημι) occurs eight times (Rom 12:8; 1 Thess 5:12; 1 Tim 3:4, 5, 12; 5:17; Tit 3:8, 14). Romans 12:8 lists "leading" as one of the gifts of the Spirit: "And having gifts different according to the grace that was given to us, whether—
prophecy— "according to the proportion of faith;"
or ministration— "in the ministration;"
or he who is teaching— "in the teaching;"
or he who is exhorting— "in the exhortation;"
he who is sharing— "in simplicity;"
he who is leading (ὁ προΐστάμενος)— "in diligence;"
he who is doing kindness— "in cheerfulness."

The other uses of "lead" convey the image of one who leads by personal example in good works (esp. Tit 3:8, 14). It suggests someone who is standing out in front of others as a pattern for them to follow. All the office bearers (Elders and Deacons) must be leaders of their own homes otherwise they are not eligible to lead their assemblies (1 Tim 3:4, 5, 12). Those who are recognised as leaders must be leaders "in word and teaching" (1 Tim 5:17) and be alert to admonish the church (1 Thess 5:12) as they would their own families (1 Tim 3:4, 12).

The male members need not accept any ruling of the Elders that is contrary to the relation that each man has toward his immediate Head—the Lord Jesus Christ. No Elder can override any man's headship with Christ. So while there may be a diagonal exercise of discipline between a man and his Elder, the vertical relation of headship with Christ is direct and not through Elders. Woman's duty of obedience to Christ is through her husband (vertical) or through her father (diagonal) if an unmarried daughter and still living with him. But the issue of covering and uncovering the head is gender-based, not headship based, and it applies only when males and females are engaged directly in "praying or prophesying." Paul leads off with a theological statement in 1 Corinthians 11:3 that at first glance seems like taking a sledgehammer to crack open a peanut. Its scope is so vast that it encompasses God, Christ, Man and Woman within it. Sandwiched between the headships of God and Christ is the disputed headship of Man. This is the theological issue at stake in 11:2-16.[147] If there is no headship between men and their wives then they are equal, and so both should appear before God with an uncovered head. Paul's reply is to reaffirm the husband's God-ordained headship which points up the *created differences* between the genders at the root level. And these fundamental differences pervade all aspects of human life—physical and spiritual. All males, whether married or unmarried must leave their head uncovered: likewise all females, whether married or unmarried, must cover their heads *when, and only when, they are engaged in spiritual activity.*

Each male member is responsible to his own Head—Christ—*directly* and he should not accept any other headship from among men, this includes his own Teaching Elder/Leader or Minister, Pastors, Bishops, Archbishops, Popes, or Kings. Rather, every man is to look

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[146] This word occurs three times, here and twice in Luke 10:34-35 where it refers to the care that the Good Samaritan showed.

[147] See Chart 13. Title: 'Paul's reordering of the three headships of 1 Corinthians 11:3."

upon Christ's under-shepherds as gifted leaders to help them to order themselves under Christ and bring maximum glory to their Head.

The relation of the Elders to the men is comparable to the relation between a father and his son. The father's experience, advice, and instruction should never be lightly turned aside by the son. The son's head is not his earthly father, but Christ—and that from birth. Every man in the Church has only one Head. Every married woman in the Church has Man as her head in the Lord.

The following chart sets out the biblical teaching on the office and qualifications for leadership in Christ's Church. The following observations are worth noting. First, only the male members are eligible to take on the oversight of the church.[148]

Second, the choice of suitable candidates is further restricted to those heads of families who have managed their own house well, and restricted further to those who, not only have managed their own house well but, "whose children believe and are not open to the charge of being wild and disobedient." Where the candidate is not a husband, or a husband who has no children, it is doubtful if he is eligible to be an Elder because he lacks the evidence that he can take care of a smaller unit—the family. However, if Paul means that *should* a man be married and *should* he have a family then he *should* be able to demonstrate that he is capable of taking care of the church; and if he has a family and does not demonstrate that he can lead it then this is positive evidence that he is not likely to led the church well. However, the unmarried or childless husband cannot be positively tested in this way. But should negative evidence disqualify him? Absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. Paul points out that "the unmarried man is anxious for the things of the Lord, how he shall please the Lord; and the married man is anxious for the things of the world, how he shall please the wife" (1 Cor 7:32-33). The unmarried man is in a better position to lead "in word and teaching" because he is less distracted (7:35). Does the Spirit give the gift of leading only to fathers? Is it a father-specific gift? Jesus was not married. Paul may not have been either. But who can doubt that they had this gift in abundance? Thus the unmarried man (or childless husband) may qualify if in other spheres he shows he has leadership qualities (in youth work, as an employer, or in a position of responsibility in the work place, etc.). If the gift of leadership is given only to fathers then it would seem like a penalty against the unmarried man (or childless husband) if they are debarred from all church offices on the grounds of their greater devotion to Christ! Such men (and childless husbands) must be "blameless" in character—morally and spiritually, as the married candidates are required to be.

Third, the stipulation that the prospective Elder must be living with only one wife (when the culture of those times countenanced two or more) has behind it the teaching that the Elder's family ought to be a model example for all other families in the church to emulate and follow.[149]

Fourth, he must be "apt to teach" and this in the public assembly of God's people. He has to be fit spiritually in order to exhort publicly and to confute those who contradict the teaching delivered to him. Such a public ministry can only fall—by its nature—to the male members of the Christian community, and mature ones at that.

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[148] Yet Baldwin (*op. cit.,* p. 16) can say: 'It is clear that the New Testament writers did not draw the sharp distinctions between men and women in the church which some of our contemporaries maintain to have been the case.' A case of wishful thinking on her part.

[149] The Greek Orthodox Church mistakenly made it a compulsory condition of all its parish priests that they had to be once-married men (see A. J. Maclean, 'The Ministry of Women,' *Church Quarterly Review* 89 (1919/1920) 193-215, esp. p. 208).

THE QUALIFICATIONS FOR PUBLIC OFFICE IN THE CHURCH

"IF A MAN DOES NOT KNOW HOW TO LEAD HIS OWN HOUSE, HOW CAN HE LOOK AFTER A CONGREGATION OF GOD'S PEOPLE?"—1 Timothy 3:5

DEACONS 1 TIMOTHY 3	ELDERS/BISHOPS 1 TIMOTHY 3	ELDERS/BISHOPS TITUS 1		
			HIS STATUS	
12	2	6	Has only one wife	
			HIS WIFE	
11			She is faithful in everything	
11			She is serious	
11			She is not a slanderer	
11			She is sober/self-contolled	IN THE HOME
			HIS CHILDREN	
12	4		His children are subordinate	
		6	His children are believers	
		6	& have a good report by all	
12	4		He manages his home well	
	7		Has a good reputation with those outside the church	IN SOCIETY
			NEGATIVE	
8	2	7	Not given to wine	
	2	7	Not physically violent	
	3	7	Nor a contentious person	
8			Not given to double-talk	
8	2	7	Not greedy for money	
	3		Nor a lover of money	IN CHARACTER
			POSITIVE	
		8	Righteous and holy	
		8	Self-controlled	
8	2	8	Sober and sober-minded	
	3	8	Gentle and kind	
	2	8	A lover of strangers	
		8	A lover of good men and things	
			NEGATIVE	
	6		Not a recent convert	
			POSITIVE	
	2		Able to teach	IN SPIRITUALITY
9		9	Steadfastness in the faith	
		9	Able to exhort in sound teaching	
		9	Able to confute objectors	
10			Period of probation first	IN WORK

"BLAMELESS"

"AND THE THINGS WHICH YOU DID HEAR FROM ME THROUGH MANY WITNESSES, THESE THINGS BE COMMITTING TO STEDFAST MEN, WHO SHALL BE CAPABLE TO TEACH OTHERS ALSO"—2 TIMOTHY 2:2

"For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church, his body, of which he is the Saviour. Now as the church submits to Christ, so also wives should submit to their husbands in everything" (Eph 5:23-24, NIV).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

We have examined so far the biblical grounds for the headship relation between Man and Woman, and between wife and husband, and found that it fitted into the much broader picture of delegated authorities that pervade all of God's creation.

Every aspect of God's creation has delegated authority or hierarchies built into it. This can be seen in the animal world, the human family, the angelic orders, and the Divine Family. Every head is subject to a higher head with God head over all. It turns out, therefore, that the terms subordination, subjection, and submission are not so alien to Christian theology, or offensive to Christian ethics, as some have made them out to be. The lover of God and Christ would find these terms far too weak to express their deepest desires to throw themselves utterly and completely at their feet in utter devotion to them: "His yoke is easy and His burden is light," would be their testimony.

In the practical outworking of these terms Paul presents Christ Jesus as the supreme example of what true submission means. The Woman is called upon to follow His example.[150] Man, as her head, is called upon to follow His Head's example of love and care for her as Christ loved the Church and gave Himself for her. Once again there is nothing offensive or unbecoming in such love and submission. The Holy Spirit makes no provision for female Elders. Scripture teaches that "the elder must be the husband of one wife" (1 Tim 3:2), never ". . . the wife of one husband." As Bruce Waltke noted: "One cannot appoint a wife as a leader of the church without upsetting this government for if a wife were an elder her husband would be subject to her authority: "Obey your leaders and submit to their authority" (Heb 13:17)."[151]

The next section will deal the issue of the visible signs on the head to denote the different powers that God has given to men and women. Here we give a summary of that discussion in order that the reader may have a clear understanding and preview of how this topic relates to the preceding before engaging with the details themselves.

Concerning women covering their heads in the presence of God it will be shown that it is misleading to make it the sign of subjection to her husband when in fact its counterpart in the natural world is the woman's own hair—her glory. If it were the sign of her subjection to her husband then she would have to wear an artificial covering on her head from the moment she was born to the moment she died.

As woman's natural covering of hair was designed to bring her glory *(doxa)* and acceptance among men in the natural world, and make her acceptable/desirable to be in their presence, so her artificial covering was also designed by God to bring her authority *(exousia)* and acceptance among spirit beings in the spiritual world, and make her acceptable to be in their presence ("because of the angels"[152]).

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[150] Eph 5:32 says she is to be subject 'in everything'. Banks (*op. cit.,* p. 86) remarks on this: 'There can be no escaping the all-inclusive character of her response here, but it is important to note that it is to issue from devotion, not from fear or duty, and that the thrust of the Greek term used is more of her 'ordering herself under' her husband than of her 'submitting herself' to him.'

[151] Bruce K. Waltke, "The Role of Women in the Bible," *CRUX* 31 (no. 3, 1995) 29-40, esp. p. 38.

[152] Paul mentions angels at 4:9; 6:3; 11:10; 13:1. See K. T. Wilson ("Should Women Wear Head-coverings," *BibSac* 148 (1991) 442-462, esp. p. 454) for five options on what this phrase might mean. According to Robertson and Plummer: 'If a woman thinks lightly of shocking men, she must remember that she is also shocking the angels,

In covering her head in the presence of God and His angels,[153] the woman (married and unmarried) is accepting her place in His authority structures, which involves her relationship toward Man. Man in uncovering his head in the presence of God and His angels is likewise acknowledging and accepting his relationship toward God. There is no alternative to these God-ordained symbols. They provide a visible distinction between male and female worshippers.

Most commentators quickly got lost in expounding 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 because they looked among the customs of those times for an explanation for the significance of the covering. Once the "covering" (to be more precise the text reads, "having down [*from the*] head"; κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων) was mistakenly identified with the cultural veil (κάλυμμα), it was given a cultural meaning. Once the false identification was set up it was just a matter of time before it was discarded because its cultural significance was judged to be incompatible with the Gospel.

Lastly, that the Head of the Church has committed the government of his Church to those who bear "the image and glory of God," that is, to gifted male members who are clearly in control of their own house, reflecting God's control of His house (Num 12:8).[154] Both Man and God share the common distinction of beings Heads; Woman is not a head in her own right.

The Christian woman may find no difficulty in accepting this if she wants to please her Lord and Saviour who has begun to transform her former unrestrained spirit into a "gentle and quiet spirit, which is of great worth in God's sight." She may recognise that the family structure was not intended to be a democracy where the wife and children could out-vote their father and impose their will on the head of the family. She may recognise that she belongs to an hierarchical structure, and that she does have God-given authority over her children, and they are to honour their father and mother because of this God-given authority. She may recognise that the family is not only hierarchical but patriarchal. Similarly, she may recognise the same form of government in Christ's Church.

Man is still her head and Christ is still the Head of Man. There is no question of democracy where the men may out-vote the Head of the Church (for example, by allowing something which He has disallowed). They are called upon to carry out the will of their Head, not to formulate it for him. What Christ is to the Church, the husband should be to his family.

In conclusion, Elisabeth Elliot's sums up one popular anti-ordination viewpoint in "Why I Oppose the Ordination of Women":

> The fruit of the Spirit which is called meekness is, I believe, the ability to see one's proper place in the scheme of things. If I as a woman have been endowed with certain gifts that may be good for the "use of edifying," let me use them within the boundaries set, recognizing that the Spirit of God does not contradict

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who of course are present at public worship' (A. Robertson and A. Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians,* ICC [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark] 1929, p. 233). The reference to angels takes on a new meaning in light of the Corinthians' apparent feeling that they had arrived at an angelic status which seems to have influenced their view of marriage according to Donald Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians,* The New International Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), pp. 266-357. On the Qumran evidence for angels in their assemblies see Raymond F. Collins, *First Corinthians* (Sacra Pagina Series, Vol. 7. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1999), p. 412.

[153] The angels know the order of creation and what it involves (Job 38:7). On the Jewish sources behind the liaison of angels and women in Gen 6:1-2 and its implications for 1 Cor 11:10 see L. J. Lietaert Peerbolte, "Man, Woman and the Angels in 1 Cor 11:2-16," in *The Creation of Man and Woman,* edited by Gerard P. Luttikhuizen (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 76-92, esp. p. 87 n. 28. Clement of Alexandria regarded the "angels" in 1 Cor 11:10 as "righteous men within the congregation."

[154] Yahweh commended Moses for being "faithful in all My house" (Num 12:6) because his attitude was to do His will in everything, "for I have not done them of my own will" (Num 16:28) he could claim.

> himself. Any attempt to obfuscate the lines drawn will not only impoverish the one who makes the attempt but also deprive the Body of Christ of depth, of variety, and of that maturity which is described as "the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ."[155]

Her assessment of the situation could not be put more starkly: "The Church must choose between the ordination and the subordination of women. Which does God command? If subordination is the command of God, ordination is excluded. It is a contradiction." The theological choice would be better stated as being between abolishing or establishing Man's headship.

[155] *Christianity Today,* June 6, 1976, p. 16.

PART TWO: A DEFENCE OF THE THEOLOGICAL CASE

4. SOME POPULAR REASONS FOR HAVING WOMEN IN THE MINISTRY/ELDERSHIP & REJECTING HEADSHIP

When God created Adam and Eve a culture emerged among His people that reflected His relationship to them. Cain and Abel brought their offerings before God, no doubt in a prescribed manner. In the time of Noah there was a distinction between clean and unclean animals.[156] Patriarchy was established with Adam's family. God did not leave man to fend for himself. He supervised His own worship.

In the objections below the underlying assumption is that God had to work within a human culture that He did not shape, and that consequently anything built on human customs is temporary.

Christians, however, adopt a different underlying assumption. God is sovereign, and He does all things after the pleasure of His own will. He is totally in control of His own world and our world. These two conflicting assumptions cannot be reconciled. One belongs to the sons of darkness, those on the broad road leading to destruction, haters of God, despising authority, without faith; the other belongs to the sons of light, those on the narrow road that leads to life, lovers of God, submissive to authority, and abounding in faith. One is the seed of the serpent, the other the seed of the woman. In Paul's day there were more corrupters (peddlers, NKJV) of the Word of God than those preaching it sincerely (2 Cor 2:17). Old Testament history shows that the Elect of God are always a minority with His Church, and the same applies today. A rule of thumb for recognising the peddler is to ask, How popular is he within the *visible* church? If he is popular then he has changed the substance of the Gospel to get to that position. Take a close look at his doctrine of Headship for the source of his popularity. It is probably missing. It is here that you will discover the hairline crack in his ministry—in every man's ministry. You cannot be an imitator of Christ and be popular. Headship lies at the very heart of holiness without which no one will see God. It lays out the manner in which men and women are to relate to each other under Christ's headship of the Church. It lays out the manner in which men and women are to approach their Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in worship and service. It is foundational for a stable, unbreakable marriage. Headship is the lost doctrine of the twenty and twenty-first centuries, hence the steep rise in divorces among Christians. It is also the most despised and least taught doctrine in theological colleges, compounding the problem of ever getting back to a biblical position.

In all the objections you will encounter below the one thing to listen out for is the voice of feminism. Even the most respected of modern Christian commentators have their doctrine of headship peppered with caveats, concessions, compromises, subtlety designed to appease those who despise the biblical doctrine of Headship and to appeal to the natural theology in all men in a bid to make the Gospel "attractive" to the natural man. Modern commentators must reflect the new feminist, inclusive spirit of the age—and they do, otherwise they will not get into print. Financial profit, not spiritual profit, lies behind most bible commentary series. Publishers produce only what will make them a profit. If the

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[156] In Gen 31:34 Rachel used the excuse that 'the way of women is upon me,' in order to continue sitting on the camel in whose saddle-bags she had hidden Laban's household gods. If she was 'unclean' then the saddlebags were also 'unclean' and this would account for the fact that they were not searched in case touching them made Laban 'unclean'.

biblical doctrine of headship is "not going to go down well" then it is omitted from their programmes. If the natural man is the buyer, then the natural man has to be placated. So a spiral of darkness sets it. You suppress what will not sell and promote only what is acceptable and profitable.

An author can make himself popular by putting the biblical doctrine at one end of the spectrum and the most extreme feminist doctrine on the other end and by placing himself in the middle he comes across as a very "balanced" commentator. It is a compromise. The biblical doctrine is placed at the opposite end of the feminist spectrum, thus ensuring it is never considered in its own right. A caricature version is presented as a straw-man, and rightly laughed at. Those advocating the 2000-year old traditional doctrine are pictured as hardliners and hawks, even modern-day Pharisees. All this is fine as an appeal to the natural man, or carnal Christian, but the spiritual man is not deceived by it. He is on the lookout for the Truth. The rule of thumb is: if it acceptable to the mind of the natural man, it is not the Truth, because the natural man cannot understand the things of the spirit of God because they are foolishness to his way of thinking, neither can he understand them because they are spiritually discerned (1 Cor 2:14). At the heart of the Christian faith is special revelation.

Revelation was intended to create a culture, not to be moulded by it. In the case of Israel's religion its totality was shaped by Yahweh Himself revealing to Moses over a period of forty days and nights how He wanted everything to be set up. That must be an accepted fact. If He stipulated that all His worship must come through the hands of the male members of the Covenants He made with Adam, Noah, Abraham and Moses, then that is His deliberate decision. Men and women lived within His revealed will for thousands of years.

If, in the New Covenant, He has stipulated that all worship of Him must come through the male members then that, too, is His decision, and the Church must live by faith with it. But not all bishops and pastors have faith, so these walk according to their fleshly judgment of what is right and wrong, and that fleshly judgment will coincide with feminist views. With this in mind, plus the revelation of the headship of Christ over the Church, and the reaffirmation of the headship of Man over Woman, the Church is in a strong position to counter any argument that would seek to overthrow God's government of the world, Christ's government of the Church, and Man's government of the home.

4.1 HISTORY HAS SHOWN THAT GOD HAS BLESSED THE PUBLIC PREACHING OF WOMEN AND ESPECIALLY HER MISSIONARY WORK

In spite of the clear teaching of Scripture on woman's acceptance of God's authority structures, and Man's headship in relation to Woman, there is a wide-spread tendency to argue from results, rather than from revelation. Pragmatic arguments are considered of greater weight and moment than theological arguments. It is worth quoting in full A. H. Ross's reply to this approach (written in 1870):

> It is urged, as conclusive, that God's blessing does, in many instances, accompany the speaking of women in the assemblies. This we thankfully admit; for probably no woman wilfully transgressed in the matter. The fault has been one of ignorance, not of intent; of interpretation, or rather a practice indulged in without knowledge or reproof, and not of the heart. Probably no one of them would have spoken, had she believed that Paul forbade her to do so. They probably read Paul's prohibitions as a good Methodist once told us that she read

> those passages which teach election and divine decrees: "I hurry over them as fast as I can"; not because she would trifle with God's message of love, but because these passages seemed to teach what was to her the gravest error, Calvinism. Now, such being the attitude towards both God's decrees and his commands of silence, and the silence of women not lying at the foundation of the gospel plan, it is in accordance with God's providence to reward their earnest piety. His blessing, is, however, to be ascribed to their piety, and not to their external [or unwitting] violation of his commands. He, in other words, overlooks their departure from his strict injunctions in order to reward their devotion; and does not overlook their devotion in order to bless their public address. *When once it is clearly accepted, however, that Paul's rules are now binding, any violation of them will involve the authority of God, and cannot receive his blessing, unless he encourage wilful disobedience* (emphasis mine).[157]

God is sovereign over His works and hence He may, and often does, use extraordinary means to accomplish His purposes—extraordinary from our point of view. For example, He opened the mouth of an ass to rebuke a prophet (Num 22:28). When Saul told his servants to, "Find me a woman who is a medium, so that I may go and enquire of her," because, "the Lord did not answer him by dreams or Urim or prophets" (God's usual means), God used a means that Saul ought to have "cut off" (1 Sam 28:9) in order to condemn him. He had commanded His people to cut off all such mediums (Deut 18:9-12; Lev 19:31; 20:6, 27).

Thus we see that God can use agencies to convey His will which He has proscribed in His Word. We should not, therefore, conclude from the witch of Endor's account that it is permissible for the Church to institute and ordain witches to the ministry because they have been instrumental in conveying God's will. Though *we* are bound to God's written and revealed will for us, *He* is not bound by His own laws as we have just shown.

John Wesley may have been influenced by this principle. At first he refused to allow his women followers to preach, abiding by the teaching of Scripture, but then he gave in when he found they were preaching against his express wish. Writing to one such female preacher, Mary Bosanquet, in 1771, he wrote:

> I think the strength of the cause rests here—on your having an *extraordinary* call. So I am persuaded has everyone of our lay preachers . . . . The whole work of God called Methodism is an extraordinary dispensation of his providence. Therefore I do not wonder if several things occur therein which do not fall under the ordinary rules of discipline. St Paul's ordinary rule was "I permit not a woman to speak in the congregation." Yet in extraordinary cases he made a few exceptions; at Corinth in particular.[158]

Paul made no exceptions in Corinth unless Wesley assumes that 1 Corinthians 11:5 is set in a church context. But 1 Corinthians 11:5 is the ordinary, not the extraordinary, case. When women prophesied they did so with a covered head. No church context is given by Paul because he is dealing with fixed dress-codes reflecting permanent, gender distinctions when praying or prophesying. Note the pragmatic solution: "treat her as an exception to the rule."

When God threatened to chastise His people we read (Isaiah 3:1-5, 12):

> See now . . . the Lord Almighty is about to take from Jerusalem and Judah . . . hero and warrior, the judge and prophet, the soothsayer and elder . . . . I will

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157 A. H. Ross, "The Silence of Women in the Churches," *Bibliotheca Sacra & Theological Review* 27 (1870) 336-359, 740-59, esp. pp. 752-53.

158 Quoted by Kenneth Brownell in "Gender in the history of the church," in *Men, Women and Authority,* ed. Brian Edwards (Bromley. Kent: Day One publications, 1996), p. 35.

> make boys their officials; mere children will govern them. . . . The young will rise up against the old. . . . Youths oppress my people, ***women rule over them***.

It was a shame in Hebrew culture to be ruled by a woman or a child, or to die by the hand of a woman. God knows how to shame the male members of the Old Testament Church!

Waltke has pointed out that greater attention must be given to God's written record of His will than a reliance on human reason, experience (e.g., so-called "callings"), and/or tradition (cf. Deut 8:3; Ezek 28:6, 15-17).[159] This is particularly so today given that many practising homosexuals and lesbians have been admitted into positions of authority (i.e., the office of Elder) on the strength of their "calling" to the ministry, which, they claim, no one has the right to question. They frequently claim that their sexual orientation is the work of God Himself, and for that reason it is beyond the authority of the Church to discriminate against them. Often a "calling from God" is claimed by many godly, Christian women which they claim overrides the written record, and gives them "equality of authority and leadership" alongside men in the ministry. Women such as Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179), the "Teutonic prophetess," and Catherine of Siena (1347-1380) were permitted by the Catholic Church to act as prophetesses without thereby making special cases of them and promoting them to offices that Scripture had reserved for men.

4.1.1. WOMEN GOD USED IN THE OT

In Scripture when a nation, people or church, turned away from God it very soon turned aside His authority structure. Things were turned upside down, and the men and women who ruled had power only in name, not in reality. For old Israel, the outward sign of spiritual decline—of God's judgment—was when women ruled over them (Isa 3:12). When they saw women in authority they could conclude that all was not well with the nation's relationship to God. "And the children of Israel again did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord . . . . Now Deborah, a prophetess, the wife of Lappidoth, she judged Israel at that time" (Jud 4:1, 4).[160]

Deborah, who was married, is an example of this point (Jud 4:4-9). But as Bruce Waltke noted: "

> Probably, however, it is the exception that proves the rule. In addition to being a prophetess, Deborah was "judging" (i.e., "ruling") Israel. The narrator, however, makes his intention clear by carefully shaming the Israelite men at that time for their fear of being afraid to assume leadership. Note, for example, how Deborah shames Barak, the military commander of Israel's army, for his failure to assume leadership. After she mediated God's command to him to join battle with Sisera, commander of the Canaanite army, Barak replies: "If you go with me, I will go; but if you don't go with me, I won't go." To which Deborah responds, "Very well, I will go with you. But because of the way you are going about this [i.e., full

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[159] Bruce K. Waltke, "I Timothy 2:8-15: Unique or Normative?" *CRUX* 28/1 (March, 1992), 22-27; ibid, "The Role of Women in the Bible," *CRUX* 31 (no. 3, 1995) 29-40, esp. p. 31.

[160] John Knox, in his *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women,* makes a good defence of Deborah and Huldah in Marvin A. Breslow (ed.), *The Political Writings of John Knox: The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women and Other Selected Works* (Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library/London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1985), pp. 64-70. Deborah, in particular, stood in the place that a man should have stood in. When men are effeminate and allow themselves to be led by effeminate men, God will shame the righteous among His people by using women and children to rule over them (Isa 3:12).

> of fear] the honour will not be yours, the Lord will hand Sisera over to a woman [i.e., to shame him]" (Judges 9:54). She did not seek to overthrow patriarchy through her gifts but to support it. Apparently, the Lord raised up this exceptional woman, who was full of faith, to shame the men of Israel for their lack of faith, as such faith is essential to leadership in the holy nation. If so, the story aims to reprove unfaithful men for not taking leadership, not to present an alternative norm to male authority. The story also, shows, however, that the Spirit of the Lord is above culture and not restricted by normative patriarchy.[161]

Referring to Deborah, John Calvin wrote that "Extraordinary acts of God do not overturn the ordinary rules of government."[162] Here we have a clear example of a woman ruling Israel in a time of apostasy. The remedy was not to oust the women from positions of authority, but to repent and return to the Lord who would set the nation on its feet again, and restore the judge and prophet to lead them.

Another example is Queen Athaliah: "When Athaliah the mother of Ahaziah saw that her son was dead, she proceeded to destroy the whole royal family of the house of Judah. But Jehoshabeath, the daughter of King Jehoram, took Joash son of Ahaziah and stole him away . . . and put him and his nurse in a bedroom" (2 Chr 22:10ff.).

If Athaliah had been successful she would have destroyed God's promise to David that there would always be someone to sit on his throne until the Messiah came. She very nearly succeeded in breaking the succession to Christ. But she was not the only one to attempt this as Scripture shows. The greatest threat to the succession always occurred in times of apostasy from true religion, and she reigned in a time of apostasy.

Of the more favourable references to women in the Old Testament we read of Miriam, the sister of Moses, leading in singing. But when we look a little closer at the text it reads (Exod 15:20): "Then Miriam the prophetess,[163] Aaron's sister, took a tambourine in her hand, and all the women followed her, with tambourines and dancing."

This is a good example of a woman ministering to women. She did not lead the men in singing Yahweh's praises. Later on, Miriam and Aaron (she is named first, Num 12:1ff.) spoke against Moses and challenged his authority. God was content simply to rebuke Aaron, but we are told, "The anger of the Lord burned against them, and he left them. When the cloud lifted from above the Tent, there stood Miriam—leprous, like snow" (Num 12:9-10). When Moses and Aaron pleaded with God to heal her, the Lord replied, "If her father had spat in her face, would she not have been in disgrace for seven days? Confine her outside the camp for seven days" (12:14). God's punishment was the equivalent of spitting in her face for challenging the authority of Moses; she was condemned to remain outside the company of God's people for seven days like an unclean thing in His sight.[164]

In the Old Testament Hilkiah the priest and four other men went to the home of Huldah the prophetess and received Yahweh's prophetic word through her (2 Kgs 22:14). It is fashionable to play up Huldah's priority over Jeremiah in that when Josiah sent Hilkiah to "seek Yahweh for me" (2 Kgs 22:13) they chose to consult with Huldah rather than with Jeremiah. But it is worth noting that at this precise point in time (the 18th year of Josiah) Jeremiah was probably a young man having only begun his long, 42-year ministry in Josiah's 13th year (Jer 1:1-3; 25:3), which was just five years (or three full years and two partial years on either side of it) before the finding of the Law.

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[161] Bruce K. Waltke, "The Role of Women in the Bible," *CRUX* 31 (no. 3, 1995) 29-40, esp. p. 38.

[162] Quoted by Kenneth Brownell in "Gender in the history of the church," in *Men, Women and Authority,* ed. Brian Edwards (Bromley. Kent: Day One publications, 1996), p. 29.

[163] The Babylonian Talmud Mishna Megilla 14a mentions seven good prophetesses: Sarah, Miriam, Deborah, Hannah, Abigail, Huldah and Esther. Of these only Miriam and Huldah are mentioned as such in the OT.

[164] Cf. R. W. Pierce, "Male/Female Leadership and Korah's Revolt: An Analogy?" *JETS* 30 (1987) 3-10.

The fact that the Law was completely forgotten and came as a surprise to Josiah is not surprising when we consider that Manasseh, Josiah's evil grandfather ruled for 55 years, and he was followed by Josiah's own evil father, who ruled for two years. This was the situation that the eight-year old Josiah inherited. It is quite probable that Manasseh and Amon killed off Yahweh's male prophets during their apostate periods of government (57 years in total) and that women of faith (like Deborah in the apostate period of the Judges) were used by Yahweh to keep alive a mouthpiece for Himself. We should see Huldah as another Deborah-like figure during these apostate times. If she had a good track record of fulfilled prophecies behind her, and so was well-respected and revered by the time the Law was discovered in Josiah's 18th year, it is not surprising that the High Priest and his four companions knew where God's mouthpiece could be found, and duly made a visit to her home and were not disappointed to receive God's message through her. Jeremiah, at this juncture, was only commencing his long prophetic ministry, so he was relatively inexperienced. It should be remembered that Jeremiah and Josiah were born about the same time and he was specifically chosen from birth for his long ministry culminating in the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 BC.

Since God has poured out His Spirit on old and young, male and female, it follows that if men could exercise their prophetic gift outside the context of the formal *ecclesia,* then the women and girls could also do the same, provided they covered their heads. What is forbidden to the women, but granted to the men, is to exercise their prophetic gift in the church meeting itself. A woman cannot use the excuse that she could not help speaking a prophetic word in church because she was overcome by the Spirit to speak, because Paul taught that "the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets, for God is not a God of disorder, but of peace" (1 Cor 14:32), or as one paraphrase puts it: "Remember that a person who has a message from God has the power to stop himself or to wait his turn" (*The Living Bible*).[165]

Paul is able to say that all the men in the Corinthian church can prophesy in turn during the church service (1 Cor 14:31), but he wisely limits the number to two or three prophecies (1 Cor 14:29). Although there is no direct record we can infer that all women have the same gift of prophecy from the fact that she has the same Spirit within her, but she is commanded not to use it in the church service (1 Cor 14:34). She can exercise it at home and on the other six days of the week with a covered head (1 Cor 11:5-6), as can the Christian children who also had the gift (cf. the boy Samuel in the OT). Peter points out that the gift of the Spirit, and with it the ability to prophesy, would cross all social barriers (servants: male and female; civilians: freemen and freewomen; gender: male and female) and levels of maturity (age: children and grandparents). *All* the people of God would have the gift of the Spirit. This was not so under the Old Covenant. For although the Spirit had crossed all social barriers (as He did at Pentecost) it was to a far lesser degree. What we see on the day of Pentecost had its precursor in the trickle of God's people who had the same gift under the Old Covenant. The difference was just a difference of degree; the quality was the same, because it was the same Spirit in them that was in the Twelve Apostles on the day of Pentecost. That this trickle should have included children (Samuel) and women (Miriam, c. 1445 BC; Deborah, c. 1350 BC; Isaiah's wife, 739-686 BC [Isa 8:3]; Huldah, c. 640 BC) is not surprising. And if there were true prophetesses we should not be surprised to find false prophetesses within the Church of the Old Covenant.

Noadiah was a prophetess in the time of Nehemiah, but she strongly opposed Nehemiah's attempt to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem (Neh 6:1; probably by giving out some "word of prophecy" she had "received" from Yahweh) and along with other male prophets tried to intimidate him. Self-proclaimed prophetesses and prophets can give false advice or false "messages from God." The testing procedure is set out in Deuteronomy 13:1. Such false

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165 *The Jerusalem Bible* reads: 'Prophets can always control their prophetic spirits, since God is not a God of disorder but of peace.'

prophetesses and prophets were to be stoned even if they were one's parents or relatives (Deut 13:6; 33:9). No doubt Noadiah prophesied in public!

Because of the paucity of examples in the Old Testament where women occupy a leadership role it has been necessary to resort to instances where women spoke to men. Consequently it is claimed that David had two women teachers, Abigail (1 Sam 25) and the wise woman of Tekoa (2 Sam 14:1-20); and Joab had a woman teacher, the wise woman of Abel Beth Maacah (2 Sam 20:16-22). When this paucity is added to the paucity of the New Testament "evidence" it is then claimed that Paul is not prohibiting the general sort of Christian teaching and mutual exhortation that takes place within the assembly. In support of this assumption the following passages are listed: Col 3:16; Heb 3:13; 5:12; 10:24; 1 Cor 14:26; 1 Pet 3:15,[166] without realising that all of these passages are addressed specifically to men.[167] It is not enough to quote passages addressed to men and then assume that Peter and Paul were addressing women as well. Correct hermeneutics must start back in the actual *Sitz im Leben* of the passages with a good grasp of the cultural moment against which any passage of Scripture is set, before applying it to a modern situation. Given the culture of the time in which the whole of the Old and New Testaments were written, women would never have assumed a teaching role over men, certainly not in the home and *never* in a public assembly. Individual men may privately consult a woman if she had a reputation for being a wise woman, but a fixed teaching role was reserved only for male priests.

It is a common fault among those who argue for a public ministry for women toward men to take up passages of Scripture which were specifically addressed to men and apply them to women. This common hermeneutical oversight plus the doctrine of headships are the two pivotal factors that must constitute the warp and woof of any solution regarding the place of men and women in the public ministry of Christ's Church. If one or other of these factors is missing it is as disastrous as missing out either the warp or the woof in making a piece of cloth.[168]

When we come to the New Testament it should be borne in mind that the position occupied by women as presented in the Talmud does not necessarily reflect the *Sitz im Leben* of New Testament times.[169] For example, a strange woman could enter the house of a strict Pharisee and touch Jesus. This is something that would be unheard of in Talmudic times.

Once Scripture is used by some to permit women "a general sort of teaching . . . within the assembly" then 1 Timothy 2:12 is immediately qualified to read: "I permit no woman to teach men authoritatively." But this interpretation/translation raises serious problems. First, who is going to decide the point where a woman teacher crosses over from a "general sort of teaching" to an "authoritative form of teaching"?

Second, if she asks for the criterion—in all good faith so as not to infringe Paul's injunction—who is going to decide it for her? and will this criterion be universal?

Third, why, if a woman can speak "a general sort of teaching within the assembly," does Paul tell her to be silent?

Fourth, why does he say it is a shame for a woman to speak in an assembly (1 Cor 14:35)?

Fifth, would the culture of the time have permitted her such a public-speaking role? Once again note the fragmented approach to Scripture. Where 1 Timothy 2:12 is treated in isolation from 1 Corinthians 11:3-16 and 14:33b-38 we run into insuperable problems. We need to adopt a holistic approach to all the evidence on Paul's teaching about headship in

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[166] G. P. Hugenberger, "Women in Church Office: Hermeneutics or Exegesis? A Survey of Approaches to 1 Tim 2:8-15," *JETS* 35 (1992) 341-60, esp. p. 343.

[167] For the full data see Chart 19. Title: "Paul and the New Testament writers addressed their letters to men."

[168] This topic is more fully developed under 4.3.3 below.

[169] The Appendix in Joachim Jeremiah, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969) presents a scholarly treatment of the position of women in the Judaism of NT times.

order that through his words we can enter the mind of Paul and from within that mind re-read his writings. This is the only safe way to enter his world and understand and grasp his theological world-view of which 1 Corinthians 11:3 is the key. This revelation is as vital to a correct understanding of all Paul's doctrines as the canvas is to the paint of a painter. All his doctrines are painted on this canvas, and this canvas holds all his doctrines together.

4.1.1.1 THE CHRISTIAN AND POLITICS

Without a clear grasp of Paul's understanding of what is entailed in his words, "the head of woman is man" we end up speculating that "Paul may not be intending to prohibit women from exercising authority over men in the political or social spheres since these may be considered beyond the scope of our text [1 Tim 2:12]."[170]

In reply, first, 1 Corinthians 11:3 sets out a principle that is comprehensive in its scope. It includes all spheres—religious, social and political.[171]

Second, in Christ's Kingdom there is no distinction between these man-made spheres. He is Lord of all, and He is to be Lord in all these spheres as God was throughout the entire pre-Christian period. There is to be no area of life that is left outside His rule, or left unreformed, as though Christ were permitted to rule in the religious sphere but not in the workplace.

Third, the Christian man is not to permit Satan, the god of this world, to dictate or control his life *in any part.* This will result in a head-on clash with the "world" in all spheres of his life: family, social and national. No area of his life can be left unreformed. *Paul would expect every man to imitate him—as he imitated Christ—and apply the principle of Christ's headship to every department of life.* The Christian is expected to live in the world but not be part of its system of values. He must render to Caesar what is due to him and to God what is due to Him. Inevitably this will mean having to live with situations which are outside his control to change, such as having women in secular authority (queens and Prime Ministers), women MPs, and the whole work-environment which is controlled by non-Christians, or so-called Christians, who are not controlled by Christ.[172]

In a democracy, with each Christian under Christ's control (headship), and consistently abiding by His teaching on Man's headship, eventually Christ's standards will be reflected in the institutions of State and local government authorities where Christians are in the majority. The Christian should have a clear world-view of how Christ wants *His world* to be governed, and by keeping before him the principle laid down in 1 Corinthians 11:3 and applying it consistently to his own family in the first instance and wherever he is in a position to further it at the social and political level, he should consciously do so in order that Christ's rule will one day cover the earth as the waters cover the seas. His first allegiance is to Christ and not to the State he happens to be born into. Not everything is yet under Jesus' control/rule; but Christians can be part of Christ's political agenda by opposing the agenda of

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170 G. P. Hugenberger, "Women in Church Office: Hermeneutics or Exegesis? A Survey of Approaches to 1 Tim 2:8-15," *JETS* 35 (1992) 344.

171 Section 4.9. should be read with this section, and also Excursus 7.2. "Submissive toward Christ—Subversive toward Satan."

172 Joseph may have been vice-regent of Egypt but that did not set aside his duty toward his father (who, in any case, was not Joseph's head). Human institutions cannot overrule divine structures. A king, senator or Member of Parliament are no different than Joe Bloggs when it comes to allegiance to Christ's teaching as safeguarded by the elders of the church to which they belong. Each has Christ, not the eldership, as his Head. The elders have no authority due to their office if they are not fully imitating Christ and Paul's example. Their authority comes through the perfect model they present; once the model is lost or compromised they lose their authority and the respect due to them. The king and Joe Bloggs alike can disobey them.

Satan whose policy it is to turn upside-down what Christ is turning right-side up. The present age is characterised by a mixture of right-side up and upside-down values and authority structures. The Christian should be able to discern what is upside-down in his environment and turn it right-side up where he can. By keeping very close to Christ's teaching and never standing in judgment over it, recognising His headship in all spheres of his life, the mature Christian man can help guide the Church in an increasingly mixed-up world, and that now includes the authority structures that Christ instituted in His Church.

Sometimes an unbiblical situation is set forth in order to undermine or blur the lines of authority. The unbiblical situation is often a modern, Western situation which would not arise in a Hebrew patriarchal culture. For example, a son may become a general of the army in which his father serves as a private soldier, and consequently, the father must obey his son's orders. Or the son might become the President. Similarly, an ordinary Christian may be an elder of a church where an MP, president, or king might be a member. Could he, or the collective eldership, threaten to excommunicate such powerful state persons if they do not carry through Christ's teaching in their political and social spheres, or relieve the poor? Could such an eldership in Paul's day be made up of Christian slaves whose masters were members of their churches?

In the family, social, and political spheres, woman is to fulfil a helpmeet role to the man she is married to. If she is married to a king then she fulfils a helpmeet role to the *person* of the king. If she is married to a lowly farmer then she fulfils a helpmeet role to the *person* of the farmer. She should not be treated or regarded as another farmhand. Adam was a gardener but Eve was not put alongside him to do his weeding for him: she was not a subordinate gardener to Adam. She was to fulfil her role by being a helpmeet to the *person* of Adam. She was created looking toward the man, not at his work. Her focus is to be on the man himself, and not primarily on his work for God. In whatever sphere God allots her husband (be it the religious, political or social) there she can fulfil her same *personal* role, be it as queen or as a farmer's wife. Her *role* never changes: though the context may. She must never rule over her husband or the husband of another women *in her own right.* But the secular world, controlled by the god of this world, will do all it can to turn God's authority structures upside-down, and the Church will have to deal with such upside-down structures, while retaining a knowledge of the right-side-up position at all times, and actively seeking to implement and promote its many forms throughout the world for the good of mankind—in the home, in society, and in all political institutions.

Listing instances of foreign Gentile queens in the Bible is to no avail[173] because these institutions were not, and are not, under the control of God, though He may use any institutions *set up by man* for His own purposes. Thus He used Gentile armies (Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Greek and Roman) to do His bidding and through them He poured out His pent-up righteous indignation against His people at the time of the Babylonian Exile (606—536 BC).

Likewise, listing Christian women in politics, industry, or the ministry from the dawn of Christianity does not justify their position if it as at variance with Christ's teaching on the headship of Man. They may be in an upside-down situation but unless they use their position to turn things back to a right-side up situation they only strengthen the upside-down position by their role-model presence. We noted above (under 4.1) how God's use of Christian women in the past has become an instrument in the hands of His enemies to undermine His authority structures. If it had been recognised that these women lived in an upside-down world (as we do today) and in such a world one would expect such aberrations from the "normal" to occur, then these examples would present us with no problem. No doubt there are many today who can point to contemporary women ministers and bishops

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[173] Cf. G. P. Hugenberger, "Women in Church Office: Hermeneutics or Exegesis? A Survey of Approaches to 1 Tim 2:8-15," *JETS* 35 (1992) 345 n. 11.

"doing a good job," adding, "and probably a better one than most men," and using these deviations to justify the aberration. A classic case of circular argument.

Pragmatic arguments, if they fly in the face of explicit prohibitions, are detrimental to good order. Women bishops would never have occurred had the Apostolic injunction prohibiting women from speaking in the Church been carefully followed. Evangelical ministers can be heard up and down the land deploring women ministers and threatening to leave the church if women bishops are appointed. But the very same ministers permit women to speak in their own churches, oblivious of the direct cause and effect connection between this breach (which they justify as only a little breach) and the appointment of women bishops.

The Christian Church is a subversive force in this world in that it is constantly seeking to undo Satan's work and overthrow his control of the vast majority of nations. The secular state, likewise, is a subversive force within God's universe in that it is naturally seeking to undo His work. What God has joined together man seeks to pull it asunder; to break it up, to distort it, to turn it on its head. Increasingly its values are taking over those of Christ Jesus in His own Church with the connivance (active and passive) of His own pastors, elders, vicars and bishops. Thus, there are two powerful, but opposite, spiritual forces operating for the allegiance of every person born into the world. And sadly, many, many Christians are co-operating with forces detrimental to the maintenance of good order in the Church. If good order cannot be maintained in Christ's own Church how can the Church ever hope to see it in force among the nations of the world?

The twentieth century has seen a revolution in the rise of women to positions of leadership in politics. This came about as a backlash to the denial of secular woman's "rights". Women's "rights" do not exist in Christ. Men's "rights" do not exist in Christ. Both come under headship relationships where each relates upward to their respective heads in a voluntary, submissive attitude. Where, however, recognition of these love-headship relationships are dispensed with then men and women fall back on "natural" instinct of what is right and wrong, and a battle of the sexes ensues in which two proud, unbending wills are at loggerheads in the jungle of a fallen humanity and a fallen world.

It is out of this messy situation that men and women are found competing for the headship of their lives. Out of this messy situation comes disorder in the state. But this disorder is seen by women as liberation from men and freedom from his tyranny. The way of Christ is different. Christian male and female slaves are not encouraged to fight for their "human rights" but to serve their masters as though they were serving Christ Jesus Himself. Christianity transforms all social relationships and injustices by enduring all things for the sake of Christ, not by campaigning against them. The same goes for Christian marriages, even where one partner is not a Christian. Love is the transforming power, not imposed authority, or protest marches. His approach to life is laughed at by the world.

When it is said that the Church must continually be reformed and is in constant need of reformation, this must not be misunderstood to mean that it must move forward with the times, but rather that it must always move backward to its original positions on a whole range of ethical and practical outworkings of the Gospel. The assumption is that in every age the Church will be pulled this way and that way in order to move it away from its fixed truths and theological traditions. "Always reforming," should mean always returning to the point it strayed from.

When we look at the origin for the demand for women's ordination it can be found in the Women's Lib Movement with its central demand for equal opportunities for both sexes on the assumption that the only real differences between male and female are biological and no more. The movement for women's ordination did not begin within the Church, it began in Satan's kingdom. It is of Satan, not of the Spirit.

Because Christian men and women are liberated from Satan to serve Christ in the context of a love-headship relationship, they have authority to enter Satan's kingdom, the world, and be the salt and light of the world. Both sexes have authority to muscle their way

into every department of Government, the judicial system, the education system, and the social-welfare system, and bring Christ's headship claims to all they rub shoulders with. Let them rise up through the grades to take the highest positions in order to turn an upside-down world into a right-side up Church. They can do this because they are subversives in Satan's kingdom, with authority to claim all things for Christ. Consequently, if women can use their God-given gifts to become leaders in Satan's world, they should get on with it, and liberate those who are bound by Satan at his will and direct them into the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ. But what Christian women must not do is treat the Church as they treat the world. One is Christ's Kingdom, the other is Satan's kingdom. In the former they are submissive, in the latter they are subversive. Once these two spheres are kept in water-tight compartments then there should be no confusion in her mind.

When Eve sinned God told her that her husband would rule over her. We pointed out before that this force-headship side of man only emerged after she ignored his love-headship of her and went against his warning not to eat of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Before she sinned Adam experienced only a love-headship relationship with his wife. And before Satan sinned God experienced only a love-headship relationship with His creation. But rebellion against both leaderships brought out their respective force-headship power. God was simply stating to Eve that *she* had produced this new force-headship side in Adam, which she would never have experienced had she—and Satan—remained within their respective love-headship relationships, and she would have to live with it to the end of time.

It is against this new reality of the Fall that secular woman is justly fighting. Force-headship in the hands of secular man is an evil because it is exercised in the context of Satan's kingdom. Christians should use all lawful means to alleviate its evil practices in Satan's kingdom. This will mean both sexes entering into politics and legislating for its evil side to be suppressed by law. On occasions Christians will have feminists on their side in their efforts to curb the brutality of men against their wives and families but they should be careful never to enter into any covenant or agreement with them. Keep a holy distance from their company whilst cooperating with their support.

JOHN KNOX AND WOMAN'S RULE

John Knox (1505-1572) took the view that a woman ruler was unnatural—a monstrosity. Fundamental to his thesis was a conception of a knowable natural order in which natural and unnatural were distinguishable. God had created this ordering. In this hierarchical universe, unnatural meant that something was not in its ordained place. What he set out to show was that a woman ruler violated this accepted universal order. This assumption was held by almost everyone in this period of Church history.[174] The Tudor Queen Mary (also known as "Bloody Mary") was the occasion for Knox's tract, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women,* published in 1588.

Knox used the argument from nature, from woman's constitution (1 Peter 3:7), that women were the weaker sex. This weakness made women inherently incapable of rule. With the exception of the Amazons (and there have to be exceptions to every rule, he argued) history offered no example of women ruling men as a "natural" thing.[175]

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[174] The following notes are taken from Marvin A. Breslow (ed.), *The Political Writings of John Knox: The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women and Other Selected Works* (Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library/London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1985).

[175] Aristophanes wrote a play in about 391 BC in which he phantasied about women taking over the governance of Athens in a utopian state. The main female character is Praxagora who leads her fellow Athenian women in a plot to save Athens from male misgovernance. She abolishes the status quo by taking power and enacts a permanent, economic, social and sexual revolution. She abolishes private property and there is only one communal store which the women run. The family is abolished. A man may have children with any woman. There is a new equality of sexual opportunity which gives priority to the old, whereby the young of both sexes

In the animal world, Knox pointed out, God made the female subordinate to the male. In the course of human history, law, especially Roman Law, recognised the weakness of women to rule men. But above these two reasons he placed Scripture, which outweighed them. God's commands made it a virtue for woman to serve man, and God's punishment of Eve made woman subject to man. For a woman to rule over men and for men to accept that rule were unnatural disorders, repugnant to God's law and so illegitimate. The exceptions (such as Deborah) were seen as exceptions. God alone could exempt; man could not. He urged opposition to woman's tyrannical rule. His political and theological views seemed to be justified when Mary began her persecution of the Protestants, burning Latimer and Ridley, Bishop Cranmer and Lady Jane. These martyrs seemed to prove to his audience what happens when you violate God's order against woman rulers. His thesis was clear: England suffered because its monarch was a woman—any woman, good or bad, Catholic or Protestant. This, he held, was because England did not fully reform itself, it compromised the Truth and this was the result; God was punishing them for this failure. Knox took the uncompromising view that God's commands applied to all spheres of man's existence, the political as much as the spiritual, therefore a woman could not rule in either sphere. The divine right of kings could not outweigh or override the divine prohibition. The logic of his position drove him to urge the nobility not to serve Mary as their lawful ruler.

Calvin and Luther would not go this far. Luther shunned to be identified with the peasant revolts for this reason. Knox's call to reject woman's rule was answered by John Aylmer (later bishop of London) who rested his case on God's freedom to employ the weaker sex in the greatest of tasks. Eventually Elizabethan Anglicanism accepted that English laws and institutions permitted a woman sovereign.

Knox told the ordinary man they must not obey the inferior law of the state when it was contrary to the superior law of God. This was not wise advice because Jesus recognised that Caesar had his own sphere of law given to him by God. A slave may have a harsh master but the Master has said to go on obeying him *for the sake of the Gospel.* So does not the principle apply to an ungodly monarch (male or female)? Knox expected not just pagan/civil rulers to enforce God's commandments because they had their thrones through His permission, but also the next level below the monarch, the nobles. This was a new idea. Knox appealed very strongly to this level to exercise *their* God-given powers, which included punishing wayward bishops and even the monarch, when they misuse their power to persecute the Church. He warned them that they could not remain neutral and be innocent in God's eyes. They must use the sword if necessary to restore the divine order. Knox also appealed to the people—the third level—who also had been given power from God to use for His glory. Where the Old Testament reads "Israel," Knox replaced it with "Scotland," and armed with this replacement he could apply the whole of the OT scriptures and especially the strong denunciations and warnings of the prophets, against the Scottish nation and its corrupt rulers and see in every recent tragedy in Scotland's history the direct hand of God. He blamed all its ills on the acceptance of a woman ruler.

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must sleep with the old and ugly first. However, slaves remained slaves and work under the women. In the new order, social inequalities based on wealth, age and beauty are abolished.

However, this is not a true gynaecocracy, where women usurp male roles as in the mythical models of the Amazons (dramatized in an earlier comedy by Cephisodorus) and the Lemnian Women (in the comedies of Aristophanes and Nicochares), Pherecrates' *Tyrannis,* and Theopompus' *Lady Soldiers,* but rather, men do nothing and women rule the city as they would their own households, doing all the chores while the men just eat, drink and have sex. Like all comedies, the fun comes in turning things on their heads, of upsetting the natural order, and so the novel idea of women ruling men was a good comedy topic. See Aristophanes IV (LCL 180), *Frogs, Assemblywomen, Wealth.* ET and ed. by Jeffrey Henderson (Cambridge, MASS.: Harvard Univ. Press, 2002). See the Introduction, pp. 238-243. Incidentally, in 391 BC all men wore beards and women carried their burdens on their heads (p. 273).

Knox would have been on surer grounds if he had begun with the family—the Christian family. Here, if it a Christian royal family, the wife (Queen) could not rule her husband. Headship would take precedent over any man-made laws of succession to the throne. From a politico-theological perspective, Scripture will dictate the laws of succession, and these will follow the headship of Man as laid out in the Old Testament.

If the royal family is not a Christian family, then they will not do the will of God but their own will. In which case the Church will not regard them as Christians but as persons needing to be evangelised and treat them accordingly in the institutions of the Church. They will not be permitted to take Communion or have any position of influence in the Church. Such a family could not be Head of the Church of England, or appoint any of its Bishops or clergy.

The Church of England made the mistake of wedding itself to the State. The two should have remained distinct especially from the Church's privileged position of being Christ's body on earth. Purity of doctrine and freedom to discipline the royal family were compromised through this union. The State, in the embodiment of a royal family, will drift in and out of communion with Christ, as every family does, and when its head (the King) submits to Christ's headship then the Church can embrace the whole royal family; when it goes its own way, then it will be disciplined by the Church and excluded from Communion. The Church has the authority to discipline the national royal family from generation to generation just as they would discipline any other family. The royal family should never be permitted a seat in the Church for all time to come, any more than any common family has that right. Each family in every generation must choose for itself whose will it will follow: Christ's or its own.

Once the royal family rejects the doctrine of the headship of Christ then the Church should deem it not to be a Christian family and treat it accordingly. If the royal family alters the terms of succession so that male headship is overturned and women are permitted to rule over men, then it has put itself in opposition to Scripture and as a consequent is separated from its Head, the Lord Jesus Christ. What we have today is a rejection of Christian male headship by the royal family yet it is still regarded as Christian. This is a contradiction. But the church would be hypocritical to discipline the royal family if it will not discipline its own members who are equally guilty of ignoring Christ's Headship of the Church and Man's headship in the family.

The way forward for the godly is to regard the wayward royal family as a non-Christian family. As such, it will then become no better than the pagan Roman emperors. As such, the Church must render to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's. If the church will not discipline the wayward royal family then it is up to individual Christians not to acknowledge them as Christians in their prayers and actively pray for their reformation.

Where Knox's tract has relevance today is in the rise of feminism *within the Church.* Everything that he said about the illegitimacy of Mary Tudor's position can be re-applied directly to female leadership in the Church (under any guise) or speaking in Church (under any pretext). If the reader will read Knox's *First Blast* with this in mind then he will benefit enormously from it. Take his statement in the Preface:

> I am assured that God hath revealed to some in this our age that it is more than a monster in nature that a woman shall reign and have empire above man. And yet with us all there is such silence as if God therewith were nothing offended.[176]

This will apply directly to any form of female participation in Christ's churches because it violates the command of the Lord Jesus, which exhorts her to be submissive in relation to man. And submissiveness takes the concrete form of silence in Church. The indifference shown in Knox's day has it parallel in the church today. No one cares. The

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[176] Marvin A. Breslow (ed.), *The Political Writings of John Knox,* p. 38 (bottom).

violation is dismissed as a secondary issue by evangelicals, or better still, as a fair trade-off in order to get more converts for Christ.

> If any think that the empire of women is not of such importance that for the suppressing of the same any man is bound to hazard his life, I answer that to suppress it is in the hands of God alone; but to utter the impiety and abomination of the same, I say, it is the duty of every true messenger of God (p. 39).

Knox urges his readers to place the truth continually before the minds of the wrongdoers, especially the women themselves, so that the call to repentance will condemn them.

> And, therefore, I say that of necessity it is that this monstriferous empire of women (which amongst all enormities that this day do abound upon the face of the whole earth is most detestable and damnable) be openly revealed and plainly declared to the world to the end that some may repent and be saved (p. 40).

Knox had faith that, though he was an insignificant minority, his voice was like "an odour and smell that cannot be suppressed" (p. 40) and would reach the ears of the offenders eventually,

> but whether it do or not, yet dare we not cease to blow as God will give us strength. For we are debtors to more than to princes, . . . of whom, no doubt, a great number have heretofore offended by error and ignorance, giving . . . their consent, and help to establish women in their kingdoms and empires, not understanding how abominable, odious, and detestable is all such usurped authority in the presence of God (p. 40).

Knox was aware—

> how difficult and dangerous it is to speak against the common error, especially when that the ambitious minds of men and women are called to the obedience of God's simple commandment. . . . I look to have mine adversaries, not only of the ignorant multitude, but also of the wise, politic, and quiet spirits of this world . . . . And thus I am most certainly persuaded that my labor shall not escape reprehension of many (p. 41).

But despite the anticipated hatred of friends and foes, he writes:

> I am compelled to cover my eyes and shut up mine ears, that I neither see the multitude that shall withstand me in this matter, neither that I shall hear the opprobries nor consider the dangers which I may incur for uttering the same. I shall be called foolish, curious, despiteful, and a sower of sedition; and one day, perchance, although now I be nameless, I may be attainted of treason (p. 41).

He weighs up the cost of offending God or offending the powers that be and even the common people. He likens himself to Ezekiel's watchman (Ezek 33:7-9). This, he says, "compelleth me to utter my conscience in this matter, notwithstanding that the whole world should be offended with me for so doing" (p. 42). So ends his Preface. He wrote his Tract anonymously but intended in the "Third Blast" to reveal his identity. The first lines of his "First Blast" read:

> The First Blast To Awake Women Degenerate.
> To promote a woman to bear rule, superiority, dominion, or empire above any realm, nation, or city is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, a thing most contrarious to his revealed will and approved ordinance, and, finally, it is the subversion of good order, of all equity and justice.

Reapply this to women who speak in church and it could not be better said. He sets out to prove his point by using arguments from (1) nature, (2) God's Word, and (3) reputable Christian writers. He takes it for granted that all men will agree that women should not be permitted to rule man (in the secular and religious spheres) and uses very strong parallels to show how inappropriate such female authority would be:

> For who can deny but it repugneth to nature that the blind shall be appointed to lead and conduct such as do see, that the weak, the sick and impotent persons, shall nourish and keep the whole and strong, and, finally, that the foolish, mad, and frenetic shall govern the discrete and give counsel to such as be sober of mind? And such be all women compared unto man in bearing of authority. For their sight in civil regiment is but blindness, their counsel foolishness, and judgment frenzy, if it be rightly considered (pp. 42-43).

His assessment of women is that they are "weak, frail, impatient, feeble, and foolish, and experience hath declared them to be unconstant, variable, cruel, and lacking the spirit of counsel and regiment." Only evil could come of woman in the top position: "where women reign or be in authority that there must needs vanity be preferred to virtue, ambition and pride to temperance and modesty, and, finally, that avarice, the mother of all mischief, must needs devour equity and justice" (p. 44). Queen Mary may have been the first woman monarch to rule all England and so her example seemed to fit Knox's assessment of women in general, but Queen Elizabeth's reign punctured Knox's thesis.

Knox was aware, however, that God "by singular privilege and for certain causes known only to himself" had used women in the OT as well as in church history who exceeded their class, but this he puts in the context of men descending to the level of women. When men become like women then God can use female women to rouse them to jealousy and prod them to rise to their ordained station in His world.[177] Knox despises effeminate men. He is disdainful of the sight of Queen Mary being escorted by the ranks of nobles of the realm in acknowledgement of her rule over them. They ought to be deeply ashamed of themselves.

He observes that "a natural shamefastness ought to be in womanhood which most certainly she loseth whensoever she taketh upon her the office and estate of man" (p. 44). In other words, she is not a natural leader and must change out of herself to occupy that position. She is an artificial man. He even quotes non-Christian authors, like Aristotle, on the nature of woman and her unfitness to rule. But he treats this first argument as a supporting one. It is not the main argument.

Knox's second argument is that women's rule is contrary to the Word of God. This is his main argument. "For God, first by order of his creation and after by the curse and malediction pronounced against the woman by the reason of her rebellion, hath pronounced the contrary" (p. 45).

> First, I say that woman in her greatest perfection was made to serve and obey man, not to rule and command him. . . . 'and therefore ought the woman to have power on her head' (that is, a coverture in sign of subjection[178]). Of which words it is plain that the Apostle meaneth that woman in her greatest perfection should have known that man was lord above her, and therefore, that she should never

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[177] Chrysostom also rebukes the men in his day who had become inferior to some women in wit and godliness. See Marvin A. Breslow, *The Political Writings of John Knox* (Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library/ London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1996), p. 52 n. 46.

[178] I have elsewhere argued that the covering is a symbol of her own authority and not her husband's authority, otherwise virgins and unmarried women would not be required to cover their heads (see §4.4.4.).

> have pretended any kind of superiority above him no more than do angels above God the creator or above Christ Jesus their head. So, I say that in her greatest perfection woman was created to be subject to man (p. 45).

Knox, and most men from the Reformation onwards, thought of headship in terms of authority. It is about authority, but it wider and deeper than that, in that it requires one partner in the headship relationship to do the will of the other partner. It is a unique, revolutionary way of living in itself. All leadership relationships are not headship relationships, but all headship relationships are leadership relationships. We have to accept that we do our secular jobs under female bosses, queens, and female Prime Ministers, but these are not headship relationships, they are obedience relationships. Headship relationships are restricted to marriage and to Christ's Church. The secular world—the workplace—is under the control of Satan; the Church and the Christian family are under the control of the Lord Christ Jesus. The Christian is submissive in the latter and subversive in the former. Let the Christian woman become Prime Minister and use that office to pull down Satan's institutions and clean up society; but in the Church let her be covered, silent and submissive, in accordance with the two worlds she is called to live in. Let her not think for a moment that wielding state power gives her any advantage in the church she attends. She remains a woman for all the prestige, honour and world-leader status that she might have. She cannot buy her way into the status that males inherit by birth in the Church.

Knox argues from Genesis 3:16 that God made woman subject to man. Consequently any man who promotes a woman to a position of authority will be punished by God. The same goes for women speaking in church. The "law" in 1 Corinthians 14:34 is Genesis 3:16.[179] She is forbidden to teach. He brings all four texts together to argue that the Holy Spirit has taken "from her all power and authority to speak, to reason, to interpret, or to teach, but principally, to rule or judge in the assembly of men" (p. 48). What Knox could not countenance was that a woman ruler would use her high office to influence or teach men her opinion and views and expect these to be accepted by her subjects. She "is a monster in nature" (p. 48). If she is not permitted to speak in the congregation, the lowest form of assembly (in the eyes of some), why does she think she can speak from her throne?

Knox quotes Tertullian to the effect that women should remember their critical place in bringing sin into the human race and that from this they would

> learn daily to humble and subject themselves in the presence of God, but also that they should avoid and abhor whatsoever thing might exalt them or puff them up in pride, or that might be occasion that should forget the curse and malediction of God (p. 49).

He instances woman's rise to authority over men as one sure way of forgetting her past. He quotes Tertullian again that, "It is not permitted to a woman to speak in the congregation, neither to teach, neither to baptize, neither to vindicate to herself any office of man" (p. 49).[180]

Knox quotes Augustine that a woman ought to serve her husband as she would serve God, affirming that in no thing hath woman equal power with man, saving that neither of both have power over their own bodies.[181] Augustine does not permit her to proceed to power even in "temporal and corporal things" (i.e., what we could call secular jobs).[182]

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[179] Paul uses the term "law" in 14:21 to refer to the OT prophetic writings, so that he may be thinking of all God's revelation, pre- and post-Fall. Headship before the Fall had no force-headship element in it. Force-headship only comes into existence through Gen 3:16, and it is a reserve power given to Man to retain control of the world God gave to him in the beginning. Love-headship should be the normal relationship between husband and wife.

[180] Tertullian *De Virginibus Velandis* 9.

[181] Augustine, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* xxii.31.

[182] Augustine *De Trinitate* xii.7.10.

Augustine asks: "How can woman be the image of God, seeing she is subject to man and hath none authority, neither to teach, neither to be witness, neither to judge, much less to rule or bear empire?" (p. 50).[183] Augustine's own answer is:

> Woman compared to other creatures is the image of God, for she beareth dominion over them; but compared unto man, she may not be called the image of God, for she beareth not rule and lordship over man, but to obey him. . . . The woman shall be subject to man as unto Christ.[184]

All this is grist to Knox's mill and he makes good use of it to goad his fellow Scotsmen to resist Queen Mary. He suggests that men have become so degenerate that they have dropped below the level of brute beasts who acknowledge the dominion of the male. But, he angrily notes, men have elevated women to rule over them.

And yet, alas, man, who by the mouth of God hath dominion appointed to him over woman, doth not only to his own shame stoop under the obedience of women, but also, in despite of God and his appointed order, rejoiceth and maintaineth that monstrous authority as a thing lawful and just (p. 58).

> Albeit I have thus, talking with my God in the anguish of my heart, somewhat digressed, yet have I not utterly forgotten my former proposition, to wit, that it is a thing repugnant to the order of nature that any woman be exalted to rule over men, for God hath denied her the office of a head. And in the entreating of this part, I remember that I I have made the nobility both of England and Scotland inferior to brute beasts, for that they do to women which no male amongst the common sort of beasts can be proved to do to their females, that is, they reverence them, and quake in their presence, they obey their commandments, and that against God. Wherefore I judge them not only subjects to women, but slaves to Satan and servants of iniquity. If any man think these my words sharp or vehement, let him consider that the offense is more heinous than can be expressed in words. . . . God, for his great mercy's sake, illuminate the eyes of men that they may perceive into what miserable bondage they be brought by the monstriferous empire of women (p. 60).

Knox undermines Queen Mary's authority by urging all those who received their offices from her to resign them as unlawful. He leaves them no wriggle room to go on holding authority on her behalf. Not every democracy legitimises her authority. She is "a traitoress and rebel against God." He would have said the same for all women who speak publicly in church, never mind those who get themselves ordained to rule in Christ's church with the consent of the congregation. Nothing makes it legitimate if it is against the revealed will of God. Knox is right and the whole of Scotland wrong if it has a contrary opinion in this matter. So confident is he of his position that he can blow his trumpet with a strong, clear and unambiguous call to rebellion. There is no turning back with him. He calls on the nobility to repent of having given their consent in the first place to Mary. Then to remove from authority all who have wielded her power by her appointment. Then, following the example of the removal of Athaliah, they should remove Bloody Mary from ruling over them. Strong stuff. He makes a similar appeal to the people. "First, they ought to remove from honour and authority that monster against nature (so call I a woman clad in the habit of man, yea, a woman against nature reigning above man)" (p. 75).

> Secondarily, if any presume to defend that impiety, they ought not to fear, first, to pronounce and then after to execute the sentence of death. If any man be afraid to violate the oath of obedience which they have made to such monsters, let them

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[183] Augustine *De Trinitate* xii.7.10.

[184] Augustine *De Continentia* 9.23.

> be most assuredly persuaded that, as the beginning of their oaths, proceeding from ignorance, was sin, so is the obstinate purpose to keep the same nothing but plain rebellion against God (p. 75).

Knox can be read with profit but only if his application is limited to marriage and the Church. Christ's rule must be upheld in these two spheres with the zeal that he showed in 1558. The State must always be viewed as belonging to the world, the flesh and the Devil. It cannot be judged by the Church (1 Cor 5:12) as Knox attempted to do. God alone can judge it.

Knox did not have to face the issue of women's ordination in his day, but all that he spoke against Bloody Mary applies one hundred per cent against women's ordination. In the meantime, all Christians (male and female) are called upon to go into that hostile environment and be subversive for Christ and pull out of the fire such as are destined to salvation. But in the Church all should be submissive to Christ.

4.1.2. WOMEN GOD USED IN THE NT

In the New Testament we read of Anna, a prophetess of eighty-four years of age, who "spoke about the child [Jesus] to all who were looking forward to the redemption of Jerusalem" (Lk 2:38). As there were no public assemblages in the Temple precincts on such occasions, the speaking of this holy woman could only have taken place on a personal or private level. Nevertheless, she did speak to all, including Simeon, who was present, therefore women did deliver their prophecies to men in a private or personal capacity and this would be covered by 1 Corinthians 11:5.

Prophetesses seem to be the exception in the Old Testament, but in the New Testament prophetesses seemed to have been more common. In Acts 21:9 we read: "He [Philip] had four unmarried daughters who had the gift of prophecy." The text does not tell us when, how, or where they exercised their gift. However, we would do well to be cautious and suspend all judgment until we have had time to examine the evidence behind R. Bank's statement on this verse which reads, ". . . we have, in Acts 21:9, independent evidence that Paul had contact with other churches in which women prophesied."[185] I say "cautious" because Banks may have been privy to a private prophetic revelation on this verse. The verse as it stands, however, says nothing about these four daughters prophesying *in the church*. Given the biblical culture of the times, like Huldah, they probably prophesied in their own home, but we have no evidence that they prophesied *in the church.* This would be contrary to the whole of prophetic history, where God never asked a woman to go to the Temple and prophesy among the men. Consequently, Philip's daughters cannot be used as proof-text evidence that women prophesied in the church. It is a sign of desperation when Acts 21:9 is used as "proof" that women prophesied *in the church.*

The only reference to a prophetess *teaching* in a church is in Revelation 2:20, where she is roundly condemned by him "whose eyes are like blazing fire" as follows:

> To the angel of the church in Thyatira write: . . . I know your deeds, your love and faith . . . . Nevertheless, I have this against you: You tolerate that woman Jezebel, who calls herself a prophetess. By her teaching she misleads my servants into sexual immorality and the eating of food sacrificed to idols.

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[185] Robert Banks, "Paul and Women's Liberation," *Interchange* 18 (1976) 81-105, esp. p. 92.

Note that Jesus says she calls herself a prophetess, which suggests he did not regard her as such.

Lastly, we have a further example of God's sovereignty over His own means of communicating His prophecies to His people in using the impious high-priest Caiaphas to convey a prophecy about Jesus' death for the nation (Jn 11:50-52).

It is clear, then, that God may, in His sovereignty, bring good out of evil, and use pious and impious persons to convey His will. Pragmatic arguments and arguments from results are not convincing arguments. Pragmatic arguments if they contradict revealed truth should be treated with the suspicion they deserve: "Anyone, then, who knows the good he ought to do and doesn't do it, sins" (Jas 4:17).

Much is made of the fact that Apollos was taken into the home of Aquila and Priscilla.[186] where *they* explained the Word of God to him more fully. Note that this activity did not happen *in church,* but that does not stop many from applying it to the *ecclesia* (the called out gathering of God's people). Neither did Priscilla explain the Gospel on her own. We have no example where a woman taught a man on her own in her own home. Would this have been possible or seemly? It cannot be inherently immoral for a husband and wife to invite someone into their home and talk to them about spiritual things, surely? So what's the problem with Priscilla discussing spiritual matters with male guests? You would think to read some commentators that she was involved in some extraordinary feat, unheard of in the annals of human relationships! If women are told to educate themselves by asking their own husbands at home concerning what he learned in the weekly services, surely she could learn from other male friends and guests, and there will arise occasions when she knows more than some of her male guests or friends. It would be quite natural for her to impart this knowledge to them, surely, in the privacy of her own home. But we are not at liberty to extrapolate a principle from what happened in her home to what she can do in church.

The complete list of Paul's fellow-workmen (συνεργοί) comes to 14 men, but no women are listed among them. The men are Timothy (1 Thess 3:2; Rom 16:21), Apollos (1 Cor 3:9), Philemon (Phlm 1), Aristarchus, Mark, Demas, Luke, and Jesus Justus (Phlm 23-24; Col 4:10-14), Epaphroditus (Phil 2:25), Clement "and others" (Phil 4:2-3), Titus (2 Cor 8:23), Prisca and Aquila (Rom 16:3), Urbanus (Rom 16:9). Others who were fellow-workmen but who are not specifically called such are Stephanus, Fortunatus, and Achaicus (1 Cor 16:15-18). The name Prisca (in Rom 16:3; 1 Cor 16:19; 2 Tim 4:19) belongs to a man since he is called Paul's fellow-workman (τοὺς συνεργούς μου). Always his name is coupled with Aquila.[187] If Prisca was a woman it would be the only instance where a woman was called a "workman."

A typical feminist Paper on the textual evidence for Prisca would read:

> Prisca and Aquila are the best attested mixed missionary couple of the first-century Christianity. Yet despite the great esteem they have enjoyed throughout the centuries, there are indications that they have not always gained equal recognition. This paper examines several significant textual variants in the New Testament passages on Prisca and Aquila. It aims to demonstrate that the model of relational partnership that they exemplified, and the evidence that Prisca seems to have been the more renowned of the two, was unacceptable to certain scribes. They introduced diverse changes in the text of Paul's letters and the Acts of the Apostles, attempting to play down the role of Prisca. First, I will scrutinize the textual variants in the Pauline and Pastoral epistles, pointing to the fact that the diminutive form of Prisca's name, introduced in 1 Cor 16:19 and, to a far lesser extent in Rom 16:3, could be interpreted as a put-down, rather than a simple harmonization to the form known from Acts. The singular

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[186] Priscilla's name occurs three times in conjunction with her husband, Aquila (Acts 18:2, 18, 26). In Acts 18:2, 18 Aquila's name occurs first in the Majority Greek Text (but second in UBS[4] in 18:26, probably by assimilation to 18:18).

[187] In 1 Cor 16:19 his name is replaced by 'Priscilla' in the Majority Greek Text (probably by similarity with his wife's name) but not in UBS[4]. 2 Tim 4:19 is quoted in *Actis Pauli* where Aquila's wife is called Lectra (see A. Souter, *Novum Testamentum Graece* [8th ed. 1950] *sub loc.).*

reading of the earliest witness (P46) in 1 Cor 16:19, which attests the masculine form of Prisca's name, was potentially intended to minimize the role women play in the New Testament. The second part of the paper will be focused on Acts 18, where the "Western" witnesses in particular seem to be characterized by a certain "anti-Priscan" tendency. This may need to be viewed in the context of an overall animosity towards women, detected by some scholars in the "Western" text. It must not be excluded, however, that already the author of Acts attempted to diminish the significance of women in first-century Christianity, and that this "tendency" was further developed.[188]

Romans 16:3 refers to a church in the house of "Prisca and Aquila." If 16:1-21 was written during Paul's second (recorded) visit to Corinth, then Prisca and Aquila had returned to Rome and had established a church there similar to that over which they had presided at Ephesus. But there is no evidence in Acts for their settling again in Rome; and in 2 Timothy 4:19, greetings are sent to them in Ephesus. The accepted chronology is that Aquila and Prisca left their settled home in Ephesus (where according to the Graeco-Latin MSS DEFG [1 Cor 16:19] Paul resided[189]) soon after Paul had written First Corinthians (16:19), and that a year later their house in Rome was the centre of a church, and then later on they returned to Ephesus, and once more took up the same position in the Christian community. To get round this difficulty it has been suggested that Romans 16:1-21 (or perhaps 1-23) was not part of the original Epistle, but was a letter of commendation for Phoebe addressed by Paul to the church at Ephesus, becoming attached to Romans 15 at a later time in order to ensure its preservation.[190] But given that it is now known that the names in Romans 16 (including Prisca and Aquila) "are found swarming in inscriptions, papyri, and ostraca all over the Mediterranean world,"[191] it would seem that the Aquila in Rome is not the same person as the Aquila in Corinth, and consequently, the Prisca in Rome is not the same as the Priscilla in Corinth.

Sometimes Euodia and Syntyche are also found listed in feminist works as "workmen."[192] Philippians 4:2-3 reads:

> (2) Euodia I exhort, and Syntyche I exhort, to be of the same mind in the Lord. (3) Yes, I ask also you, Synzygus, genuine one,[193] be assisting those [fem. pl.[194]] who in the Gospel did strive along with me, with Clement also, and the others

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188 This is the summary of a paper given by Dominika Kurek, "Some Textual Problems with Prisca and Aquila," which was read at the 2002 SBL Annual Meeting.

189 See Kirsopp Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul* (London: Rivingtons, 1911), pp. 143, 329.

190 Cf. Kirsopp Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul* (London: Rivingtons, 1911), p. 329; and T. B. Allworthy, *Women in the Apostolic Church* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1917), p. 77.

191 Adolf Deissmann, *Light from the ancient East: the New Testament illustrated by recently discovered texts of the Graeco-Roman world.* ET by Lionel R. M. Strachen. London: Hodder & Stoughton, [1927]), p. 278; cf. Kirsopp Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul* (London: Rivingtons, 1911), pp. 332-33.

192 See for example, Florence M. Gillman, *Women Who Knew Paul* [Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1992] who devoted 94 pages (!) to the women listed in Paul's epistles, the majority of which is fanciful speculation about their great standing in the churches, but the syntax of Phil 4:3 is against this. Even J. Stott was borne along by the feminists to assume that Euodia and Synthece were 'workmen' (*op. cit.*, p. 250).

193 'Synzygus' is more likely to be a proper name here because of σέ 'you' preceding it; but it might also be translated as 'yoke-fellow'. In support of a proper name is Westcott and Hort's marginal reading; Carl von Weizsäcker, *The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church.* 2 vols. ET by James Millar from 2nd rev. ed. (London: Williams & Norgate/New York: Putham, 1897-99), I.282; and *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten und des Neuen Testaments* (Zürich: Verlag der Zwingli-Bibel, 1942). The word preceding it (so UBS[4]) or following it (MT) is γνήσιε, which is the vocative sing. masc. from γνήσιος, 'O genuine one!'

194 The grammatical feminine plural reference here may or may not include Euodia and Syntyche. The thought of these two squabbling women may have triggered off a reminder of the more helpful women Paul knew of in the Philippian church who strove alongside him as others did alongside Jesus.

[masc. pl.]—my fellow-workmen—whose [gen. pl.[195]] names (are) in the Book of Life.

The use of ναί at the beginning of v. 3 appears to be addressed to an individual and so Paul's thought has moved on to a new thought. It is not connected with v. 2, which stands on its own. The particle ναί can be used in oaths, strong affirmations, and in positive answers.[196] Here it can be taken either as a strong affirmation ("verily, truly"; cf. Rev 22:20) or as a reply ("yes") to something that Synzygus asked Paul about. In this case Synzygus would appear to have asked Paul if it was alright to help (reimburse?) the women who had helped the work of the men with their substance (as a band of women did with Jesus and his Apostles), and Paul's answer is a firm Yes.

The Philippian church was a very generous benefactor in providing provisions (money, clothing and food, no doubt) to enable Paul to take the Gospel all over Macedonia (Phil 4:14-17), and it seems they did the same for Clement and all of Paul's fellow-workmen. It may be that the Philippian church was the financial backer for all of Paul's work and workers, and that Paul makes a request to it to assist the women who "struggled together with" (συνήθλησαν[197]) Paul and other males on their evangelistic journeys. The use of "struggled together with" is a good illustration of what it means for women in the new environment of the Christian community to be man's true helpmeet. *She does not act independently of man but with man.* The responsibility of taking the Gospel into all the world lies on the shoulders of Christ's male disciples (because of their headship relation to Him); the responsibility of the Christian women is to help them—"struggle alongside them"—in it (because of their submissive relation to their heads).[198]

There is not a single, unambiguous example of a woman in the NT writings who might have been in the front line alongside men, or independently of him, taking the Gospel to men.[199] Jesus had a number of women who followed him around in a supporting capacity (Mt 27:55; just as Paul had on occasions no doubt), but Jesus chose none of these loyal women when he chose 70 men to be front-line workers for Him in the last year of His ministry. Why not?

There are two distinct approaches to the biblical material. On the one hand there are those who work from principles that are either stated or implied in Scripture. These principles, together with an understanding of the integrity of God's Word as a consistent and

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195 This could refer either to (1) all the women who backed up the ministry of the men mentioned here, i.e., Paul, Clement, and the other unnamed fellow-workers; or (2) the unnamed 'other men' whose names are written in the Book of Life. In favour of (1) it is said that Paul's attention is on the women who helped him, Clement, and his other fellow-workmen. It is these unnamed women he refers to in the words: 'whose names (are) in the Book of Life.' In favour of (2) is Paul's omission of the names of his 'other workmen', and so he compensates for this by reference to the knowledge that their names are written in the Book of Life. Solution (2) is preferable in this context. The thought of the Book of Life may have triggered off the burst of joy that runs through vv. 4-7. The phrase, 'As to the rest . . . ' (v. 8) may be a reply to some other query the church had communicated to him.

196 See Liddell & Scott's *Greek Lexicon.* The TR reads καί in place of ναί which led to the ambiguous translation, 'And I entreat thee also, true yokefellow, help those women which laboured with me in the gospel,' where 'those women' might be taken to refer back to Euodias and Syntyche. But, the intervention of ναί and the switch of address away to a man, Synzygus, possibly the leader of the church at Phillipi, suggests that Paul has dealt with the pair of squabbling women and has moved on to address something that Synzygus had asked for a ruling on, hence the use of ναί here: 'Yes, ...'

197 This word occurs only twice (Phil 1:27; 4:3) in the NT.

198 A common interpretation is to place a comma after αὐταῖς (dat. pl. fem.) in v. 3 and assume that it refers back to Euodia and Syntche, and then make the following clause αἵτινες (nom. pl. fem. from ὅστις) . . . συνήθλησαν μοι . . . ὧν τά ὀνόματα ἐν βίβλῳ ζωῆς, 'who . . . struggled with me . . . whose names (are) in the Book of Life,' refer back to these two women of whom Paul can confidently affirm that their names are written in the Book of Life. A variant on this interpretation is to make the last clause refer, not to the two women, but to the unnamed 'others (m.pl)'.

199 See N. Baumert, *Woman and Man in Paul: Overcoming a Misunderstanding* (Collegeville, MI.: The Liturgical Press, 1996), pp. 199-209.

reliable guide to the mind of the Trinity, are their guide to understanding the practices of the Early Church as reflected in the pages of the New Testament writings.[200] Thus Phoebe would be understood to be operating within those principles and not in opposition to them, and so her work for the Lord would be seen within a theological context and not as the result of an *ad hoc* arrangement.[201] Given the consistent teaching of the Apostles and the culture she lived in there is just no way that she could have broken the universal rule of silence in the Christian Church (or Christian synagogue). A good understanding of the culture she lived in, plus Paul's teaching on the place of women in all his churches, plus the history of the next nineteen centuries which never saw a woman permitted to preach in church, give a consistent picture. What was preventing the Church from permitting women to speak in the church was a special revelation from Jesus Himself banning it. They clearly allowed principle to come before pragmatic considerations.

On the other hand, others approach the same biblical material, but start, not with isolating theological principles, but with practices: with what people actually did; how Jesus treated men and women; the large number of female friends that Paul greets, *etcetera,* and out of these incidents or descriptions draw some general observations. These observations, plus a different understanding of the integrity of God's Word, including the idea that the Scriptures give contradictory teaching and that those who wrote them were not always consistent in what they said and did, often present a picture that appeals to today's sense of what is fair and right. On this approach greater attention is paid to the practices of the Apostolic Church, without a deeper understanding of the underlying principles that produced those practices. The practices then become the basis for extensions. For example it is argued that if Phoebe could be a deaconess why could she not be an Elder? If Priscilla taught Apollos in private why could she not do the same in public? If a man can preach why can't a woman? The argument from extension must be carefully weighed in case it violates the principle that produced the original practice which is now being extended.

If the Lord has given the gift of prophesy to male and female followers but He specifically lays it down that females are not to exercise this gift *in the public ministry of His church* that should be the end of the matter. If they are not permitted to exercise the gift in His Church then they are permitted to exercise it *outside the Church* at home, and thus there is no contradiction between 1 Corinthians 11:5 and 14:34.[202] If we find women exercising their gift of prophecy then we can infer that they did so either in their own homes, or in the company of friends, or even, like the prophetess Anna, in public (with their heads covered). The one place we can infer they did not exercise it was in the Church.

It might appear that God is being arbitrary in debarring women from exercising His gift in one place but not in another, but He has His reasons. These have been set out in the theological section of this work. It is not profitable to set up disagreements between Jesus and Paul, or between Jesus and the apostolic church, or between Paul and the Early Church, and use these supposed disagreements to do away with the principles on which God has ordained His people should come before Him in worship.[203] To use Scripture to destroy Scripture puts the destroyer in the place of Scripture.

Given Paul's view of the theological relationship between men and women, he would not approve of any situation where a woman was in a leadership role over any man, otherwise he would be inconsistent. Consequently, for him man must go out into all the world taking the Good News with him. In doing so he has the right to bring his wife along

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[200] I take it as an essential prerequisite to an evangelical approach that no Scripture may be interpreted so as to contradict or nullify another. If that prerequisite is absent then we have no foundation on which to build a true understanding of the Scriptures either on this topic or any other.

[201] See 4.5 on Phoebe as a deaconess.

[202] See 4.3.4. and 4.3.5.

[203] This approach dominates works opposed to Paul's teaching on the headship of man. See e.g. E. Carroll, "Women and Ministry," *Theological Studies* 36 (1975) 660-87.

with him (1 Cor 9:5) because she can help him take the Gospel to other women. If she is single then she should be under male leadership of some kind on the mission field or at home.

4.1.3. REMAIN IN YOUR CALLING

The universal principle Paul taught was: Remain in your present calling. If one is female, let her remain female, and accept this from God and the calling that goes with it, namely to subordinate all her talents and knowledge to serve God through Man as his helpmeet, knowing that this is *exactly* what God wants her to do with her life. The statement of what she is expected to do with her life must give her life tremendous focus. It is a very practical calling. She can see the man before her whom she is to help achieve the purpose he has been made for.

On the other hand, Paul would argue, if one is male, let him remain male, and accept this from God and the calling that goes with it, namely, to subordinate all his mind, and soul and strength to serve God through Christ, and Him alone. This is slightly more difficult for him because he does not have Christ right before him in a physical manner to whom he can talk, as a wife might do to her husband. But nevertheless man is obliged to find out what is Christ's will for him and get on with it. It must be comforting to him to have someone by his side who truly loves him and is desirous that he fulfil his own personal calling. She is so united with him in body and soul that his goal becomes hers: they both can subdue the earth if they work together in harmony with God's laws.

If every Christian man and woman (we do not expect secular society to follow this guide) were to let this fundamental teaching guide their actions in the family, the Church and the State, it would transform each of these spheres into something like what they were originally intended to be, namely, loving and purposeful communities.

We have scratched about to find a clear example that would contradict the Apostolic teaching that women should keep silent in the churches, but there is none. At best we have found instances where God poured out His Holy Spirit on women, as well as on men, in the Old Testament Church, but He never raised up women of the stature of Isaiah, Jeremiah or Ezekiel, with a ministry to the whole nation. Why did He choose only men to reach men? We read of schools of the "sons of the prophets," but not of schools of the "daughters of the prophets." Why?

Two things characterised women once they entered the *ecclesia* (the formal gathering to worship God through the Lord Jesus Christ). First, they were covered, and second, they kept silent in the meeting (as regards giving prophetic words, or speaking in tongues, or any contribution of an individual nature). The entire worship service was to be conducted by men. The reasons given by Paul for the woman's deportment and demeanour in the worship service are theological and spiritual and have nothing to do with local customs.

> In the broad sense Christian women evangelise as they live as salt and light in the world. Women who are joyful, contented and fulfilled rather than complaining, covetous, and dissatisfied; women who are willing to serve, actively looking out for the needs of neighbours and the needy in the community; women who are 'focused' in the true sense of having purpose in life; women who refuse to waste time on the all-too-often poisonous trivia of TV or women's magazines; women who refrain from gossiping or backbiting; wives who are loyal to their husbands rather than running them down as part of a perpetual power struggle; mothers who are committed to their children but not so family-orientated that they are insensitive to the needs of others; employees who work cheerfully as for Christ: surely all such women are a shining testimony to the power of the gospel. Such

lives mean that words of witness when spoken, tracts when given, books if lent, invitations when extended, may by the grace of God be effective as non-Christians see that 'it works!'[204]

4.1.4. THE INFLUENCE OF THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT

The rise of the modern feminist movement began with the suffragettes (*ca.* 1906)[205] and was a direct challenge to the biblical teaching on the doctrine of the headship of Man. It started, as we would expect, in Satan's kingdom, the secular state. The campaign for "equal opportunities for women's rights" soon resulted, in the British Isles, in women ministers in the Congregational Church in 1917. Bishop R. O. Hall of Hong Kong was the first Anglican to ordain a woman in 1944. However, the province of the Anglican Communion concerned, Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui, did not approve of this action, and the woman concerned "retired;" she returned to her work as a deaconess, but the theological issue was not faced. M. Bruce argued that if there are theological objections against the new practice then the contrary belief is a heresy.[206]

The church began to weaken. By the mid-1960s the success of feminism was so pervasive that the only two professions still closed to them were the London Stock Exchange and the ordained ministry of the historic churches. Indecision marked the 1968 Lambeth Conference (of Anglican bishops) which declared that "the theological arguments as at present presented for and against the ordination of women to the priesthood are inconclusive." In 1973 the Stock Exchange capitulated. The church was the odd man out. *It was out of step with the world.* It felt uncomfortable. Indecision was followed by positive noises *for* women's ordination. Between 1963 and 1980 the number of men ordained annually in the Church of England dropped by over half—from 636 to 309. Something had to be done to fill the gap and done quickly.

Donald Coggan became archbishop of Canterbury in 1974 and soon made it known that he was in favour of women priests. In 1975 the Church of England's General Synod expressed the view that there are "no fundamental objections to the ordination of women to the priesthood." These positive noises encouraged other Anglican Communions to ordain women, and the Church of England was now beginning to look even more isolated within its own Communion. Things could not have been made more uncomfortable: sister churches were deserting her to fall into step with the world. She was forced to recognise the *fait accompli.* In 1978 the Lambeth Conference of bishops recognised that some Anglican

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[204] Sharon James, "Roles Without Relegation," in *Men, Women and Authority,* ed. Brian Edwards (Bromley. Kent: Day One publications, 1996), pp. 227-248, esp. pp. 234-35. This is an excellent article on the range of ministries open to women in such a manner as to preserve the biblical principle of male headship in the family and the church, apart from the lapse of assuming women can "pray or prophesy" *in church.*

[205] See O. Banks, *Faces of Feminism: A Study of Feminism as a Social Movement* (Oxford: OUP, 1981). Some date the beginning of the feminist movement to Anna Maria van Schurman, a Dutch woman, who in 1641 published a dissertation on the right of women to engage in science. It appeared in English as *The Learned Maid* (1659). An American, Judith Sargent Murray, wrote a work, 'On the Equality of the Sexes' (1790). On the subject see A. Yarbo Collins (ed.), *Feminist Perspectives on Biblical Scholarship* (SBL Centennial Publications; Biblical Scholarship in North America, 10; Chico CA, 1985). The most well-known early work is that by Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792). The Quaker sisters, Angelina and Sarah Grimké caused a stir in 1837 when they embarked on public speaking engagements to abolish slavery. Public speaking was the domain of men. But it was not until 1848 when the first Women's Rights Convention took place at Senaca Falls (USA) that the feminist cause really began to make an impact on society values. See G. Lerner, *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness: From the Middle Ages to Eighteen-Seventy* (Women and History, 2; New York/Oxford, 1993). In Britain, the movement got going with John Stuart Mill's *Subjection of Women* (1869). See N. A. Hardesty, *Women Called to Witness: Evangelical Feminism in the 19th Century* (Nashville, 1984).

[206] Michael Bruce, "Heresy, Equality and the Rights of Women," *The Churchman* 85 (1971) 274-89, sp. p. 276.

provinces now had women clergy, and agreed to respect each others ministers. The Church lost sight of its teaching and its authority and it was not long before "women began to rule over them" (cf. Isa 3:12).

In 1970 seventy of the churches which belonged to the World Council of Churches favoured the ordination of women.[207] Among the Lutheran churches, the Swedish Church, under massive pressure from the state, first admitted women ministers in 1958. In the German church they are excluded only in Schaumburg-Lippi. The French Reformed Church admitted them in 1965, and the Church of Scotland in 1966. In 1967 the Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk and two years later the synod of the Gereformeerde Kerken in Netherland (Reformed Churches in the Netherlands) followed. The Dutch Mennonites admitted women in 1905. Antoinette Louisa Brown is usually considered to be the first female minister in the United States, having been ordained in 1853 to the Congregational ministry. She trained at Charles Grandison Finney's Oberlin College in Ohio even though he himself did not approve of the ordination of women. But he encouraged women to speak from the platform, which amounted to the same thing in Antoinette Brown's eyes.

The first woman bishop was ordained in 1980, when the divorcee Marjorie Matthews was chosen as a bishop of the Methodist church of North America. The Episcopal Church of the USA followed suit in 1989 by consecrating Barbara Harris as Bishop of Massachusetts.

Before women got the vote in 1919 it was made clear that the object of the Women's Suffrage Movement was more than just a political vote. A writer of the time noted:

> The claim that "women may occupy any position and exercise any function in the Church that men do" has come to the fore too rapidly . . . to be a natural outcome of Church life; . . . the movement is rather an overflow from the political into the ecclesiastical sphere, . . .
>
> As in the political sphere the initial franchise is avowedly only a step to further advances, so in the ecclesiastical sphere . . . [they] state quite frankly that their demand includes the admission of women to the Diaconate, to the Priesthood, and to the Episcopate, on the same terms as men, and as frankly state their reasons for the demand, viz. that women have gifts for that work equally with men, "and that the teaching of Christ recognizes no distinction of nationality, class, or sex."[208]

The Diaconate and the Priesthood have been achieved; the Episcopate and Archbishopric are merely a matter of time.

It should be carefully noted that the first demand in 1917 was not the demand to become Priests, or Deacons, but they set their sights on a "small gain." The small demand was that laywomen, equally with laymen, shall be—

> permitted to vote for and serve as representatives on all Lay Assemblies of the Church, and that all other offices in the Church to which laymen are admitted shall be open also to laywomen, e.g., the office of lay reader (which carries with it permission to preach), of server, etc.[209]

Because the demand was a "small" one it was conceded, but it was like the first small hole in a Dutch dam, and it was followed by another and another concession and compromise until it became impossible to hold back the larger demands which had always been lurking behind that first small one. The first "inconsequential" concession happened to

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[207] R. T. Beckwith, "The Office of Women in the Church to the Present Day," in M. Bruce and G. E. Duffield (eds.), *Why Not? Priesthood and Ministry of Women. Revised and augmented Edition. Prepared by R. T. Beckwith* (1976), pp. 26-39, esp. p. 39.

[208] A. E. Oldroyd, "The Place of Women in the Church," *English Church Review* 8 (1917) 399-403.

[209] A. E. Oldroyd, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

concede the principle of democracy and the abolition of male and female roles.[210] But the Church is a Kingdom, not a democracy. It is unlike any earthly kingdom, in that its authority, and authority structures come from above, not from below, from Christ, not from the people. It is the business of the Church to Christianise the world, not of the world to democratise the Church. The kingdoms of this world are to become the Kingdom of God and His Christ, and not *vice versa.* A democratic Church is a contradiction in terms. The voice of the people (δημός) is by no means the voice of its Head, the Lord Jesus, in matters of Faith and universal Church practices.

In the 1970s Anglo-Catholics and some evangelicals became very concerned—but far too late—about the future direction of the Church. They could see that the secular pressures that managed to foul up the Church of England's rudder, after successfully negotiating twenty centuries of severe buffeting by Satan's forces, now had her lying listless and becalmed. It was conceded that the Church of England was (and still remains) a sitting duck for the next storm to run her unto the rocks. She had/has no power, no rudder to guide her, and no harbour to find shelter in, because the Word of God is now a closed book to her. Her charter documents are out of date, out of fashion, and out of step with the world. The winds of change are blowing her further and further off course.

The 1993 Church of England's General Synod split the church irrevocably. The voting for the ordination of women was passed as follows: House of Bishops 39 for, 13 against; House of clergy: 176 for, 74 against; House of Laity: 169 for, 82 against.[211] The two-thirds barrier was passed in each of the three Houses. The Truth of the Gospel has not been changed by these numbers. Rather, these numbers reflect the spiritual state of the visible Church which has formally broken away from the Truth. It also illustrates the observation that *failure to peruse a particular Truth regularly will lead to its disuse gradually.* The Church failed to understand the Spirit's teaching on the headship of Man; then, what little it did understand of it, it was made to feel embarrassed about; then it ignored it altogether with the inevitable result that it lost sight completely of this foundation truth that governs all man-woman relationships both in the home, the Church, and the Christian Community.

Too late, evangelicals saw that the battle to keep the truth of Man's headship alive had been lost in the previous ten years of neglect to remind the Church of the value of this doctrine. The Christian teaching on the family is under attack as never before in the history of the Church, and the Church of England has lost the key corner-stone of that doctrine.

The battle against ordaining homosexual and lesbian ministers is likewise being lost by stealth and/or neglect, and it is only a matter of time before the ministry will be open to any person. Secret homosexual and lesbian ministers are lulling the people into believing that their style of life is truly Christian. The national newspapers expose Bishops who indulge in homosexual behaviour. Bishops openly advocate the lowering of consent from 18 to 16 years of age for homosexual behaviour. These bishops are left unrebuked by their peers. The world disapproves of any discipline being administered by the Church at any level. To do so would involve litigation and litigation could cost the Church dearly. She cannot afford to discipline any longer: the clergy will not permit it, otherwise their pocket will be hit.

Some evangelicals see a deeper malaise in the advent of women ministers. For them the Church ship is corrupt, rotten, losing both its keel and its backbone, leaking like a sieve with dwindling congregations. In 1999 one in nine Anglican clergy was female and the numbers attending church services have continued to decline since 1993. One of the reasons given for the ordination of women was to bring the numbers back up.

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[210] This was conceded in 1914, see Nemo, "The Woman's Movement in the Church," *English Church Review* 5 (1914) 377-80. The proposal was put forward by the Bishop of Southwell and it was reported that 'the Bishops, as a whole, went strongly in favour of what is vaguely termed the 'feminist movement' in the Church, 13 of them even voting for the proposal to open diocesan conferences to women, and only 8 against'. The writer discerned that this 'thin edge of the wedge' had as its real objective a female priesthood and episcopate (p. 378).

[211] By 1999 2000 women had been ordained into the Church of England, or one in nine of the total.

The number of female ministers is set to rise inexorably. Women clergy will progress first to the level of rural dean, then to bishop, then to archbishop. The domino-effect is in progress. It is no longer just women but male clergy who are demanding the right of women to be bishops, *and that on the same theological, social and pastoral grounds that admitted them into the ministry.* At least they are being consistent. The only thing holding this back from happening, they suspect, is that there are no long-standing women candidates in the ministry to be considered ready to be ordained bishop. But their time will come. We hear noises from a few evangelicals that they have drawn the line in the sand at accepting women ministers but not rural deans. But some conservative-evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics have objected to this. "What right have they to draw another line in the sand?" they ask. "The Holy Spirit drew the line in the sand when he said through Paul, 'Let your women keep silent in the churches, for it has not been permitted to them to speak, but to be submissive [or: make themselves submissive[212]], as also the Law teaches . . . . Let a woman learn in quietness in complete submissiveness. I do not permit a woman to teach, nor to exercise authority over a man, but [on the contrary] she is to [remain] in quietness' (1 Cor 14:33-34; 1 Tim 2:12)."

Once the line of women's ordination had been overstepped and approved of by the Church of England's General Synod, then it is inconsistent of those evangelicals who supported women's ordination to prevent those who have overstepped the line to progress on up the ladder of authority and take their seat on the archbishop's throne. This is the logic and ethics of sexual equality. The novelty of women priests, vicars and ministers had already gone. The next novelty is women bishops. Then that too will lose its novelty. As Joni Erickson Tada noted in another context, "Gradually, though no one remembers exactly how it happened, the unthinkable becomes tolerable. And then acceptable. And then legal. And then applaudable."[213]

In conclusion, if the Church is to form stable Christian communities, as it takes the Gospel into all the world, then it must safeguard the building block of the family in its post-evangelistic phase. There is no point evangelising if there is not the follow-up care of those evangelised. If the family unit is founded on the Christian doctrine of Man's headship and if men are encouraged to be head of their families and lead them in daily, family devotions, then the next generation can be secured for Christ. The children will grow up into Christ and have a father who is submissive to Christ in all things. The model of a submissive father is bound to have its effect on his family and in society. There is not much progress in winning souls on the front-line but losing them in the home.

The situation that has developed in the post-evangelised Western world is that there has been a crumbling of the headship structure due to a caricatured Gospel that preaches "sexual equality," with the consequent denial of the headship of Man, and consequently men are content not to take the lead, either in the home or in Church. Their inherited rights are stolen from them and they are left uncertain of their role. They become spineless. Their children grow up in an atmosphere that is dominated by non-Christian culture-values in a so-called "Christian country," and this is mistakenly called a "loving Christian atmosphere" and there they are lost to Christ. We then have the sad situation where Christian parents are hoping that their grown up sons and daughters will be converted at university or after they have left the home and married.

The Church is like a bath. Missionaries and Christian organisations throughout the world have been converting millions to Christ over the centuries and they have been, and are, flooding into the Church, but the plug is missing and millions are pouring out at the other end—these millions are the offspring of Christian parents. If the Church had been able to stop the flow out of the Church the whole world would have been evangelised centuries ago. The

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212 The Majority Greek text reads ὑποτάσσεσθαι (pres. infin. mid.), a few older mss (ℵBA) read: ὑποτασσεσσέσθωσαν (3 pl. pres. imper. mid.). The Middle voice is in meaning much closer to the Active than to the Passive. It is something the women are to do, rather than something done to them by others.

213 Joni Erickson Thada, *When is it Right to Die?* (London: Marshall Pickering, 1993), p. 63.

plug is the family unit where the next generation must be won for Christ, otherwise time and effort will have to be expended to try and win this next generation after they have left the family unit. The Church must look once again to its God-ordained family structure, and realign itself with its creational and foundational doctrines.

One of the major causes of the loss of children of Christian parents has been the loss of the doctrine of Man's headship. The blame for this must lie at the door of the Church leaders. With the rise of the feminist movement they became embarrassed over Christ's teaching on headship and they did not face the challenge to this false teaching head-on. As a consequence they did nothing. This lack of leadership was transmitted downwards into the parishes and churches of the land where the ministers and vicars turned a blind eye to the heresy, and allowed themselves to be swept along by the campaign for "equal status for all."

Another major cause for the loss of children of Christian parents has been the neglect of Christ's command to Peter to "feed my lambs." The church service was designed as a place where Christians, and especially Christian men, the family leaders, were to be built-up in their faith. Instead, this service has now been hijacked to become an "evangelistic service" to reach the unsaved—the goats, and the lambs are neglected. Their feeding time has been misused to preach to the stranger who walks into the service.

I have strong reservations about the use of the church service for evangelism. The reasons for this come from the context and specific wording of 1 Corinthians 14.

First, the context of this chapter is explicitly set "in the assembly/*ecclesia*" which is referred to nine times (cf. 14:4, 5, 12, 19, 23, ["come together" (in one place), 26], 28, 33, 34, 35). The context is of the "gathered out" community of God's flock.

Second, the worship is spiritual, by spiritual persons, using spiritual gifts and means. Earlier in the Epistle Paul had shown how impossible it was for the natural man to understand the things of the Spirit of God because they are foolishness to him:

> We have not received the Spirit of the world but the spirit who is from God, that we may understand what God has freely given us . . . expressing spiritual truths in spiritual words. The man without the Spirit does not accept the things that come from the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness to him and he cannot understand them, because they are spiritually discerned" (2:12-14).

The "gathered out" community of God's people met specifically (1) to continue the worship begun in Genesis 4:3—to offer up spiritual sacrifices well-pleasing to God, which has never been broken to this day; and (2) to use the spiritual gifts given to them by God to build up their faith (meaning knowledge and comradeship) in the true religion, and their Faith (meaning trust) in the salvation of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the promise of eternal life in His Son. That is the main function of their gathering together, it is not to evangelise their neighbours. Jesus sent out his evangelists into the cities and villages. Evangelists should not hijack the worship service to preach to the unbelievers who stray into the worship service. They should remain silent in a church full of the converted.

Third, Jesus was very concerned that His flock—His sheep and His lambs (young converts)—received Peter's attention, "Feed my lambs . . . feed my sheep." Jesus has set pastors (shepherds) in His Church whose specific task it is to feed His lambs and to protect them from being taken from Him through false shepherds and false teaching. These pastors were not to neglect the little, vulnerable ones, to go in search of the goats. Jesus gave *that* job to Evangelists and others. If each man remains within the calling Jesus has given him and does it to the best of his ability, then he will receive the Master's "Well done!" However, if a pastor neglects his own specific calling to "tend the flock of God" over whom he has been made an overseer, and fails to build up the spiritual muscles of His disciples to discern truth from error, and loses the lambs, he will get no "Well done!" from the Master even if he has a successful "evangelistic career" behind him as a result of his neglect.

We cannot afford to neglect feeding the flock and, as I understand Paul, the purpose of the weekly gathering is primarily to bring the sheep, not the goats, together into one place, with the specific purpose of building up their faith. It was never designed to be a public evangelistic meeting. If we turn it into an "evangelistic meeting" we change the character of the meeting completely. It ceases to be a meeting designed solely for worship and for building up the flock.

Fourth, we learn from 1 Corinthians 14:23-25 that while the character of the weekly meeting is for the benefit of the flock (not the goats or the lost sheep) the meeting itself is not a strictly private one, that is, for believers only. "Unbelievers and ignorant persons" (14:24) may come in on their own initiative. (Note: they are not invited in.) The text suggests that as the believers carry out the exercise of their spiritual gifts they may be observed by outsiders, looking in on their worship, but who are distinctly not part of the worshipping community, and as they watch they make their own assessment of what the Christian religion is all about. If they see good order, and experience a profound sense of the presence of God, some may be convicted and worship God declaring, "God really is among you." But it would be wrong, just because "outsiders" come in as spectators, to leave off the primary tasks of worshipping and of building up the flock, and use the occasion for an evangelistic address! That would be a misuse of its purpose. So, everything should be in it own time and place, otherwise we will create disorder. The evangelistic "address" should be incidental, in the sense that in the course of using its spiritual gifts to build up one another, the Church is witnessing to the power of the Holy Spirit in their lives. What a way to witness to the world! Just by focusing attention on the purpose of the meeting, and not paying any attention to the unbelieving onlookers, leads to their conversion! It is because there is so little sense of His presence in our services that I suppose we have to compensate for this lack by giving the entire service over to evangelising the outsider among us. But what an indictment of our spirituality!

If the church service has an evangelistic thrust then it will be as an indirect result of Christians sticking to the two main purposes of their gathering (worship and edification). This is the only right way to evangelise outsiders *who come into our church services.* If, after the worship service is over, these outsiders wish to know more, then a meeting specifically designed for that purpose can be arranged. This special evangelistic service should have no trapping of worship about it. Let its character be totally different from that of the Church service. It would be wrong to change the nature of the weekly meeting of all the male members, and use the sermon to evangelise the outsiders. That sermon must be reserved for the flock; it is *their* feeding time. It is *their* time to remind themselves of the doctrines and traditions that were handed down to them from the Apostles of Christ. Because that "reminding" time has been neglected, or rather hijacked for evangelism, the Church gradually lost it way. The believers (old and young) must not be deprived of their food, or neglected, and made to fend for themselves in some other way, such as home study groups.

The cause of the ineffectiveness in the Church's evangelism is that it has misused the worship service for evangelism when it ought to have been used to build up the flock. Because of this misuse the flock is as weak as water and as woolly as a flock of sheep when it comes to discerning truth from error. What if the Church returned to a right use of the worship service, and God was so present among His people by His Spirit that they found themselves undergoing the same experience of the unbeliever in 1 Corinthians 14:23-25; "But if an unbeliever or someone who does not understand comes in while everybody is prophesying, he will be convinced by all that he is a sinner and will be judged by all, and the secrets of his heart will be laid bare. So he will fall down and worship God, exclaiming, "God is really among you!" " Will such a day come again in Christian services when the Christians themselves will involuntary fall down and exclaim: "God is in this place!"? The Church has moved a long way from its foundational doctrines and traditions that it is hard to see any means that would bring it back to its "first love." In Part 4 (6.3) I have suggested one possible way to restore the honour of Christ in His Church.

Lastly, a profitable area for destroying Christ's command to the men and women appearing before Him, as He has directed, is to use His own actions to do this. Christ's attitude toward women was different from that of surrounding males because they did not have His Spirit living in them. Such males did not have a love-headship relationship with their womenfolk, but only a force-headship one, consequently there was bound to be a huge disparity between Christ's relationship to women and theirs. This disparity is then exploited to do away with Jesus' teaching on headship. So, for instance, we find constant references to the "revolutionary actions of Jesus" against the prevailing "headship" of man, and Jewish men are castigated for their low view of women and their high view of their masculinity and male leadership qualities.[214] Example after example of how Jesus' attitude toward women differed from other males is somehow thought in their minds to mean that Jesus strongly disapproved of what His Apostles preached in His name after He ascended to heaven. Paul, in particular, is singled out as the main perpetrator and defender of Man's headship which Jesus was said to be totally against. All Jesus' actions toward women are said to deny any headship relation between men and women in His new Kingdom.[215]

While this misuse of Jesus' actions to destroy Jesus' teaching on Man's headship is extremely common, those who believe that Scripture does not contradict Scripture will have no difficulty reconciling Jesus' words with His works: He preached what He practised, and His Apostles faithfully reflected His doctrine in their writings.

Feminists read Scripture differently. To the faithful God's Word is sacred and awesome. Feminists, like hate the Bible and reject the male Christ as an impossible model for women.

Another obstacle against accepting the Bible as the basis for settling the issue of ordination for women is that because the Word of God came predominantly through the mind of male prophets and male priests the revelation it conveys is suspect because it maintains male government of the state and the family, so argued Mary Daly[216]

Michael Bruce replied: "But why, if this line of argument is to be pursued, stop here? Since our Lord was a man, should he not also be suspect also? . . . is not the real demand not just for the ordination of women, but for a new religion?"[217]

For a typical "softly softly" feminist approach see Elizabeth Achtemeier's work.[218] She condemns the hard-feminists on the one hand and the New Testament on the other for the present denial of women's rights, and hopes thereby to present a middle way. She rehearses the old red herring of Paul contradicting himself in 1 Corinthians 11:4 and 14:33-35 and resolves it by assuming that Paul is quoting other men ("you" in v. 36 is a masculine plural) and that he refutes their argument (given in v. 36) with scorn.[219] The evidence from

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[214] But see Raphael Loewe, *The Position of Women in Judaism* (London: S.P.C.K., 1966), who defends the thesis that Jews treated women better than is commonly thought. Another corrective work is Madeleine Boucher, "Some Unexplored Parallels to 1 Cor. 11:11-2 and Gal. 3:28, the New Testament on the Role of Women," *CBQ* 31 (1969) 50-60.

[215] See Bruce Waltke's excellent reply to this tactic in, "The Role of Women in the Bible," *Crux* 31 (no. 3, 1995) 29-40, esp. p. 31.

[216] *Beyond God the Father - Towards a Philosophy of Women's Liberation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973, reptd 1985), pp. 19 (she castrates God of His maleness); 44 (Eve's fall was a fall into freedom); 69 (she denies Jesus is God incarnate); 92 (God is a Mother Goddess). See the criticisms of Elizabeth Fiorenza's method of exegesis in, *In Memory of Her,* by Brian Edwards in, "Leadership in the Bible," in *Men, Women and Authority,* ed. Brian Edwards (Bromley. Kent: Day One publications, 1996), pp. 50-67, esp. p. 51. For critiques of feminism see Mary A. Kassian, *The Feminist Gospel* (Wheaton, ILL.: Crossway Books, 1992); Arianna Strassinopoulos Huffington, *The Female Woman* (Davis-Poynter, 1973/London: Fontana Books, 1974), and Nicholas Davidson, *The Failure of Feminism* (Buffalo, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 1988).

[217] Michael Bruce, "Heresy, Equality and the Rights of Women," *The Churchman* 85 (1971) 274-89, esp. p. 280.

[218] Elizabeth Achtemeier, *Preaching Hard Texts of the Old Testament* (Peabody, MASS.: Hendrickson, 1998), p. 16.

[219] See 4.3.9 above for a reply.

1-2 Timothy and Titus cannot be evaded so easily, so a different tactic is employed here, namely, destroy its value as inspired Scripture:

> First and Second Timothy and Titus, which are recognized by all but conservative scholars to be Pauline pseudepigrapha (written not by the apostle himself but by those who continue in his tradition), are very much local letters, and they give vivid descriptions of the difficulty that some local churches are having with some women (and men) in their congregations (see 1 Tim 1:3-7; 2:9; 5:6, 13-16; 2 Tim 3:1-9; 4:3-4; Titus 2:3-5; 3:9). It is clear that not only are some women engaging in scandalous behavior, thus discrediting the gospel, but that some of them, who were forbidden to be educated in the Torah in their homes, were being led astray by Gnostic heretics. It is little wonder therefore that the writers of these letters did not want such women teaching and prophesying in the church.

On the assumption of a Gnostic background to the Pastorals see Excursus 2.

Paul's letter to the Ephesians cannot be passed off as pseudepigrapha so a different tactic is needed to neutralise its teaching on man's headship there, namely, it is an intrusive gloss, not written by Paul himself:

> Finally, Eph 5:21-33, again a portion of a letter written in the Pauline tradition, urges upon husband and wife mutual service of one another out of reverence for Christ (v. 21).

She has imported a new idea into the passage, namely, "mutual service." This addition overlooks the fact that Paul commands the wife to obey her husband and, using the same verb, tells the slave to obey his/her master. All the household codes[220] teach the same thing. Nowhere does Paul tell the master to obey his slave in "mutual service," or the husband to obey his wife in "mutual service." Unable to accept the entire letter as coming from Paul, Achtemeier invents the idea that a portion of the letter (the portion she objects to) is, in fact, a piece of pseudepigrapha which has been inadvertently(?) slipped into the letter. There is no scholarly support for this fabricated piece of pseudepigrapha.

In conclusion, the phrase "sexual equality" contains a direct threat to the creation of mankind as "male" and "female" whom God made in His own image. God ordained that woman was made for man, not vice versa. Consequently Scripture teaches "sexual quality" not "sexual equality." Sexual inequality results when males fail to live up to their creational potential and neglect their headship duties and responsibilities, and when females fail to accept the headship of their husbands or obey him out of love in everything (or if they get no love from him, then to go on obeying him out of love to the Lord Jesus who has called them to live submissively in such a loveless relationship, and for the sake of the Gospel).

Feminism is the greatest threat to the Christian woman's relationship to Christ. She is being urged (serpent-speak) to depart from her preordained station to be Man's helpmeet and to "go independent" of her husband (whether he is a Christian or not) in everything. The Christian woman is being pulled in all kinds of ways to assert her independence under the guise of "self-assertive" courses. The Christian woman should love her husband in such a beautiful, self-giving submission that her example will help her husband to see how he should give himself in a similar, self-giving submission to Christ, his Head, out of knowledge that he was preordained to do this, and this is his prime reason for having being created. Man was made for Christ, not vice versa; and woman was made for man, not vice versa. Disturb these creation orders and disorder follows.

The rise of feminism, or the assumption that men and women are equal in every respect, can be dated back to New Testament times. There is a statement in the Gospel of the

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[220] Eph 5:15—6:9; Col 3:18—4:1; 1 Pet 2:13—3:7; and cf. 1 Tim 2:1-15; 5:1—6:2.

Egyptians, preserved by Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata* 3.13.1), to the effect that: "When you tread on the garment of shame and when the two become one, the male with the female neither male nor female. . . ." Christian baptism became a transvestite ceremony in which the participants put off the old body so as to return to humanity's original androgynous state. "Becoming one" refers to the androgynous state, and "male with the female" refers to sexual abstinence. Indeed a kind of asexuality, symbolised by a form of Christian nudism, was highly valued in some early Gnostic literature (cf. *Gospel of Thomas* 21, 22, 37). The unveiling of women, which Paul denounces, would be an expression of this asexual state. All kind of perversions have been spawned by a misunderstanding of Galatians 3:38, such as an exaggerated "realised eschatology" that blurred the distinctions between the sexes.[221]

Bruce Waltke has seen the danger of feminism to the institution of marriage:

> Those who would urge married women to give priority to fulfilment in careers outside the home over against fulfilment in childbearing within the marriage structure—in my understanding of the biblical text—are not offering sound advice. . . . Humanity is grounded in being male and female, an immutably fixed, natural reality. It is my view that any form of feminism which, in a desire for freedom and power, depreciates this fundamental design is inconsistent with the biblical revelation. "Gracem" as Pope John Paul II noted in his remarks to Roman Catholic bishops, "never casts nature aside or cancels it out, but rather perfects it and ennobles it.
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> In the second creation account God gives Adam his bride and thereby institutes marriage, defining them now as husband and wife. By instituting marriage in the Garden of Eden, God represents marriage as an ideal and holy state, and act of worship (Heb 13:4). . . . Marriage is the only social institution that precedes the Fall, and the homes established through marriage provide the foundation stones for society.[222]

Another area of influence is the language used to refer to God.

> God, who is over all, represents himself by masculine names and titles, not feminine. He identifies himself as Father, Son and Spirit, not Parent, Child and Spirit, nor Mother, Daughter and Spirit. Jesus taught his church to address God as "Father" (Luke 11:2) and to baptize nations "in the name of Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (Matt 28:19). God's titles are King, not Queen; Lord, not Mistress. God, not mortals, has the right to name himself. It is inexcusable hubris on the part of mortals to change the images by which the eternal God chooses to represent himself. We cannot change God's name and titles without committing idolatry, for we will have re-imaged him in a way other than the metaphors and the incarnation by which he revealed himself. His representations and incarnation are inseparable from his being. Moreover, in contrast to male imagery, one cannot introduce feminine imagery without introducing sexual connotations. For example, in Hebrew grammar the masculine form in inclusivistic (i.e., with reference to animate beings it can be used of male and

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221 See Raymond F. Collins, *First Corinthians* (Sacra Pagina Series, Vol. 7. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1999), p. 408. Francis Watson, "The Authority of the Voice: A Theological Reading of 1 Cor 11.2-16," *New Testament Studies* 46.4 (2000) 520-536, esp. p. 526 rejects the "realised eschatology" background for 1 Cor 11:2-16, "Nothing is said here of an 'over-realized eschatology' which 'involved some breakdown in the distinction between the sexes', as women at Corinth argued for the right to pray or prophesy 'without the customary "head-covering" or "hairstyle".'" (Quoting G. Fee, *Corinthians*, [1987] p. 498.)

222 Bruce K. Waltke, "The Role of Women in the Bible," *Crux* 31 (no. 3, 1995) 29-40, esp. p. 32.

> female), but the feminine form is marked (i.e., with reference to animate beings only the female is in view).[223]

The mind-set of feminists is consistent with liberal theology in general. This means a scant regard for the authority of Scriptures written 2000 years ago. They call for the removal of all male allusions to God from liturgies and Bible translations on the grounds that these were written by men. Such an approach seeks to rewrite the Scriptures from a feminist slant.[224] Consequently, feminists have a vested interest in presenting a confused Paul and treating his letters as uninspired, male chauvinist, outpourings. One of them can write: "The argument in 11.2-16 is so convoluted that we can no longer say with certainty what kind of custom or style Paul advocates for women prophets and liturgists."[225] A case of seeing convolution where none exists.

Simone de Beauvoir contested and rejected the accepted differences between male and female, which she believed rested solely and entirely on social conditioning which is biased in favour of the subjugation of women. She summed it up in the thesis, "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman."[226]

In the secular world the tide is beginning to turn back to the reality that men and women are not the same, something Christian theologians have always known about through special revelation. Their brains are as different as their bodies. Whether they are *equal* is a political question; whether they are *identical* is a scientific one. The confusion between equal and identical is gradually being sorted out in the scientific world. Christian theologians had known this all along. But the confusion, like the theory of evolution, cannot be easily undone because it has got an established hold in the public mind.

What scientists now realise is that the brain circuitry of boys and girls is set by the time they are two months old in the womb. Nature not nurture has wired their brains before they are born. No amount of social conditioning can alter this circuitry. Israeli kibbutzim have for years tried to remove the sex stereotyping of boys and girls in order to produce one sexless neutral model. Boys were encouraged to play with dolls and knitting and girls with football and darts. It didn't work after 90 years of experimenting. Given a free choice the boys gravitated to physics, engineering and sports (spatial ability required) and girls to teaching, counselling, nurses and personnel manages. Their biology directed them to pursuits and occupations that fitted the wiring of their brains.[227]

> For most of the 20th century, psychologists and sociologists believed most of our behaviour and preferences were learnt from our social conditioning and our environment. . . . Since 1990, there has been overwhelming evidence to support [that biology, chemistry and hormones are largely responsible] this scientific view that we are born with much of our brain software already in place. . . . Research shows that we are more a product of our biology than the victims of social stereotypes. We are different because our brain is wired differently. . . . Biology directs us to occupations that are compatible with the wiring of our brains.[228]

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223 Bruce K. Waltke, "The Role of Women in the Bible," *CRUX* 31 (no. 3, 1995) 29-40, esp. p. 37.

224 See E.S. Fiorenza, "The Will to Choose or Reject: Continuing our Critical Work," in L.M. Russell (ed.), *Feminist Interpretation of the Bible* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1985), p. 136.

225 Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, "Rhetorical Situation and Historical Reconstruction in 1 Corinthians," *NTS* 33 (1987) 386-403, esp. p. 395.

226 Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (London, 1953), p. 273.

227 Allan and Barbara Pease, *Why Men Don't Listen & Women Can't Read Maps* (London: Orion Books Ltd., 2001), pp. 283-84. These authors accept the evolutionary origin of humanity and that the Bible is to blame for giving homosexuals and lesbians a bad reputation.

228 Allan and Barbara Pease, *Why Men Don't Listen & Women Can't Read Maps* (London: Orion Books Ltd., 2001), p. 10.

The larger space given to spacial awareness in men's brains accounts for the fact that 94% of air-traffic controllers are men; the same goes for physics, architecture, information technology (computer design), sciences and chemistry, and activities such as maths and chess. Women haven't failed. They've only failed to be like men. They can become like men by taking doses of testosterone hormones. The downside, however, is that they will become bald, grow a beard and become more aggressive. Because only about 10% of women have a capacity for spatially-related tasks it would be bad marketing strategy to target all women on the assumption that they make up 50% of the population.[229] Men can construct a three-dimensional image from a two-dimensional drawing. This is why most architects are men. Consequently if you want to persuade a woman to go with a certain set of plans show her a three-dimensional version.

Human biology has not changed since Adam's day. Despite the best intentions of equal opportunity employers, boys still stubbornly go into jobs with a mechanical and spatial bias and girls seem compelled to seek jobs involving human interaction. Where there is a severe switch into the other's gender preferences the cause is usually related to effeminate or lesbian influences. In other words, it comes down to the levels of testosterone (male) and estrogene (female) hormones. In the beginning God made them male and female. Sin has brought imperfection into God's perfect creation and this imperfection has invaded every aspect of biology. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the sins of the parents are passed on to their offspring (Rom 1). Children are born with hormonal deficiencies but they are not beyond the love of God to alter their mind-set and their moral standards and be conformed to the image of the Lord Jesus by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit.

Science is gradually catching up with theology.[230] It can demonstrate *how* different the two sexes are but only theology can supply *why* this is so. Woman was created for Man, and Man was created for God. These distinct orientations will account for their different bodies, different brains, different set of emotions, desires and appetites. The headship relationship explains how these two human beings relate to each other in a very clear order: "The woman was made for man."

Feminists have been divided into radical, liberal and evangelical, divisions which might even have applied to Pharisaism in Jesus' day. There were Christian Pharisees among the first generation of Christians (Acts 11:2). However, Jesus rightly lumped all brands of Pharisaism together and alerted His disciples to "beware of the leaven of the Pharisees" (Mt 16:6; Mk 8:15; Lk 12:1). Paul also saw the danger of Pharisaism no matter whether it came dressed in a strong, medium or mild flavour. Labels do not change the constitution of leaven. It takes only a little leaven to alter the shape of the Gospel loaf. "A little leaven leavens the whole lump" (1 Cor 5:6; Gal 5:9), Paul warns the young churches. Some feminists come wearing the label "evangelical." These are the more dangerous because, like the Gibeonites who deceived Joshua, they come looking like the real thing, declaring their loyalty to many evangelical doctrines.

All forms, classes and flavours of feminism are agreed that the Bible was written from an androcentric point of view. Its male-orientation was an assumed fact of life and so God is presented as agreeing with this chauvinist assumption as He is always presented as working within this framework. The conclusion is that all the biblical writers were

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229 Allan and Barbara Pease, *Why Men Don't Listen & Women Can't Read Maps* (London: Orion Books Ltd., 2001), pp. 108, 134

230 The Equal Opportunities Commission has promoted the idea that, "Apart from a few trifling differences of shape, males and females are essentially identical." See Joanna Bogle, "The Equal Opportunities Commission," in *Feminism v. Mankind.* Edited by Christine Kelly (Milton Keynes: Family Publications, 1990. Pp. 74), p. 25. This idea has been exposed by Anne Moir and David Jessel, *Brain Sex: The Real Difference Between Men And Women* (London: Joseph, 1989). See also G. J. De Vries, *Sex Differences in the Brain: the Relation between Structure and Function* (Amsterdam; New York: Elsevier Science Publishers, 1984).

unconsciously prisoners of this androcentric culture and had no rival culture to contend with which might have allowed them to realise they were slaves to a man-made culture. With the coming of Christ, it is alleged, and His radical approach toward the acceptance of women as equal to men in all departments of living, this androcentric culture was exposed for what it was—human, not divine.

Armed with this analysis, evangelical feminists could fully acknowledge that the Bible (and especially Paul) teaches headship but the whole way these Bible writers think, they would argue, is dictated by their unconscious chauvinist attitude toward the "weaker sex." They would claim they do not have to reject the authority or inspiration of Scripture. They are simply trying to get behind the cultural prejudices of the Bible writers themselves to arrive at God's real intention.[231]

"Ultimately, this sort of hermeneutic makes it impossible for God to give us any absolute commands at all through Scripture. New Testament writers condemn idolatry. But we may dismiss their stand as due to their monotheistic Jewish background."[232] This hermeneutic also argues that it almost impossible for the ordinary reader to understand Scripture because he has imbibed the male chauvinist orientation of the biblical writers as something that God designed (or at least approves of) and this only reinforces his belief in male headship. So he is locked into a cultural circle and can't get out of it.[233]

> The role played by presuppositions is perhaps *the* key question in hermeneutics today. But one response to our evangelical feminist friends would be along these lines. Surely we are entitled to say to them: 'OK we grant your point. It is true that we have unconscious biases. And it is true that our biases may affect the way we read Scripture. But doesn't the same apply to yourselves? After all, we're living in a culture dominated by democratic, egalitarian ideals. Couldn't that be warping the way *you* are reading Scripture?'[234]

The real issue is: Has God spoken clearly in Scripture on the issue of headship? If He has then that becomes our *conscious* bias when we read His Word. Understanding the revealed thoughts of the Creator should generate a conscious orientation toward God's way of assessing our world. Becoming God-like in holiness and outlook is possible given we are made in the image and likeness of our Creator, whose offspring we are, and whose image is hugely heightened by the presence of the co-Creator living within the believer. We can have the mind of Christ. We can imitate Christ. We can be like Christ in our thinking and our reading of Scripture.

That a whole denomination, such as the Church of England, can enter a period of subtle deception over feminist teaching and even embrace it as having some superficial foundation in Scripture, has its parallels in other major deceptions. The Roman Catholic church accepted uncritically three major new teachings—the Immaculate Conception of Mary (1854), the Infallibility of the Pope (1870), and the bodily assumption of Mary into heaven (1950)—despite the fact that these have no basis whatsoever in Scripture. Where Christians are not vigilant they can go along with the crowd and suspend their right to bring all new ideas and teachings to the bar of Scripture and judge them there.

Wenham & Heth made the point:

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[231] Evangelical feminists, like Andrew Lincoln (*Word Biblical Commentary 42: Ephesians* [Dallas, Texas: Word Books, 1990], pp. 392-93) argue this way in order to remove headship within marriage.

[232] Stephen Rees in, "Interpreting the Bible on Gender," in *Men, Women and Authority,* ed. Brian Edwards (Bromley. Kent: Day One publications, 1996), pp. 70-92, esp. p. 83.

[233] So Elaine Storkey, "The Significance of Mary for Feminist Theology," in David F. Wright (ed.), *Chosen by God: Mary in Evangelical Perspective* (London: Marshall Pickering, 1989), p. 184.

[234] Stephen Rees in, "Interpreting the Bible on Gender," in *Men, Women and Authority,* ed. Brian Edwards (Bromley. Kent: Day One publications, 1996), pp. 70-92, esp. p. 85.

> feminists want to alleviate the lot of women. So starting from Galatians 3:28 'there is neither male nor female . . . You are all one in Christ Jesus', the feminist argues not simply for equality between the sexes, but for substantial identity of roles. All the other texts in Scripture setting out a differentiation of roles are then interpreted so that they do not contradict feminist goals. Yet until the twentieth century no branch of the church would ever have suggested Scripture supported feminism. It is simply incompatible with a plain reading of the text. Feminists have a serious case, but it is not advanced by inaccurate exegesis however sincerely argued.[235]

4.2 "THERE IS NEITHER MALE NOR FEMALE IN CHRIST" (GALATIANS 3:28)

The distinctions of race, gender and social class, have been done away with "in Christ," but not in us! When Paul says he no longer knows Jesus "after the flesh", that is, as a Jew, he is referring to the present state of the Lord Jesus' resurrected body and glorified state. He is no longer to be seen as a Jew, or as having gender, nor as being a "freeman" or a "servant." These distinctions have no relevance where He now lives and moves and has His being. He is neutral as regards the distinctions that now govern all human existence. These distinctions have fallen away in Him, but not in us who remain on the earth awaiting the transformation into His glorious likeness. Until that time the distinctions of race, gender and class remain in force as created realities.

2 Corinthians 5:16-17 is an insight into this new reality:

> So that we from now on have known [in a spiritual sense] no one according to the flesh [as though flesh and blood could move up into the spiritual realm that now exists, which it cannot; the present, human body has no spiritual value *per se;* hence it will not inherit eternity], and even if we have known Christ according to the flesh [that is, having seen him physically], yet now we know him no more [as if the physical sight of Him gave those who saw Him a spiritually advantage]; so that if any one is in Christ—a new creation *is that one;* the old *physical distinctions* did pass away [in His new body, He being no longer a Jew, or male, or lower class; and in us these distinctions have no spiritual advantage; i.e., being a Jew, or being male, carry no inherent spiritual advantages any more]; look! become new [transformed] have all things [that is, the new order following his resurrection].

So the physicality of earthly existence and all that pertains to it (race, gender and class distinctions) do not carry any inherent spiritual value now that Christ has come, been them, gone through them, and then discarded these distinctions in His new state. They did exist in the Old Economy, under the Old Covenant, but these no longer inherently count for anything. All things have become new, changed, transformed *at the spiritual level.* We enter into the new Christ. The Christ who came as a Jew, as a male, as a freeman, has passed through all these physical states and stages in His need to identify Himself with human existence, in order to transfer His righteousness to them. But His death was the point at which He terminated these very human states and stages; they all fell away at His death, so that now He lives free of these human distinctions. If we are "in Christ" then we have "put on

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[235] Gordon J. Wenham & William E. Heth, *Jesus and Divorce: Updated edition* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1997). p. 152.

Christ" in His risen, stateless, genderless, and classless "new life." So while we live on the earth in particular nations, with a particular gender, and in a particular social state, these carry no inherent spiritual value. So that a Jew is not superior to a non-Jew, nor a man superior to a woman, nor a master superior to a slave, as regards their being "in Christ" and Christ being in them. They are one in Christ, not equal in Christ, because it is the same Christ who is in each. They each have Christ in common. But a Jew remains a Jew; a man remains a man, a woman remains a woman, a master remains a master, a slave remains a slave, but with Christ within all of them, the physicality of human states and stages carry no inherent spiritual advantage to or for any of them. When you have Christ you have everything; gender cannot "add" to what one has "in Christ." While recognising that God has a created a hierarchy of privilege in choosing the Jews to be His vehicle of revelation to the world, this carries no spiritual advantage for the Jew if he does not avail himself of the blessing that is being offered *through* him to all the world.

While recognising that God has a created a hierarchy of gender where the Man is to rule His world, including his wife, this carries no spiritual advantage for the Man. It is just a fact of human existence, that God has placed there for the good of mankind.

While recognising that God has a permitted a hierarchy of classes to develop among mankind, these classes carry no spiritual advantage. The slave and the master have the same Christ living in them.

We can conclude from this that the physicality of human existence, be it race, gender or social class, does not carry any *spiritual* advantage; they carry only differences of responsibilities in God's assessment of each individual when each appears before Him on the Judgment Day.

But I shall come back to the wider point later on in this section after we have viewed the way in which Galatians 3:28 has been used to teach doctrines contrary to what Paul taught, not just in this one verse, but throughout his writings. Bear in mind, in what follows that Paul taught that the distinctions were done away with in Christ but not in humanity where they remain potent and real and with a divine purpose. I remain a man in Christ, or a non-Jew in Christ, or a freeman in Christ; but Christ is none of these things now, though He was once in the flesh.

A feminist is a man or woman who believes that the gender distinction has been done away with in Christ; that there is no distinctive way in which Christian men and women should dress or behave in His Presence; that Scripture is no longer authoritative in man-woman relationships; that parts of its teachings are out-of-date and out-of-place in the twenty-first century; that it is for the Church to decide in every age what parts of Scripture it can choose to obey and what parts to ignore.

The more dangerous feminist is the man or woman who already is a member of an evangelical church and *from within* sows doubt about the Truth.[236] Doubt is cast over the clarity of the Spirit's teaching by subtly suggesting that His spokesmen did not quite convey His teaching; that His spokesmen mixed their own, contemporary views with those of the Spirit's, but that occasionally the Spirit's teaching does break through in places, such as in Galatians 3:28, and that it is these "break-throughs"—these "flashes of insight" that were intended to be the "seed" of the New Gospel that would emerge in time.

This "seed," not surprisingly, is the liberation of women from the headship of man, which is put on a par with the liberation of the slave from his master; and the casting away of the degrading treatment and presentation of women that is said to be normal in the Old Testament. Paul, it is carefully hinted, had a foot in both camps. He preached the continuation of patriarchy on the one hand, but the liberation of women from it on the other.

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[236] The three key strategies used to deceive Eve were suspicion, addition and contradiction. When *suspicion* or doubt is cast on 2000-year old doctrines of the Church, look very closely at what follows in its wake because it will be an *addition* to Scripture.

But the Spirit permitted this to happen knowing that He would safely guide the Church of the twenty-first century into the "liberty of the Gospel" as encapsulated in "seeds" He had planted within the written Revelation. He knew that when the twenty-first century arrived He would "open the eyes" of Church leaders to see the "true germ of the Gospel" that lay hidden in ancient seed-texts such as Galatians 3:28 and in the idea that "you are all one in Christ Jesus;" that there is now no distinction between men and women "in Christ." It took two thousand years, we are told, for this "seed" to germinate, as it did for the "seed" that led to the abolition of slavery.

The only regret that the supporters of the new "Gospel within the Gospel" have is that those whose eyes the Spirit has not opened are being left behind and in some cases are actively opposing the work of the Holy Spirit as the work of the Devil—and declaring it a "new Gospel." This opposition, they feel, is led by misguided or misinformed Christians of both academic and non-academic ability who are not in tune with the new spirit of liberation and democracy that pervades the modern world, and who are looking to the first-century for their customs and standards while living in the twenty-first century. They are to be pitied as spiritual schizophrenics.

The belief that there is an inherent "life-force" within this ancient "seed" which is unstoppable is said to be seen in the debating chambers/session meetings/synod meetings, etc., where slowly but surely the "seed" inherent in Galatians 3:28 is dominating the life of the Church all over the world. They point out that those who oppose this "movement of the Spirit" will be, and are being, left behind and their numbers will dwindle because they did not "go with the flow" of the age in which they lived: that they did not conform to the new age of liberty; that they were too busy studying their Bibles when they ought to have been out enjoying the new freedoms that have now pervaded every aspect of Christian life, worship and doctrine.

It has been shown throughout this work that this new presentation of an old idea, of a "Gospel within the Gospel" is false; that it is, in fact, a subtle attempt by misguided and misinformed church leaders to conform the Gospel to the spirit of the age in which *they* live (but not *the* Church). This is the Feminist Age. Every age produces a deadly challenge to the Truth of the Gospel. The most deadly and subtle are those that come from within the church leadership. Paul pointed out to the Ephesian Church elders, gathered on the shore to see him depart for the last time, that "wolves" (false teachers) would rise, not from outside the Church, but "from among you"—from among the church leaders. No member of a Church should ever trust a church leader or teacher who is tainted with any form of feminism—the spiritual AIDS of our generation. A leader infected with feminism or "spiritual AIDS" is to be avoided like the plague.

It is argued that Galatians 3:28 implies that Christian men and women are equal,[237] and that it entitles them to serve in the ministry as if they were men, or on a par with men. The stock reply to this has been: It is written, "the head of every man is Christ, and the head of woman is man . . . . For man did not come from woman, but woman from man; neither

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[237] See John Stott, *Issues Facing Christians Today* (Basingstoke, Hants.: Marshall Morgan & Scott, 1984), p. 241. After rejecting 1 Cor 11:2-16; 14:33b-36; 1 Tim 2:8-15; Titus 2:3-5; Eph 5:22-33 and Col 3:18-19, as non-Pauline, Walker suddenly discovers that the only *direct(!)* Pauline statement on the subject of female subordination is Galatians 3:28 ("1 Corinthians 11:2-16 and Paul's Views Regarding Women," *JBL* 94 (1975) 94-110, esp. p. 109). C. Craston (*Evangelicals and the Ordination of Women* [Grove Booklet on Ministry and Worship No. 17. Bramcote, England: Grove Books, 1973], p. 30) latches on to the idea of 'barrier-breaking' which he thinks is latent in the text, and considers that admitting women is such a barrier therefore it ought to be broken! J. J. Davies has produced the clearest exposition on this verse in relation to the topic of this paper. He deals with the many false conclusions that this text is made to support including 'the fallacious premise that equality in *some* respects entails equality in *all* respects' ("Some Reflections on Galatians 3:28, Sexual Roles, and Biblical Hermeneutics," *JETS* 19/3 (1976) 201-08, esp. p. 204), see also Michael Bruce, "Heresy, Equality and the Rights of Women," *The Churchman* 85 (1971) 282-89.

was man created for woman, but woman for man" (1 Cor 11:3, 8-9). Just as man is not equal to Christ as regards authority, so neither is woman equal to man as regards authority; she is to be subject to man as man should be to Christ.

The Bishops at the Lambeth Conference in 1920 made the following observation on Galatians 3:28:

> The oneness of the body allows, indeed implies, diversity of function. The passage does not touch the question of the character of the woman's functions in the Church. It does not in the least suggest that the functions of women are the same as the functions of men. It simply asserts that membership in the one body is not restricted by race or by social statues or by sex.[238]

They might have pointed to Paul's teaching in Romans 3:22, "And we can all [male and female, free and slave, Jew and Gentile, etc.] be saved in the same way, by coming to Christ, no matter who we are or what we have been like." Likewise, in 3:29, he argued: "And does God save only the Jews in this way [i.e., "by faith in Christ"]? No, the Gentiles, too, may come to him in this same manner. God treats us all the same; all, whether Jews or Gentiles [and by implication male and female, free and slave] are acquitted, if they have faith" (*Living Bible*). Paul tells the Ephesian Christians (3:4-6):

> In reading this, then, you will be able to understand my insight into the mystery of Christ, which was not made known to men in other generations as it has now been revealed by the Spirit to God's holy apostles and prophets. This mystery is that through the gospel the Gentiles are joint-heirs [with Israel], joint-body [with Israel], and joint-sharers [with Israel] in the promise in Christ Jesus.

These verses throw light on Galatians 3:28, because here Paul makes it plain that there is no Jew or Gentile in Christ. *Both* are heirs, *both* are members and *both* are sharers in the same promise of reconciliation through Christ Jesus. The key expression is "joint- [with Israel]," and that is precisely what Paul says again, but only negatively this time, in Galatians 3:28: "For you are all sons of God through faith in Christ Jesus, for as many as to Christ were baptized did put on Christ; there is not here [i.e., in putting on the image of Christ] Jew or Greek, there is not here servant or freeman, there is not here male and female, for all you are one in Christ Jesus." Note the emphasis on the oneness in Christ, not on their equality with one another. It can be pointed out that Jesus said, "I and the Father are one." Yet they remained two distinct persons, and He was subject to the Father. So unity does not imply equality. We are all one in Christ, but no human is thereby equal to Christ.

L. J. Lietaert Peerbolte makes this point clear when he writes:

> The thought Paul expresses by means of his description of the unity in Christ in Gal 3:28 is the fact that fundamental differences, even biological differences, no longer matter in Christ. The terms he uses for "man and woman," ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ, verbally correspond to the LXX of Gen 1:27: ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτους. In his use of the words here Paul does *not* argue that there are no longer any differences between Jews and Greek, slave and free, male and female. Paul's argument is, that these differences no longer matter *in Christ*: the members of the

[238] Quoted by W. S. Wood, "The Ministry of Women and St. Paul," *The Expositor* 21 (1921) 292-301, esp. p. 294.

> Christian congregation are all united in Christ and within this Christian community social differences no longer matter.[239]

With the caveat that social and biological differences carry no spiritual advantage, then Lietaert Peerbolte's statement stands. The differences between slave and free continue after baptism into Christ, even though their standing in Christ is the same. The differences between men and women continue after baptism into Christ, even though their standing in Christ is the same. The slave and his master are treated the same by Christ. The man and the woman are treated the same by Christ. While the social (slave/master) and gender (male/female) distinctions remain after baptism they are to be transformed by living out their respective roles (one [slave/master] through accident of birth or misfortune, the other [male or female] by creation) conscious that they must have regard to Christ's headship of them at all times. It is "within Christ" that these class and gender distinctions can be used to the glory of Christ, not by crusading to abolish them, but by offering one's class, gender, etc. to Christ, and living out one's calling at the time one was called to follow Christ. Paul would argue: If you are born a Jew, or circumcised, or male, or an AIDS victim, Irish, pigmy, or deformed, use this "calling" to the glory of Christ, for all such are united in, and members of, Christ's Body. If you called to be female then be female; and likewise, if you are born a man, then behave like a man and not like a woman. In this way you glorify your Maker who made men in His own image to be His glory, and made women to be man's glory.

It is taken for granted that no one interprets Galatians 3:28 to mean that when men and women become *new* creatures in Christ they are being gradually turned into sexless beings like the angels, or into unisex creatures. It is universally agreed that the sex distinctions remain after men and women are baptized into Christ. In this age of theological ignorance it is sometimes necessary to state the obvious.

Another text that throws light on Galatians 3:28 is Colossians 3:9-11, "Lie not one to another, having put off the old man with his practices, and having put on the new [man] which is renewed in regard to knowledge, after the image of the one creating him [i.e., the new man]; where there is not Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave, freeman—but the all and in all—Christ." (Cf. also 1 Cor 12:12-13.) Here Paul points out the oneness of the likeness to God in which all partake in Christ. This "image" is not "Greek" or "Jewish"; this "image" is not "male" or "female"—it is Christ's image—the New Man—the Second Adam, that all are baptized into. The renewed image is uniquely Christ's image and all (male and female, Jew and non-Jew) are being renewed in that *one image* in true knowledge, in true righteousness and holiness (Eph 4:24) if they are in Christ. This single image is referred to again in Ephesians 4:22-24, "You are to put off concerning the former behaviour the old man, that is corrupt according to the deceitful desires, and to be renewed in the spirit of your mind, and to put on the new man, which, according to God['s creation] was created in righteousness and true holiness. Wherefore, putting away the lying, speak truth each with his neighbour, because we are members one of another." Once again note the idea of unity, not equality, here. All are constituted one body, and all share one "new man" image—Christ's image and Christ's body. The concept of equality is absent from all these texts. The emphasis is on oneness, unity, Christ's one image, Christ's one body.

That each of the national, social and gender distinctions remain in force after Christians have put on the one image that all share *in common,* is stated in Colossians 3:11: "Christ is in all things," i.e., in the list he has just enumerated: Jew, Gentile, foreigner, Scythian, slave, freeman, and he could have added, male and female. So the oneness works both ways: Christians are in Christ, and He is in Christians, whether they are male or female, Jew or non-Jew, slave or freeman. "I *am* in my Father, and you *are* in me, and I *am* in you" (Jn 14:20).

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239 L.J. Lietaert Peerbolte, "Man, Woman and the Angels in 1 Cor 11:2-16," in *The Creation of Man and Woman,* edited by Gerard P. Luttikhuizen (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 76-92, esp. 81.

It is a self-evident fact that all men are not born equal. In mental and physical capacity, heredity distributes its favours with uncompromising distinctiveness. There is a predetermined inequality in the genetic constitution of man.[240] *There is no equality between men.* They may have a common gender which they share with the man Christ Jesus, but a common gender does not constitute all men equal. If this is the case within the male gender, then how great is the disparity between male and female! They are in different leagues: "male and female created He them;" they are poles apart as regards their gender and constitution.

Not by isolating one text—Galatians 3:28—from its context, but by comparing Scripture with Scripture, does it become clear that Paul is concerned to emphasize the *oneness of the image* into which all sorts and conditions of humankind are baptized. Whether Christians are black or white, English, Chinese or Indian, when they are baptized into Christ they all partake of the one image—Christ's. As an indispensable part of becoming a Christian, men and women are not baptized into a Jewish image, or a male image; they are baptized into *Christ's* image. To become a member of God's people before the coming of Christ one had to undergo *Jewish* circumcision. Circumcision was practised in other nations and religions but only the *Jewish* rite qualified one to become a member of the Old Testament Church. Similarly, there were many kinds of baptisms but Paul's Gospel is that only through *Christ's* baptism can one put on the image of Christ, which is open to all, male and female, Jew and non-Jew. "For all you are *one* [not *equal*] in Christ Jesus." All Christians partake of the *one* image, the *one* nature. They are not equal to Christ; they are one in Christ. Now just because all Christians partake of the one baptism and partake of the one Christ does not mean that God has done away with the gender distinction or His establishment of the headship of Man. Oneness has been confused with equality by many who exploit the words of Galatians 3:28. In what follows we will need to discern where and by whom this text is being exploited for purposes which are contradictory to what Paul teaches elsewhere. If this text is made to teach *equality* of the sexes then Christians ought to be on their guard because this is clear exploitation of the text.

Unaware of the misuse that Galatians 3:28 has been put to, many Christians feel that the bare words "There is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus'[241] has actually brought about the present climate of "sexual equality" in the Church, so that it is now possible (for the first time in the Church's history) for women to be officially accepted into the Ministry of Word and Sacrament. What was latent in this seed-verse has become patent at last, they argue. Just as slavery was not condemned in the New Testament but eventually was phased out as the implications of the Gospel emerged, so many think that the barrier between male and female ministries must also be phased out. Just as it was inevitable that slavery would be abolished, so it is inevitable that the distinction between male and female in the Ministry will be abolished. This movement realises that many Christians opposed the abolition of slavery in the nineteenth century and that we are seeing the same situation all over again on the question of male/female distinctions. Those who oppose the abolition of the male/female distinction will eventually come round to see that they were opposing a movement of the Holy Spirit. In that day no one will think of trying to turn the clock back any more than they would try to bring back slavery.[242] For these

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[240] Michael Bruce, "Heresy, Equality and the Rights of Women," *The Churchman* 85 (1971) 274-89, esp. p. 280.

[241] The Jewish man every morning says a prayer, 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast not made me a woman.' The women say, 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast made me according to thy will.' The man also thanks God for not making him a Gentile or a slave, all three categories are mentioned by Paul here. See S. Singer, *Authorised Daily Prayer Book* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1908), p. 5; and I. Abraham's *Companion to the Authorised Daily Prayer Book* (rev. ed. London, 1922, p. xvi).

[242] The use of the slavery analogy is pressed by David L. Thompson, "Women, Men, Slaves and the Bible: Hermeneutical Inquiries," *Christian Scholars Review* 25 (1996) 326-349. Cf. also John Christopher Thomas, "Women in the Church: An Experimental in Pentecostal Hermeneutics," *Evangelical Review of Theology* 20 (1996) 220-232.

Christians, then, the present trend to introduce women into the Ministry is a hopeful sign for the future. They look forward to the day when the Church will have a woman Archbishop as head of the Anglican communion, just as we can have a woman as head of the secular state. They grieve over the deep-seated prejudice against women and feel that this has been perpetuated by having an all-male Ministry. They argue that the sooner this monopoly is broken the sooner will these prejudices evaporate. History shows, they say, that the best way to meet prejudice is to forge ahead and implement the new practice.

The theologians behind this movement are found continually expressing their thanks to the Holy Spirit for guiding the Church into the present favourable condition whereby for the first time women can be fully emancipated from twenty centuries of "slavery." They know it is going to be an upward and difficult struggle, just as the movement to abolish slavery in the 19th century was, but they are confident that their cause is just and so must eventually win the day, even if they meet many set-backs on the way. They feel privileged to be living through the spiritual revolution going on in the hearts and minds of Christians at this juncture of the Church's history. They are aware that this is the "work of the Holy Spirit" who is doing a "new thing in our midst" and are glad to know that their contribution is in some way part of the Spirit's work in bringing about this new era of unity and reconciliation. In this new era terms such as headship, submission, or subjection have no place; indeed they are the vocabulary of a by-gone age. One cannot ask a young, mature woman to get back into her school clothes; they belong to an earlier phase of her development which she is glad to have passed through. Therefore, to use these out-dated concepts in the modern situation is unhelpful and may even be offensive, we are warned.[243]

Nearly every founder of a heretical sect had a woman to assist him (e.g., Simon Magnus had Helene, Montana's had Maximilla). One Montanist sect actually praised Eve for eating the fruit first, and applauded Miriam and the daughters of Philip who publicly expressed the right of women to prophesy. They allowed women to hold the offices of bishop, elder, and deacon, appealing to Paul's word in Galatians 3:28 for support.[244] It is often argued that Galatians 3:28 is the voice of Paul reflecting one of his rare moments of insight and his other statements which oppose this one are the voice of Paul expressing his pre-Christian environment, feeling and thinking "in accordance with the social environment of his time."[245] Is Paul divided? Is Paul confused? Has he reverted to his ingrained, rabbinical bias against women? If so, then why does he permit women to learn the Christian religion, when rabbinic advice was to keep them well away from learning Torah?[246]

There is, however, another and equally large and influential body of Christians and scholars who would object to the analogy with slavery with regard to their opposition to having women in authority in the Church. They would point out that slaves were to remain

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[243] If the booklet, *Evangelicals and the Ordination of Women* (Colin Craston (ed.). Grove Booklets Series. Bramcote, Notts.: Grove Books, 1973) really represents the evangelical position then they have no theological arguments against the admittance of women to the Ministry. The only point at issue seems to be: When is the most opportune moment to admit them?

[244] Cf. H. Wayne House, "The Ministry of Women in the Apostolic and Postpostolic Periods," *BibSac* 145 (1988) 387-99, esp. 394; and Richard Clark Kroeger, & Catherine Clark Kroeger, *Rethinking 1 Timothy 2:11-15 in Light of Ancient Evidence* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992), pp. 145-170.

[245] J. R. Wilkinson, "Women and the Priesthood," *Modern Churchman* 13 (1923/24) 383-92, esp. p. 386; cf. Krister Stendahl, *The Bible and the Role of Women* (ET by Emile T. Sander. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966); P. K. Jewett, *Man As Male And Female* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), pp. 111-47; and V. Mollenkott, *Women, Men and the Bible* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1977), pp. 20-25. For a reply to this view see G. P. Hugenberger, "Women in Church Office: Hermeneutics or Exegesis? A Survey of Approaches to 1 Tim 2:8-15," *JETS* 35 (1992) 347.

[246] For the evidence of rabbinic reticence to teach women Torah, see P. B. Payne who cites *m. Sota* 3:4; *m. Qidd.* 4:13 ("Liberation Women in Ephesus: A Response to D. J. Moo's Article, '1 Tim 2:11-15: Meaning and Significance,'" *Trinity Journal* 2 (1981) 187. Cf. also A. B. Spencer, *Beyond the Curse: Women Called to Ministry* (New York: Nelson, 1985), pp. 71-95. We have before pointed out that the position reflected in the Talmud may not represent the culture of NT times. This is confirmed in the case of Timothy's childhood teachers, Eunice and Lois, who taught him his knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures (2 Tim 1:5; 3:15).

slaves after their conversion to Christianity on the command of Christ (1 Cor 7:20-23). They were not to use Christianity nor the teaching of Galatians 3:28 as an excuse to desert their masters. They were called to be Christians in the situation which they were in when God called them. If they could become free legitimately they were to do so (1 Cor 7:21b). There are other texts and doctrines which make it difficult for the Christian to enslave another human being, but Galatians 3:28 is not one of them. For the discussion there is over faith and not Law as the means for *all* to be "one in Christ Jesus."

The New Testament does not advocate or support slavery. The writers of the New Testament lived in a culture where slavery was a fact of life (Eph 6:5-9; Col 3:22-4:1; 1 Tim 6:1-2; Titus 2:9-10; 1 Pet 2:18) but the writers were always looking at life from the viewpoint of eternity, or to be more accurate from the viewpoint of the Christian slave's relationship to Christ, and they loved to transform the earthly relations of "master" and "slave" so that the earthly "master" became the "slave" of the Lord Jesus, and the "slave" became "Christ's freeman." *That* relation was more significant than the earthly one which both master and slave must use to the glory of Christ, and not for their own profit. So whether a man was a slave or a master, both had Christ as their master. Substitute "employee" for slave, and "employer" for master, and the same texts will apply to those situations today: Christ is the Employer of both "employee" and "employer." All men have Christ as their direct head, and they are all responsible for their actions to Him, whether slave or master, employee or employer.

Conservative evangelical Christians have been wary of the false premise that "equality in *some* respects implies equality in *all* respects." Men and women are *equal* in having the same moral faculty; they are both human or *"adam"* (Gen 5:2), but does that somehow annul the fact that the "head of the woman is the man"? Christ and man are equally male, but does that mean that they are equal in all other respects?

Then there is the assumption that what is modern is more likely to be true. This is an idea largely produced by modern man's fascination with scientific and technological achievements where the equation on the whole holds good. It is when this rule-of-thumb is carried over into the religious sphere that many Christians have their doubts. Jesus went back to Genesis 2 for his teaching on divorce and the nature of marriage. Paul similarly, went back to Genesis 1 - 3 for the relationships between husbands and wives and men and women in the worship of God. Biblical history gives ample evidence of the decline and deterioration of pristine revelation among the people of God over a long period of time. Continually the prophets are having to call the people *back* to Yahweh's standards of morals. There is a natural process of moral and spiritual decay going on in every Christian's life, therefore he is told to "watch and pray." When Peter was looking for a model "Christian" woman to set before his new female converts he went back 2000 years to Sarah! and commended her submissive attitude and respect for her husband (1 Pet 3:6). When talking to herself, so not in a culturally conditioned act of polite address, she regarded her husband as her "lord" (Gen 18:12 [Heb. 13], LXX [v. 12], ὁ κύριός μοῦ).[247] The term indicates that Sarah was fully conscious of the implications of her womanhood and how she related to her husband from God's perspective. It also reveals her deeply respectful, inner attitude toward her husband that is taken to characterise her whole relationship to him. At the root level of her mind she had adopted a deeply submissive respect for him, the kind that one expects to find only between a man and God. She even obeyed her husband to the extent of telling lies on his

[247] Peter phrases it as: κύριον αὐτὸν καλοῦσα, "calling him lord" (cf. also Judg 19:26-27; Baal in Gen 20:3; Exod 21:3, 22; legal owner in Deut 24:4; 2 Sam 11:26). By using the present active participle he brings out the continuous nature of Sarah's respectful form of address to her husband *in the privacy of her mind.* The normal way of referring to a husband would have been ἀνήρ αὐτῆς, "her man," since Greek does not have the word "husband" in its vocabulary. It uses the term ἀνήρ to mean both "man" and "husband" and only the context will determine which is meant. The same applies to the term γυναικὸς which can mean either "wife" or "woman" depending on the context in which it is used (see Appendix H).

behalf and putting her own life in danger, such was the depth and intensity of her love for him. The concept of a God-ordained headship, the fruit of which was patriarchy, penetrated her whole thinking and outlook.

It can also be argued that the patriarchal structure of Hebrew society was not an historical accident, but a provisionally prepared model for the Christian Church and the Christian family, grounded in creation and, though distorted by sin, redeemed in Christ and reaffirmed by the apostles Peter and Paul.

The movement to have women in the Ministry is not helped by certain of its advocates who, blinded by their own insight into the meaning of Galatians 3:28, regard any biblical verse or passage that contradicts this insight as either a "gloss" or an "interpolation."

Many commentators think that Galatians 3:28 means that women have been raised to the same authority status as men, something which they did not possess under the Old Covenant.[248] Implied in this view is the idea that all women are now priests, whereas under the Old Covenant no woman was allowed into the priesthood (1 Pet 2:5). But since the Old Testament priesthood has passed away in Christ we now offer *spiritual sacrifices* to God through Christ's high-priesthood, and this is the privilege of the Church. Christians are exhorted in Romans 12:1 to offer themselves as "living sacrifices, holy and pleasing to God—which is your *spiritual worship."* So while 1 Peter 2:5 and Romans 12:1 show that Christian men offer spiritual worship to God, they do not abolish the fact that the worshipping community comprises men, women and children, not to mention domestics and slaves. Peter a little further on in the same letter (3:1) says: "Wives . . . be submissive to your husbands . . . .," so that for him spiritual worship, and being submissive to one's husband were not two incompatible activities or callings.

As for Galatians 3:28 even the feminist advocate, Robin Scroggs, rightly points out that neither this text nor the context is concerned with the male/female relationship.[249] He notes that in chapter four Paul draws upon the analogy of slave/free, the usefulness of which depends upon the reality of the distinction, not on its abolition. This raises the suspicion in his mind that the latter two pairs of 3:28 have been brought along by the rhetorical context, since they do not function within the thought-development of the Epistle. Recent studies appear to have got over the novelty of seeing Galatians 3:28 as a "breakthrough" into some kind of Christian utopian era and this text, with the other so-called "equality texts" (1 Cor 11:11-12; 1 Pet 3:7), are seen to have less to do with ecclesiology (doctrine of the church) than with soteriology (doctrine of salvation) and are, in fact, concerned to assert not equality but salvific unity within the body of Christ.[250]

Robert Banks rightly observes that despite the way in which the verse has been generally interpreted, we do not have here an insistence upon the *equality* of men and women with one another so much as upon their *unity* in Christ, and remarks: "This drives deeper than so much of the modern debate in which the demand for equality rather than unity predominates."[251]

Despite the many warnings that liberal and conservative scholars are tired of making that Galatians 3:28 has nothing to do with equality but with oneness, it is still possible to find

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[248] See Robin Scroggs , "Paul and the Eschatological Woman," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 40 (1972) 283-303, esp. p. 291; and cf. Krister Stendahl, *The Bible and the Role of Women.* ET by Emile T. Sander (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), a work that combines a study of the new hermeneutic with a particular reference to Gal. 3:28.

[249] *Op. cit.*, p. 291.

[250] Cf. e.g. J. J. Davis, "Some Reflections on Galatians 3:28, Sexual Roles, and Biblical Hermeneutics," *JETS* 19/3 (1976) 201-08; Ben Witherington III, "Rite and Rights of Women—Galatians 3.28," *NTS* 27 (1981) 593-604; M. Boucher, "Some Unexplored Parallels to 1 Cor. 11:11-2 and Gal. 3:28, the New Testament on the Role of Women," *CBQ* 31 (1969) 50-60; M. Barth, *Ephesians* (Anchor Bible; Garden City: Doubleday, 1974), pp. 655-62; B. J. Brooten, *Women Leaders in the Ancient Synagogue* (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1982).

[251] Robert Banks, "Paul and Women's Liberation," *Interchange* 18 (1976) 81-105, esp. p. 82.

some exploiting this text to suit their own ends. Some are just simply confused over the terms "equality" and "unity." For example, "Before God and in Christ 'there is neither male nor female.' We are equal."[252] Unqualified statements like this are confusing. Equal in what way? Note the mistranslation "male nor female" which is typical of those who exploit Paul's words to suit their own agenda. The Greek reads: "male-and-female" indicating that Paul is viewing gender as a single entity like all the others in the list which are preceded by the negative particle. Paul did not say: ". . . there is not male, and there is not female . . . ." Rather he said: "There is not Jew and not Greek; there is not slave and not freeman; there is not male and female." There are five, not six, negatives. Paul is denying that in the "new man" there is "male and female," just as in the spirit world there is not "male and female." At the disembodied spirit level we will not be able to distinguish a "Jew" spirit from a "non-Jew" spirit. Nor will we be able to detect a "male" spirit from a "female" spirit, because at that level all such earthly distinctions will fall away and we will be like the angels in heaven—sexless, stateless and classless (apart from rewards?) (Mt 22:30). Some go to the other extreme and define God as comprising male AND female attributes, others that he is male and only man is made in his image (1 Cor 11:7; pointing out that Paul avoids saying that woman was made in God's image), others that God is female. God is not any of these: God is a spirit. Christ is not "male AND female"; nor is he "male or female."

In God's perfect creation and by deliberate design men and women were not created equal in three fundamental respects:

1. *They differ in glory.* Man is the glory of God: woman is the glory of Man (1 Cor 11:7).
2. *They differ in point of origin.* Man's life came from God directly: Woman's life came from Man's living body (1 Cor 11:8). She derived her "breath" and her body from his life and body.
3. *They differ in purpose.* Man was created for God (cf. Gen 2:5b): Woman was created for Man (cf. Gen 2:18; 1 Cor 11:9).

These three areas of difference were designedly deliberate in the pre-Fall world and they are the model for all Christian men and women to respect and conform their lives to after conversion. Consequently we must be careful to define those aspects of their being where they are equal and those where they are not equal.

Scripture makes it clear that as regards the "moral image," God has given man and woman the same moral faculty which distinguishes them from the animal creation. They both share "human life." Even at the physical level they each have two eyes, arms and legs! However, Woman derived her life-force from Man, and he derived his directly from God.

In consequence of this order of creation and because one was made male and the other female, Man was made head of the Woman and that *in a perfect world.* At this level there cannot be equality between Man and Woman because you cannot have a headship relation between two equals, as we noted under section 1 above. To talk of "sexual equality" between two things which are totally different, such as male and female, is meaningless. Sexually, men and women are not equal; they are not the same; God made them "male and female," not two males or two females which would be equality! But some are guilty of arguing from "sexual equality" to "equal ministry" for women.[253] God gave Man and Woman predetermined roles and it is this that the world seeks to break down. Their interdependence is based on sexual differentiation.

> It will not do to obscure the New Testament teaching about husband-headship by appealing to Galatians 3:28: "there is neither male nor female." While in the

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[252] John Stott, *Issues Facing Christians Today.* Basingstoke, Hants.: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1984), p. 241.

[253] J. Stott, *Issues,* p. 241, "because we are 'in Christ' and enjoy a common relationship to him, racial, national, social and sexual distinctions are irrelevant." We should note that sexual distinctions go back *directly* to the hand of God, the others do not. God made Man the head of Woman before the Fall. It is part of His perfect creation; the others are not.

> eschaton, of which we are already members, that is true, until the redemption of our bodies we still participate in the first creation with its distinction between the sexes. The biblical instructions regarding the distinctive roles of men and women, of husbands and wives, address that obvious reality and serve the best interests of both sexes.[254]

Possibly no text has been so abused as this one in the hands of the women's lib movement.[255] It has been stripped of its context to become the pretext for overthrowing God's lawful authority structures in the family and the Church.

4.3 WOMEN WERE ALLOWED TO PRAY AND PROPHESY IN THE CHURCH (1 COR 11:5) SO WHY SHOULD THEY BE SILENT?

The text reads: "But every woman who prays and prophesies with *her* head uncovered dishonours her head" (1 Cor 11:5).

The author who penned these words, a few minutes later, and further down the same scroll or codex, passed on the following universal prohibition which he received:

> As in all the congregations of the saints, women should remain silent in the churches. They are not allowed to speak but must be in submission, as the Law says. If they want to enquire about something, they should ask their own husbands at home; for it is disgraceful for a woman to speak in the church (1 Cor 14:34-35).

Has the writer contradicted himself? Has he forgotten what he had just written above?[256] The first thing we should pay attention to in both cases is the context.

In 1 Corinthians 11:5 Paul addresses himself to the disorder beginning to manifest itself in the Christian community where men (so John Chrysostom thought) were coming before God with a covering over their head. Paul informs the Roman men (because Corinth was a Roman colony[257]) that whenever they are before God ("praying or prophesying") they ought to have their heads uncovered. This applies *in and outside the church context,* at all times and in all countries, the reason being that he is "the image and glory of God." So it is not just

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[254] Bruce K. Waltke, "The Role of Women in the Bible," *CRUX* 31 (no. 3, 1995) 29-40, esp. p. 37.

[255] Three works that expose feminist eisegesis are Susan T. Foh, *Women & the Word of God: A Response to Biblical Feminism* (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed Pub. Co., 1979); A. D. Litfin, "Evangelical Feminism: Why Traditionalists Reject It," *BibSac* 136 (1979) 258-71; "They follow the spirit of the age, not the Spirit of the New Testament;" and H. W. House, "Paul, Women, and Contemporary Evangelical Feminism," *BibSac* 136 (1979) 40-53.

[256] Some get rid of the apparent contradiction by treating 1 Cor 11:3-16; 14:33-36; 1 Tim 2:11-15, as deutero-Pauline (i.e., an interpolation by a later writer), see G. W. Trompf, "On Attitudes Toward Women in Paul and Paulinist Literature: 1 Corinthians 11:2-16," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 42 (1980) 196-215. Cf. R. W. Allison, "Let Women Be Silent in The Churches (1 Cor. 14.33b-36): What Did Paul Really Say, and What Did It Mean?" *JSNT* 32 (1988) 26-59.

[257] See J. Wiseman, "Corinth and Rome I: 228 BC—AD 267," *ANRW* ii 7.1 (1979) 438-548; D. Engels, *Roman Corinth: an Alternative Model for the Classical City* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago, 1990); R. Oster, "When men wore veils to worship: the historical context of 1 Corinthians 11:4," *NTS* 34 (1988) 481-505; C. L. Thompson, "Hairstyles, head-coverings, and St. Paul. Portraits from Roman Corinth," *Biblical Archaeologist* 51.2 (1989) 99-115; and David W. J. Gill, "The Importance of Roman Portraiture for Head-coverings in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16," *Tyndale Bulletin* 41.2 (1990) 245-260.

when a man is in church that he should have his head uncovered, since that would imply that he is only "the image and glory of God" when he is *in church.* As he is the "image and glory of God" *at all times,* so he ought to uncover his head *at all times when he is before God* in worship.[258] Note that the "uncovering" is limited to those times when a man is engaged in religious activities—"praying or prophesying," as opposed to his secular activities.[259] From this we learn that there is something very special and awesome about worship. We enter the spiritual realm: we are before God our Maker, the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour, and the ministering angels. We are in a truly awesome gathering and it befits us, as mortal men, to conform with alacrity to the protocol set for the occasion.[260]

When men leave such a gathering to return to their earthly pursuits they do not dishonour their Head when they wear a covering, since that may be necessary under certain working and climatic conditions. The mention, then, of "praying or prophesying" was to specify that it was in the *religious,* as opposed to the *secular,* field that a man should not have a covering on his head. The very nature of the reason given for this—"because he is the image and glory of God"—makes it plain that it applies to the *whole* of his religious life and not just to the few hours he spends in a special building ("the church") on a special day of the week (Sunday). It applies to *every* day of the week, and in *every* building or market-square where man prays or prophesies.

Most writers who have not understood the cosmological nature of the principles laid down in 1 Corinthians 11:3 are left with no option but to see a contradiction between 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 and 14:34-37.[261]

The following statement is typical of "evangelical feminists." "Scripture teaches equality and mutual submission rather than a hierarchy of sexes."[262] In other words there is no headship relation but full equality of roles: whatever role man plays toward woman, she can play toward him. She is to submit to him and he is to submit to her. Query: Does this mutual submission apply in the Trinity? Can the Son send the Father to do His will? Or is submission a one-way street?

4.3.1. CHATTERING WOMEN

Some scholars assume that the command to the women to keep silent (1 Cor 14:34) and to learn with a quiet disposition (1 Tim 2:11-12) in the church was not intended to cover praying or prophesying in the church, but was directed at the disorderly women who, it is speculated, were interrupting the meetings (or were chattering among themselves, or were contributing unspiritual or uninspired comments).[263] There are a number of difficulties with

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[258] See 4.10.3. for a fuller treatment of this point.

[259] Gerald L. Almlie suggested that 'By synecdoche (by which one example is put for all other similar things) the term *praying* includes all kinds of man's *speaking to God* while *prophesying* includes all kinds of God's *speaking to man'* ("Women's Church and Communion Participation: Apostolic Practice or Innovative Twist?" *Journal of the Christian Brethren Research Fellowship* 33 [December, 1982] 41-55, esp. p. 49).

[260] The phrase "churches of God" is unique to Paul (10x). S. T. Lowrie ("1 Corinthians XI and the Ordination of Women as Ruling Elders," *PTR* 19 (1921) 113-130, esp. pp. 127-129) suggested that it was intended to refer to meetings of Jewish Christians as well as non-Jewish Christians. The same intention lies behind his other unique phrase "gospel of God" (8x; plus 2 Tim 1:8-11).

[261] So H. Conzelmann in *1 Corinthians.* ET James W. Leitch. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975]) p. 246.

[262] C. Powell, "A Stalemate of Genders? Some Hermeneutical Reflections," *Themelios* 17/3 (Apr/May 1992), pp. 15-19, esp. p. 16.

[263] Cf. Baldwin (*op. cit.,* p. 19) and E. Schlüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1990), p. 233. And compare L. Ann Jervis, "1 Corinthians 14.34-35: A Reconsideration of Paul's Limitation of the Free Speech of some Corinthian Women," *JSNT* 58 (1995) 51-74; and John Stott, *Issues Facing Christians Today* (Basingstoke, Hants.: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1984) p. 251.

this scenario.[264] First, *Paul's remedy is inconsistent with the offence.* Where there are problems connected with building up the church (as with tongues or prophesy) Paul prescribes with pin-point accuracy rules that will help to resolve the situation (14:27, 29, 31). So here Paul would have forbidden noisy or disorderly speech, [cf. 1 Thess 5:14, "we exhort you, brothers, admonish the disorderly"] if that had been the problem, *but he would not have banned all speech.* This would be like taking a sledge-hammer to crack open a peanut, which would be so untypical of Paul.

Second, *Paul would be unfair to punish women but not men.* Surely not all the disorderly speech was coming *only* from women. What scenario could account for disorderly speech being confined only and solely to women with not a single man involved in it? If there were also noisy men, why does Paul not forbid disorderly *men and women* from speaking in church? Surely Paul is not being impartial when he requests *all of one sex* to be silent, but permits (by implication) disorderly men to speak in church. Paul's remedy would be inequitable, for he would be punishing *all* women for the deeds of some. Why tar all women for the deeds of a few? If the problem was a few women being disruptive or disorderly then he would have pin-pointed his reply and said, "Let the *disorderly* women keep silent in the church." Compare the way he handles the disagreement between two women in the Philippian church: "I plead with Euodia and I plead with Syntyche to agree with each other in the Lord" (Phil 4:2). Here he actually names the women who are creating the problem. Where there are problems Paul is very specific in handling them, unlike the scenario proposed here of a few women being disruptive and Paul reacting to it by placing a blanket ban on *all* women (pious and impious) and on *all* forms of speech (tongues, prophesying, interpretations, hymns and revelations).

Third, *Paul's reasons for the silence are connected with Man's headship not with any wrong that women have done.* It cannot be argued that Paul has only disorderly speech in mind here, for there is nothing in the context that would restrict the meaning of σιγάτωσαν (*sigatôsan*) in this way. Also there is nothing in 1 Corinthians 14:33b-36, or in the rest of the letter, which indicates that the problem was one of noise among the women in Corinth. This is an imposed scenario on the text to try to explain the word "silent." If we look at the theological reasons, both on the issue of keeping silent in church and on keeping the head covered, we find that these are grounded in the original creation and have nothing to do with contemporary cultural conventions in Corinth. Paul's solution leads to a different scenario. His solution is that because Man is the head of Woman she is not to speak in church and when she appears before God in worship she is to cover her head.

Is it just possible that God, in His infinite wisdom, excluded women under both Covenants from a direct input into His worship by cutting out all channels of challenge to the way men were worshipping Him, by commanding them to be *quiet* and *silent* when in His presence? Is the real difficulty interpreting or *accepting* 1 Corinthians 14:34-35?

A. C. Wire noted "That he [Paul] demands this silence after he has silenced uninterpreted tongues and simultaneous prophecy shows that it is not a peripheral disturbance he refers to but some kind of spiritual speaking."[265]

We noted above the theological reason why men are not to cover their heads.[266] Here the same spiritual logic applies in the case of the woman. In her *secular* life she need not have any covering on her head, but when she appears before God she *must* observe His protocol and cover her head (see 1.3 above). In 1 Corinthians 14:33b-35 she is forbidden to speak *in the church,* since this is inconsistent with being in submission according to the Law (14:34). From this it is clear that Paul intended that she can speak and prophesy *outside* the church meeting,

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[264] Cf. Wayne Grudem, *The Gift of Prophecy in 1 Corinthians* (New York: University Press of America, 1982), p. 247. See also some fourteen objections listed under 4.3.8.

[265] Antoinette Clark Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress Press, 1990), p. 156.

[266] See also under 4.10.3.

and from 11:5 we learn that whenever she does so she *must* be covered. So Paul intended no contradiction between 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 and 14:34-35, rather, they complement each other.

Commentators have failed to do justice to the basic difference between the contexts of these two chapters. In 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 Paul has focused on the cosmological view regarding the headship relations between God, Christ, Man, and Woman. Chapter 14, on the other hand, is dealing with a *detail* in the headship relationship between the last pair in the cosmological scheme, namely, the Man-Woman relationship as it affects *church worship.*

The command to be silent is not a concession to local custom, nor to prevailing concepts of propriety, but is founded on theology—on the headship of Man, and on the nature of submission and the stipulations of the Law where no provision was made for women to be priests or sing in the Temple choir, etc. The "silence" was also observed in *all* the New Testament churches, so it was not something peculiar, or confined, to the church in Corinth: "As in all the congregations of the saints, women should remain silent in the churches."[267]

Some try to limit and define the silence as a restriction on women asking questions in the church service. This would allow them to speak if it did not involve asking questions. The objection is twofold. First, between the total ban on speaking in v. 33a and the provision that women ask their questions at home in v. 35a comes v. 34b giving the reason for the total ban on speaking. Verse 34b is a concession to what looks like women being left out of the learning process.

Second, v. 35b fits in with the total ban because any speaking of any kind would be a disgrace. The reason for this is that the actual church meeting is primarily a male community in which Christ and the Spirit are present in a teaching capacity through the use of spiritual gifts but especially through prophesying. Every man is capable of prophesying and the gift is given so "that all may learn" (14:31). The women may learn from listening to the male prophets, but they cannot contribute prophecies of their own to the learning process. Men must teach men. It was the duty of the priests to teach the Law of the Lord to the people (Deut 17:11; 33:10). Hence the ban on women teaching in church in 1 Timothy 2:12 (by extension from the home to the church context) is consistent with the position in 1 Corinthians 14:34-35.

Holmyard made the observation that—

> The desire of the women "to learn" (v. 35) corresponds to the desire to learn mentioned in verse 31. Paul's introduction of questioning by women in verse 35 suggests that Spirit-led questioning was an accepted aspect of church gatherings. For Paul implied that the desire to question was what could tempt the women to speak. If questioning had been inappropriate in the worship service, Paul could simply have said so, without connecting the prohibition with femininity. Rather, Paul barred women from engaging in an activity permitted to men.[268]

Another way to get round Paul's total ban is the suggestion that 14:34 disallows all forms of speech to women except divine utterances.[269] But Holmyard pointed out that all speaking in 14:1-33 is of this nature (cf. 1 Pet 4:10-11). He also noted that the same verb requesting women to be "silent" in 14:34 is used of the men in vv. 28, 30 to be silent in the use

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[267] There is some uncertainty in the English Versions whether to put the first half of this sentence with what follows or with what goes before it. See Appendix A for the translations.

[268] Harold R. Holmyard III, "Does 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 Refer to Women Praying and Prophesying in Church?" *BibSac* 154 (1997) 462.

[269] H. Wayne House, "The Speaking of Women and the Prohibition of the Law," *BibSac* 145 (1988). See the reply by Harold R. Holmyard III, "Does 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 Refer to Women Praying and Prophesying in Church?" *BibSac* 154 (1997) 462.

of their spiritual gifts which included tongues and prophesying. He concluded that the plain intent of v. 34 is to exclude women from the speaking mentioned in vv. 1-33.

Another way round the ban on women speaking was to suggest that a wife was to keep silent in the church if she had a question about her husband's prophecy. Paul tells her to keep her question until she got home.[270]

There are four objections to this. First, Why should she? If he's a false prophet and she has been given the gift of discernment to recognise it, does she not have a duty to warn the church?

Second, if Paul were consistent he ought to have told the husband to keep silent in the church if he had a question about his wife's prophecy. The inconsistency can be taken as proof of his male chauvinism since this alone can explain the motive behind such an unfair ruling.

Third, this solution overlooks Paul theological reason, namely, that under the Law the Spirit made no provision for women to take an active part (vocal/choir or practical/priestly) in the worship of God. Public worship was totally given over to the male members of Yahweh's community. The women were not permitted to speak *then*, and Paul reminds the Corinthians that they are still not permitted to speak *now*. It is God's will that the men retain their headship duty in the worship of His Son, as had been the case when they worshipped Him in the Temple.

Fourth, Paul uses the verb "to speak," not the verb "to question" which the solution requires.

Another way to get round the total ban is the suggestion that 14:34 disallows women to speak in connection with "judging" the prophetic messages, that is, they consider 14:34-35 to be "a stricture against women entering into the judgment of the prophets who were often men, and thus violating the divinely ordained structures of authority."[271] The unstated assumption in this interpretation is that 11:5 implies that women prayed and prophesied in church.[272]

There are three difficulties with this view.[273] First, it debars women from entering into judgment when the prophet is a woman, if we grant that they are right in their assumption that women were permitted to deliver prophecies *in church.* No principle of authority is violated if a woman passes "judgment" on another woman's prophecy.

Second, could women enter into judgment with male prophets who deliver their prophecies outside the confines of the church building? If the answer is Yes, is this not a violation of "the divinely ordained structures of authority"? If the answer is No, where is the

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[270] Bruce K. Waltke, "The Role of Women in the Bible," *CRUX* 31 (no. 3, 1995) 29-40, esp. p. 35, following Wayne A. Grudem, *The Gift of Prophecy* (Westchester, IL: Crossway Books, 1988).

[271] Cf. F. F. Bruce, "Women in the Church: a Biblical Survey," *Journal of the Christian Brethren Research Fellowship* 33 (December, 1982) 7-14, esp. p. 10; L. Birney, "The Role of Women in the New Testament Church," *Journal of the Christian Brethren Research Fellowship* 33 (December, 1982) 15-32, esp. p. 24; D. A. Carson, *Showing the Spirit: A Theological Exposition of 1 Corinthians 12-14* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1987), pp. 129-30; ibid, "'Silent in the Churches': On the Role of Women in 1 Corinthians 14:33b-36," in in *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood: A Response to Evangelical Feminism,* ed. John Piper and Wayne Gruden (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 1991), 151-53; Wayne Grudem, *The Gift of Prophecy in 1 Corinthians.* (Washington DC: University Press of America, 1982), pp. 239-55; K. T. Wilson, "Should Women Wear Head-coverings," *BibSac* 148 (1991) 442-462, esp. p. 450; James G. Sigountos and Myron Shank, "Public Roles for Women in the Pauline Church: A Reappraisal of the Evidence," *JETS* 26 (1983) 283-95. J. B. Hurley, "Did Paul Require Veils or the Silence of Women? A Consideration of 1 Cor. 11:2-16 and 1 Cor. 14:33b-36," *Westminster Theological Journal* 35 (1973) 190-220, esp. pp. 216-18; ibid, *Man and Woman in Biblical Perspective* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1981), pp. 190-91; Thomas R. Schreiner, "Head Coverings, Prophecies, and the Trinity: 1 Corinthians 11:2-16," in *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood: A Response to Evangelicism Feminism,* p. 132; W. J. Dumbrell, "The Role of Women—A Reconsideration of the Biblical Evidence," *Interchange* 21 (1977) 20-21.

[272] This assumption is answered more fully under 4.10.3.

[273] See L. Ann Jervis, "1 Corinthians 14.34-35: A Reconsideration of Paul's Limitation of the Free Speech of some Corinthian Women," *JSNT* 58 (1995) 51-74, who sees other difficulties with this solution (p. 60).

command forbidding them? 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 only commands them not to question them *in church* (granted their presupposition that women could speak in church).

Third, there is nothing to stop a woman, wittingly or unwittingly, using her privilege ("to pray," or better still, "to prophesy") to preach to the men and teach them a thing or two, if she judges that they are in the wrong, in her spiritual opinion (and she could be right!). Would this not be a violation of "the divinely ordained structures of authority"? If the answer is Yes, how would the Elders discipline her? Could they command her to be silent? Could they withdraw her God-given right to pray and prophesy in church? If the answer is No, then what happens to the command that she is not permitted "to enter into the judgment of the prophets who were often men"? I presume a man could say all that the example woman said and he could not be censured for it, because he does not come under the rule of keeping quiet during the "entering into judgment" of the prophets" (male and female) revelations.

If women are allowed to pray or prophesy in church (but not on the same terms as men, in as much as they must not use the occasion to exhort or teach the men) then the men must listen very carefully to every sentence she utters to see that she has not broken the rule. In other words, the men must "enter into judgment" over every woman's prayer to safeguard their privilege of being above judgment by a woman. In time would a list of certain judgmental phrases be drawn up which women would be debarred from using lest they give offence to even one man present who hears her prayer or prophecy? Where would this process stop? Would certain areas or topics of church life be banned from comment by every woman in their prayers and prophecies, such as how the men were running the affairs of the church, or not getting on with preaching the Gospel to the heathen? Would there be Church Courts set up in every church to hear men's complaints, and Appeals Courts to deal with the flood of appeals by indignant women? (See 4.3.8 on what it means to "discern/judge" prophetic messages.)

Another variation on the chattering solution was Margaret Fell's idea that Paul was referring to unregenerate women who are to be silent in church (see Excursus 4 for a critique of her work).

4.3.2. CHRISTIAN SYNAGOGUES

The origin of the church in Corinth is given in Acts 18:1-17. There was a large Jewish population there and Paul "was reasoning in the synagogue every Sabbath persuading both Jews and Greeks" that Jesus was the Messiah.[274] Only when they became violent toward him did he leave off trying to persuade them and, with the ruler of the synagogue, he set up the first Christian synagogue in the house of Justus which adjoined the Jewish synagogue. So the first Christian synagogue was composed of Jews and Greeks. For hermeneutical purposes then, "We must bear in mind also that women probably in synagogue fashion sat separately in church in Corinth. There would be no opportunity of whispered asides to husbands during the service."[275]

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[274] The appointment of presbyters attached to Jewish synagogues was already well established in the first century. See J. L. Houlden, *The Pastoral Epistles,* Pelican New Testament Commentary (London: SCM, 1976), pp. 24-26.

[275] W. J. Dumbrell, "The Role of Women—A Reconsideration of the Biblical Evidence," *Interchange* 21 (1977) 14-22, esp. p. 20. By 'hermeneutical purposes' is meant the principles and methods for deriving the contemporary relevance of an ancient text once is original meaning has been established by linguistic exegesis. The evidence for the separation of the genders in the Temple and synagogue has been challenged by Lee I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue* (Newhaven/London: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 471-77.

When the synagogue emerged it was patterned on the segregation instituted in the Temple worship.[276] Philo of Alexandria (*c.* 20 BC—40 AD) describes a typical synagogue setting (albeit of a sect of the Jews called Therapeutrides):

> This common sanctuary in which they meet every seventh day is a double enclosure, one portion set apart for the use of men, the other for the women. For women too regularly make part of the audience with the same ardour and the same sense of their calling. The wall between the two chambers rises up from the ground to three or four cubits built in the form of a breastwork, while the space above is left open. This arrangement serves two purposes; the modesty becoming to the female sex is preserved, while the women sitting within ear-shot can easily follow what is said since there is nothing to obstruct the voice of the speaker.[277]

Even in large non-religious public gatherings the men and women were separated.[278] A third century AD synagogue at Kirbet Shema' in Upper Galilee had a separate entrance to the women's gallery to ensure that men did not come into contact with women to preserve the men's ceremonial purity, no doubt.[279]

Men formed the body of the worshippers and women gathered as a group out of line of sight of the men. Sometimes this resulted in a curtain separating the men from the women, at other times it meant a gallery was built to accommodate them.[280] At other times they remained in a side or back lobby, but there is no tradition of them ever contributing to any part of the synagogue service. Rabbi Hiyya was asked:

> Whereby do women earn merit? By making their children go to the synagogue to learn Scripture and their husbands to the Beth Hamidrash to learn Mishnah, and waiting for their husbands till they return from the Beth Hamidrash.[281]

Woman was primarily a homemaker and home keeper and in an age when there were not the modern cooking facilities that we have today (and no police force to protect your property) someone had to be at home. In addition, if she spent her time in study of the Jewish Torah it was feared that her care of the household would suffer. The Talmud (Kiddushim) states that men are liable to keep, and women are exempt from, "all affirmative precepts limited to time." In other words, women were exempt from mandates which necessitated their leaving home for any period of time. Woman was always destined to be a homemaker from the moment she was created. So much so that her body came to be perceived as constructed for this role. In the book of 'Erubin in the Talmud, Rabbi Hisda interprets Genesis 2:22, "and God took man's rib and he made it into a woman":

> This teaches that the Holy One, blessed be He, built Eve in the shape of a storehouse. As a storehouse is (made) wide below and narrow above so that it

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[276] See also 4.4.5 and 4.8.4 below.

[277] *De vita contempl.* 32-33; cf. also 69.

[278] See Baby. Talmud, *b. Qidd.* 81a [mid.], and Brooten, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

[279] See Eric M. Myers, *et al.*, *Ancient Synagogue Excavations at Kirbet Shema', Upper Galilee, Israel 1970-1972* (ASOR 42; Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1976).

[280] Five synagogues dating from the 3rd to 5th cent. AD have been found to contain evidence of a gallery. See B. J. Brooten, *Women Leaders in the Ancient Synagogue* (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1982), pp. 118-121. The *Apostolic Constitutions* (Syria, AD 380) indicate that the deaconess supervised the seating and behaviour of the female section of the worshipping community. She was a keeper of the doors to prevent men from mingling in the women's section of the church (*Apos. Const.* 2. 57ff., 2. 26l 3. 15ff., 19). Compare the same duties in the 5th-7th documents from the Eastern Churches in A. G. Martimort, *Deaconesses: An Historical Study* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1986). See also Ruth A. Tucker and Walter Liefeld, *Daughters of the Church: Women and Ministry From New Testament Times to the Present* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1987).

[281] Quoted by Aída Dina Besançon Spencer, "Eve at Ephesus," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 17 (1974) 217.

> may contain the produce, so was (the womb of) a woman (made) wide below and narrow above so that it may contain the embryo.

The synagogue segregation of the sexes was not a new innovation but something old, something that Yahweh Himself had introduced. That was the precedent for segregating the men from the women. The women remained silent during the synagogue meeting. R. Loewe, " . . . the factors already mentioned . . . preclude active participation that goes beyond joining in the prayers."[282] Philo (20 BC—40 AD) describes a typical synagogue Sabbath service:

> And indeed they [the men] do always assemble and sit together, most of them in silence except when it is the practice to add something to signify approval of what is read. But some priest who is present or one of the elders reads the holy laws to them and expounds them point by point till about the late afternoon, when they depart having gained both expert knowledge of the holy laws and considerable advance in piety.[283]

Of the Temple, Flavius Josephus [*c.* AD 37-95] could write, "There was one large gate, through which such as were pure came in, together with their wives, but the Temple further inward at the gate was not allowed to the women" (*Antiq.* XV. II. 5).

Given that in New Testament times Jewish men and women worshipped in separate courts around the Temple (the Court of the Women, the Court of Israel, and the Court of the Gentiles)[284] and that Jesus and his disciples never mixed with, or sat alongside, women in worship the whole of their lives, we would expect the Apostolic Church to continue the synagogue practice, where women joined in the collective parts of the service (singing and the set prayers[285]) with their menfolk, but were not permitted to speak in the synagogue as is the practice still today in orthodox synagogues.

Frere has set out the practice of the church service as it obtained in the Eastern Church (more than in the West) at the end of the fourth century using early sources such as the *Apostolic Constitutions,* the *Ethiopic Church Order,* the *Arabic Didascalia, The Testament of the Lord,* the *Syriac Didascalia,* and the *Canons of Athanasius.* Part of his description is as follows:

> The church is an oblong building with a court in front and turned to the east. It has two entrances at least, one for men and one for women . . . . Within the sanctuary is also the place of the other clergy, who stand with the bishop at the consecration of the Eucharist in their degrees; sometimes there are included with them those who have special *charismata,* or spiritual gifts, and even women, in the shape of the Order of Widows.
>
> In the congregation the sexes are divided, either on opposite sides of the church, or with the men in front and the women behind. At the back are the various classes of penitents, and possibly some heathen. The deacons and other officers move about, seeing that all are in their right place, keeping good order, and waking up those who go to sleep. A deacon keeps the men's door, and a subdeacon or a deaconess the women's [there were no women deacons in the West for hundreds of years after the Church was founded]. Late-comers are kept waiting outside until a suitable moment when they can enter without causing disturbance. The [vowed to be] virgins and ascetics sit at the head of the congregation; then the married; the young of either sex sit or stand at the back. . .

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282 R. Loewe, *The Position of Women in Judaism* (London: S.P.C.K., 1966), p. 44.

283 Philo, *Hypothetica* 7.13.

284 See Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1961), p. 317.

285 Cyril of Jerusalem (AD 386) did not permit women either to pray or sing aloud in church. See A. J. Maclean, 'The Ministry of Women,' *Church Quarterly Review* 89 (1919/1920) 193-215, esp. p. 207.

> . Then the Liturgy of the Faithful, the second part of the service, begins with further suffrages, a prayer, and the Kiss of peace, the bishop kissing the clergy, the laymen the men, and the women the women. . . . At the Communion the clergy receive first, then widows, [vowed] virgins, newly baptized, and children; then the bulk of the laity, the women with their heads covered.

Note the three distinguishing features that characterised the early Eastern Church and which were possibly carried over from the synagogue: (1) separation of the sexes; (2) no cross-gender kissing; and (3) women having their heads covered.[286]

It was the universal practice of the Early Church for the entire worship service to be borne by the men, and probably for the women to participate in a communal way with them. According to E. R. Goodenough it was customary in Jewish worship for the men to worship on behalf of the household.[287] Hooker noted: "According to Paul . . . it is man, and not woman, who is the glory of God, and will therefore naturally play the active role in worship."[288] In the earliest Christian documents laying down church law (4/5th cent. AD) it expressly states that no woman, however learned and holy, is to teach in an assembly of men.[289] Another explicit statement excluding women is Canon 44 of the Synod of Laodicea (AD 347-381). Women were never ordained to the ministry for 1900 years in the main branches of the Church. The universality of the practice of the church in early ages is conclusive about its understanding of the teaching both of Paul and of the Apostles.[290]

The separation of the men from the women should be borne in mind when reading the canonical epistles of Paul, Peter, James and John, because their writings were addressed specifically and directly to men in the first place.[291] The reason for this is that when Yahweh set up His own worship in the Tabernacle in the wilderness He deliberately made no provision for the women to appear before Him. The Law was directed specifically with men in mind, as can be seen in the grammatical gender used throughout, although the whole nation, men, women and children, were at times present on three formal occasions (Deut 29:11; 31:12; Josh 8:33). The husband represented the family.[292] When the Temple was built in Jerusalem a Court of the Women was set up. This segregated the men from the women in accordance with the way Yahweh expected things to be done in His Church before the coming of His Son.

Now, given that the synagogue was the only model around in the time of the Apostles[293] it does not surprise us to find from the Epistle of James[294] that whole

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[286] In *Notes and Queries for Readers and Writers, Collectors and Librarians* volume 180 [15th Series] Jan—June 1941 (see under 26 April, 1941, p. 298) there is a note on "Separation of Sexes in Church" [in the Church of England]. It reads: "In certain answers to visitation questions of a bishop in 1638 husbands and wives are reported by name 'for sitting together,' and are ordered to be parted, 'the wife to be placed with the other women.' In one instance 'some other men or man' was ordered to be placed in the pew with the husband, after his wife had been ejected." The uninterrupted practice of women sitting on one side and men on the other was continued in the Anglican church of All Saints, Margaret Street, London, within living memory of a former member of that church who gave me this information in June, 2000.

[287] E. R. Goodenough, *op. cit.*, I, 226.

[288] M. D. Hooker, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

[289] See, e.g., the *Gallican Statutes,* Canon 99; the *Didascalia;* the *Ethiopic Didascalia;* the *Testament of our Lord* [AD 350]; and cf. A. J. Maclean, "The Ministry of Women," *Church Quarterly Review* 89 (1919/1920) 193-215, esp. p. 206.

[290] Lord Hugh Cecil, "The Ordination of Women to the Priesthood," *Church Quarterly Review* 117 (1933/1934) 13-24.

[291] For the data see Chart 19. Title: "Paul and the New Testament writers addressed their letters to men."

[292] The representative principle can be seen in Exod 34:7; Lev 4:15; 16:17, 22). Corporate responsibility can be seen in Lev 8:11; Num 8:12; Dt 13:12; Josh 22:18.

[293] For the influence of the synagogue on the office of elder in the Christian *ecclesia* see David A. Mappes, "The 'Elder' in the Old and New Testaments (Part 1 of 4 parts of "Studies on the Role of the New Testament Elder")," *BibSac* 154 (1997) 80-92, esp. p. 88.

[294] Origen (AD 254) refers to James as the Lord's brother, who presided over the Council of Jerusalem (Acts 12:17; Gal 1:18-19). He had already inspired the circular epistle mentioned in Acts 15:9-20, this and the position of

synagogues converted to Jesus' teaching and became, in effect, Christian synagogues. "For if there come into your synagogue [συναγωγήν] a man with a gold ring, . . ." (Jas 2:2 RV).

There were Christian synagogues as far away as Rome. An early Christian work was "The Shepherd of Hermas." The oldest fragment of it is dated to *ca.* AD 175.[295] The work itself is dated no later than the middle of the second century AD. It was written in Rome. The work circulated in the Eastern and Western churches soon after the middle of the second century. It was soon translated into Latin and quoted by Irenaeus (AD 202) in Gaul, Tertullian (AD 220) in North Africa, and by Clement (AD 215) and Origen (AD 254) in Alexandria. The author is said by Origen to have been the Hermas that Paul greeted in Rom 16:14 (*ca.* AD 58) and he regarded it as Scripture. Others have suggested Hermas, the brother of pope Pius I (*c.* AD 140-155). The passage reads: "When then the man who hath the divine spirit cometh into an assembly [or synagogue, εἰς συναγωγήν] of righteous men . . . then the angel of the prophetic spirit, who is attached to him, filled the man. . . . In this way then the Spirit of the deity shall be manifest."[296] There is some evidence that some Christian churches separated the men and women in synagogue fashion.[297]

The Epistle of James is a general one and addressed to the entire Jewish nation—the Twelve Tribes—scattered throughout the then known world. It was, therefore, read in dozens if not scores of Christian synagogues where the practice of segregating the men from the women was continued, since there was nothing in the Gospel to say they were to discontinue it, and much to commend it,[298] chiefly because, as in the Old Covenant, the burden of worship fell on the men and the women were commanded to keep silent (1 Cor 14:34) as they had been in all the Jewish synagogues. Consequently the writings of the Apostles to the churches (really Christian synagogues) are addressed to the "brothers." Paul did not like to use the term "synagogue" for the churches he founded. Likewise he avoided using the term "pious ones" for Christians (ὅσιοι; translation of חֲסִידִים in the LXX) preferring instead the term "holy ones" (ἅγιοι; translation of קְדֹשִׁים in the LXX).[299]

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authority he held in later times (see Josephus, *Antiq.* XX. ix. 1; Eusebius, *H.E.* II. 23) all lead to the supposition that this is the same person as the Lord's brother. There is a verbal connection between his Acts 15:20 directive and this Epistle in 1:29. Oesterley points out six other parallels between the two writings (*The Expositor's Greek New Testament.* Editor W. Robertson Nicoll [5 vols.; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1910] vol. IV, "James" by W.O.E. Oesterley, pp. 385-476, esp. pp. 392, 401).

295 Campbell Bonner (ed.), *A Papyrus of the Shepherd of Hermas (Similitudes 2-9) with a Fragment of the Mandates* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1934).

296 See J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers* (London: Macmillan, 1893) "The Shepherd of Hermas," pp. 291-483. The quotation comes from Mandates XI (p. 435).

297 See *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus,* 18 (ET: Burton Scott Easton. Cambridge: The University Press, 1934, p. 43), this work is dated to AD 235; and *Didascalia Apostolorum* 2.57 (ET: R. Hugh Connolly. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929, pp. 119-20), dated 3rd cent. AD; *Apostolic Constitutions* 2.57 (ET: James Donaldson. ANF 7; Buffalo, 1886, p. 421), dated AD 380; and *Testamentum Domini* 1.19, 23; cf. also 1.41, 43; 2.4, 8 (ET: James Cooper and Arthur Maclean. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902, pp. 64, 76, 108, 111, 120, 127). Even as late as John Chrysostom's time (AD 407)(*Homila in Matthaeum* 73 [PG 58.677; ET: George Prevost. Cambridge: University Press, 1939, p. 443) a wooden divider separated the men from the women.

298 However, once it became obvious that the ritual and ceremonial laws no longer applied to Christ's followers it was just a matter of time before mixed congregations arose. But this took considerable time because deaconesses were doorkeepers of the church doors by which women entered, as male deacons were of the men's entrances. This is shown by the evidence of the *Apostolic Constitutions,* the *Ethiopic Didascalia,* and the interpolator of the Ignatian Epistles. See *The Ministry of Women. A Report by a Committee appointed by His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,* with Appendices and Fifteen Collotype Illustrations (London: SPCK, 1919). That it took some time for mixed congregations to develop can be inferred from the ban that Origen (AD 254) put on women entering a church building at the time of their menstrual period (see G. Tavard, *Woman in Christian Tradition* [Notre Dame, 1973], p. 95). Cf. Lev 15:19-29 for the OT laws on menstruation.

299 The reason for this may have been that in the period leading up to the NT age the συναγωγὴ Ἀσιδαίων ('Synagogue of the Pious Ones') denoted a religio-political party which opposed the Hellenization of Judea (cf. 1 Macc 2:42; 7:13; 2 Macc 14:6), consequently Paul avoided these terms because the Church of Jesus Christ was to be non-political. Christ's Kingdom was not of this world. In the Psalms the OT saints are called ἅγιοι 59 times and ὅσιοι 26 times where it is used only six further times outside the Pss and Prv. of the canonical books of the

Under the Old Covenant, according to rabbinic tradition (cf. Deut 17:1) women did not constitute valid witnesses.[300] Paul lived with this ruling, and so, when he came to list the witnesses to Jesus' resurrection (and remember he addressing his letter to men) his list does not include a single woman, and yet everyone knew from the Gospels that Mary Magdalene was the first to see him and many other women as well, before He was seen by the apostles.[301] According to Jewish law, Peter was the first witness to Jesus' resurrection, hence Paul begins his list with Peter/Cephas (1 Cor 15:5).

On the place of women in Roman society we have the account of Cornelius Nepos (end of first century BC) who notes that Greeks would be shocked by some Roman standards such as:

> Who among the Romans is ashamed to take his wife to a party (*convivium*)? In whose household does the mother (*materfamilias*) not hold the place of honour and circulate in full public view? These things are quite otherwise in Greece. The woman is not invited to a party except with relatives, nor does she sit down anywhere in the house except in the inner part which is called the women's quarters (*gynaeconitis*), where no men can approach unless closely connected by family ties (*Vitae* praef. 6-7).

In Roman and Greek society distinctions between public and private carried gender markings. The forum was a man's world, also politics, elections, the administration of justice and public speaking, were all activities which women would never dream of getting involved with.[302] The domestic sphere was the sphere that women excelled in, and in which she might display the distinctive female virtues celebrated on so many tombstones: of modesty, chastity, fidelity and woolmaking, all of which are endorsed by the household codes of the New Testament.[303] The entertainment area in the Greek home (*symposium*) never permitted men, external to the household, to mix with female members of the household, in contrast to the practice in the Roman home (*convivum*).[304] This contrast in etiquettes has implications for the NT practice of house churches, where it is very unlikely that men and women mixed indiscriminately as is the practice today in Western churches. If men and women did meet in this way they would have conformed to the synagogue pattern of segregation.

OT.

[300] See Siphre Deuteronomy 190 (the oldest Jewish work which disqualifies women from acting as witnesses on the grounds that witnesses are always referred in the OT in the masculine) and Josephus, *Antiquities,* IV 219; and Moshe Meiselman, *Jewish Women in Jewish Law* (New York: KTAV, 1978), pp. 73-80. Women and kings were not accepted as witnesses, as well as damaged human beings. He warns of the fallacy that "like results implies like causes." No one, he concluded, knows why kings and women were excluded. It was just accepted by Jews that this was the law and that was the end of the matter. Cf. also J. M. Baumgarten, "On the Testimony of Women in 1QSa," *JBL* 76 (1957) 266-69, who shows that women were outside the judicial system in Qumran, as were defective persons according to H. J. Cadbury, "A Qumran Parallel to Paul," *Harvard Theological Review* 51 (1958) 1-2. Where a woman was the only witness to an event, her testimony, would, in certain cases, be admissible, see Yebamoth 16:7; Ketuboth 2:5; and Eduyoth 3:6. For example, men could not enter the women's quarters and so they could not be witnesses to what happened there.

[301] The NRSV, predictably, translates 1 Cor 15:6 as, 'Then he [Jesus] appeared to more than five hundred brothers and sisters at one time.' The Greek has only 500 brothers. The translators of the NRSV (and ESV), in their mechanical translating of 'brothers' into 'brothers and sisters' missed the cultural and legal background that determined the composition of Paul's list.

[302] Roman women were excluded from public participation in politics, for which see Shelly Matthews, *Rich Pagan Women and the Rhetoric of Mission in Early Judaism and Christianity* (Stanford, CAL: Stanford University Press, 2001) pp. 42-46.

[303] See Diana E. E. Kleiner and Susan B. Matheson (eds.), *I Clavdia: Women in Ancient Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1996), p. 104. On the influence of gender in the architecture of the home in Roman and Greece society see pp. 104-115 and the extensive bibliography there. Separation of the sexes within the home (i.e., reserved zones) was observed for all sorts of reasons, not least, the need for modesty and privacy.

[304] Diana E. E. Kleiner and Susan B. Matheson (eds.), *I Clavdia: Women in Ancient Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1996), p. 109.

4.3.3. PAUL ADDRESSES MALES IN HIS CHURCH LETTERS

From the manner in which the Apostles addressed their congregations it is clear that the synagogue model is in view throughout. In the speeches in Acts the men are addressed throughout.[305] Throughout Paul's nine epistles he constantly addresses the church as "brothers."[306] Not once in the whole New Testament is a congregation addressed as "brothers and sisters," as is commonly done today, despite the fact that the NRSV translates 1 Corinthians 15:1, "Now I would remind you, brothers and sisters, ..." There is no word for "sisters" in the Greek here.[307] So conscious is Paul at times that he is addressing the men that he does not speak directly to the women/wives who are clearly there in the congregation. Rather, he speaks to the women *through their menfolk:* "Let **your**[308] women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted to **them** to speak, but let **them** be in subjection . . . . And if **they** . . . let **them** ask **their** husbands at home" (1 Cor 14:34-35). We might have expected him to break off addressing the men to speak directly to the women, as he does in the household codes (Eph 5:22—6:9; Col 3:18—4:7).

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305 F. J. A. Hort, *Christian Ecclesia,* p. 229, noted that in the apostolic age the Church was 'apparently the sum of all its male adult members.'

306 See under 4.8.5. and John H. Elliott, *A Home for the Homeless: A Sociological Exegesis of 1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981) who made the same discovery as the author. The assumption of most scholars is that "brothers" is an inclusive word for men and women, an assumption that regrettably blurred the cultural background against which the epistles ought to be constantly read.

307 The NRSV is not to be trusted as it has a policy of deliberately mistranslating the Greek in the interests of inclusive language. Other instances where 'brothers' has been deliberately replaced by 'brothers and sisters' are Rom 1:13; 1 Cor 1:10; 11, 26; 15:31, 50; 16:15, 20; and many other instances; or replaced by 'friends', see 1 Cor 14:39; or replaced by 'beloved', see 1 Cor 15:58.

308 The translation and emphasis is mine following the Majority Greek text. The Alexandrian (or Egyptian) text omits 'your'. See 4.3.4.

Column A gives the total occurrences of the word ἀδελφος "brother" (in sg. and pl. forms) in the church epistles. Column B gives the total times the congregation is addressed as "brothers" or, "my brothers" (plural only)(following the Majority Greek Text).

EPISTLE	A	B	REFERENCES
Romans	20	11	1:13; 7:1,4; 8:12; 10:1; 11:25; 12:1; 15:14, 15, 30; 16:17
1 Corinthians	38	20	1:10, 11, 26; 2:1; 3:1; 4:6; 7:24, 29; 10:1; 11:2, 33; 12:1; 14:6, 20, 26, 39; 15:1, (31 UBS), 50, 58; 16:15
2 Corinthians	12	3	1:8; 8:1; 13:11
Galatians	11	8	1:11; 3:15; 4:12, 28, 31; 5:11, 13; 6:1
Ephesians	3	2	6:10, 23
Philippians	9	6	1:12; 3:1, 13, 17; 4:1, 8
Colossians	5	-	
1 Thessalonians	19	14	1:4; 2:1, 9, 14, 17; 3:7; 4:1, 10, 13; 5:1, 4, 12, 14, 25
2 Thessalonians	9	7	1:3; 2:1, 13, 15; 3:1, 6, 13
Hebrews	10	4	3:1, 12; 10:19; 13:22
James	19	15	1:2, 9, 16, 19; 2:1, 5, 14; 3:1, 10, 12; 4:11; 5:7, 9, 10, 12, 19
1 Peter	1	-	
2 Peter	2	1	1:10
1 John	17	2	2:7; 3:13
Jude	1	-	
TOTALS:	176	93	

Paul appears to reserve the term "saints" for the whole Christian community of men, women and children including the domestic servants and slaves that made up the household; and to use the term "brothers" to refer only to the male members. Compare Colossians 1:2, "to the saints in Colossae, and the faithful brethren in Christ, grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ." There is no clear cut example anywhere in Paul's writings of the generic use of "brothers" to include sisters or women in general.[309]

In this regard it is interesting that the apostolic writers were addressing *men* when they said, "Greet one another with a holy kiss" (Rom 16:16; 1 Cor 16:20; 2 Cor 13:12; 1 Thess 5:26; 1 Pet 5:14). The grammatical gender is masculine. Given the separation of the male and female worshippers that God introduced into His Old Testament Church, it would have been against proper decorum for men to start kissing women.[310]

The fact that the apostolic writers have clearly the men in mind when they are writing to the churches should not surprise us. The same concern dominates and characterises all the Old Testament scriptures because it is directed at the circumcised, Covenant community, who are responsible for carrying out the terms of the Covenant. Even the wording of the Ten Commandments shows that men, not women, are being addressed (see Ex 20:8-11 (4th Commandment), 20:12 (5th Commandment), 20:17 (10th Commandment).[311] The purpose behind the laws is stated in Deuteronomy 6:2; 14:23. The

[309] Note that this word study is confined to the use of "brothers" in direct address. There may be instances where "brothers" may be put for the principal part of humanity as in Rom 8:29 and Rev 12:10, but this is not evidence that "brothers" means "brothers and sisters." It means part is put for the whole.

[310] For a fuller treatment of this practice, see 4.8.7 below.

[311] G. P. Hugenberger ("Women in Church Office: Hermeneutics or Exegesis? A Survey of Approaches to 1 Tim 2:8-15," *JETS* 35 [1992] 360 n. 78) misses the point of the masculine addressees. The principle of headship has determined that God addresses men and not women. The argument then would be that since men are placed directly under Law by man's Head (God) consequently all under man's headship are likewise under these Laws (where they are relevant); but the manner in which a man's family come under these Laws is not simply linguistic, or for brevity's sake, or because legal laws are commonly put in the masculine form: headship has determined the linguistic form in which Yahweh puts the whole of humanity under His Laws.

line of transmission is from father to son to his son's son. Fathers, not mothers, were responsible for teaching the Law to their sons (Deut 6:7). Priests were given the responsibility to teach God's Torah to the entire nation (Lev 10:10).[312] The responsibility for teaching males was laid on the shoulders of the men, and not left to the women, and this is in keeping with the headship responsibilities that God gave to Man.

The passing on of the faith fell to the male members. Three times a year every male had to appear before Yahweh with a present in his hand. When his son asked what was the meaning of the Passover he would very probably have been with his father and other male members of his family going up to Jerusalem, because the Passover was not a family affair until after the destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70.

In Exodus 12:1-27 Moses gives full directions for the observance of the first Passover which were unique to it: (1) the people killed their own lambs on their own site. Immediately after the Exodus, this aspect was withdrawn in subsequent Passovers, and the killing of the lambs carried out only by the priests and only beside the central sanctuary (Tabernacle or Temple)(Deut 16:5). (2) The people sprinkled the blood on the doorposts and lintels; this was never repeated again as the blood was passed to the priest nearest the altar, and there disposed of.[313] (3) They had to be dressed ready for instant exit from the country (with their loins girded). (4) They had to have their sandals on. (5) They had to have a staff in their hand. (6) They had to eat in haste. And (7), they could not leave the house until the morning. The family setting was due to the exigencies of the occasion. The emphasis on the family gathering under one roof in the first Passover was subordinated in subsequent Passovers to Yahweh's need to have every male appear before him "at the place where he would place his name." The form of the second and subsequent Passovers was altered to reflect Yahweh's desire to establish his control, or headship, of all the circumcised members of his people.

None of the unique features of the first Passover noted above applied in the case of Jesus' last Passover with his disciples. Here we see a situation where the meal was eaten reclining (not standing with staff in hand), in a leisurely manner (not in haste), and without the family present (the wives and children of the Twelve were absent). In effect, we had twelve possible heads of families coming together, without the distraction of a family setting, to commemorate the Exodus event in a very serious manner. The fact that Jews were coming from all over the world to Jerusalem may have made it difficult to bring their families with them. In any case it was not compulsory for women and children to be present at the three national feasts, and this may account for the all-male gathering in the Upper Room. Even so, many women (including Jesus' mother) came up with Jesus to the Passover, but the biblical custom of the times prevented mixed gatherings (but see Acts 1:14) and so they, along with Jesus' mother, would have observed the Feast in their own quarters. We should not put too warm a glow on the modern Jewish custom of observing the Passover in the home. This would not have been the custom until after the destruction of the Temple in AD 70.

The Passover was never intended to be an exact, annual re-enactment of the first Passover with its practical focus on the family gathering together to move out of Egypt. In the second and subsequent Passovers Yahweh split each family according to gender and all the male members were to converge at "the place the Lord your God shall choose" (Deut 16:2). The males, no doubt, appeared as the representatives of their families. This is in keeping with what we know of the headship of man and his leadership in offering sacrifice to God going back to the time of Adam. The men left the following morning to return to their homes (Deut 16:7). It was in keeping with this strong obligation on the male members to appear before

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[312] For a comprehensive survey of women's contribution to OT worship see Clarence J. Vos, *Woman in Old Testament Worship.* (Delft: N. V. Verenigde Drukkerijen Judels & Brinkman, 1968). Roger Gryson advised that this work 'should be used cautiously because more than once the author interpreted the Old Testament references in a way that is more favourable to women than the letter of the text allows' (*The Ministry of Women in the Early Church.* ET Jean Laporte and Mary Louise Hall. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1976, p. 126 n. 1).

[313] Cf. Mishnah *Pesachim* 5:5-6; cf. Danby 1933:142.

God that kept Jesus' mother from being present at the Last Supper. Once again we see the need to interpret Scripture against its own divinely created culture. It was a theological culture because every aspect of Israelite life was shaped and dominated by Yahweh's thinking and Yahweh's values and Yahweh's world-view.

It is interesting that the phrase "brothers and sisters" occurs as an addition to 1 Corinthians 11:2, "I commend you *brothers and sisters,"* in DFGKLΨ 33 (mainly the Western Text witnesses) and some early translations (Old Latin, Vulgate, Syriac, Gothic and Ethiopian). Paul *never* uses this form of address in any of his letters, so that it is unlikely that it is original here.

"Paul places Peter first among the witnesses of the resurrection (1 Cor 15:5), because in the document 1 Corinthians 15:1-9, which must be understood as tenable in law, women could not be cited as witnesses according to the understanding of the law at that time."[314] This fact exposes the danger of indiscriminately replacing "brothers" globally with "brothers and sisters" as is done in some feminist/inclusive New Testament translations, because the 500 "brothers" in 1 Corinthians 15:5 can only be males. By translating "500 brothers and sisters" the number of male witnesses is reduced to about 250 men (cf. NRSV and ESV).[315]

4.3.3.I. THE TERM "ECCLESISA"

The individual congregations of Israel and the national assemblies were called *sunagogae* ("synagogues") and *ecclesia* ("churches") in the Septuagint. They appear to be used interchangeably, in much the same way that "hosioi" ("holy ones") and "hagioi" ("saints") were used interchangeably. It would appear that "synagogue" and "hosioi" were avoided by Paul because they were too closely identified with Judaism, this left "church/ecclesia" and "saints/hagioi" as alternatives.

The term "ecclesia," as used in its NT setting, should be taken in its Septuagint or religious meaning rather than in its political sense. If so, then "ecclesia" will be closer in meaning to the term "synagogue" than to its secular usage even though it was inevitable that the secular world would read into the term its political or secular meaning until, through more familiarity with the Christian religion, they discern a nuanced understanding of the term.

Thus, upon hearing that a "Christian ecclesia" existed in, say, Corinth, the citizens of Corinth would immediately assume that this was a meeting of men only, because in every city the ecclesia consisted of men only.

> The two primary bodies of the democratic city-state were the assembly (ἐκκλησία) and the council (βουλή),[316] with ultimate authority being vested in the assembly.
>
> The assembly represented the people (δῆμος) and constituted the fundamental body of democratic government. Its membership consisted of the full citizen body, that is, all adult male citizens. Women and noncitizens who were permanent residents—regardless of their wealth—were excluded from its membership.[317]

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[314] Carsten Peter Thiede, *Rekindling The Word: In Search of Gospel Truth* (Leominister: Gracewing, 1995), p. 67.

[315] The same blunder occurs in the English Standard Version. See a critique of this version under Excursus 7 below.

[316] The Athenian council, from 508 to 307 BC, consisted of 500 councillors, fifty from each of the ten tribes, and they met daily except for feast days or days considered to be unlucky. Nevertheless, they were subordinate to the *ecclesia,* and derived their powers and functions from the *ecclesia.*

[317] B. H. McLean, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the Reign of Constantine (323 B.C.—A.D. 337)* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2002), p. 304.

What a non-Christian Greek would discover upon entering a "Christian ecclesia"—and which would shock him—was the presence of women, albeit not mixed but seated apart by themselves such as he would find in Jewish synagogues. What he would find "normal", however, would have been the reverent silence of the women, with only the men contributing to the meeting because this was the custom in the secular "ecclesia" and the synagogue, where only the men spoke. So he would have concluded that the Christian "ecclesia" was just a synagogue under a new name, or a breakaway sect of the synagogue.

But those who oppose Paul's teaching could easily accuse him of using the term *ecclesia* in its secular usage with its in-built connotations of 'male-only' membership, and 'men-only' speaking in an assembly. So that his concept of the "ecclesia" would owe more to its secular usage than to its new, Christian creation, where men and women are equal in all respects in Christ. But this would be to ignore the *theological* reasons that are given for the silent participation of women in the *ecclesia* and the ban on her speaking in any public assembly of God's people.

The shame of hearing a woman speaking in public would have been keenly felt in the secular and Christian *ecclesia* but for different reasons. In the former it was felt to be against "custom" and "odd"; in the latter it was felt to be "disrespectful" to God, Christ, the angels present in the meeting, and to the headship position that God had given to all men to speak in His *ecclesia.* One is based on manmade custom and human devising, the other on divine knowledge and God's devising.

4.3.4. 1 CORINTHIANS 14 AND ITS SETTING

Every aspect of the life of the Early Church was shaped and dominated by Christ's thinking, Christ's moral values, Christ's world-view. It was Christocentric; it was a theological culture. God, who was the head of every man from the creation of Adam until the incarnation of His Son, handed over this headship to His Son, so that all men from that time onwards were under an obligation to approach God *only* through His Son.[318] This was something completely new in the relationship between the Creator and His creation. This change was made in heaven but it had very practical implications for every man living on the earth. The head of every male was God up until the coming of Christ, now the head of every male is Christ, and will be until the end of this age.[319] This revolutionary change in man's relationship to God dominated Paul's theology. Having lived in a theological culture all his life under the direct headship of God Paul could appreciate the theological implications of God making His Son the new Head of His creation. The relationship that the theologically shaped Hebrew family had with Yahweh was shifted to the Lord Jesus Christ. But the structure and obligations of the family were not altered by this cosmic shift. Under God the head of every woman was man, and under Christ the head of every woman is man. Only the head of man was altered. Consequently to understand what is involved in man's headship over woman the Church can draw on the whole of the Old Testament writings. Peter drew on the life of Sarah when he set her as the model for all Christian women to follow (1 Pet 3:6).

If we can understand the theologically conditioned background that Paul grew up in and then appreciate his understanding of what the change in headship for man meant we will be better orientated to understand the correct meaning of his words. We need *his* theological perspective as an absolute necessity when we come to any part of *his* writings.

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318 See 1.2. above.

319 See Chart 3. Title: "From Adam to Christ: The Three Love-Headships;" Chart 5. Title: "The OT Love-Headship Relationships;" and Chart 6. Title: "The NT Love-Headship Relationships."

This brings us to the context of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35. The whole epistle is addressed to the male members (as are all of Paul's epistles which are addressed to churches).[320] That he is addressing only the male members throughout is clear from 14:26, "What then, brothers, When you come together . . ." He clearly has a Christian synagogue format in view[321] where the main body of the hall would comprise men only and the women occupied the gallery, and in the synagogues no woman ever took an active part as an individual. Women did not speak in the synagogue services.

We can envisage Paul sitting down to write his letter to Corinth and as he wrote he would have a mental picture of the men gathered together to hear his letter read out to them. Given this background, the context of chapter 14 is concerned with how the *male* members are to exercise the diverse gifts that each of them has been given by the Holy Spirit. Later on in this chapter Paul will specifically lay down for the female members what their role is in the church services. But for the whole of this chapter (to v. 33) it would be a hermeneutical blunder to assume that Paul is addressing men *and women.* Everything is addressed to the men only.

Paul lays down the general principle that since the church meeting is a corporate gathering, gifts that have a limited benefit should not take up their time. In this chapter Paul is using the term "tongues" to refer to foreign human languages. This is clear from his statement that if a stranger comes in and finds them all talking in foreign languages when they are clearly all citizens of Corinth, the stranger will think they are mad. Foreign tongues are for the benefit of unbelievers, says Paul, in that the Spirit would be able to speak to them through church members speaking their foreign languages, as happened on the Day of Pentecost.

Paul, therefore, instances foreign tongue-speaking as not being a profitable use of their limited time in church because only the speaker can benefit from it unless there is an interpreter. He then discusses the greater benefit that prophesying in one's own language has for the whole gathering and encourages that kind of gift to take precedent. He then tells them how many should speak and when they should give way to another speaker. In verses 39-40 he continues the same topic ending with the general rule that everything should be done decently and in order. So much for his detailed instructions on how to conduct their worship services. But in the midst of these detailed instructions he has inserted vv. 34-38 in which he tells the men that they are not to permit women to speak in public. The minimum meaning these men could have taken from his words were that women who have been given the gift of tongues and prophesying by the Holy Spirit are not to exercise those gifts *in the church meetings*—which is the topic under discussion. This would not have come as a surprise to them since it was the prevailing custom in all the churches for women to keep silent. But the fact that he has to remind the men of it suggests that some women had begun to challenge this ruling, probably not in the church meeting itself, but in their own homes or in a non-church setting.

The fact that Paul gives instructions in 11:5 on the way women are to be attired when praying or prophesying is proof that he and others witnessed them doing so. We have the case of the 84-year old prophetess Anna who spoke about Jesus "to all those looking for redemption in Jerusalem." And it is said of her that she "did not depart from the Temple [precincts] . . . night and day" (Lk 2:36-38). Now, since women could not exercise their gift in the church meetings they either did so at home or among other gatherings of women, just as men were not confined to the church meetings in the exercise of their gift.[322] There is,

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[320] Note the oversight of Timothy J. Harris, "Why did Paul Mention Eve's Deception? A Critique of P. W. Barnett's Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2," *EQ* 62 (1990) 344 n. 28, that 'there is no gender distinction' in 1 Cor 14:26. He is not alone in making the assumption that this verse includes women (see 4.3.3). See Chart 19. Title: "Paul and the New Testament writers addressed their letters to men."

[321] See also under 4.3.2.

[322] This popular scenario was challenged over a century ago by G. H. Gilbert, "Women in Public Worship in the

therefore, no contradiction between what Paul said in 14:34-35 (in church) and what he said in 11:5 (out-of-church) as some have tried to maintain in an attempt to discredit the authority of Paul and his writings.

We have before pointed out that women were present in the church meetings and, as is the practice in synagogues to this day, they probably participated in the communal aspects of the worship.

Under the Old Covenant there were only male singers[323] in the Temple, and the entire service of the sacrificial system was borne by men only. There is some suggestion that the male and female singers mentioned in Neh 7:67// Ez 2:65 were connected with Temple worship.[324] This is unlikely because the recognised male Temple singers are mentioned separately in 7:44. We do not read of female Asaph or Korah singers. The male and female singers in 7:67 could be for entertainment (cf. male and female secular singers in 2 Sam 19:35) because they are not connected with any tribe. Indeed they are not included in the total of 42,360 Jews who returned. They are included in the total of 7,337 male and female servants and they are followed by a list of animals. Some have taken the mention of three daughters born to Heman (1 Chr 25:5) as possible Temple singers. But the mention of them is to show how God blessed him with a large family.[325]

Phyllis Bird concluded, "it seems likely that the public, professional roles of musicians in the Temple service were assigned to males, at least in the later period of the monarchy and the Second Temple period, while women's specialized musical activity was limited to secular entertainment and funeral dirges (a "home" ritual)."[326]

Paul has in mind only men leading in the worship with women remaining silent throughout as to individual contributions "as the Law says [or illustrates]."[327] In particular she is strongly debarred from *teaching* the congregation: that is viewed by him as a disgraceful thing, and we have to accept that he had the mind of Christ when he spoke on this matter. Modern practices where women are encouraged to lead the worship service, or the prayers, etc., have no scriptural warrant. Rather, they flout the explicit command of the Lord Jesus in doing so (14:37). An SS officer said to a fellow officer outside a gas chamber in Auschwitz: "You can get used to anything in time." We have got used to women praying and

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Churches of Paul," *Biblical World* 2 (1893) 38-47, who argued that what Paul is against is women speaking in a manner which is not consonant with her being in subjection to her husband, or speaking out in church with a view to learning something; but they could speak if they were not speaking in order to learn (i.e., pray or prophesy), since these were not speaking-to-learn activities.

[323] See Ismar J. Peritz, "Woman in the Ancient Hebrew Cult," *JBL* 17 (1898) 111-148, esp. pp. 147-48. Rashi suggested that the singers in Neh 7:67 functioned during the glad procession back from Exile in 536 BC. It seems unlikely that these female singers were connected with the Temple because at the dedication of Nehemiah's walls only male singers are mentioned (Neh 12:27-47). If so, then we have no evidence for female singers participating in Temple worship despite the assumptions of C. Meyers, "Mother to Muse: An Archaeomusicological Study of Women's Performance in Ancient Israel," in A. Brenner, J. W. van Henten (eds), *Recycling Biblical Figures: Papers Read at a NOSTER Colloquium in Amsterdam, 12-13 May 1997* (STAR, 1; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999), pp. 50-77, based on dubious references to women singing or dancing in cultic worship in Ex 15:20; 32:18-19; Jud 11:34; 21:21; 1 Sam 18:6; 21:12; 29:5; 2 Sam 6:5; Jer 31:4, 13; Pss 68:25-28; 148:12; 149:3; 150:4;1 Chr 25:1-7; Neh 7:67//Ez 2:65. It is typical of feminist bias that Moses' Song in Ex. 15 is attributed to Miriam, and the song which Barak and Deborah sang jointly in Jud. 5 is attributed to Deborah!

[324] So M. L. Brenner, *The Song of the Sea: Ex 15:1-21* (BZAW, 195; Berlin, 1991), p. 45, who considers them a "a performing choir" of temple singers.

[325] So H. G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (NCBC; Grand Rapids, 1982), p. 168, "they are mentioned to "emphasize the blessing of Heman's family." In support of this see also T. C. Eskenazi, "Out from the Shadows: Biblical Women in the Postexilic Era," *JSOT 54* (1992), p. 38; Japhet, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, pp. 443-44.

[326] Phyllis Bird, "The Place of Women in the Israelite Cultus," in P. D. Miller *et al*. (eds), *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross* (Philadelphia, 1987), p. 418 n. 39.

[327] Ben Witherington III ("Rite and Rights for Women—Galatians 3:28," *New Testament Studies* 27 [1981] 593-604) suggested that given the culture of the time a woman is represented by her husband and /or sons in the public community of faith (p. 595).

preaching in church meetings that it is no longer sensed as "shameful" because the background knowledge has been kept from the people.

Paul, some argue, may have been combating local customs in that Greek women were converting to Christianity and coming into the *ecclesia* bareheaded in the manner they had been accustomed to in the temples of their former religion, and expecting to join in on a par with the men.[328] Be that as it may, Paul is very clear that what he is commanding is firmly grounded in Christian theology and sanctioned by an explicit command from the Head of the Church and nothing else. The Christian practices he set in place in all the churches he founded were intended to characterise all churches geographically, and therefore, were universal (one common practice and appearance), and were permanent, and therefore in place until the Lord comes again.

In Paul's clear-headed approach all non-Christian practices and beliefs must give way to a new set of Christian beliefs and practices. Nothing was to be carried over (whether in the form of ceremonies, traditions, or customs) into the *ecclesia* which was incompatible with what he had set up in all his churches. His was a root and branch approach, and what he set up was to be universal and permanent, because it was founded on, and grounded in the headship of Man.

4.3.4.1. TRANSLATION AND BRIEF NOTES

1 Corinthians 14 had its origin in a request to forbid tongue-speaking in church on the grounds that in Isaiah 28:11-12 they were used for the benefit of unbelievers, not for believers. Hence 1 Corinthians 14:21-22 is an extract from the letter the Corinthians sent to Paul.

Two texts hint at the squabble that lies behind the request, "Brothers, do not be children in *your* thinking, but (on the contrary) be infant-like in badness (evil), and in *your* thinking be mature (complete)" (14:20), and the statement at the conclusion, "Do not forbid tongue-speaking" (14:39).

The argument of the anti-tongues party is quoted by Paul in 14:22. This party seems to be a pro-prophecy party. Their exegesis of Isaiah 28:11-12 set up fixed, word-association pairs: *tongue-speaking is for unbelievers; prophecy is for believers.* Consequently, in a church context, only prophecy should be permitted because the audience is made up of believers.

Paul does not reply to this exegetical deduction directly, but indirectly—by the way he regulates the use of tongues in the public arena. His basic position is that a ban is not on. However, if tongues are used in church they must be interpreted, otherwise the tongue-speakers must remain silent.

Paul can find no weaknesses in the use of the prophetic gift because the message is spoken in an intelligible language. However, even the prophet cannot go on and on monopolising the available time. Provision is made for another to interrupt him and take over.

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[328] Once 11:5 is taken as happening in church then 14:34 cannot forbid what has been granted. Therefore 'to speak' must mean either (1) 'chatter', or (2) criticise the prophetic contribution of male colleagues. See A. H. Ross, "The Silence of Women in the Churches," *BibSac* 27 [1870] 336-359, esp. 342. He noted that λαλεω, 'to speak', occurs 294x in NT and 246x it indicates all kinds of human speaking, and only once (and that is not certain) does it mean 'chatter' (1 Cor 13:11, 'speak as a child'). Paul could not have chosen a more general word, the widest, most comprehensive of all terms, to cover any kind of speech which a woman might use in the church, in order to rule out any contribution she might make as an individual. The latter is also unfair because it rules out women questioning the prophetic contribution of female contributors, which apparently only the males can do. The former is too sweeping and the latter is too narrow to suit the context, as we noted above. The misunderstanding put on the bare head is not helped by rabbinic comments such as the following: 'Why does a man go out bareheaded while a woman goes out with her head covered? She is like someone who has done wrong and is ashamed of people and so goes out with her head covered' (*Gen. Mid.* XVIII. 8).

Just before he rounds off this topic, Paul clarifies the position that female Christians are to adopt during the worship service. Finally, he ends on the general principle that the worship service should be a dignified experience with everything done decently and in order. All contributions should meet the criteria that they are (1) intelligible, and (2) edifying.

AN OUTLINE OF 1 CORINTHIANS CHAPTER 14

1 Corinthians 14:1a, "Pursue love," belongs to chapter 13 but the following δὲ connects the two chapters grammatically though not thematically.

SEEK THE EDIFICATION OF THE CHURCH THROUGH THE SPIRIT-GIFTS

14:1b	Prophecy is more beneficial than tongue-speaking
14:2	Tongue-speaking is intelligible to God but not to Man
14:3	Prophecy is intelligible both to God *and* Man
14:4a	The tongue-speaker edifies himself—not the church
14:4b	The prophet edifies both himself *and* the church
14:5a	Seek to be both a tongue-speaker *and* a prophet
14:5b	Prophecy is more beneficial unless tongues are interpreted
14:6	Brothers, tongues are unhelpful compared to normal speech forms
14:7	Even lifeless sounds must be comprehensible to be useful
14:8	Comprehensible sounds can convey important messages
14:9	Your tongue-speaking is likewise unhelpful unless intelligible
14:10-11	The lunacy of speaking in an unintelligible tongue
14:12a	Your tongue-speaking is likewise lunacy (if uninterpreted)
14:12b	Be zealous for Spirit-gifts in order to edify the church
14:13	To this end, pray that your tongue-messages are interpreted
14:14	My tongue-prayers make me feel good but profit me nothing
14:15a	What will I do about this unhelpful state?
14:15b	I will hold on to both spirit and mental means of communication
14:16-17	Choose the right means at the right time to avoid embarrassment
14:18-19	Better to speak a few words intelligibly than thousands unintelligibly
14:20	Brothers, think maturely, not like self-centred children
14:21-22	Your request that tongues be banned in church
14:23-25	Tongues in church do not lead to conversions but prophesying does
14:26a	Is the solution to ban tongues in church? No
14:26b	There are diversity of gifts and all of them can edify the church
14:27-28	Let a few speak in tongues provided there is an interpretation
14:29-30a	Let a few prophets speak and let the rest listen carefully
14:30b-31	Prophets must give way to another speaker, for all can prophesy
14:32	All prophetic speaking is under the control of the speaker
14:33a	Disorderly services are not from God
14:33b-35	No female may speak in the church by Christ's command
14:36-38	Return to the apostolic practices of the churches in this regard
14:39	Brothers, be keen to prophecy and do not ban tongues in church

14:40 Take care to worship fittingly and according to the apostolic order

The end result of Paul's advice is that every male who contributes to the worship service should think about its benefit to the whole church. No gift is to be left unused in this regard. Tongues are a gift of the Spirit, so they cannot be banned from use in the church. They should be regulated to make sure that there is an interpretation available, otherwise the speaker must be silent in the church because he fails to meet the criterion of making an edifying contribution. All men can be involved in the edifying process because all men can prophesy in church.

PROPHECY IS SUPERIOR TO TONGUES

1. Pursue love, and be zealous of the Spirit-gifts, but preferably that you may prophesy.[329]

FIRST ADVANTAGE TO PROPHESYING

2. For the *one* speaking in a tongue does not speak *intelligibly* to men but (on the contrary) to God; for no one hears (understands) *him,* yet in *the* spirit he speaks mysteries.

3. But the *one* prophesying *intelligibly,* speaks edification and encouragement and consolation to men.

SECOND ADVANTAGE TO PROPHESYING

4. The *one* speaking in a tongue edifies himself,[330] but the *one* prophesying edifies a church.

5a. Now I wish all of you (you all) to speak in tongues.

This statement would have the effect of elevating the gift of tongues in the minds of the tongue-speakers. So Paul is definitely not anti-tongues, which the pro-prophecy party were.

5b. but preferably that you may prophesy.

The deliberate repetition of this phrase in such a short space of time makes Paul's goal very clear. This thought is going to dominate all that follows, and it does.

THIRD ADVANTAGE TO PROPHESYING

5b. And the *one* prophesying *is* greater than the one speaking tongues, except, of course, he (or someone else)(cf. v.13) may interpret *his tongue* in order that the church may receive edification.

Having laid out the advantages of prophesying, and yet at the same time saying nothing to denigrate tongues, he addresses them as "Brothers" for the first time under this topic. He seems to use this direct address when he wants to focus their attention on what he is about to say or conclude. He appreciates both gifts and will not suppress tongues, but he

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[329] Paul tells Timothy, "Do not neglect the gift that is in you, which was given to you by prophecy with the laying on of the hands of the eldership" (1 Tim 4:14). Did the Holy Spirit commonly use prophecy to distribute His gifts?

[330] But see vv. 13-14 where it would appear that sometimes the tongue-speaker does not understand what he is saying in tongues, so he is not edified unless the interpretation is given to him or to another male member. However, in v. 17, it would appear that he understands he is giving thanks in tongues.

appeals to their sense of profit or benefit in the use of their gifts. Profit is dependent on intelligibility. So he sets out the logical necessity to be intelligible.

UNINTELLIGIBILITY VERSUS INTELLIGIBILITY

6. But, now, brothers, if I should come to you speaking *only*[331] in tongues, what shall I profit you unless I should speak to you *normally,*[332] or through revelation, or through knowledge, or through prophecy or through[333] teaching?

Paul leaves out of consideration here the possibility that either he or someone else may be able to interpret the tongues he is speaking, which would then be profitable to the church.

7. Yet even the lifeless *things* giving out a sound, whether pipe, whether harp, if they may not produce a distinction in the notes, how will the *thing* being piped, or the *thing* being harped, be recognised?

Paul makes an analogy with inanimate things, which is self-explanatory. His argument is that for any sound to be meaningful it must be intelligible.

8. For also, if a trumpet gives an uncertain sound, who will prepare himself for war?

Paul moves from innocuous signals, which are not crucial, to ones which are crucial, and where the meaning of the sound must be unambiguous otherwise confusion and danger may arise.

Now comes the punch line:

9. Thus also *with* you through *your* tongue-speaking; unless you give an intelligible word, how will the *mystery*[334] being spoken be known? For you shall be speaking to *the* air.

The logic is impeccable. The message is: The same confusion exists when you speak in tongues, so, do not speak in tongues in public unless there is an interpreter on hand to convey its message. Paul then reinforces his point to bring out the lunacy of not having an interpreter present to convey the sense.

10. As it happens, there are so many kinds of *language*-sounds in *the* world and not one *is* meaningless.

11. If, therefore, I do not know the force (impact, thrust) of the *language*-sound, I shall be a Barbarian to the *one* speaking, and the *one* speaking to me *shall be* a Barbarian.

His common-sense approach is astute and irrefutable. He clinches the point with the observation:

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331 This is required by the context, as he is contrasting unintelligible speech with intelligible speech.

332 Since each of the five means of communication is introduced by the same Greek words, ἢ ἐν "or through," I have retained the same translation in each instance. This left the verb "to speak" requiring the sense of "speak *normally*."

333 Bracketed in NA27, "or teaching." Paul's Gospel was not taught to him ["received from man"] but came by direct revelation from Jesus Christ Himself (Gal 1:12). The idea may be that teaching was not a Spirit-induced activity, whereas the others are, so that "through" before "teaching" was not strictly correct. Alternatively, it could be a scribal omission, of which there are hundreds in the Egyptian Text.

334 This is justified from v. 2.

12a. So also *with* you *when you speak in tongues with no one to interpret them.*

The same expression, "so also *with* you," was used before at v.9, where their unintelligible speech was likened to other indistinct means of communication, so that they may as well be speaking to the air. Here the focus is on attempting to use tongues as a means of human communication resulting in mutual embarrassment. This is seen as another reason for not using it in public.

Paul then takes up again the idea of their zeal for Spirit-gifts, mentioned previously in 14:1, and focuses their use on building up the church.

12b. Since you are zealous of Spirit-gifts, seek for the edification of the church in order that you may develop *it.*

13. To this end let the *one* speaking in a tongue pray that he may interpret *what he is saying.*[335]

The phrase, "that he may interpret" could also be translated as, "that one may interpret" i.e., that someone else would explain what he is saying. It would seem that the Spirit prefers to keep the mode of delivery separate from its interpretation, thus involving more church members in the transmission. But this method creates a potential breakdown in successful transmission if there is no interpreter, and Paul deals with this situation later (v. 28). Paul then turns to his own experiences of tongue-speaking in v. 14.

However, a case could be made out that *all* interpretation is the prerogative of the tongue-speaker himself, and no other person is involved. Hence Paul's strong request that every tongue-speaker should pray (beforehand?) that when he has spoken he will be given the interpretation, otherwise he has wasted valuable service time.

14. For if I should pray in a tongue, my spirit prays, but my mind is unfruitful (unedified).[336]

Paul wisely puts the focus on his own experiences of tongue-speaking in order to win over his hearers to his prepared solution. It also honours the gift if an apostle uses it and appreciates it.

His experience suggests that sometimes (if not always) a tongue-speaker may have no idea what he is saying. Now Paul poses a question to draw them into the solution which he wants them to adopt.

15a. What, therefore, is it? *How will I resolve this situation?*

The same question occurs at 14:26a. This is Paul's contrived opportunity to present his own solution to the problem of unavoidable disorder through the use of uninterpreted tongues in the worship service. This is what they have been waiting for. The crunch point has arrived.

15b. I will pray with the spirit; and I will pray also with the mind. I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing also with the mind. *I will do both.*

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[335] On edifying himself, see the footnote comment under v. 4.

[336] See the footnote comment under v. 4.

It is not an either/or situation, he tells them. "*At one time* I will pray with the spirit, and *on another occasion* I will pray with the mind." He is not going to devalue either means of praying. He wants to retain both. This must have been comforting to the tongue-speakers, who seem to be under pressure to drop their contribution in church and reserve it for speaking to unbelievers, which is the logical application of Isaiah 28:11-22 in 14:22.

Then follows a likely scenario which highlights the necessity to speak intelligibly.

16. Since, if you may bless through *the* spirit (in tongues), how will the *one* occupying the place of the uninstructed say "Amen" on the *occasion* of your giving thanks, especially since what you say he does not understand?

Paul expects men to be sincere in what they say, so if they say "Amen" to something they do not understand, he would find this difficult to accept as appropriate behaviour.

He does not accuse the tongue-speaker of doing anything improper. Indeed, there may be nothing wrong with the content of his "Thanks," so he is quick to reassure them about this.

17. For you, indeed, give thanks well, but (by contrast) the other is not edified.

This scenario suggests that the tongue-speaker may understand what he is saying in tongues (cf. v. 4), but Paul's point is that he ought to have switched to giving thanks with his mind, not with his spirit, and in this way his hearers would be able to enter into his prayer and consequently say, "Amen" to it. Is it possible that some tongue-speakers were deliberately showing-off their gift in public when they might have switched to using their mind to give thanks?

This ends a definite line of reasoning. Now he turns to practical matters.

Lest he seem to be biased against one side or the other, Paul wisely compares his own full measure of Spirit-gifts against theirs, so that anything he will say about either gift (tongues or prophesying) will reflect on his own store of similar gifts.

18. I give thanks to God *for all my spiritual gifts.*

I speak tongues more than all (any) of you,

19. but (by contrast) in *the* church I prefer to speak five words with my mind, in order that also I may catechise others, than *speak* ten thousand words in an *unintelligible* tongue.

In defence of the translation of v. 18. First, the word order of the Greek here does not necessarily suggest that Paul is giving thanks that he speaks *more* tongues than any of them. The word order is: "I give thanks to God. Of all of you more tongues I speak, but (on the contrary) in the church I wish five words with my mind to speak . . . than ten thousand words in an unintelligible tongue." Here there is no boasting that he out-speaks the tongue-speakers. His thanks contains a note of humility for being blessed with an over-abundance of Spirit-gifts, but even with such a multitude of gifts he would rather exchange them for five intelligible words. Humility, not boasting, not another line of argumentation, is conveyed by the words, "I give thanks to God." If his gifts were another line of argument then it would read: "I give thanks to God that I speak more tongues than any one of you . . . ." This kind of blatant, explicit flaunting of his gifts does not sound Pauline. So my understanding of the man influences how I translate his words.

Second, *mallon* as an adverb qualifies the verb "I speak," i.e., "I speak more." However, if we bear in mind that Paul spoke "with the tongues of men and of angels" (12:1) he seems to be saying here that, "I speak more in *these different kinds of* tongues than all of you." (Or, "I speak more with *the* tongues *of men and of angels* than you.") If, however, we put

the emphasis on *more speaking* or *speaking more,* i.e., "I speak more (than you) in tongues," this is an argument based on duration alone, which seems a very odd argument. I suspect that here "tongues" in itself means "different tongues" such as we hear spoken on the Day of Pentecost .

So an apostle, equipped with more tongues than any one of them (not, than all of them put together), does not flaunt his fluency in them in church (to receive their admiration?). Rather, his use of them is practical, and is dictated by the end in view. In public, his concern is to speak only to edify, never to childishly show-off his range of tongues.

20. Brothers, do not be (become) childlike in thinking but (on the contrary) be infant-like in evil, and in *your* thinking be (become) mature (complete).

The introduction of "brothers" signals a turning point, either to elicit a response or to begin a new topic. Here it is used both to round off what he has said thus far and to admonish them. Somehow this admonition relates to the issue that he is about to introduce.

"Childlike" would suggest a squabbling over something which they ought not to be doing. Since the whole passage is taken up with the advantages of prophesying over tongue-speaking, it would seem that those speaking in tongues may have been having a hard time of it in Corinth. So the admonition may have been aimed at the prophets who were becoming intolerant (a childish characteristic) of the tongue-speakers.

This may also be a rebuke to some in the church who were being pushy about exercising their gift of tongues irrespective whether it was making sense or not.

At this point there is an abrupt transition. Paul quotes from Isaiah 28:11-12.

21. In the Law it has been written that, "Through hetero-tongues and through hetero-lips I will speak to this people . . . and not even so will they pay attention to me, says the Lord."

22. Therefore[337] *here*[338] tongues are a *special* sign[339]—not for the *ones* believing, but (on the contrary)—for the unbelievers, and prophecy *is*—not for the unbelievers but (on the contrary)—for the *ones* believing.

In what follows I am assuming these are not Paul's words, but are the words of those objecting to the use of tongues to speak to believers in church.

The Isaiah text reflects one particular use of tongue-speaking. Yahweh uses the Assyrian empire to crush the Northern Tribes. We can envisage Assyrian generals giving orders to Israelites in the Assyrian language and the Hebrews being unable to understand them. This is what is meant by "other tongues."

What is interesting about this quotation is that Paul (presumably quoting from the letter sent to him) only quotes Isa 28:11 and 12c. He omits the prophecy in between these two parts, i.e., v. 12ab.

The anti-tongues party seems to accept that the "prophecy" in v. 12ab was given to the believers and this is inferred in v. 22, even though Paul has omitted it in his quotation unless, by quoting the beginning and end of the Isaiah passage, everything in between is understood to be included. The Hebrew reads:

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[337] The use of ὥστε at the beginning of a sentence marks a strong conclusion. See Liddell & Scott, under ὥστε B.II.2.

[338] Or: *in this instance,* or, *in this context.* But this depends on these words being Paul's which does not appear to be the case, chiefly because Paul does not accept the fixed pairing in v. 22.

[339] Or: for a stumbling-block? or an *indication* that their relationship was wrong with Yahweh? Some such interpretation is needed if these are Paul's words.

> **With stammering lips and another tongue he speaks to this people,** to whom he said, 'This *is* the rest *with which* you may cause the weary to rest,' And, 'This *is* the refreshing.' **Yet they would not hear.**

Only the words in bold are quoted by Paul. In this context the tongues are an ominous sign, as they indicate Yahweh's last attempt to awaken His people to their desperate situation. But He had also given to "this people" the prophecy of "rest" which only the believers received. So prophecy brought good news to some Israelites and tongues brought bad news for other Israelites.

If v. 22 contains Paul's understanding of Isaiah 28:11-12 then I fail to see a consistent connection between the pairings: tongues:unbelievers and prophecy:believers in v. 22 with what follows in vv. 23-25. It makes better sense to see vv. 21-22 as an argument put to Paul by others (in their letter to him?) for restricting the use of tongues to unbelievers, and so banning their use in church.

The tongue-speakers in Isaiah 28 are not God's people, but God's enemies—foreigners. So it could be argued that tongues were spoken *to* God's people and that is what tongue-speakers are doing in Corinth. In which case, this OT Scripture can be turned around to justify tongues being directed *toward* God's people in the church.

Alternatively, the Isaiah text may prove that Yahweh uses "other tongues" to convey His Word, even if His Word comes through the mouths of unbelieving Assyrians, and that this is all we are meant to get out of the quotation. Isaiah 28:11-12 would then be the tongue-speakers' proof-text that Yahweh can and does speak through tongues *to* His people. Was this being disputed in Corinth?

But why does Paul draw attention to the pairings if, in fact, there is not a consistency in their paired use in his presentation? In the verses that follow both tongues and prophecy are exercised *in the church* with the proviso that the tongues must be interpreted, otherwise they are not to be used in church. The criterion is: only what is intelligible speech must be used in the church services.

In vv. 23-25 we seem to have returned to a comparison of the usefulness of tongues and prophecy.

> 23. If, therefore, the whole church may congregate at the same *place* and all may speak in tongues and uninstructed or unbelievers may enter, will they not say that, 'You are raving mad'?

This was probably being said already by the anti-tongues party, even without an unbeliever being present!

Paul's scenario might appear to be only a theoretical possibility, or did the tongue-speakers dominate the contributions to such an extent that the theoretical possibility became a reality? Or is Paul extrapolating what would happen if there was no limit put on the contributions of tongue-speakers? He is obviously concerned about the public image that such a scenario would have on unbelievers, repelling them from the place, and regarding them as mad. This would harm the presentation and spread of the Gospel.

It would seem from what follows that tongue-speakers were exercising their gift without any interpretation. This must have been very frustrating to have to sit through. If so, then I suspect it was this that led to a request to Paul to sort it out for them. It may be that, while Paul was present among them for 18 months, he did the lion's share of the interpretation but once he left no one stood in for him and so the tongue-speakers carried on speaking without an interpretation. So the problem may have come to light only after he left.

Strangely, this situation is the opposite to that in Isaiah where the unbelievers speak in tongues to God's people (albeit, disobedient ones).

24. But if all may prophesy, and any unbeliever or uninstructed *person* should enter, he is convicted by all of you *eventually;* he is shown-up (exposed for what he is) by all of you *prophesying in a language he understands.*

25. The hidden things of his heart become evident (manifest), and thus, falling upon *his* face, he will worship God, declaring that, 'Truly God is among you.'

The two contrasting reactions are: When everyone speaks in tongues, the church becomes a madhouse and no one is going to be converted to God. But when everyone prophesies someone is more likely to be converted.

26a. What, therefore, is it, brothers? *How would you resolve this situation?*

Is this a rhetorical question? He puts the same question in 15a. It seems obvious what must be done, namely, banish all tongue-speaking in church and send them out to speak to the unbelievers (as Isa 28 teaches). But Paul sets out his own alternative scenario.

26b. Whenever you may come together, each has a psalm, has a teaching, has a revelation, has knowledge, has interpretation. Let all *things* exist (be done) for edification.

After enumerating these gifts he focuses all of them on the need to edify. That principle is going to determine how, when and why they are going to be used in the public assembly. He then picks out the two most common gifts for regulation, as these are the two hindering the establishment of good order in the church services, or so it would seem.

27. Whether anyone speaks in a tongue—by two or at most three *let them speak,* and in turn; and let one interpret.

Paul limits the number to a maximum of three speakers and they are to speak in an orderly sequence. There is to be no simultaneous speaking in tongues, no chaotic scenes of competing speakers. No doubt the limit was determined by the time available and maybe to avoid tiresomeness. Is there the possibility that "in turn" could mean that week by week different tongue-speakers would get a chance to use their gift in the church, so that eventually everyone has his turn to speak?

28. And if there may not be an interpreter, let him be silent in church, and let him speak to himself and to God.

This would apply to Paul himself if he had no interpreter. This would suggest that each speaker must test the meeting to see if there is an interpreter present (or if he himself can interpret his own spirit-messages), and if there is no interpreter then he cannot continue speaking. Thus the Spirit has seen fit to employ two persons when tongues are in use, but only one where prophecy is used.

29. And prophets—let two or three speak, 30a. and let the others discern.[340]

The prophets, who appear to be forbidding (see v. 39b) the contribution of the tongue-speakers, are given the same number of speakers as them. This is typical of Paul's even-handedness.

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[340] The verb διακρίνω is translated in the AV by (1) doubt, 5x, (2) judge, 3x, (3) discern, 2x, (4) contend, 2x, (5) waver, 2x, (6) miscellaneous, 6x (i.e., put difference, stagger, make to differ, be partial, make a difference). Total occurrences in NT, 19x.

"Discern" is not the facility or faculty to distinguish between false and true prophets and prophecies, because that is not in view here. Paul is more focused on establishing a balance between the tongue-speakers and the prophets. The tongue-speakers and non-contributing prophets will constitute "the others" who are to listen to the prophets when it is their turn to contribute. No doubt this was followed by discussion but not with a view to sort out the "false" from the "true" bits in the prophets' messages, because each prophet is illuminated by the Spirit in him, as v. 30b illustrates.

30b. But if to another sitting by *something* may be revealed (by the Spirit), let the first *speaker* be silent.

The silence requested of the male members is set in the context of exercising their Spirit-gifts of tongue-speaking and prophesying (not that these are the only forms of contributing vocally). Where a male tongue-speaker tests the meeting and no male interpreter is present, then he must remain silent. This is only fair because, as Paul puts it, he "is speaking into the air." And if all the tongue-speakers were to use up all the service time delivering uninterpreted mysteries the assembly would be declared, in the unbelievers' words, "raving mad."

Likewise, when a male prophet is delivering his message and the Spirit reveals something to someone sitting alongside him, the prophet must stop talking and give way to the next speaker. Again, the context of males remaining silent in church is controlled by the Spirit prompting another man to take over from the first male speaker. The Spirit is the sender/originator of the contributions in both cases.

So the silence is not gender-based but sender-based. The Spirit withholds the interpretation in the case of the tongue-speaker, so by default the tongue-speaker must fall silent. In the case of the prophet, the Spirit gives one man a revelation which he delivers, and then, while the first is still speaking, gives another man a further revelation which is the signal for the first prophet to fall silent. So the male silence is not gender-based but Spirit-based. The Spirit is in control of the contributions, opening and closing male mouths.

31. For you are able—all of you individually—to prophesy, in order that all may learn and all may be encouraged.

It would appear that all male Christians in Corinth could prophesy, and since tongue-speaking was a characteristic manifestation of the presence of the Spirit within each Christian, presumably all male Christians could speak in tongues also. But despite these two universal gifts they are to be severely limited in public use, presumably to allow other parts of the service to have their place, such as the reading of Scripture, the singing of psalms, and prayers. Just because Paul has focused on the task of regulating the use of tongues and prophesying, it should not be thought that the worship service consisted only of their contributions. They are singled out for the sole reason that they are the ones most difficult to regulate. It may even be that it was only the tongue-speakers who were difficult to control, but Paul is not prepared to be one-sided in curtailing them to three speakers and letting the prophets have free reign, so he resolves the difficulty by being even-handed to both.

This completes the question he asked in v. 26. The result is that the public worship service receives a definite shape as regards the use of tongues and prophesying in particular. These regulations indicate that Paul rejected the request to ban tongue-speaking in church, and he, in fact, encourages tongue-speaking in church provided there is an interpreter present.

32. And spirits of prophets are subject to the prophets' *control.*

This truth closed off any spurious spirituality whereby someone might make a great show of being under divine inspiration and disrupt the service in order to have his voice heard. Such disruption is deliberate, Paul informs the church, so don't be taken in by it.

33a. For he is not the God of tumult but (on the contrary) of peace.

This theological insight reinforces the notion of good order being a characteristic of God's house. Those who disrupt the service with selfish ambitions or misuse of their gifts are not prompted by God. So that disorder is a violation of God's will and no good can come of such disorderly contributions.

"Tumult" would come about when two or more speakers contribute at the same time, or if a female were to speak in church. "Peace" is when things are done in an orderly fashion.

Then Paul reminds the Corinthian church where Christian women fit into the scheme of church worship. Whether this reminder was thought necessary in light of the disorderly conduct of some women in removing their headcovering (11:2-16), or as a precautionary measure to prevent a foreseen breach, or one already sanctioned in principle, is not certain, but Paul lays down Christ's law very clearly and firmly:

33b. As in all the churches of the saints,

The mention of "the saints" includes the occupants of whole households: husband, wife, children, male and female servants.

33c. let the women in the churches be silent, for it is not permitted to them to speak but (on the contrary) let them be submissive, even as also the Law says.

What may have prompted this section was Paul's use of the word ὑποτασσω "submission" in v. 32. Word association brought the Man-Woman headship relation to mind, and hence her place alongside him in the worship service. Be that as it may, the church is composed of male and female members. Only the male members have been permitted to take an active part in the church service. The female members (of all classes and ages) take a submissive role which manifests itself in remaining silent during the service. God does not want them, but the men, to speak in His Church.

The female silence, unlike the male silence, is gender-based. They are in the presence of God in a public meeting of His people and in deference to their headship relationship to both the Lord Jesus and Man, they are to adopt a silent, submissive role in their presence. Because the silence is gender-based it is timeless and ageless. It takes precedent over every man-made culture and every man-made dress-code.

The phrase "even as the Law[341] says," points to a God-made culture which He gave to the Church of the Old Covenant and which is to be continued in the Church of the New Covenant. Continuity binds all the people of God together in a continuous theological-culture which recognises Man's headship in all aspects of his life, throughout all ages.

35. And if they wish to learn anything, let them question their own menfolk at home, for it is a shame (shocking thing) for a woman to speak in church.

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[341] According to Jewish usage, the whole Old Testament can be so designated; cf. Rom 3:19; Jn 10:34. Paul appears to quote the substance of Isa 28:11-12 as 'the Law' in 1 Cor 14:21 (but cf. Dt 28:49 which has a similar idea). Jesus quotes Ps 82:6 as "the Law" in Mt 10:34.

When men met in the synagogue they did not mix with their womenfolk but engaged each other in learning about their religion and God's laws. Women would ask their questions at home. This is the form that submission took throughout the period of the Law. Paul notes that the headship position between Man and Woman has not been altered by the coming of the Lord Jesus, and consequently her public position has not been altered. This explains why women are to continue in their submissive-headship relationship to Man, and the Law spells out and historicises the submissive role she has been given by God in His world.

The "shame" involved when a woman speaks in church is only felt where there is a long tradition of men-only speaking in church, such as one experiences in Brethren-type meetings or in orthodox Jewish synagogue meetings. It is the breaking of a fixed tradition that gives the action its shame.

Shame is not felt today in those churches which have gradually introduced women speaking. It began as a tiny trickle, but as time went on the male-only biblical tradition was gradually broken down until full-blown all-female ministry developed in some churches, including women bishops. A parallel can be drawn with nudity. At first shocking but then, through persistent exposure to it, it becomes accepted and even applauded by ministers who praise it as God's body-beautiful hidden by man-made conventions.

Anything that was once shocking can be tolerated in time, as one SS officer said to another outside a gas-chamber, "It is amazing what you can get used to." In time the gas-chamber lost its horror and became "normal." The same thing has happened in the affluent, Western denominations with regard to women speaking in church. It is now as "normal" as the gas-chamber came to be for some guards, or as nudity has become on our beaches and has become tolerated in Christian homes through constant media exposure. Secular counter-culture is ever present and requires vigilance to counter its hardening effects on our sensitivity to what constitutes "shame" in the Church. Christian men should constantly remind themselves that women speaking in church is an abnormal activity in God's eyes and they should never accept it as normal behaviour. This constant reminder is the only antidote to becoming like them.

36. Or did the Word of God go out from you? Or to you alone did it reach?

There is pointed sarcasm here. Sometimes this is the best form of reply to arrogant behaviour. What has given rise to the disdain that Paul shows to those who are advocating some new doctrinal practice?

The immediate context suggests that the ban on half the congregation being able to take part in the worship service was the cause. All males could speak in tongues and prophesy, and we know from the Day of Pentecost that all females had exactly the same spiritual gifts. Philip's four daughters could prophesy. Everyone could prophesy. It was a universal gift given to all who believed irrespective of sex or class. The Spirit did not discriminate between the sexes. So why couldn't all contribute in the worship service? Quite a natural question and unless there was something really crucial that prevented it, then all *should* participate. This would be the natural reaction, and it would appear some Corinthian leaders also thought so. So women were permitted to speak in church—maybe just a trickle at first.

The sarcasm in, "Did the Word of God go out from you?" was intended to remind them that the Word of God originated in Jerusalem and went from there to Corinth, not the other way round. Therefore if the Word of God they preached was different from the one that emanated from Jerusalem then *they* have altered *their* version and are out of step with Jerusalem. This should have made them think seriously about what had happened to the Word of God they received from Jerusalem.

The lesson here is to look for the origin of any new doctrine or practice and see if the new teaching agrees with the one from Jerusalem, now encapsulated in the writings of the New Testament.

The Corinthian church showed its arrogance by unilaterally changing what they had received from Paul, to accommodate the pressure from the women to participate in the worship service and possibly on the same terms as men, i.e., with an uncovered head (11:2-16), since both go together if there is no recognised headship relationship.

The sarcasm in the second question is equally telling. He asks, "Did the Word of God come only to Corinth?" Again, this usurps Jerusalem's status as the place God chose from which to send out the Gospel into all the world. Corinth was putting itself in the place of Jerusalem and behaving as though the Word of God came to them first, and from them would go out into all the world. They would have exported female participation into all the world, irrespective of what Jerusalem taught, if Paul had not curbed them. This was brazen arrogance, and Paul matches it with heavy sarcasm.

Paul's two questions are an interesting insight into the thinking behind Corinth's departure from Jerusalem. His first question suggests that the Corinthians, by this unilateral action, must have thought of themselves as being at the centre of Christendom and this gave them the authority to introduce fundamental changes into the church without having to consult Jerusalem or any other church. To shift the centre from Jerusalem to Corinth was breath-taking arrogance indeed. But the same attitude pervades denominations, and even local churches, today.

Paul's other question suggests that maybe Corinth thought of itself as being so important in God's eyes that He revealed a new doctrinal practice to them first—an exclusive revelation—and not to Jerusalem.

Paul's sarcasm reveals that he did not think much of either supposition. For him, the Jerusalem Gospel was the only Gospel and no individual church could arrogate to itself the privilege of changing any item of it. Paul's appeal to the practices of all the churches is stronger than an appeal to the practice of the Jerusalem church, because, as the practice of the Jerusalem church spread out into all the world, it replicated itself. Once it had gone out and become established and daughter churches were set up which set up other churches and the Jerusalem practice was multiplied it would be impossible to get all these churches to change to something else. So an appeal to the practice of "all the churches of the saints" was more powerful than an appeal to the practice of the one church in Jerusalem, albeit the most important one in Christendom.

Paul's appeal to the practice of all the churches suggests that there was no room for "further development." The doctrinal standards had been set and the theological practices had reached maturity in their essentials, hence whatever else may be added to them must not destroy or replace them. Consequently the strength of his case is that he could point to the universal practice of all the churches, whereas Corinth could only look to its own unilateral decision to be different. *And Corinth was replacing the Jerusalem tradition that women should remain silent in church.* Its weakness, as Paul's sarcasm pointed out, was it unilateralness. It was out of step with the majority and with Church history as it was unfolding. It was in a minority of one. Women speaking in church is still a minority phenomenon when set against 2000 years of Church history. It is out of step with Jerusalem and in step with the renegade church of Corinth. Fortunately, this feminist phenomenon arose early and was condemned by Paul, so that we are not left in any doubt who was right and who was wrong.

37. If anyone reckons *himself* to be a prophet or a spiritual man let him acknowledge *that* the things that I write to you are *the* commandments[342] of the Lord.

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[342] The Egyptian Text has the singular, "commandment" here, which narrows the issue down to the command to women not to speak in the church.

Not content with using sarcasm to shame them back into line, he now throws down the gauntlet to those who would oppose his teaching. In effect it is a challenge that will potentially split the church. Those who regard themselves as spiritual will accept the practice "of all the churches" and side with Paul and with the majority of spiritual men in the Corinthian church. The minority feminists who will not accept the Apostolic position will either have to repent or become schismatic. Paul claims the ground under their feet, because "if you are a true prophet or spiritual man you will (through the Holy Spirit dwelling in you) recognise that what I have said about the position of women not speaking in the church, comes directly from the Lord Jesus Himself. If you do not recognise this fact then you will not be recognised as being one of His sheep." In effect the challenge shows up everyone who dissents from the Apostle Paul as a false prophet and an unspiritual man. Such a challenge does not leave much wriggle-room. "You either conform or oppose an apostle of Jesus Christ," is the message. Unless the leaven is removed it will infect and affect the whole church. There are many brands of leaven, one of which goes under the guise of "Christian feminism," but they all have the same detrimental effect on the Body.

38. And if any one is ignorant, let him be ignorant.

This is not a position any prophet or spiritual man would put himself in. Is this an appeal to one's spiritual macho image? With everyone vying with each other to be up with the latest "revelation" or "knowledge" or "interpretation," no one would like to be left behind, so there is pressure on them to rise to the challenge and not allow themselves to be put in the class of the ignorant, which would be a shameful state. Consequently, Paul can count on the men to weigh up his arguments and not remain ignorant of the issue at stake, or be non-committal, or sit on the fence, or plead ignorance in order not to fall out with the feminists.

Ignorance of the Truth would, in itself, be a shameful state for any mature prophet or spiritual man to be found in, so this may be an appeal to their maturity rather than to their macho image. In effect Paul is equating ignorance with immaturity, with incompleteness, with a childlike state, and putting those who do not recognise his apostolic position into this category. And they put themselves in this category if they plead ignorance. Paul knows how to force his opponents out into the open, and it would not take the members of the Corinthian church long to discover who was for or against Paul. Those against him or who pleaded ignorance would not be looked up to as leaders or guides. A black mark would appear against their names.

39a. Therefore, brothers,[343]

The term "brothers" usually occurs at a turning point, as here. Paul's mind moves away from his feminist opponents and back to the faithful.

The use of ὥστε at the beginning of a sentence marks a strong conclusion.[344] Here Paul returns to the topic of the chapter and rounds off his advice at this point.

39b. Be eager to prophesy, and to speak in tongues do not forbid.

Paul would not have told them to forbid tongues unless this had actually happened, because he does not normally condemn theoretical scenarios. Prophesying was not forbidden,

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[343] The addition of "my" before "brothers" occurs only in the Egyptian text. It is rare in 1 Corinthians (cf. 1:11; 11:33).

[344] See Liddell & Scott, under ὥστε B.II.2. It is used to introduce the conclusion that the anti-tongues' party drew from their interpretation of Isa 28:11-12.

so why was tongues picked on? We have suggested that the problem was to do with a "waste-of-time/they are mad" objection, having to listen to endless, uninterpreted tongue-messages. Tongue-speaking seems to have acquired a bad reputation as a result. Were some Christians sceptical about tongues and regarded it as gibberish as some still do to this day? Paul did not share their contempt, hence the balance of respect that he gives to it throughout this chapter. He will not allow it to be downgraded or forbidden in the worship service.

40. And let all things be *done* decently and according to (the apostolic) order.

This echoes his statement in 33a and so he ends here, as he did there, with a plea for good order in the church. Two things threatened that good order. First, the selfish use of spiritual gifts, either using tongues when there was no interpreter, or too much prophesying both of which Paul has to cut back to a maximum of three speakers each. Second, women may have begun to appear with uncovered heads in church and very possibly had begun to speak in church against the tradition of all the churches.

"Decently" and "in order" are concepts vulnerable to shifting definitions if they are not anchored to fixed, theological traditions.

4.3.5. 1 CORINTHIANS 11 AND ITS SETTING

Because 1 Corinthians 11:5 has become the chief text to justify women speaking in Church, it is important to look at this verse in the light of Paul's whole argument in vv. 2-16.[345] But before doing so we should be aware of another trend that must be noted, namely, one that sets out to downgrade the authority of Paul as a revealer of the mind of Christ and as being the mouthpiece of the Holy Spirit.

Perhaps the current attitude is best illustrated in a recent commentary by Richard B. Hays on *First Corinthians.*[346]

Hays is critical of Paul's teaching methods. In his commentary on 11:2-16 he sets himself above Paul's wisdom: "His [Paul's] reasoning is notoriously obscure partly because we do not know precisely how to interpret some of the key terms in the argument and partly because the line of argument is—by any standard—labored and convoluted." A similar criticism is made by F. E. Collins, "For contemporary readers 11:2-16 is one of the most difficult passages in the entire letter. . . . the passage is somewhat confusing and difficult to understand. For many contemporary readers the passage is also difficult to accept. On first reading, it appears to advance a Pauline claim that women are inferior and subordinate to men."[347]

By throwing a cloak of doubt over what Paul is talking about Hays and others can blunt the force of his argument and evade its application. Hays goes on: "In view of the uncertainty surrounding these matters [in 11:2-16], it is impossible to give a fully confident interpretation of the passage." The implication is that if the commentator cannot understand what Paul is talking about then the reader cannot be blamed for passing over this obscure passage.

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[345] For the history of research into 1 Cor 11:2-16 from John Calvin up to 1970s, see Linda Mercadante, *From Hierarchy to Equality: A Comparison of Past and Present Interpretations of 1 Cor 11:2-16* (Vancouver: Regent College, GMH Books, 1978).

[346] Richard B. Hays, *First Corinthians* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1997). This commentary belongs to a series entitled: *A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching.*

[347] Raymond F. Collins, *First Corinthians* (Sacra Pagina Series, Vol. 7. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1999), p. 393.

On 11:7-8 Hays remarks: "Here, regrettably, Paul gets himself into a theological quagmire . . . . Paul fails to explain how any of this is directly relevant to the issue of head-coverings." Readers' conclusion: Paul is confused and introduces irrelevant material into his argument. Readers' application: I had better steer clear of this passage in case I make order out of the confusion, and see a relevance where the commentator assures me there is none.

Hays is throughout sceptical that Paul knows what he is talking about. When he comes to 11:16 he remarks: "Perhaps at some level he [Paul] recognizes the weakness of his own rather fragmented argument. His trump card, then, is to appeal to the custom of "the churches of God." Readers' conclusion: Paul's thoughts *are* in a quagmire, and his mind in a fog. If his best argument is an appeal to local custom then I can safely skip this passage as our local customs are more civilised and Christian than his were when he penned this passage.

In his "Reflections for teachers and preachers," Hays advises the next generation of teachers and preachers to be prepared to acknowledge "that we can neither understand it [11:2-16] entirely nor accept it entirely . . . . The question that we must ask, then, as we wrestle with this text is whether Paul's directives are in fact persuasive on their own terms." Here there is an appeal to ignorance. He tells his readers that *he* does not understand the passage (so neither can they) but what little he does understand of it he cannot accept its authority without question (and neither should they). Take for instance Paul's teaching on hierarchy, which Hays acknowledges is the only clear teaching to come out of the "fragmented argument" of the passage, he undermines it with the recommendation:

> . . . insofar as he posits a hierarchy based on gender, Paul's argument becomes strained and begins to break down, as shown by his problematical exegesis of Genesis. If Genesis 1:27 provides the overarching framework within which Genesis 2 must be read, then in fact women as well as men are created in the image of God—as Genesis 1:27 indicates. In that case, the hierarchical chain of 1 Corinthians 11:3 and the argument for women's head coverings in verse 7 lose their validity.

Readers' conclusion: Hays has exposed the Apostle Paul as a suspect interpreter of Scripture. I had better follow Hays' superior wisdom than Paul's suspect handling of Scripture when it comes to exegeting Genesis 1-2.

Because Hays has exposed Paul as untrustworthy (because of the way Paul manipulates Scripture to suppress the freedom of women to go bare-headed and imposes the headship of man over her by a similar misunderstanding of Scripture) he can put down Paul as a revealer of the mind of Christ on the fundamental issue of man's headship in this passage, and expose him as not being under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Once Paul's manipulative skills have been exposed for what they are, and his whole argument side-lined as unworthy of Christians to follow today, the reader is vulnerable to Hays' advocacy of the functional equality of men and women in worship and community leadership. To follow Paul's argument is to insult Hays:

> Anyone who appeals to this passage to silence women or to deny them leadership roles in the church is flagrantly misusing the text . . . . The churches in our own time have begun to recover the long-suppressed power of women's ministry and leadership in proclaiming the word of God. This is a profoundly evangelical development, brought about by the work of the Spirit; if Paul were present with us, he would celebrate it.

Hays claims to know the mind of Paul in his advocacy of feminist theology but not to know Paul's mind (which is in a quagmire) throughout 11:2-16. He also claims to know the approving mind of the Spirit in the application of feminist theology, but not to see the Spirit speaking through the mind of Paul throughout this passage.

When Hays comes to his reflections for teachers and preachers he turns to Paul's strong point on patriarchy in 11:3, 7-9 and invites "the class to consider readings [of Genesis 1:27; 2:7] that might stand alongside Paul's and provide a challenge to it." In other words, Paul's words hold no inherent authority—the authority of an Apostle. The reader is encouraged to challenge the authority of an Apostle and provide his own alternative "reading" in place of Paul's. Rather than encourage respect for the words of the Holy Spirit as conveyed through Paul, Hays advocates that "we must reconsider how the doctrine of creation might lead us to conclusions about the relation between male and female that are not precisely the same as Paul's." In other words, lead to feminist conclusions.

In the passage in question Hays has very little respect for Paul as an authority figure. He is constantly undermining his authority as a Spirit-controlled Apostle. One way of doing this is to expose him as ignorant, or in a quagmire. For instance, he is ignorant of the "correct" way to exegete Genesis 1 and 2 and he had an underdeveloped understanding of theology. "Paul, of course, did not have an explicit doctrine of the Trinity, and he often appears to operate with a subordinationist christology (cf. 15:28)."[348] In other words, Paul's theology is suspect: we know better today than he did then, is Hays' underlying inference. Hence, if Paul were with us today and persisted in retaining 1 Corinthians 15:28 in his teaching he would not be considered an inspired Apostle, never mind on a par with the scholars of this generation.

In Hays' treatment of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 he sides with those who regard these two verses as a gloss because they stand "in glaring contradiction to 11:2-16 in which Paul teaches that women may in fact pray and prophesy in church as long as they keep their heads appropriately covered." He is apparently unaware of the many works which reconcile 11:5, 13 with 14:34-35. The latter specifically forbids speaking *in Church* (here is the restriction). 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 is "marked" or restricted, whereas 11:5 is "unmarked" or universal *apart from the restriction.* Hermeneutically, we must read both passages within the known biblical culture of the time when it was received by the Corinthians. The universal practice of all the churches of Christ was for the women to remain silent and covered during the worship service (as was the practice throughout all the synagogues). Christian women exercised their prophetic and spiritual gifts but never in Church, and certainly it was not the practice in Corinth itself where Paul was in residence for eighteen months and he would have established the norm during that time. If 11:5 is read against this set background then it would never have been understood by its first hearers/readers to mean women could speak in Church. It is only when we divest the passage of its hermeneutical or situational context that a Westerner can argue *on the basis of the words alone* that it gives permission for women to speak in Church. But put the passage back in its first-century context and understand the retiring place of women generally in public life both in Jewish, Greek and Roman cultures (and especially the culture of modesty among women and the set forms this took), and then set this crucial hermeneutical knowledge as the backdrop to Paul's clear headship teaching both in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16; 14:34-35 and 1 Tim 2:11-12, and it will be obvious that Paul never intended 11:5 to refer *specifically* to the *public* setting of the Church service. It would have been a shocking, revolutionary overthrow of the universal custom then obtaining among all women both Greeks, Romans and Jews for women to speak in a Greek, Roman or Jewish public assembly. We must not read our easy-going Western culture into 11:5. It is only when the text is isolated from its first-century context and *words* are the focus, rather the mind of Paul who uttered those words, that a feminist agenda can be sustained and the Apostle's teaching overthrown. The key to a correct understanding of 11:5 is to place ourselves back in the actual time when 1 Corinthians 11:5 was written, and to realise that the last 2000 years can have nothing to contribute to its exegesis. It is the 2000 years prior to the

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[348] Did Jesus also operate with a subordinationist christology when he referred to his Father as 'my God' (Jn 20:18)!? Reciprocally, could God the Father refer to Jesus as 'my God'?

writing of 11:5 that have a direct bearing on its exegesis. This we call biblical hermeneutics. 1 Corinthians 11:5 was written within a divinely structured theological culture which recognised the headship of man in every walk of life, and in that religious culture it would have been a shocking thing for women to speak in a public assembly of men. It is against this background that 11:5 must be read and appreciated. Given this background, and Paul's prohibition statement in 14:34-35, the only way in which 11:5 could have been understood by those women who first read the Epistle was that whenever they pray or prophesy they should do it for theological reasons and also within the culture of modesty that pertained to their gender. That theological culture did not permit them to exercise their gifts in the public assembly of men, because it was a shame for women to speak in such an assembly.[349]

This understanding of 11:5 shows that Paul is not addressing the problem of private versus public exercising of women's spiritual gifts (that is addressed in 14:34-35), but rather the relation between men, women and God. Paul's mind is on the hierarchical headship relation between men, women and God throughout 11:2-16, hence it is misleading to infer from 11:5 that Paul is assuming that women can pray and prophesy *in the public assembly.* That is not the point of referring to men and women praying or prophesying. Paul sets out to fill in a gap ("I wish you to know") in their spiritual knowledge concerning the totality of their relations with Christ and God. The hierarchy is: God—Christ—Man—Woman. The maintenance of this hierarchy is essential to good order in the universe and in all human relations. If this order is in any way interfered with or persons within this sequence usurp the position of another within it, then disorder ensues. There is no danger that the first pair in the sequence would be reversed, but there is the real danger that the last pair could be reversed unless care is taken to abide by the principle of Man's headship. The Gospel is intimately involved in the relationship between the middle pair: here Man is challenged to acknowledge Christ as his Head. This is the heart of the Gospel. It is because every man owes obedience to Christ as his head that Christians can go out into all the world and command men everywhere to repent and accept the headship of Christ. True though this is, this truth is not Paul's specific concern in 11:2-16. He is working from a superior position of revealed knowledge concerning the crucial relationship between the last pair in the cosmological order of relationships which is essential for good order in the Church and in the family. After first setting out the most comprehensive statement in the New Testament that governs the entire family of God (encompassing God the Father at one end and Woman at the other end) Paul then uses (1) current practices, (2) Scripture, (3) nature, and (4) universal Church tradition, to witness to the headship of Man to Woman. The focus of 11:2-16 is on the relationship of man and woman to God when they are engaged in spiritual activity (praying or prophesying). They must approach him in the dress-code and manner prescribed for their genders. The passage is not addressing the issue whether women can pray and prophesy in public as well as in private. To twist the passage round to address that issue is to hijack the passage in the interests of one's private concerns.

Paul utilises four "evidences" that Man's headship sets him in a direct relationship to Christ which is different from that which a woman sustains. If there is no difference between men and women, then why are men commanded not to cover their heads and women commanded to be covered? This is Paul's first "proof" or "evidence" that Man's headship "exists" in the physical and spiritual worlds. Here Paul is using the outward accepted expression of gender distinctions given by the Lord Jesus through the Holy Spirit speaking through Paul as an argument for the reality of the cosmological headship between men and women. He points out that men and women are not under a common, direct headship to Christ, i.e., that they are genderless when they come before God. Man, he argues, must appear before God bare-headed, but women must appear before Him with her head covered.

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[349] The majority of evangelicals are guilty of assuming a public worship context for 11:2-16 through ignorance. See Edward Donnelly, "Headship," in *Men, Women and Authority,* ed. Brian Edwards (Bromley. Kent: Day One publications, 1996), pp. 93-112, esp. p. 96.

This is proof of his revelation in 11:3 ("the head of the woman is the man") that men and women do not sustain the same common, direct headship to Christ. This *difference* in physical appearance applies to both men and women whether they appear before God in private or public devotions for the reasons given in 11:7. The point of mentioning "praying or prophesying" is to focus on an occasion when a distinction between the genders takes on a physical form for all to see. This is the "proof" that headship exists. Even those who would argue for women "praying or prophesying" in the public assembly acknowledge that they should do so with their heads covered, thus acknowledging (without knowing it, in some cases) that thereby God has instituted a physical difference between men and women when they pray or prophesy. The issue uppermost in Paul's mind in 11:5 is not whether women are covered in the private or public exercise of their spiritual gifts (the distinction is irrelevant to his point), but rather that a visible, physical distinction *must be maintained* between men and women because of the Headship relation that God has given to Man. It does not follow that because a physical distinction must be maintained between the genders when praying or prophesying that this gives women license to do so in the *public* assembly of the Church, especially if there is a specific prohibition against women speaking in the Church. It is sufficient for Paul's purpose in 11:2-16 to point out that the *physical difference* that God has established between the genders when they appear before Him is due to Christ's headship to Man, and Man's headship to Woman. The distinction between private versus public ministry of women is not dealt with here but in 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 and 1 Timothy 2:11-12. It is to those passages we must go if we want to know the mind of Paul on that issue.

That 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 does not have in view the restricted setting of a church meeting is clear from Paul's statement: "Every man who prays and prophesies with anything on his head puts his Head to shame" (11:4). The reason given that every man must not cover his head is theological, not cultural. He shames Christ if he covers his head (see 1.2.). But the significance of this practice is that it must apply to man wherever and whenever he turns and addresses God in prayer. It cannot be restricted to a church setting, otherwise the theological argument would not make sense. The principle he is establishing here is universal; it cannot be limited to a church setting.[350]

Having first of all argued for a difference of powers (as bound up in headship) that God has given to men and women, which he does from the undisputed *physical* difference in appearance which must be maintained between Christian men and women, Paul seamlessly moves on in 11:8-12 to the *functional* difference to support the principle of man's headship in 11:3 (see 1.3 and 2.1-4 above). This, too, could not be disputed by the Corinthians.

Lastly, he makes an appeal to a striking difference in the Creator's design in covering woman's baldness with hair which is her glory, a function He did not give to man's hair (see 4.4.4). This "glory" of the woman ought to be covered when she is "praying or prophesying" (i.e., when she is operating in the spiritual sphere). This further strengthens Paul's opening set-piece illustrative argument which was taken from the religious sphere, namely, that women cannot come before God in the same manner as men, i.e., with an uncovered head. If they want to ape men then let them remove their feminine "glory" which the Creator gave to them and not to men. This is the shocking action Paul demands of women in 11:6 if they will insist on coming before God uncovered. So the setting of 11:2-16 has nothing to do with inside versus outside church situations but on the fact that whenever and wherever men and women engage in spiritual activities (public or private) they will follow separate paths—one will be covered and the other will be uncovered. This is all that Paul requires to make his point that men and women are not equal in headship. To hijack the issue into one of making Paul a supporter of women speaking in church, when it is clear from 14:34-15 that he condemned such activity, is to miss the focus of 11:2-16.

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[350] See further under 4.10.3.

What Paul is focused on in 11:3 is the revelation he received of man's headship in relation to women. The fact that he brings in the physical "covered" versus "uncovered" difference that separates the genders to *illustrate* his point should not be taken as the main topic of his thoughts. Even if we conceded that women prayed and prophesied *in the public assembly of the Church* this would not affect Paul's point, because his mind is on *the fact* that God has placed a *difference* between the way men and women come before Him, and that is all Paul requires to sustain the revelation he received that "the head of woman is the man." They are not equal.

The same applies to the functional difference: "man was not created because of the women, but woman because of the man."[351] This is a teaching illustration and should not be taken as the main topic of his thoughts. Paul is using two undisputed *differences* to argue for, and illustrate, the existence of man's headship as a spiritual reality which will have consequences for the correct relation between men and women. The main topic is the cosmological revelation he received in 11:3, and in particular the middle relationship pray or prophesy the head of woman is the man." All of this is lost in Hays' treatment of Paul's revelation.

Also Hays presents an unbalanced view of the meagre evidence for regarding 14:34-35 as a gloss. But because it suits his feminist agenda these verses are pitted against Paul's other writings and, along with 1 Timothy 2:11-12, regarded as the work of later generations or editors. His chief argument for regarding 14:34-35 and 1 Timothy 2:11-12 as not the work of Paul is: "Paul never told women to be silent in churches: this order is the work of a subsequent Christian generation." The fact that these verses are now part of the canon of Scripture is got around by noting that:

> The Bible is not a harmonious or systematic body of teachings; there are many points of internal tension. . . . One such point of tension is the unresolved discussion in the early church about the appropriate role of women as public witnesses to the gospel; this discussion has left its marks in the divided teaching of our canonical New Testament.

To lay the charge of "divided teaching" against Scripture must lead to a doctrine of Scripture that few conservative-evangelicals would espouse. If Scripture is "divided" on this issue what issue is it not divided on? And who decides when it is divided? The Reformation churches have always held that Scripture is final, undivided and trustworthy, in all matters relating to faith and morals. There is no "divided teaching" since all Scripture is given by inspiration of God (2 Tim 3:16), therefore it is a body of harmonious teaching. Internal tensions are compatible with full inspiration and full authority for all its diverse parts. To lay the charge of heresy against Paul over his "subordinationist christology" or low view of Christ's deity can do nothing to inspire trust in Paul's teaching on the subject of man's headship and the way this is worked out in worship and leadership. The uninformed reader of Hays' commentary will come away with a low view of Apostolic authority and Paul's guidance by the Holy Spirit, despite the Lord's promise that He would guide them into all truth. The test of any commentator's self-appointed elevation to "judge" Paul's writings is set out by Paul himself: "let him acknowledge that the things that I write to you are the commands of the Lord" (1 Cor 14:37). Paul claims to be the mouthpiece of the Head of the Church on the issue of good order in His Church. The Lord, not Paul, has commanded His female followers "to be silent for it has not been permitted to them to speak, but to be subject . . . and if they wish to learn anything, let them question their own menfolk at home, for it is a shame for females to speak in Church." The Lord Jesus is not being arbitrary in commanding His female disciples to abide by this command. He is safeguarding the headship of men everywhere to lead their families and to be the spokesmen for their households in His

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[351] See 2.2. above, and compare Jesus' revelation: "the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath."

worship. *Women are not to speak and not to lead in the public worship.* Nothing could be plainer or clearer once the reasons for the command are understood and appreciated within the wider context of God's headship of Christ and Christ's headship of every man, as set out in this work.

Many will find Hays' treatment of God's Word abhorrent. It reeks of a patronising spirit. To handle the text of an Apostle in this manner shows an arrogance that is shocking to Christian sensibilities. To taint the Apostle's teaching with heresy and impugn his ability to understand Genesis can only elevate the commentator's position over that of the Apostle. *Evangelical Christians hold Paul's words in the same regard as they hold Jesus' words.* They do not hold to degrees of inspiration or degrees of authority, or degrees of Truth. They place themselves *under* the authority of the Word of God: they do not stand above, or to one side, and pick and choose what they want to accept from it. "If you love me keep my commands," said the Lord and Head of the Church.

1 Corinthians 11:5 does not contradict 14:33-34. It is absurd to suggest that in chapter 11:5 Paul gives guidance for a practice which he will subsequently condemn. These Scriptures must be brought into harmony because they come from the same mind over a matter of a few minutes composition. In both passages there is a common appeal to the uniform practice of the church (11:16 and 14:33). 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 can be linked with chapter 14 because in 14:34 Paul does not cite the passage of the law to which he was alluding, because shortly before in 11:7-12 he had referred to the law in Genesis 1-2. So in 14:34 there was no need to spell it out again as his readers would refer to the previous teaching. This shows that Paul's mind was already linking chs 11 and 14 when he made use of the "law" in 14:34.

In any case since the words for "pray" and "prophesy" (one an evidence of spiritual life and the other evidence of supra-spiritual life) are the same in 1 Corinthians 11 and 14; and since women do both, and since Scripture cannot contradict Scripture, the logical conclusion is that the setting in 11:2-16 is different from the setting in 14:1-40. On the one hand, since 14:1-40 is clearly set "in the assembly/*ecclesia*" which is referred to nine times (cf. 14:4, 5, 12, 19, 23, ["come together" (in one place), 26], 28, 33, 34, 35) the context of chapter 14 is indisputably the "gathered out" community of God's people. On the other hand, the term assembly/ *ecclesia* does not occur once in 11:2-16. So if these two chapters are to be reconciled then the context of 11:2-16 must be set outside the church meeting.

We noted above that the issue of head-covering was introduced by Paul as part of his "evidence" for the headship of Man. There is no direct suggestion in the text that women were coming into the assembly bare-headed and as a consequence Paul was addressing that issue head-on. Rather, it can be argued that he is using the fact that they come with a covered head as proof *in itself* of the revelation of Man's headship. It is more likely that Man's headship, and not women's head-covering, is the main issue being established by Paul in 11:2-16. Because Man has been given position of headship, therefore (he argues) the woman is to acknowledge this fact by covering her head when she approaches God.

Another good reason why Paul may have introduced the head-covering issue in 11:2-16 separately from the silence issue in 14:34-35 was because, in the case of the woman, the former (i.e., the head-covering) applies to the individual inside and outside the church, whereas the latter (i.e., the silence), applies to the inside but not to the outside. The headcovering was a universal and omnipresent witness to the headship of man, whereas the silence in church was limited to a specific situation, and so not such a good teaching parallel.

If Paul's appeal to the practice of all the churches unites 11:16 and 14:33b, 36 this is not because both are in a church setting, but because in both places an appeal to the unity of church tradition should have settled the issue. The Corinthians were becoming a law unto themselves which often happens to untaught Christians both at the individual level and at church and denominational levels also. Looking to the practices of other churches, therefore, should have led them to the right solution, is what Paul is pointing out. (In the late twentieth

century women's ordination was simply a late intrusion which had been pushed through without regard for the universal church practice.)

There is a direct connection between the loss of respect for the mature members of the Church with an attendant distancing of the younger men and women from them, and the loss of the doctrine of headship. The division was and is a mirror of what was and is happening at the secular level and it was carried over into the Church. This generation gap did not exist in the secular or religious spheres in Paul's day. Older women and men had a central role in ensuring continuity with their past traditions. Individualism has killed off this solidarity with the past, certainly in Western culture.

A number of inconclusive objections have been raised to the out-of-church context given to 1 Corinthians 11:2-16[352] but on the whole commentators have not seriously challenged their own in-church presupposition: it is regarded as a "given."

It would appear from the topical structure of 1 Corinthians that Paul has followed a logical arrangement of his material. Chapters 1—6 deal with issues in the church which he heard about through Chloe; and Chapters 7—16:12 deal with issues mentioned in a letter they sent to him, where his responses are introduced by the phrase, "Now concerning . . ." (Gk περὶ δε) at 7:1 (marriage); 7:25 (virgins); 8:1, 4 (food); 12:1 (spiritual gifts); 16:1 (the collection); and 16:12 (Apollos).[353]

Paul is aware of things which are done *inside the church* and things which are done *outside the church.* Discipline of church members is done in the formal gathering of the church: "When you are assembled in the name of our Lord Jesus . . . and the power of the Lord is present, hand this man over to Satan, . . ." (1 Cor 5:4; cf. 11:17; 14:26; 1 Thess 5:14). The Christians are to judge those inside the church but leave the judgment of those outside the church to the Judgment Day (5:12-13). He corrects a misunderstanding they had from his previous letter because they applied something he had limited to an "inside" situation to an "outside" one (5:9-10), namely, not associating with an immoral person. But the "inside" situation Paul envisaged in this previous letter was not limited to the formal gathering itself. The "inside" situation covered the whole life of the church members *as a community.* The church was quite prepared to isolate itself completely from mixing with "the world" in obedience to the Apostle's word, but he is quick to reassure them that this was not what he meant: he explains that he was thinking of the Christian community. So Paul has three spheres in mind: "this world" (5:10), the formal church gathering, and the Christian community.

The context of Chapter 6:1-11 is the Christian community. In the commercial world Christians cheated and robbed one another which resulted in taking each other into "the world" to have their disputes settled. Paul is shocked by this, and tells them that they ought to have taken their disputes into "the church" which should appoint men as judges to settle the issues.

The context of Chapter 6:12-17 is the relationship of the Christian community to the world itself. They are to avoid having sexual relations with prostitutes.

Beginning at Chapter 7 he then turns to the questions they asked his advice on. The first of these (marriage) has clearly the Christian community as its context. The second—

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352 Cf. the brief list in Leroy Birney, "The Role of Women in the New Testament Church," *Journal of the Christian Brethren Research Fellowship* 33 (December, 1982) 15-32, esp. pp. 21-22; H. Wayne House, "Should a Woman Prophesy or Preach before Men?" *BibSac* 145 (1988), p. 143 n. 5; and Don Carson, "'Silent in the Churches': On the Role of Women in 1 Corinthians 14:33b-36," in John Piper and Wayne Grudem (eds.), *Recovering Biblical Manhood & Womanhood* (Wheaton, ILL.; Crossway Books, 1991), pp. 140-153, esp. pp. 145-46. In support of the out-of-church context see A. Schlatter, *Die Korintherbriefe, Schlatters Erläuterungen zum Neuen Testament*, 6. Teil (Stuttgart, 1928), VI. 180.

353 The word περὶ occurs 12 times at 1 Cor 1:4, 11; *7:1, 25,* 37; *8:1, 4; 12:1; 16:1, 12;* 2 Cor 9:1; 10:8, but only those references in italics take up issues mentioned in their letter to him. Paul also quotes their own words at 1:12; (2:15?) 6:12 (=10:23), and possibly 6:13 and 14:21-22.

Chapter 8—raised the question whether Christians could eat meat dedicated to idols which was then sold in the market. The context is the Christian community in relationship to the world. In Chapter 9 Paul defends himself against some who were sitting in judgment over him for not working in the world for his living, like the rest of the church had to do. In Chapter 10:1-13 he reminds them of the ever-present danger to their faith as they mix with the influences of the world, the flesh, and the Devil, constantly bearing down on their lives. They are to be in the world but not of it. In 10:14-33 he debars them from accepting invitations from their non-Christian friends and neighbours to eat in their temples, but they may accept invitations to have meals with non-Christian neighbours and non-Christian friends in their homes. This chapter has the relation of the Christian to his non-Christian neighbour as its context. He ends on the principle that in all their dealings with their non-Christian environment they must not offend Jewish or Gentile neighbours or those in the Church of God (which would embrace the local and wider Church of God), as he also tried not to offend men everywhere.

The whole tone of 1 Corinthians is pitched at a higher level of male bonding between the Apostle and the men than any of Paul's other epistles. He uses the term "brothers" twenty times[354] in a very personalised, direct appeal for their attention. It is as if he senses a need to get them on his side. Apart from the opening chapter (3 times) the occurrences of "brothers" as a direct address occurs more frequently as he comes to the end of his letter (four times each in chs 14 and 15). In his second last direct address to them he calls them "my beloved brothers" (15:58). He addresses them as "brothers" in every chapter except 5, 6, 8, 9, 13. This is exceptional. In 2 Corinthians he uses the direct address only three times in the whole epistle instead of the expected thirteen. But there is a correlation between the frequencies. In 2 Corinthians he has just scraped through some sort of ultimatum he sent to the church (2 Cor 2:4; 7:8-11) to which they responded positively. But his tone is distinctly cooler. But in 1 Corinthians Paul adopts a much warmer, brotherly approach to his male colleagues in Corinth. He is confident that he can control the church from a distance by warm brotherly appeals. He praises them at 11:2 for remembering him and his teaching and because they have kept the traditions he delivered to them. Having established a warm personal approach he then gently brings up the subject of Man's headship: "and I wish you to know that . . . ." He slips imperceptibly from praise to principle to practice. Whether the marked increase in the use of terms of endearment was intended to strengthen an already good relationship between the Apostle and his church, or whether it marks a detected hesitancy on their part to commit themselves to him, hence the warmer approach, is difficult to decide. Certainly 2 Corinthians suggests that a sizeable number of the church had decided to follow another leader (2 Cor 7:12) who had found fault with Paul over many matters. But that is another topic. However, the length of the following theological argument for enforcing universal church traditions, and his challenge to those who want to make an issue of this (11:16) suggests that he anticipated strong opposition to his reply, which he notes again in their determination to be a law unto themselves at times (14:36-38).

Chapter 11:1 really belongs to the conclusion of Chapter 10, but nevertheless it also forms a smooth transition to the problem of a few women not conforming to the expected pattern of behaviour that he had taught them or which they should have deduced from the principle in 11:3.

Paul had ended the previous topic, on the note of foregoing his rights in order that he would not create an "offence" to Jew or Gentile or those in the Church. Clearly some in the Christian community were offended over something. The point at issue is whether in their letter to him the Corinthian leadership were referring to the appropriateness of Man's headship in the light of our oneness in Christ (Gal 3:28), or something that was happening in the formal church gathering, or in the Christian community. It may well be that the

[354] See 4.3.3. and Chart 19. Title: "Paul and the New Testament writers addressed their letters to men."

prescribed manner of praying or prophesying was being properly observed in the church meetings but not outside it, in the public arena, where it might give offence to Jews and Gentiles. They wanted a ruling on some issue that troubled them. It should be borne in mind that Paul had been resident in Corinth for eighteen months (Acts 18:11) so that the universal Church practices would have been well established. From the fact that Paul raises the issue of Man's headship in 11:3 this would seem to be the topic of this section. Others have taken the view that the issue was head-covering and Paul begins with first principles to deal with it. We shall see that they are not separate issues but intertwined.

Paul begins each set of twin statements (11:4, 7, 11, 14) with what he expects of the men in order to lay down the corresponding duty of the woman. The first set contrasts how differently men and women should be attired when they pray or prophesy.

If, as 1 Corinthians 14:29 states, only two or three *male* prophets (note the masculine gender) were permitted to prophesy then the only context in which prophetesses could exercise their gift of prophecy was outside the formal church gathering. We have shown that the Church epistles of all the Apostles are addressed directly to the male members in the first place and through them (as heads and sons) to their womenfolk. Here in 1 Corinthians 14 the persons addressed are called "brothers" (14:6, 20, 26, 39). It will take creative eisegesis to make Paul include women in the term "brothers," and prophetesses in the term "prophet," because in v. 34 he addresses the women *through the men:* "Let [your[355]] women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted to them to speak . . . . And if they will learn . . . let them ask their own husbands at home." Paul does not address the women directly, but he commands each man to undertake the responsibility of seeing that his womenfolk do not speak in the church. This is proof enough that Paul is addressing the men in chapter 14 and that only male prophets could speak in church. The men have this right of responsibility by virtue of their God-given headship status.

The problem in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 cannot be set in a church context because women are not permitted to prophesy *specifically* in a church context. Given that only two or three males prophets could speak in the formal church gathering, and this only on one day in the week, the first day of the week, what happened to the prophecies that were revealed to the other male prophets on the other six days of the week? When and where did they deliver these? Or was prophecy only given on the Sabbath day (and never on a week-day) and only to two or three males? ("For you can all prophesy in turn so that everyone may be instructed and encouraged" 14:31.) Surely we cannot restrict the giving of prophecies to the Lord's day and only to males. If, however, 1 Corinthians 14 tells us what happened on the Lord's day in a church context, then 1 Corinthians 11 tells us what happened in the out-of-church context—on the other weekdays—in the Christian community, where ninety-five per cent of their lives were lived out.

Walker typifies the anti-Pauline approach to the subject matter of 1 Corinthians 11:2-16. He first of all accepts the thesis that some of Paul's writings were not written by him. When he subtracts these writings from the Pauline corpus he then discovers that Paul had no teaching on Headship! His argument is:

> If, however, the Pastorals, Ephesians and Colossians are regarded as pseudo-Pauline,[356] and 1 Cor. 14:34-35 as a non-Pauline gloss, there is no other passage in the entire Pauline corpus which might even possibly be interpreted as advocating any form of male priority and female subordination. Surely, this fact, coupled with Paul's clear statement of equality in Gal. 3:28, his very positive references to female co-workers, and the other indications of his "egalitarian" attitude toward women, carries some weight in determining the authenticity of

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[355] The reading of the Majority Greek Text.

[356] William O. Walker, *Interpolations in the Pauline Letters* (JSNTSS 213; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), also regards 2 Thess and Rom. 1:18—2:29 as pseudo-Pauline writings (see p. 116-17).

the verses under consideration [11:3-16]. To carry the point a bit further, however, 1 Cor. 11.3-16 is remarkably similar in subject matter, vocabulary and "tone" to 1 Cor. 14.34-35, which is widely regarded as a non-Pauline interpolation, as well as to Col. 3.18, Eph. 5.22-33, 1 Tim. 2.9-15 and Tit. 2.3-5, all of which are likely pseudo-Pauline. In particular, the closest parallel to the notion that man is the κεφαλή of woman, Christ the κεφαλή of man, and God the κεφαλή of Christ is to be found in the pseudo-Pauline Eph. 5.21-24 (especially v. 22). In short, the attitude towards women expressed in 1 Cor. 11.3-16 appears to be not only non-Pauline (and even anti-Pauline) but also characteristic of the pseudo-Pauline writings.[357]

4.3.6. 1 CORINTHIANS 11 AND ITS OUT-OF-CHURCH CONTEXT

We have already noted the uncritical assumption by many commentators and specialist writers that the context of 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 is in church.[358] Unfortunately few of them examine the possibility that 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 might apply to the ninety-five per cent of the time that men and women are *not* in church.[359]

Others who recognised that the entire Epistle was probably read out to the Corinthians in a church context (cf. Col. 4:16) nevertheless accepted that 11:2-16 and 14:34-35 were intended to be brought together and complement each other. However, there are others who, because of the apparent contradiction between these two passages regarded 11:2-16 as an un-Pauline interpolation.[360]

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[357] William O. Walker, *Interpolations in the Pauline Letters* (JSNTSS 213; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) pp. 113-114. He points out a rabbinic parallel to 11:11-12 in *Genesis Rabbah* (8.9 and 22.2). This work dates from the late-fifth or early-sixth century, though the quotation is ascribed to Rabbi Simlai (c. AD 250) and Rabbi Akiba (c. AD 135). He notes the possibility that this rabbinic parallel could be based on 1 Cor. 11:11-12, see Madeleine Boucher, "Some Unexplored Parallels to 1 Cor 11,11-12 and Gal 3,28: The New Testament on the Role of Women," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 31 (1969), pp. 50-58.

[358] So H. Wayne House, "Should a Woman Prophesy or Preach before Men?" *BibSac* 145 (1988) 143 n. 5. David W. J. Gill, "The Importance of Roman Portraiture for Head-coverings in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16," *Tyndale Bulletin* 41.2 (1990) 245-260, esp. p. 246. Other supporters are W. S. Wood, "The Ministry of Women and St. Paul," *The Expositor* 21 (1921) 292-301; L. Birney, "The Role of Women in the New Testament Church," *Journal of the Christian Brethren Research Fellowship* 33 (December, 1982) 15-32; Raymond F. Collins, *First Corinthians* (Sacra Pagina Series, Vol. 7. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1999), p. 402; and James G. Sigountos and Myron Shank, "Public Roles for Women in the Pauline Church: A Reappraisal of the Evidence," *JETS* 26 (1983) 283-95; Edward Donnelly, "Should Women Preach?" in *Men, Women and Authority,* ed. Brian Edwards (Bromley. Kent: Day One publications, 1996), pp. 114-132, esp. p. 114. The same issue is dealt with in more detail under Evangelical Compromises, see 4.10.3. "Women are permitted to pray in church but not to prophesy."

[359] Among the few who support an out-of-church setting are John MacArthur, *1 Corinthians,* MacArthur New Testament Commentary (Chicago: Moody, 1984), p. 256; Gordon Clark, "The Ordination of Women," *Trinity Review* 17 (Jan/Feb 1981) 3-4; Frederik W. Grosheide, *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians,* NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1953), pp. 341-42; R. C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of St. Paul's First and Second Epistles to the Corinthians* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1963), p. 437; W. E. Vine, *1 Corinthians* (London: Oliphants, 1951), p. 147; J. Agar Beet, *A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians,* 6th. ed. (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1895), p. 181; Charles T. Elliott, *St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians* (London: Longmans, Green, 1887), p. 202; H. A. W. Meyer, *Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistles to the Corinthians* (ET by W. P. Dickson, et al. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1873-75), p. 249; Hermann Olshausen, *Biblical Commentary on St. Paul's First and Second Epistles to the Corinthians* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1855), p. 174; and John N. Darby, *Notes of Readings on the Epistles to the Corinthians* (London: Morrish, n.d.), pp. 85-87.

[360] William O. Walker, *Interpolations in the Pauline Letters* (JSNTSS 213; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) pp. 91-146. For a defence of the Pauline authorship see sources mentioned on page 92 nn. 9-14. The main argument is based on the probability that "the Pauline writings must have undergone some revision at the hands of one or more editors" (ibid. p. 93). Walker acknowledges that there is no MS which omits 11:2-16 but this can be brushed aside as inconsequential. The interpolation is also based on the premise that both passages have to do with

Dealing with the section 1 Corinthians 11—14, F. C. Collins observed:

> Because the community's practice is under consideration in chs 11 and 14 it is tempting to consider 1 Corinthians 11—14 as a single rhetorical demonstration. The two chapters dealing with the practice of the church form an *inclusio* around chs. 12 and 13, thus establishing an A-B-B[1]-A[1] structure. While this approach has some merit it is not entirely clear that chs. 12 and 13 should be considered as analogous units.
> Chapters 12—14 are clearly arranged in a chiastic pattern. Both ch. 12 and ch. 14 deal with spiritual gifts. The tightly knit structure of 12—14 suggests that these chapters are a distinct rhetorical demonstration by themselves. Chapter 11 must then be identified as a rhetorical demonstration sandwiched between longer units on food offered to idols (chs. 8—11:1) and on spiritual gifts (chs. 12—14).[361]

He places chapter 11 outside the subject context of chs. 12—14, for he notes: "That the apostrophic address is absent from 11:2 suggests that the matter to which Paul is about to turn his attention, namely, the covering of the head, is a continuation of the earlier discussion on participation in the eucharistic assembly."[362] In other words it belongs to the "out-of-church" section.

In 11:2-16 Paul tells the women to be covered when they pray or prophesy (which gives the impression that they could pray and prophesy in church provided they covered their heads while doing so) and in 14:34-35 he denies that they can pray or prophesy in church. It seems odd if Paul was misleading his readers into believing that 11:2-16 referred to the church meeting, and left it to 14:34-35 to clarify this misleading impression. On this scenario Calvin remarked:

> However it might meet the situation quite well to say that the apostle expects this unassuming conduct from women, not only in the place where the whole congregation is assembled, but also in any of the more formal gatherings, either of matrons or of men, such as sometimes meet in private houses.[363]

It is this out-of-church context that Paul is addressing here, and there is nothing in the context which would limit it to an in-church context. Indeed, as we have noted, in the previous chapter Paul deals with invitations from unbelievers to have a meal with them, and 11:1-16 carries on this out-of-church context. It has been pointed out that δε in 11:2 makes a distinct connection between 11:2-16 and the previous topic, and the Greek should be translated as follows: "I bid you imitate me . . . but I am glad to know (from your letter) that you do. . . .."[364] It is also pointed out that the verb "you have kept (my traditions)" implies maintenance in *form* as well as in substance. The indecorum in question offends against a foundation principle, viz, that of *submission* under the Divine government."[365]

The in-church section only begins at 11:17, "Now in the following instructions I do not commend you, because when you come together it is not for the better but for the worse.

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public worship (ibid. p. 99). Walker argues that 11:18, "the first point (πρῶτον)" does not make sense "if he [Paul] had just discussed the attire and/or hairstyle of men and women in Christian worship" (ibid. p. 99).

361 Raymond F. Collins, *First Corinthians* (Sacra Pagina Series, Vol. 7. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1999), p. 392.

362 Ibid, p. 404.

363 John Calvin, *The First Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians,* Calvin's Commentaries (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1960), p. 231. Out of a study of 30 commentaries in 1978 it was found that 12 held that women must be covered in all in-church and out-of-church public occasions; see Ralph N. V. Schutt, "A History of the Interpretation of 1 Corinthians 11:2-16." M.A. research project, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1978, p. 74.

364 G. G. Findlay, "The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians," *The Expositor's Greek New Testament.* 5 vols. Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans, 1897-1910), 3. 871.

365 Findlay, *op. cit.,* p. 871.

For, to begin with (πρῶτον) . . ." (NRSV), and what follows runs on to the end of ch. 14. Now if 11:2-16 was already dealing with an in-church disorderly situation why does Paul start enumerating the *first* of their in-church disorderly practices at 11:18? It would appear that he has moved from an out-of-church context (the Christian's relations to the outside world) to a disorder affecting the church service itself, commencing at 11:17. It has been a common assumption—passed on without critical examination—that 11:2-16 and 14:34-38 have their setting in the public worship service.[366] Not surprisingly, then, this created a conflict in modern studies that never existed in Paul's mind. It was this misunderstanding that led some to think that 11:2-16 must be a non-Pauline (or pseudo-Pauline) interpolation because it does not logically precede 11:17-34.[367]

In 11:17 Paul says that their meeting together did "more harm than good"— referring to the disorder at the Lord's Supper. But if 11:2-16 was also an actual in-church situation then meetings where women appeared without a head-covering must also have been meetings that did "more harm than good," bringing shame on God's church in the sight of the angels. Paul's strong disapproval of this internal disorder ought to have produced another "I praise you not." But at 11:2 he praises them for keeping everything he delivered to them. How can he praise them at 11:2 and not praise them at 11:17 if both are in-church disorders?

A possible answer might be that since 11:17-34 is very clearly set in the church, then 11:2-16 must have an out-of-church setting. Holmyard suggests that: "The fact that Paul could praise the Corinthians (v. 2) even though their coming together was for the worse (v. 17) suggests that his praise in verse 2 was broader than gatherings for worship. Thus the setting of 11:2-16 might not be a church gathering."[368]

If the women were only going uncovered when praying or prophesying *outside the church meetings* then Paul could still praise the Corinthians that as far as the actual church meetings themselves were concerned they had kept the Church traditions he had handed down to them, with the exception of the Lord's Supper, which he deliberately placed after 11:2-16 in order to secure acceptance for his ruling on headship first. In other words they had a "deliverance" already in their possession concerning their appearance in and outside the church meetings, and they expressed in their letter that they were determined to keep it but some were not. Paul then addresses 11:2-16 to those who were determined to be contentious (11:16). In this case the majority were deserving of praise and he did not withhold it from them.

However, it is also possible that the fulsome praise Paul gives them in 11:2 for keeping the "deliverances" did not specifically include a "deliverance" on head-covering *at the time of writing,* even though it was the universal Church custom (v. 16), so that he first of all praises them for keeping every "deliverance" that he had so far spelled out to them, and then here proceeds to hand on another "deliverance" (which has it source in a revelation to him from Christ): "and I wish you to know that the head of every man is Christ, . . ."

Support for this may come in the use of δέ at 11:2. A. T. Robertson quotes, but with disapproval, the observation of D. B. Monro, "The adversative δέ properly indicates that the new clause stands in some *contrast* to what has preceded. Ordinarily, however, it is used in the continuation of a narrative."[369] As an adversative it signifies "but, however, yet, on the

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[366] See the pertinent evident in the large footnote in 4.10.3. where this assumption is built into some modern translations.

[367] William O. Walker, *Interpolations in the Pauline Letters* (JSNTSS 213; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) pp. 91-146. He notes that the use of "the first point (πρῶτον)" in 11:18 does not make sense "if he [Paul] had just discussed the attire and/or hairstyle of men and women in Christian worship" (ibid. p. 99). He concluded that 11:3-16 was a later, non-Pauline interpolation (p. 112) alongside the pseudo-Pauline Pastorals, Ephesians and Colossians. 1 Cor. 14:34-35 is a non-Pauline gloss (p. 113).

[368] Harold R. Holmyard III, "Does 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 Refer to Women Praying and Prophesying in Church?" *BibSac* 154 (1997) 467.

[369] D. B. Monroe, *Homeric Grammar* (1st ed. 1882; 2nd ed. 1891). Here the first edition is quoted in A. T. Robertson, *A*

other hand." Robertson, however, remarks that this was not its original meaning or use. The original was the ordinary narrative use (continuative) because there is in the etymology of the particle no essential notion of contrast. "What is true is that the addition is something new and not so closely associated in thought as is true of τέ and καί. . . . A new topic may be introduced by δέ in entire harmony with the preceding discussion, as the Birth of Jesus in Mt. 1:18 ("Now the birth of Jesus Christ," etc.)."[370] The adversative use here would be retrospective in that having commented on many aspects of their out-of-church community relations and having had to make many corrective remarks to keep them on course, nevertheless, looking back over chapters 6-10 he can praise them for—on the whole—being good imitators of him. It is in retrospect that he can issue praise but not in prospect (11:17-34). Between 11:1 and 11:17 he issues a new directive parts of which have relevance both to the out-of-church and the in-church situation and this could explain why he introduced it here and not at 14:34-35.

At 11:23 he spells out another such "deliverance," this time on what the Lord Jesus delivered *personally* to Paul concerning the Lord's Supper. The abrupt transition between 11:22 and 11:23 suggests that the Church had requested clarification from him over the origin of the Lord's Supper and he prefaces his reply by rebuking them for the disorder they were all guilty of, which he did not learn of from their letter but from a third party (Chloe's people?). But having given them a "ticking off" he then replies to their request. Note the emphatic, "I—I received from the Lord . . . ." So whatever they learned from other sources (which might have given rise to their request) Paul makes it clear that his knowledge is first-hand. He did not receive the "deliverance" from the hands of one of the Twelve apostles, as the Corinthian Church had received theirs from Paul.

Since 11:17 would appear to mark the division between topics which are out-of-church and topics which are in-church the overall structure of the Epistle should indicate this. I propose the following outline for the letter.

INTRODUCTION 1:1-9

PART ONE: INFORMATION CONVEYED BY LIP FROM CHLOE's PEOPLE

I. REBUKES FOR IN-CHURCH BEHAVIOUR: 1:10—4:21
   A. *Rest* only on the Lord; *Rely* only on God's Wisdom; *Receive* only the Spirit of God, 1:10—3:23
   B. Regard us as only your servants; Imitate us do not elevate us, 4:1-16
   C. Receive Timothy who will remind you of our universal church standards, 4:17
   D. Rebuke arrogant dissenters and restore order before I visit you, 4:18-21

II. REBUKES FOR OUT-OF-CHURCH BEHAVIOUR (ethical issues conveyed by lip from Chloe's people): 5:1—6:20
   A. Collectively expel the immoral brother, 5:1-8
   B. Judicially submit to Church not Civil courts, 6:1-11
   C. Socially avoid all sexual immorality, 6:12-20

PART TWO: INFORMATION CONVEYED BY LETTER FROM CORINTH

III. REPLIES TO OUT-OF-CHURCH SITUATIONS: 7:1—11:16
   A. Contract Marriages, 7:1-40
   B. Contaminated foods offered to idols, 8:1-13

Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research (3rd. ed.; New York: Hodder & Stoughton/George H. Doran, 1919), p. 1183.

[370] A. T. Robertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 1183-84.

C. Curtail freedoms for the sake of the Church (as I do), 9:1-27
D. Control freedoms lest you fall away from the faith, 10:1-13
E. Christian communion with non-Christians is not permissible, 10:14-22
F. Curtail freedom in the interests of neighbours, 10:23-26
G. Control freedom in the interests of the conscience of others (as I do), 10:27—11:1
H. Covering the head in out-of-Church situations, 11:2-16

IV. REPLIES AND REBUKES TO IN-CHURCH SITUATIONS: 11:17—15:58
A. First rebuke: disunited fellowship, 11:17-19
B. Second rebuke: disgrace over the Lord's Supper, 11:20-34
C. Third rebuke: disagreements concerning the worship service, 12:1—14:40
D. Fourth rebuke: disbelief in the resurrection, 15:1-58

V. REPLY TO IN-CHURCH ADVICE (advice sought—conveyed by letter from Corinth): 16:1-4
The Collection for the Churches of God in Jerusalem

VI. PERSONAL PLANS AND REQUESTS
A. A promise to visit them, 16:5-9
B. A request to welcome and help Timothy, 16:10-11
C. A request of theirs he has dealt with (i.e., visit of Apollos), 16:12
D. A warning and exhortation to stand firm, 16:13
E. A plea to submit to their leaders, 16:14-18

CONCLUSION, 16:19-24

It is clear that Paul has two main parts to his letter which are based on what he *heard* and what he *read*. And each part is subdivided into an "in-church" section and an "out-of-Church" section. It is this logical division of his letter that separates chapter 11 from chapter 14.[371]

It is common to find writers assuming that out-of-church events, such as the prophesying of men and women on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:16-18), apply within the church.[372] Great care must be exercised not to confuse the two contexts, otherwise one ends up with the ridiculous situation that Paul directs the women—when they are about to pray or prophesy—how they must be dressed in 11:5, and then he forbids them to speak in 14:34-35! This implausible situation has been well answered.[373] In any case this interpretation violates the rule that "no Scripture may be interpreted so as to contradict or nullify another."

Paul recognised in 11:5 the right of women to pray and prophesy *outside the church,* but this should not be used by present-day writers as an excuse to permit them to do the same *in church.* That is the crucial difference that separated 11:5 from 14:34. The spatial separation of text reflects the spatial separation of place. The important cosmological

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[371] W. Wuellner made an interesting study of digressions in 1 Corinthians and showed that they are not careless style but rather examples of Paul's rhetorical skill for, in classical rhetoric, digressions are introduced for the purpose of elucidating the issue being studied. He identifies three major digressions: 1:19—3:21; 9:1—10:13 and 13:1-13. These digressions belong to three argumentative units: 1:1—6:11; 6:12—11:1; and 11:2—14:40. His article, "Greek Rhetoric and Pauline Argumentation," is in W. R. Schoedel and R. Wilken (eds), *Early Christian Literature and the Classical Intellectual Tradition. In Honour Robert Grant* (Théologie Historique 53: Paris: Editions Beauchesne, 1979), pp. 177-188.

[372] Cf. Birney, *op. cit.,* p. 21.

[373] See R. Knight, "Paul's rebuke of women praying with uncovered heads: A new interpretation of 1 Corinthians, chap. xi. 10," *Journal of Sacred Literature* 4 (July, 1849) 88-101, esp. p, 89

principle of 11:3 would alone indicate that Paul is thinking of the Christian in relation to the world he or she is living in, especially coming as it does after chap. 10:27—11:1.

It is only when we come to 1 Corinthians 11:17 that Paul takes up issues to do specifically with in-church matters. Up until this point all the issues had to do with the Christian community in its relations to the world, and its duty not to give offence to Jew or Greek, or to the church of God. In relation to the church of God, both at Corinth (10:32) and the wider Church (11:16), offence was being given by women who reversed their respective in-church practices when praying or prophesying outside the church—on week-days, no doubt. This reversal of practices was not a custom in any of the communities of God (referring the "we" of v. 16 to the church of Ephesus[374] from where Paul was writing, and referring to all the other communities of Christians that he founded).

In reply to their reversal of practices Paul sets out by taking the mind of the men back to the controlling principle that governs the whole of the universe: the headship of God, of Christ, and of Man. This principle is supreme and ties the whole of creation in all its parts together from top to bottom in an orderly manner. Paul could have discoursed on the headships of God and Christ for a few chapters, but he obviously takes these as read, and concentrates on the Man-Woman headship. He brings the Corinthian problem under the headship of Man. The headship of Man is not confined to a church context, but covers all Man-Woman relationships wherever they occur; the family and the Christian community being obvious spheres. We noted above that God appointed a set pattern of cover/uncover when His worshippers come before Him, either in an in-church or an out-of-church context. Whenever a man prays to God he must do so with an uncovered head. There is to be a consistency of practice because the theology is consistent: Man is the image and glory of God whether he is in-church or out-of-church.

4.3.7. THE NATURE OF NEW TESTAMENT PROPHECY

The prophecy of Joel 2 is universal with regard to age (young and old), gender (male and female) and class (slave and free), but it would be wrong to import universal place for the activity of prophesying. The early church gathered in the Temple courts to worship every day (Acts 2:46; 5:42; cf. 5:12, 20, 21, 25). Peter and John went up regularly to pray there. And for the first forty years of the Church's existence it worshipped (if permitted) in the Temple. But no prophetess could speak to men in the Temple courts (Anna met the people as they went into the Temple). No prophetess could speak in the synagogues. No prophetess could speak in the Church. But, since Joel's prophecy does not say that women would/should prophesy in the Temple precincts, we should not arbitrarily assume that they did. On the day of Pentecost the phenomenon of prophesying occurred away from the Temple and was fulfilled in the open air, in full view of the nation. And, incidentally, all the prophets on this occasion were men. Women can prophesy outside the formal church gatherings any day of the week, but when they do so they must have their heads covered.

Those who permit women to prophesy in the church are frightened that they might speak with authority and, like the prophetesses of the Old Testament, give a word of rebuke from the Lord (cf. Huldah). Consequently they go to great lengths to diminish and downgrade "prophesying" in 1 Corinthians 14. The watering down is achieved by word studies so as to make what is prophesied in the church anæmic—useful, but without authority.[375]

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[374] Ephesus was probably the fourth largest city in the Roman world at that time with about 250,000 inhabitants, coming after Rome, Antioch and Alexandria.

[375] Some argue for the cessation of prophecy. See O. Palmer Robertson, *The Final Word* (London: Banner of Truth,

But according to Peter what happened on the day of Pentecost was the fulfilment of Joel's prophecy, and if females (young, citizen and slave) did receive the Holy Spirit on that day (though we cannot be certain that they did on *this particular day* but they must have done so soon afterwards to fulfil the prophecy) then the crowd is witness that they were[376] "speaking [λαλεω] in our tongues the great things of God" (Acts 2:11), and as a result 3,000 persons became members of the Church that day (2:41). In Acts 4:23, 31 all the friends (τοὺς ἰδίους, "the(ir) own [friends]") of the Apostles as well as the Apostles themselves "were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and were speaking [λαλεω] the word of God with freedom." Probably, though we cannot be certain in the present context, women were among the "friends" of the Apostles on this occasion. There is no distinction made between what the Apostles received and what their friends received.

Prophesying included foretelling future events. There were prophets in every city Paul passed through on his way up to Jerusalem (Acts 20:23; 21:4) foretelling his coming imprisonment. It is in this context that the Holy Spirit used Philip's four daughters who are mentioned as prophesying, presumably what every other prophet and prophetess had been predicting along his route, namely his coming imprisonment. Agabus was a prophet from Jerusalem who came down to Philip's house while Paul was staying with him and his four daughters, and enacted a symbolic prophecy with Paul's belt. This same Agabus predicted that a great famine would spread over the entire Roman world (Acts 11:28) which was fulfilled in the time of Claudius. It just so happens that the Spirit used a man to convey this prediction in this instance, but there was nothing to prevent Him from using a prophetess.

The prophets spoke with authority. "Judas and Silas, being themselves also prophets, exhorted the brethren with many words, and confirmed them" (Acts 15:32). No doubt the Holy Spirit gave the women the same function with regard to their ministry among women and outside the formal church context. From these examples we would have to conclude that there was nothing anæmic about the gift of "prophesying."

If there is doubt over whether 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 is set in a church context or an out-of-church context, there can be no doubt about the practice of the Early Church. Origen (AD 185-254) wrote:

> Even if it is granted to a woman to prophesy and show the sign of prophecy, she is nevertheless not permitted to speak in an assembly . . . . For it is improper for a woman to speak in an assembly, no matter what she says, even if she says admirable things, or even saintly things, that is of little consequence, since they come from the mouth of a woman.[377]

On the specific situation in Corinth some believe[378] that "prophesying" today should be considered as something that God may bring to mind, or impress on someone's heart, in such a way that the person has a sense that it is from God. But, they would argue, such prophesying, in this limited sense, is not equal to God's Word (the Bible as we have it) in authority. Prophecy is a valuable gift, but it is in Scripture that God speaks to us His very words today. They argue[379] that New Testament prophets in 1 Corinthians do not speak

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1993), and Richard B. Gaffin, *Perspectives on Pentecost* (Phillipsburg, New Jersey: Presbyterian & Reformed Pub., 1979).

[376] Grammatically masc. pl. here. Acts 2:7, 14 appears to limit the outpouring of the Holy Spirit to the Twelve as the hearers recognised their Galilean accents, but not the Jerusalem accent.

[377] Origen, *Fragments on 1 Corinthians 74* (*JTS* 19 [1918], 41-42). Cf. C. H. Turner, "Notes on the Text of Origen's commentary on 1 Corinthians," *JTS* 10 (1909) 270-76. See under 5.2 below for quotations from the Early Church Fathers on women maintaining silence in church.

[378] E.g. W. A. Grudem, "Why Christians Can Still Prophesy," *Christianity Today* 32 (1988) 29-35.

[379] Cf. W. Grudem, *The Gift of Prophecy in 1 Corinthians* (New York: University Press of America, 1982), pp. 62ff.

divinely authoritative words. Their prophecies can be evaluated, sifted and questioned at every point (14:29); they can be interrupted and forgotten (14:30). In contrast to Paul's words, they cannot be called words of the Lord (14:36-37). Prophecy is distinguished from teaching because it is based on a "revelation" which comes spontaneously to the prophet during the worship service (14:30). This revelation does not lead to any ecstatic experience, but does come forcefully enough to mind to enable the prophet to distinguish it from his normal thought processes. A "prophecy" is any public report of such a revelation. So a prophet differs from an apostle in that he lacks divine authority, and from a teacher in that his speech must be based on a revelation. New Testament prophecy could include any kind of speech activity which would be helpful to the hearers, but it generally would not include any claims to divine authority (such as "Thus said the Lord"), nor would it be expressed in distinctive speech forms. Paul says that prophecy will continue until the Lord returns (1 Cor 13:10).

This theory includes the idea that the regular, resident "true" prophet in Corinth can give out a mixture of true and false statements in his prophecies and it is the prophecies, and not the man himself, which are judged/sifted by those who hear. If this is so then women who judge the prophecies (and not the man who delivered it) cannot be asserting authority over the man.

In the *Didache* (chaps 11-13) the prophet, who is grouped with the office of Apostle and teacher, is not to be tested in regard to his utterance lest blasphemy of the Holy Spirit be committed (11.7). This implies that what a prophet says, he says as the *vox Dei,* and it is not to be questioned much less judged. The test for discerning the true from the false prophet involves examining their behaviour; (1) if one asks "in the spirit" [εν πνευματι], for money or food, then this is a sign of the false prophet; (2) if ones does not practise what one teaches, then this is also a sign. The *Shepherd of Hermes,* like the *Didache,* is also concerned about false prophets (*Mand.* 11). A true prophet is distinguished by the fact that he does not spend his time answering people's questions about their future, but instead simply proclaims the truth under the impetus of the Holy Spirit (11.5). Again, the way to test a prophet is by his life and character (11.7-12), by the company he keeps (11.13), and by his deeds (11.16). The author's view of inspiration is that God's words come to the prophet when God wills, not upon human request, and it comes in the assembly after prayer has been made. The author seems to see prophecy as a function of worship and something which is addressed to the congregation. By contrast, the false prophet tends to shun such an assembly and prefers to speak in a context other than worship.[380] Irenaeus condemns Marcus, the magician, for thinking he could confer the gift of prophecy on people. It is conferred only to "those to whom God sends His grace . . . and then they speak where and when God pleases, and not when Marcus orders them to do so."[381]

If these two early Christian documents reflect the high regard that prophesying was held in then I suspect that neither of the two modern understandings of prophesying is correct. The noun "prophet" occurs 149x in the New Testament; 92 of these refer to Old Testament prophets; 17x to Christ; 8x to John the Baptist. The presumption in the vast majority of these cases is that it refers to a supernatural gift of the Holy Spirit. The prophecy in Joel 2: 28 suggests that prophesying by sons and daughters would be no different to that exercised by Joel himself which will include exhorting, reproving, threatening judgment, as well as in foretelling future events. "For no prophecy recorded in Scripture was ever thought up by the prophet himself. It was the Holy Spirit within these godly men who gave them true messages from God" (2 Pet 1:20-21). It would appear from the writings of those who profess to "prophesy" today that they cannot say this of their "prophecies," which makes one

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380 See Ben Witherington III, *Women in the Earliest Churches* (Cambridge: CUP, 1988), pp. 193-94.

381 Irenaeus [c. AD 130—202], *Against Heresies* I 13. 1-4; cf. III ii 9 where some Christians believed that the gift of prophecy had ceased; *The Ante-Nicene Fathers,* Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, eds., 25 vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1867-97.

wonder whether they ought to be called "prophecies" at all. Possibly sincere, spiritual wishful thinking, would be a better term for it.

From his detailed study of the subject of prophecy G. W. Knight concluded—

> . . . that the New Testament speaks of this activity as the result of God's Spirit acting in and through a person to produce that which is God's revelation and that it is regarded therefore as intrinsically different from and distinguished from what the New Testament means by teaching and preaching."[382]

Yahweh used the medium of a witch and the female voice of Huldah, Miriam and Deborah to convey His messages. Would the *contents* of those messages have been any different if Yahweh had used a male voice to convey it? Surely not. Whether a male or a female voice conveyed Yahweh's message *in these specific contexts* is immaterial to the content itself, and the prophetic voice will convey the full range of Yahweh's emotions (fury, exasperation, love, encouragement, etc.). Yahweh used the mouth of Balaam (a non-Israelite) and the mouth of his ass to convey His messages.[383] The only difference is that male prophets were sometimes told to go to the male section of the Temple and deliver their prophecies from that spot, but female prophets could not do that, being barred from the men's court. Yahweh does not entice prophetesses to go against His law of entering His Temple, and neither would we expect Him to entice women into prophesying in His Son's Church.

Others regarded prophecy as a stop-gap function until the reading of Scripture replaced it.[384] Many in the Reformed churches and Brethren circles have adopted this view. Compare John Heading's judgment: "the spiritual gift of prophecy has ceased since the New Testament Scriptures are complete."[385] There is no scriptural warrant for this statement even though some cling to a verse like 1 Corinthians 13:10, "when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall become useless."[386] This verse is not about the canon of Scripture being made complete. If anything it is about it being always incomplete! For Paul is contrasting love with all the other gifts none of which is "complete" whereas love is. All canonical revelation will become useless when we see Christ Jesus face to face.

The view that the gift of prophesy has dropped out of the Spirit's list of gifts to enrich the Church is a dogmatic position based on a narrow view of the way God and the Lord Jesus communicate with the Church. Latent in this view is the fear that anything revealed by God outside the written Word may be given the same standing as the written form leading to the latter being laid aside in favour of the newer, fresher "revelation" that modern "prophesying" is said to bring. This fear is justified when women prophets are involved who, first, are uncovered when they deliver their so-called prophecies, and second, do so in Church where the Spirit expressly forbids them to speak. This can be countered or offset by the observation that men may contribute a tongue or a prophesy in church which ought to have been delivered outside the church meeting. The *content* of what they were revealing was

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382 G. W. Knight, "The Role Relation of Man and Woman and the Teaching/Ruling Functions in the Church," *JETS* 18 (1975) 81-91, esp. p. 90.

383 It was a common anti-Pauline reason to admit women to the ministry to argue that if God could use the mouth of an ass to convey His message He could use the mouth of a woman. This might have sounded clever at the time, but it was mischievous in that it did not take into account the theological reasons given for woman being silent in the church.

384 Cf. K. T. Wilson, "Should Women Wear Head-coverings," *BibSac* 148 (1991) 442-462, esp. p. 450.

385 John Heading, *First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Kilmarnock, Scotland: John Ritchie, 1965), p. 168.

386 See Wayne Gruden, *The Gift of Prophecy in the New Testament and Today* (Westchester, ILL: Crossway Books, 1988), pp. 52-54 for a good defence of this view.

no doubt Spirit-inspired, but the *context* in which they released it was not. The criterion for content and context is that both should edify the whole church (1 Cor 14).

On the broader issue of prophesy having fallen into abeyance or suspended once the canonical writings were fixed, on the misapplication of 1 Corinthians 13:10, "when that which is complete [meaning the canonical writings of the NT] has come then that which is in part [prophesying, tongues, revelations, etc.] is done away with," first, it should be noted that the Church has "lost" Paul's "Letter to the Laodiceans" which is referred to in Colossians 4:16, and two of his four letters to the Corinthians. We have only his second (=1 Cor) and fourth (=2 Cor) letters. Indeed, if we are to go by the large number of churches that Paul founded then the majority of Paul's letters have been "lost." Of the twelve Apostles we have writings from only three of them (Peter, James and John) and what has survived cannot be all that they wrote. So we have lost the majority of their inspired writings. We have only four canonical Gospels and the first three of these overlap considerably. Yet John tells us that he has made only a selection of all that Jesus said and did, because if all Jesus said and did were recorded the world itself could not contain the books required (Jn 21:25). So the early Church was considerably richer than we are today in the sources, both written and live (Apostles and prophets), that it had to guide them into all truth. Yet on top of a more extensive knowledge of Jesus' words and deeds than we have in the four Gospels, and on top of having twelve authoritative Apostles whom they could consult daily, the Lord Jesus gave His churches prophets through whom He could give day to day guidance. And why should He not do so? He is Head of the Church which is His body. There is nothing to fear in having a "hands on" Head of the Church who can communicate directly in a contemporary situation. The four Gospels were in existence and all the Apostles were probably dead (except John) when Jesus continued to speak *directly* to the seven churches in Asia.

However, whatever "communication" Jesus is said to give through "prophesy" today must never contradict the written sources. The false prophet can be recognised by his failure to live a godly life in accordance with the written sources. We know the written sources are the pure Word of God; we cannot be sure modern "prophets" are a pure source unless their lives are lived in full obedience to Jesus' recorded teaching. So, even though the written sources (contained in the NT) are only a fraction of what the Early Church possessed they are sufficient to guide us into all that is necessary for salvation. We have no warrant to conclude that Jesus is not taking an active part in the running of His Church today as he did in John's day with the seven churches. We have no warrant to conclude that He has lost His voice, therefore He can still speak to His wayward churches today, if they have an ear to hear Him.

Second, written Scriptures are the product of the gift of the Holy Spirit given to men and women in the past. They are not the gift itself. The gift of the Spirit is given to every new born Christian and we know that the Spirit gives gifts to each for profit and He divides to each separately as He intends for the building up of the Body (1 Cor 12:7-11). Ephesians 4:7, "to each one of you was given the grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ . . . and he gave gifts to men . . . and he gave some as apostles, and some as prophets, and some as evangelists, and some as shepherds and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for a work of service, for a building up of the body of Christ . . . that we may no more be babes . . . ." We have no warrant to believe that the Spirit has ceased to give each member a gift of some kind because of the analogy of the body parts in Ephesians 4:12-16; Romans 12:4-8 and 1 Corinthians 12:12-27. While the Twelve Apostles were necessary to replace the presence of the Lord Jesus, once they had delivered His teaching they were redundant, and therefore there was no necessity to keep up the number twelve as they died off. That gift was not renewed once it had fulfilled its purpose. It was only at the initial stage of setting up the Church that they were crucial. But their apostolic teaching and traditions were delegated and handed on to others before the time came for them to die; thus Paul deliberately chose men to take over from him (Timothy and Titus) to continue to preach his Gospel to the next generation. He encouraged Timothy to do the same (2 Tim 2:2). As transmitters of the Gospel

they function in the same way as the original Twelve, and as inheritors of that Apostolic Gospel they function as "apostles" to the next generation.

4.3.8. DISCERNING OR JUDGING THE PROPHETS' MESSAGES?

In the light of the foregoing understanding of prophecy the "judging/discerning" of the resident prophets in the Corinthian church (14:29) would be an instant, on the spot, judgment, whether what they had just heard in the assembly was profitable, i.e., whether it fitted in with Paul's idea of things that profit the whole congregation and not just a few (as in foreign tongues).[387] In other words, all that the true prophet says is true (because the Holy Spirit is the revealer), but the control of the Spirit belongs to the speaker who must make a judgment whether to speak or keep quiet. Out of the same mouth cannot come forth false and true prophecies, but all that comes out may not fulfil the criterion of being helpful to all (or the majority) and that has been the chief concern of Paul throughout chapter 14. It is in this sense that the faculty of discerning comes into play and all the congregation can be involved in it. So some kinds of prophesying, like some foreign tongues (the uninterpreted ones) can take up valuable time in the worship service. Paul is advising them to cut out any kind of prophesying and foreign tongue-speaking that benefits only a few, and permit only the use of tongues (i.e., interpreted foreign languages) and prophesyings that benefit the majority. It is in this context that someone may be moved, while a prophecy is being delivered which does not benefit all, to stand up and deliver a prophecy that does profit. The first prophet must cease speaking and give way to the second prophet. This does not mean that the first prophet is speaking unspiritual revelations, or that he is not speaking under the direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Rather, what he has to say may best be delivered in a less public arena, or he started off addressing the whole congregation but got side-tracked into something that was not relevant to all in the congregation. How do you stop someone going on and on for hours? might have been a question in the Corinthian letter to Paul. Paul's suggestion that one prophet gives way to another rules out the possibility that one individual could monopolise the service for hours. What a wise, Solomonic, judgment this was.

It may not be known until *after* a foreign language (=tongue) has been exercised or a prophesy delivered that these have not benefited all, but through the congregation's experience the person with the gift of a particular foreign language and the prophet who does not restrain his use of his gift *to edify all* will be lovingly guided by the judgment/discernment of the congregation toward a more judicious use of their gift in the worship service, so that their corporate time together is not wasted. All their gifts profit, Paul is saying, but all gifts do not profit all, when all meet together in one place. Some are best exercised in private or in smaller groups while others should be displayed from the housetops, as it were. The congregation, Paul says, must learn to distinguish when and where their gifts can be used most profitably.

If *all* can prophesy then *all* can "discern." Because some Corinthians were eating and drinking but not "discerning" the body of the Lord (11:29), the Lord judged them by killing some of them and leaving others weak and sick. It does not appear that there is a gift of discernment in 14:29 (despite 12:10) that some have and others do not have. So "discern" in this context means that each can learn from the one who speaks a prophecy provided that the speaker has not misjudged in advance that what he is going to say is beneficial to the majority (οἱ ἄλλοι) if not all of those present. We have two present imperatives in 14:29, "let two or three speak [=prophesy]" and "let the rest discern/decide [its profit: πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον

[387] See Excursus 7 for a critique of Piper & Grudem's view in *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood: A Response to Evangelical Feminism*, ed. John Piper and Wayne Gruden (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 1991).

(12·7)],” not decide whether it is true or false in a show of hands or by some majority decision of those present.

The theory that the congregation was to sift out the “true bits” from the “false bits” in the Spirit-given spiritual gifts is incomprehensible and a drastic downgrading of the presence and quality of the Holy Spirit in the believer’s life. Either a prophet is false or he is true. There is no instance in the Bible where a prophet like Isaiah, Jeremiah or Ezekiel delivered a mixed prophecy to God’s people, which would leave their hearers with an excuse to reject “God’s word,” because they could argue they could not sort out which bits were true and which were false! What God’s prophets delivered were the very words of God Himself, nothing more and nothing less. It was a black or white situation; a true or false message, never a mixture. They did not carefully “compose” their prophecies so that a human element came into it. They were given the exact words to use (2 Pet 1:20-21). There is no reason to think that New Testament prophets were any different because it was the *same Spirit* that was in them as was in the Old Testament prophets. Now, since the Holy Spirit was poured out on all the believers, young and old, mature and immature, there is a greater need to exercise control of the gifts *in the church meeting* to fulfil the primary criterion that the use of their gifts must edify all (or the vast majority) because they could all prophesy. But the control is limited only in the context of the formal worship service. The women and girls could exercise their prophetic gifts outside the immediate context of the worship service, in the Christian community (like Anna), as could those men who did not get an opportunity to do so during the worship service, so no restriction is placed on their use in out-of-church situations.

That this interpretation is consistent with 11:5 and 14:34 can be judged from the fact that Paul uses the same criterion when assessing when tongues (=foreign languages) and prophecies can be used to profit all in the worship service. Concerning tongues he advises that unless the gift profits all then they should keep quiet; and concerning prophets he gives the same ruling (by analogy): if a prophecy does not profit all then it, too, should not be voiced. The congregation are to be the final arbiters in both cases and must exercise strict control over the best use of their time in church. Certain types of prophecies, no less than tongues, may be more profitably exercised in a private or small group setting, and while tongues can be allowed or disallowed on the simple criterion of whether the Spirit has given the gift of interpretation of tongues to someone present, the exercise of the gift of prophecy, which will be in the local language, is not so easily assessed for profitably. It is only after the prophecy has been delivered that the congregation can “discern” whether it profited few or many. So there will be some feedback to the prophet immediately whether he has misjudged the criterion laid down by Paul for profitability. This will reflect on the prophet’s own sense of judgment and maturity, and it will be through these weekly “exercises” of his prophetic gift that he will gain better judgment over what to release in the in-church context and what to release in the out-of-church context, but prophesy he must inside or outside the church.

Lastly, we have an apparent abrupt change of topic in 1 Corinthians 14:36-38, before Paul returns in 14:39-40 to sum up the advice he had given them concerning the most profitable way to use their spiritual gift to the edification of all in the church context.

In contrast to the above, some suggest that what the prophets prophesied needed to go through a process of sifting or testing called “discerning,” which suggests that the “prophecy” was not as straightforward as the message that came through “tongues,” which did not need to go through a “discerning” process. This scenario finds it solution in one word, “discern,” in 14:29 (pres. act. imper. 3 masc. pl.). The verb διακρίνω[388] occurs nineteen

[388] Liddell & Scott give the meanings: separate from one another; separate into elemental parts; passive: to be divorced; distinguish; decide (of judges); set [a place] apart [for holy purposes]; interpret [a dream]; question; doubt, hesitate, waver.

times in the NT. Five times it is translated by "doubt"; three times by "judge"; twice by "discern"; twice by "contend"; twice by "waver"; and five times by other words.

It is translated by "doubt" in Mt 21:21, "If you have faith and do not doubt" (cf. Mk 11:23). Acts 10:20, "Arise, therefore, go down and go with them, doubting nothing." Cf. Acts 11:12. Rom 14:23, "But he who doubts is condemned if he eats." *Discriminate* or *discern* [a possible wrong action] would seem to fit the context better.

It is translated by "judge" in 1 Corinthians 6:5, "Is it so, that there is not a wise man among you . . .who will be able to judge between his brothers?" The idea of *assessing* or *analysing* who is right would fit the context here and also fit the contexts of 1 Corinthians 11:31 and 14:29, which would suit the idea of assessing whether the prophecy was "profitable" or "not profitable" for the majority. That is what has to be "discerned," not that the prophecy itself has to be dissected into "true" and "not true" parts.

This latter possibility has provided some with a solution to the women's silence in 14:34.

> The context would suggest strongly that what he has in mind is the judging or evaluation of prophecy. . . . When it comes to prophecy, two or three should speak, their messages must be weighed carefully . . . . It is at this point and in this context that the silence of the women is enjoined 'as in all the congregations of the saints'(v.33). Such a general restraint is understandable in view of the widespread occurrence of prophecy in the early church. . . . When prophecies are being judged, 'women should remain silent in the churches'. . . .
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> Why should this be so? If women were enabled and permitted to prophesy, why might they not evaluate prophecies? Paul amplifies his prohibition: 'They are not allowed to speak, but must be in submission, as the Law says' (v.34). Their speaking would show lack of submission, a usurping of authority. A prophet had no authority of his own, but 'was purely and simply an instrument, an organ of the word of God'. . . . The judging of prophecies, probably an evaluation of whether or not they were true or false, was also a teaching role and therefore limited to men. . . . If any women were tempted to get round this prohibition, expressing their assessment of a prophecy under the guise of questions, 'they should ask their own husbands at home' (v.35).[389]

Male commentators seem obsessed with the view that the Christian women in Corinth are devious schemers and Paul has to devise ways and means of keeping them in check lest any public assessment of a male prophet's message "shows lack of submission "or usurps his leadership position. This scenario introduces tension into all gatherings of men and women. Fear, not love, is lurking in the background all the time.

There are many difficulties with this scenario.[390] First, the verb διακρίνω is overworked in this scenario. It has been given a technical meaning of studying prophecies with a view to deciding which are false and which are true. This specialised meaning does not occur anywhere else in the NT. There is no suggestion anywhere in the NT (or the OT) that a faithful prophet would be the unwitting instrument for delivering a false prophecy. (The reverse may be true. Caiaphas predicted Jesus' death.) The test is whether the prophecy comes true and this will take time. Sitting in church "weighing up the prophecy" is not going to speed up this process.

There is, in any case, an apparent inconsistency in the argument. It is claimed that, "A prophet had no authority of his own, but 'was purely and simply an instrument, an organ of

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389 Edward Donnelly, "Should Women Preach," in *Men, Women and Authority,* ed. Brian Edwards (Bromley. Kent: Day One publications, 1996), pp. 114-132, esp. p. 117..

390 See other objections under 4.3.1. "Chattering Women."

the word of God'." If the Holy Spirit used the prophet as His mouthpiece how can His Word be false? Yet, quote: "The judging of prophecies, probably an evaluation of whether or not they were true or false, ..." The meaning of διακρίνω in this context may be no higher than simply paying attention to the two or three male prophets who can prophesy in the time available and assessing their "profitability" for the whole congregation. This view of "prophesying" fits into the definition Paul gives the word in 14:3, rather than the idea of foretelling the future which tends to be its chief function in Acts. The former involves the Holy Spirit speaking non-predictively and the latter speaking predictively through human beings. It would seem that "prophesying" covers *any* direct involvement of the Holy Spirit's service to the Church through men inside and outside, and women outside, the church meeting. Presumably they can prophesy in tongues of men and of angels, as well as without tongues. The content stays the same, only the language in which it is delivered differs.

Second, the whole chapter is addressed to the "brothers," as are all of Paul's church epistles.[391] Only men are the prophets and tongue-speakers throughout the passage. Paul knows, from the universal directive, that all speaking in the churches (as in the synagogues) was a male function. Therefore any individual, vocal contribution by a woman would be a serious breach of proper decorum. It is this breach that constitutes the sense of shame throughout the congregation, not that she is "judging" a male prophet. She can do that in her public prayers (as this scenario permits her to pray in church) and no one can stop her.

Third, the distance between "discern" in 14:29 and the "silence" in v. 34 is interrupted by other ideas, so that it requires special pleading to link them in the way this scenario suggests.

Fourth, there was only one church in Corinth, therefore the reference to the universal practice of silence "in the churches" reads like a directive that has been around for some time and Paul (under the guidance of the Holy Spirit) reminds the church in Corinth that they must bear it in mind when they are met together to worship and edify one another within the bounds of theological traditions.

Fifth, the phrase "as in all the churches" in v. 33b, probably triggered the insertion of the universal directive immediately following it, in v. 34, which has an almost identical expression, and not that the "silence" is connected to the "discerning" mentioned five verses before this. My own preference is that v. 33b goes with 34-35, in which case the unit (the Universal Directive) was brought to Paul's mind by the word "submissive" in v. 32.

Sixth, the link between women addressing questions to prophets (male and female) is again too great (six verses intervene) to be sustainable. Paul links her questions with her desire to learn more about Christianity and not to stop her from questioning male prophets. Could a female prophet be questioned by those who heard her, or were only male prophets allowed to answer questions about the contents of their utterances? If she can give answers, does she not also speak apart from prophesying?

Seven, this scenario makes the assumption that the Christian woman's questions are always aggressive, pushy, assertive and liable to usurp male authority. What if she asked genuine questions, such as a gentleman might ask, in a deferential manner? How could this be construed as usurping male leadership? Why would Paul ban *all* questions, and not just specify the type of questions that he deemed inappropriate for a female to ask in church? Are there not questions which are inappropriate for males to ask? Why are these not silenced? This scenario has sex discrimination written all over it. (See fourteen below.)

Eight, what if the quota of three speaking prophets all happened to be females, would it be wrong for the women to question the female prophets in church? There is no possibility of usurping a male prophet's standing as a deliverer of a "false" prophecy in these situations.

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[391] See 4.3.3. "Paul addresses males in his church epistles."

Nine, this scenario permits women to "pray or prophesy" according to 11:5. Were women excluded from speaking in tongues in church? Is it assumed that they did so in 1 Corinthians 14? Are they excluded from interpreting a male tongue speaker's message, even if they are the only ones present who know what was said? In the list of vocal contributions in 14:26 how many of these can a woman contribute in church? One item reads, "a teaching," can she contribute a teaching? If so, then there is an apparent contradiction with 1 Tim 2:12.

Ten, in 14:30 a male prophet could be speaking and any female sitting nearby could silence him by interrupting him in mid-flow, and he would have to give way to her prophecy. Surely this would be a greater blow to his pride than being asked gentle, genuine questions about his prophecy after he had stopped speaking.

Eleven, why, in this scenario, is "discerning" whether a prophecy is true or false classified as a teaching function and so inappropriate for women? They are not the same thing. This looks like an attempt to re-classify a non-teaching function as a teaching function in order to ban women from doing it.

Twelve, this scenario has its origin in the presupposition that 11:5 permits women to pray or prophesy *in church.* Once this assumption became a fixed point then her silence could not include these two functions, yet the immediate context of 14:34-35 clearly includes prophesying. Banning women from "judging" the prophecies delivered by females and males was one very precarious way to solve the problem.

Thirteen, the model of the Christian synagogue supplies the best scenario for understanding Paul's theological traditions regarding the way men and women are to behave themselves in the House of God.

Fourteen, this scenario is focussed on a very narrow definition of headship, namely, leadership. Headship is much wider and deeper than this. It is the total giving of one person to another to do his will in a voluntary manner. Christ does God's will; Man does Christ's will; and Woman does Man's will. The essence of each relationship is freedom to serve the other in a manner that surpasses one's highest ideal of voluntary, loving, sacrificial service: to obey one's head *in everything.* We see it best in the way the Lord Jesus put God's will before everything else, yet He was equal to the Father in His nature. He did it freely but He also did it fully—no half-hearted service with Him. Man is to imitate Jesus, and Woman is to imitate Man and Jesus. Headship is more than a contract between two, distinct persons. It is the absorption of one person into the other so that they operate as one, with one mind and one goal in view. There is a hint of it in Genesis 2:23, "For this reason a man will leave his father and mother and be united [fused] to his wife, and they will become one flesh." And, "Christ is the head of the church, his body" (Eph 5:22). The Body and the Head act and move as one. This is headship. It is more than leadership. It is that plus the complete giving of oneself in love to do someone else's will to the fullest extent of one's ability. There is no fear or tension in this relationship. It is held together by mutual love.

Man alone has been given the responsibility to speak *in Church.* Woman is to acknowledge this position by being submissively silent alongside him in Church. Public speaking is the Christian man's prerogative. Once this truth has been established and the tradition observed for any length of time, any breach of it by a woman is immediately sensed by all present as a shameful act. This is what Paul meant when he said, "it is disgraceful for a woman to speak in the church." Speaking of any sort is for men only. This order in the Church ensures that Christ receives the full attention of all the males who present themselves before Him and His Father with an uncovered head in the formal worship service. The females also present themselves with a covered head.

4.3.9. 1 CORINTHIANS 14:34-36

4.3.9.1. PAUL QUOTES HIS OPPONENTS IN 1 CORINTHIANS 14:34-35

Some scholars have tried to account for the abrupt change from giving directions on making the best use of their gifts in the limited worship time to banning all women from speaking in church by speculating that 14:34-36 is a quotation of Paul's opponents, and they translate the verses: "The women (you say) should keep silence in the churches, for they are not permitted to speak, but should be in subjection, as even the law says. If there is anything they desire to know, let them ask their husbands at home. For it is shameful for a woman to speak in church." This interpretation, it is argued, puts Paul in agreement with his treatment of women in 11:5 and Galatians 3:28.[392] The flaw in this argument is that it sets Paul against Paul, as if he could not write Galatians 3:28 and 1 Corinthians 14:34-35. It should be noted that where Paul quotes his source (the Corinthian letter to him), both the quote and his reply relate to issues in the surrounding verses (e.g., 1 Cor 6:12-13; 7:1).[393] Paul begins a new section with such quotes, not, as here, in the middle of a discourse. Lastly, vv. 36-38 are left stranded without any "commandment of the Lord" in the preceding context to which they could refer.

Another way to get round the ban on women speaking in church was to argue that Paul had meant "the flesh" or carnality when he said "women" in 1 Corinthians 14:34.[394]

4.3.9.2. THE TRANSPOSITION OF 1 CORINTHIANS 14:34-35 TO FOLLOW V. 40

The abrupt transition to the role of women probably accounted for the transposition of vv. 34-35 following v. 40 in a few (mainly Western) manuscripts. The full evidence consists of: D F G 88* it ^{ar,b,d,e,f,g} vg^{ms} Ambrosiaster Sedulius-Scotus. A. C. Wire and C. Niccum have made the most detailed study of the manuscript evidence so far.[395] The earliest evidence is *Codex Claromontanus* (=D, VI cent.[396]). It contains only the Pauline Epistles. This MS complements *Codex Bezae* (Gospels & Acts) and both belong to the Western Text. The Western Text, and *Codex Bezae,* in particular, is not to be trusted.[397] *Codex Bezae* [i.e., D], in particular, takes liberties with the Greek text. It lacks Jesus' genealogy in Matthew so we do not know

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[392] N. M. Flanagan & Edwina Hunter Snyder, "Did Paul put down women in 1 Cor 14:34-36?" *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 11 (1981) 10-12; P. F. Ellis, *Seven Pauline Letters* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1982), pp. 102-103.

[393] Fee points out that there is no precedent for such a long quotation that is also full of argumentation (*1 Corinthians,* p. 705). See also the comments by L. Ann Jervis, "1 Corinthians 14.34-35: A Reconsideration of Paul's Limitation of the Free Speech of Some Corinthian Women," *JSNT* 58 (1995) 51-74, esp. p. 59.

[394] Richard Farnworth, *A Woman forbidden to speak in the Church* (London, 1654); and George Keith's "Post-script" (pp. 17-25) to *The Woman-Preacher of Samaria* (London, 1674); and Patrick Livingston in "Some Queries to them that deny Womens speaking in the Church" in *Truth Owned and Deceit Denyed* (London, 1667). The issue of women preachers was a live one in Quaker circles in the 17th century. For the literature see the introduction by David J. Latt in *Womens Speaking Justified [Margaret Fell]* (The Augustan Reprint Society, pub. no. 194; Los Angeles, University of California: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1979).

[395] Antoinette Clark Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress Press, 1990), pp. 149-52; and Curt Niccum, "The Voice of the Manuscripts on the Silence of Women: The External Evidence for 1 Cor 14.34-5," *NTS* 43 (1997) 242-255.

[396] It is written colometrically, i.e., the size of the lines are regulated by the sense, not by the number of letters. It represents two MSS. The text belongs to the Gk text behind the Old Latin version. For further information on the DEFG group see Kirsopp Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul* (London: Rivingtons, 1911), pp. 414-20.

[397] See B. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968, 2d ed), p. 50; and J. Rendel Harris, *Codex Bezae, a Study of the So-Called Western Text of the New Testament* (Texts and Studies, vol. II; Cambridge: University Press, 1891). MS E is a copy of D made in the XIth cent, and is only valuable where D is no longer extant.

how it arranged that particular genealogy. However, in the case of Luke's genealogy Bezae omitted the first forty names (i.e., Lk 3:23b-31) and substituted twenty-seven names from Matthew's list (i.e., from David to Joseph, Mt 1:6-16) in their place. It then reversed the descending order of these twenty-seven names so as to make them fit into the rest of Luke's ascending order. MS D then interferes with the twenty-seven names it borrowed from Matthew's list by introducing the three deliberately omitted kings into it, namely, Ahaziah, Joash and Amaziah. It created a unique blunder when it also introduced another deliberately omitted king in Matthew's list, namely, Jehoiakim, twice (!) under the names Ἰωακειμ and Ἐλιακειμ (Eliakim was an alternative name for Jehoiakim, cf. 2 Chr 36:4). Codex D also omits two names in the section of Luke's list that it retains, namely Admin and Cainan. By these arbitrary changes Luke's 77 names are reduced to 66 generations in Codex Bezae. MS D's deliberate alteration may be linked with his alteration to the divine words ("Today I have begotten you," taken from Ps 2, a Royal Psalm) in Lk 3:22.[398] Any copyist/self-appointed harmonist/editor who is prepared to interfere with Jesus' genealogy and transpose verses in this arbitrary manner should be treated with the greatest suspicion and caution.[399]

In addition Codex Bezae has added eleven Greek words at Luke 23:53 (και θεντος αυτου επεθηκε τω μνημειω λειθον ον μογις εικοσι εκυλιον, "and after he had been laid, he placed over the tomb a stone which twenty men could scarcely roll"). J. Rendel Harris noted that D "*has deliberately incorporated into his text a verse of Latin poetry,* which he has then turned into Greek, following closely the order of the Latin verse." The Latin verse is: "et posito eo inposvit in monumento lapidem quem vix viginti movebant," ("And he placed a stone on the monument which [required] the strength of twenty men to move it.") which Scrivener has traced back to Homer's *Odyssey* (IX. 240).[400] It seems incredible that a copyist would "improve" his copy of Luke in this way.

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[398] George E. Rice, 'Luke 3:22-38 in Codex Bezae: The Messianic King,' *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 17 (1979) 203-208.

[399] On the bias in Codex Bezae against women in Acts 1:14; 17:4, 12, 34; 18:28 (reduced or eliminated by D), and what is made of this, see E. F. Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins.* (New York: Crossroads/London: SCM Press, 1983), p. 52. But D. C. Parker has shown that whoever translated Acts did not translate the Gospels, in "Translation of OYN in the Old Latin Gospels," NTS 31 (1985) 252-76; ibid, *Codex Bezae: An early Christian manuscript and its text* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992), p. 192.

[400] J. Rendel Harris, *Codex Bezae: A Study of the So-called Western Text of the New Testament.* Vol. II. Texts and Studies. Edited by J. Armitage Robinson. (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1891), p. 47. The inserted material is also found in the Latin Codex Colbertinus (or c), and the Sahidic. Harris gives about 30 examples where the Greek text of Bezae has been altered to suit the Latin, such as the omission of παρακαλειν in Lk 15:28, "apparently because there was nothing to balance it in the Latin" (p. 53; see pp. 52-61).
The reference to Homer as the source for this addition is questionable given that it reads "twenty-two wagons" to move the stone. The text is as follows:

ouk an ton ge duô kai eikos' amaxai*
esthlai tetrakukloi ap' oudeos ochlisseian**:
tossên êlibaton* petrên epethêke thurêisin.
hezomenos d' êmelgen ois kai mêkadas aigas,
panta kata moiran*, kai hup' embruon* hêken hekastêi.
ouk an ton ge duô kai eikos' amaxai*

Then [the Cyclops] heaved on high, a rock's enormous weight
To the cave's mouth he roll'd, and closed the gate
(Scarce twenty four-wheel'd cars, compact and strong,
The massive load could bear, or roll along). (Translation by Pope)

It is more likely that Codex Bezae has been influenced by Josphus' *Wars of the Jews,* Book 6, chapter 5, paragraph 3. "Moreover, the eastern gate of the inner [court of the] temple, which was of brass, and vastly heavy, and had been with difficulty shut by twenty men, and rested upon a basis armed with iron, and had bolts fastened very deep into the firm floor, which was there made of one entire stone, was seen to be opened of its own accord about the sixth hour of the night."

The next two witnesses to the transposition are F (IXth cent.[401]) and G (IXth cent.[402]), also said to be witnesses to the Western text. MS 88 is XIIth cent.[403] It is worth mentioning that the witness of MS 88* is weakened by the fact that it has a double slash sign to indicate the repositioning of vv. 34-35. It is therefore a witness to the canonical position from which it wants to depart.

The only Church Father to support the transposition is Ambrosiaster (*ca.* 366-382) but we cannot be sure what his motive was, because, as we have noted, vv. 36-40 seem to follow closely on v. 33. If vv. 34-35 are an important negative caveat inserted by Paul then it could have been omitted if not germane to a writer's purpose, and this may have been the case with anyone quoting 1 Corinthians 14, including Ambrosiaster. No source is given in UBS[4] for Ambrosiaster's quotation of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35.[404] It would seem that the development of Ambrosiaster's text is that it was based on Lucifer's text, which in turn was based on Cyprian's text (AD 258).[405] And Claromontanus is Lucifer's text contaminated with the Vulgate in Paul's longer epistles. The agreements seem too close for any other explanation. The commentary of Ambrosiaster is the earliest commentary on all of Paul's epistles that has survived. But there is some doubt whether it really is the work of Ambrosiaster.[406]

There is not a single ancient version that supports the transposition. Besides the four Greek MSS only the following five Old Latin MSS support the transposition: $it^{ar,d,e,f,g}$. Their respective dates are IX, V (this is the Latin translation of *Codex Claromontanus*), IX, IX and IX. All the early versions (Vulgate, Syriac, Coptic and Armenian) retain the verses where they are, which suggests that the transposition occurred (1) only *after* these versions were made, or (2), and more likely, the transposition was made in a Greek copy which became the exemplar of the Western Text, and the versions were not based on that deviant copy.

Lastly, there is the witness of Sedulius-Scotus, probably a monk of St. Gall about 820. He had lived as a layman in Italy, and afterwards became a monk and wrote his poems in Achaia.[407]

It is typical of many anti-Pauline writers to play down or, more usually, to omit to mention the paucity of the evidence for the transposition (i.e., only four Greek MSS out of 294 collated for the UBS[4] edition; and only five [four of them dated IXth cent.] out of 20 Old Latin MSS listed in UBS[4]. The four oldest Old Latin MSS $it^{gue,l,r^3,z}$ support the Majority Text reading. Their respective dates are VI, VII, VII, VIII. Also omitted is any mention of the poor quality of the support for the transposition. Many, out of ignorance, play on the footnote in some

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Bruce Metzger has a helpful note on Lk 23:53 in *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London/New York: United Bible Societies, 1971), p. 183. Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* (12:899-900) refers to 12 men 'scarcely' [Latin vix = Greek mogis] being able to move a stone.

401 *Codex Augiensis;* now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. The Gk text resembles that of G, but the Latin is that of the Vulgate written in a separate column and not between the Greek lines. The Aland classification puts manuscripts F and G among the MT group so they can not be regarded as consistent witnesses to the WT.

402 *Codex Boernerianus* has an interlinear Latin translation of an Old Latin type. The Latin text belongs to the same type as D, but is inferior in value and has been much more contaminated with the usual type of late text, according to K. Lake, 1911:415.

403 The copyist recognised the displacement as an error and inscribed two short slashes on the line of writing to signify a necessary reversal of order before writing the words about the women (see A. C. Wire, *op. cit.,* p. 151). So that even this witness is ambiguous. The Aland classification puts this ms among the MT group so it is not a true witness to the WT.

404 See Alexander Souter, *A Study of Ambrosiaster* (Cambridge: University Press, 1905), pp. 215-57, esp. p. 226 where Ambrst. and Cyprian agree in following v. 33 with 36. See also p. 189, 'The whole block, verses 34 and 35 of 1 Cor. xiv, with commentary, is transferred to the end of the chapter, after verse 40.'

405 Alexander Souter, *A Study of Ambrosiaster* (Cambridge: University Press, 1905), p. 214.

406 T. B. Allworthy, *Women in the Apostolic Church* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1917), p. 95.; and cf. A. Souter, *A Study of Ambrosiaster* (Cambridge: University Press, 1905), pp. 161-64 and p. 183 where Hilary (AD 367-408) is a contender.

407 See the anonymous review article II in the *Church Quarterly Review* 47 (1898/9) 320 n. 5, 319 n. 5.

English versions that "some manuscripts" transpose them, without looking behind the "note." The NRSV (1989) has the misleading footnote, "Other ancient authorities put verses 34-35 after verse 40," but then quite arbitrarily brackets verses 33b and 36 with vv. 34-35, following Moffatt (1913) who places 14:37-40 after v. 33 on the grounds that: "There is some early textual evidence for reading 34-35 after 40" (see Appx A in the 1913 edition). But he, too, places vv. 33b and 36 with vv. 34-35 after v. 40, without a single manuscript to support this move.

The vast majority of the primary evidence (all the papyri, all the versions, and 290 Greek manuscripts) supports the retention of vv. 34-35 where they are in the present critical Greek editions. The earliest evidence in this regard is papyri $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ dated "about 200" which takes the present text to within 150 years of the original letter itself, of which it could be a first direct copy. It should also be noted that not a single MS or version omits these two verses. The four Greek MSS represent less than 1.5% of the Greek evidence.

Readers should note the inconsistent system of rating given to the present text in UBS[4], i.e., {B}. On any objective criterion it should have been {A}. The reason for many distrusting the UBS rating system is that the character of each manuscript is not taken fully into account when weighing its variant readings, plus an undue preference given to the Alexandrian-type text (ℵB). "The *Alexandrian text* . . . is usually considered to be the best text and the most faithful in preserving the original"; ". . . the generally superior manuscripts, B and ℵ."[408] The Western text is noted for its paraphrasing tendency. "Words, clauses, and even whole sentences are freely changed, omitted, or inserted. Sometimes the motive appears to have been harmonization, . . ."[409] The Western Text in Acts is ten per cent longer than the Majority Text, which gives some idea of the arbitrary nature of this text-type to go its own way. Three of the four Greek MSS that transpose verses 34-35 after 14:40 are from this text-type which does not inspire confidence that they could be right and all the other earlier witnesses wrong.

The evidence in support of the transposition is further weakened by the fact that all of its non-Greek support is confined to Latin bilinguals or Latin texts. The fact that F and G are so close to each other has led textual critics to conclude that they are copies of a single manuscript (called Y). This means the evidence is reduced to two Greek witnesses among the bilinguals, D and Y. Can these two MSS represent the original Greek text? The theory of a single common archetype of these two Greek texts has been suggested (called Z by scholars).[410] It is thought that Z represents a Graeco-Latin edition of the Vth century, written in *cola,* and that it represents largely the European or Italian type of Latin found in Ambrosiaster (4th cent.) and Victorinus (AD 362). This seems to have support in that the text of D is especially close to that used by Lucifer of Cagliari (AD 370) in Sardinia.[411]

How can the Western text be reconciled with the two other contenders, the Majority Text (=MT) and the Egyptian or Alexandrian Text (=AT)? The Western Text (=WT; i.e., D G) disagrees with the Alexandrian Text in so many places (six times departing from the Nestle-Aland 26th edition in 14:34-35). So we have three distinct text types, MT, AT and WT and it is impossible that AT and MT could have developed from an earlier WT text. This means that variants distinct to WT must have developed after it branched off from the text(s) behind AT and MT. It is thus a later and inferior text type.

The evidence in support of the transposition is further weakened by the fact that the Latin texts—d f g—are copies of the bilingual texts D F G (signified by the same lower case letters), so all the witnesses—Dd Ff Gg—go back to a single Greek text called Z.

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408 B. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament: A Companion Volume on the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament* (London/New York: United Bible Societies, 1971), pp. xvii, 192.

409 Metzger, *op. cit.,* p. xvii.

410 Kirsopp Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul* (London: Rivingtons, 1911), pp. 414-20, esp. p. 416.

411 See A. Souter, *A Study of Ambrosiaster* (Cambridge: University Press, 1905), p. 215.

A. C. Wire has suggested that since the Greek WT is a bilingual development (in G the Latin translation is even interlinear) that oral translations into Latin of the WT were gradually harmonised and this in turn may have influenced the WT to make the bilinguals as parallel as they are.[412] The dominant hypothesis remains that of a distinctive WT giving rise both to the various Old Latin text types in the third century (conjectured, as there is no MS evidence) and to the Greek text behind the bilingual D of the fifth century. On these grounds, Wire concluded, "the late placement of 14:34-35 in all early "Western" texts demonstrates that it comes from the Greek ancestor text of this tradition. This makes it credible and highly probably that it originated from a single displacement."[413]

The most probable explanation is that the displacement in Z was due to a deliberate act. When one considers the character of the WT and the way D, in particular, deliberately took liberties with Jesus' genealogy in Luke to harmonise the two versions, and that it is ten per cent longer in Acts due to explanatory expansions, etc., this speaks of a free-and-easy approach to the biblical texts. Given such an approach 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 would be a prime target for interference. There are indications of such "improvements" in the vicinity of 14:34-35. Wire, for example, gives the following evidence:

> In 14:35 "woman" becomes plural either to follow the previous verse or perhaps in light of the broader plural pattern (Eph 5:22, 24; Col 3:18; 1 Pet 3:1; 1 Tim 2:9; 3:11). Verb forms are adjusted (14:31, 35; 15:1, 2 D F G). Most conspicuous is the addition of "I teach" in the phrase "as I teach in all the churches of the saints," completing 14:33 more clearly with this verb borrowed from the similar sentence in 4:17 (F G a f g Ambst and most Vulgate texts). A corrector with such freedom could conceivably, in the interests of clarity, delay the lines on women until after the instruction on prophecy, assuming perhaps, in light of later household codes, that what was said to women concerned household rather than church order.[414]

There is also clear evidence of deliberate tampering in the Greek text of Z (or whatever it goes back to). Thus there is the pedantic change at 15:5 where Jesus appears to the *eleven* apostles (D F G a b d f g Vulgate and Ambrosiaster), not twelve as the MT and AT have. "Eleven" is historically accurate due to the death of Judas. But "Twelve" became the term to refer to the "body of apostles" and it was topped up to twelve in number for as long as it was necessary to establish the Church on its feet and in its traditions. Some of the other changes seem innocuous but, given the track record of WT, theological considerations may have played a part. Thus in 14:37 "the command(s) of the Lord" is shortened to "of the Lord" (D* F G b d f g Ambst); in 14:32 "the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets," becomes "the spirit . . . ." (D F G a b d g vgR Ambst); and in 15:2 "if you hold on (to the gospel)," becomes "you ought to hold on" (D F G a b d g Ambst).[415] A tradition reflecting this kind of content editing in a short passage is quite capable of displacing vv. 34-35 to a more "suitable" position.

An alternative, plausible explanation is given by Wire who suggests that the two verses were omitted by haplography as the copyist's eye skipped from the word "churches" in 14:33 to the same word in 14:35, which we find plural in a number of Greek and Latin texts (F G L d g b) and which could also have stood at the end of a line.[416] This would mean that the displacement could only have occurred *after* "church" was altered to "churches" in 14:35.

Against the transposition is the material change that it would make to the context of vv. 36-38 because there would be no obvious "commandment of the Lord" in 14:1-33 to which

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[412] Antoinette Clark Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress Press, 1990), p. 150.

[413] A. C. Wire, *op. cit.,* pp. 150-51.

[414] A. C. Wire, *op. cit.,* pp. 152.

[415] See A. C. Wire, *op. cit.,* pp. 152.

[416] A. C. Wire, *op. cit.,* pp. 151.

v. 37 could refer to. Chapter 14 consists of spiritual common-sense advice throughout. It is not until we come to vv. 33b-35 that we come to a clear commandment of the Lord which prohibits women from speaking in church. This commandment may have already been challenged by some "prophets" and "spiritual" men in the church as being "un-Christian." It is to this commandment, then, that vv. 36-38 refers. We can easily reconstruct the context from his refutation in these verses.

Perhaps some early copyist failed to see the chiastic structure of verses 27-40.

A = 27-32 = prophesying and speaking in tongues encouraged
B = 33a = Peaceable order operates through God to the Church

C = 33b-34 = usurping Divine order would lead to disorder
D = 34ab = rule (σιγατωσαν) + motif (γαρ)
E = 34c = καθως και ο νομος λεγει (= God has laid down this rule)
D' = 35 = rule (επερωτατωσαν) + motif (γαρ)
C' = 36-38 = usurping Divine revelation would lead to ignorance

A' = 39-40 = prophesying and speaking in tongues encouraged
B' = 40 = Peaceable order returns through the Church to God .

By moving vv. 34-35 to the end (i.e. after v 40) it was felt that the discussion about prophecy and tongues was uninterrupted. However, it spoils the chiasmus.

4.3.9.3. 1 CORINTHIANS 14:34-35 AS AN INTERPOLATION

Some have attempted to remove these verses by arbitrarily declaring them to be an interpolation or gloss.[417] The same approach has been made to remove 1 Corinthians 11:2-16.[418] This appears to have been first suggested by a pair of French critics, Henri Delafosse

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[417] See e.g. E. E. Ellis, "The Silenced Wives of Corinth (1 Cor. 14:34-5)," *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its significance for Exegesis. Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger*. Ed. by Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon D. Fee (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 213-30; J. Bassler, "1 Corinthians," in C. A. Newsom and S. H. Ringe (eds.), *The Women's Bible Commentary* (London: SPCK, 1992), pp. 327-28; and G. D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (repr.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991 [1987]), see p. 699 n. for other supporters of this view. Fee's attempt is based on the belief that the text is not authentic which, if true, 'is certainly not binding on Christians' (p. 708). See the discussion in D. C. Arichea, "Silence of Women in the Church," *Bible Translator* 46 (1995) 101-112, and D. A. Carson's reply to this idea in "'Silent in the Churches': On the Role of Women in 1 Corinthians 14:33b-36," in John Piper and Wayne Grudem (eds.), *Recovering Biblical Manhood & Womanhood* (Wheaton, ILL.; Crossway Books, 1991), pp. 140-153, esp. pp. 141-42; Raymond F. Collins, *First Corinthians* (Sacra Pagina Series, Vol. 7. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1999), p. 393; L. Ann Jervis, "1 Corinthians 14.34-35: A Reconsideration of Paul's Limitation of the Free Speech of some Corinthian Women," *JSNT* 58 (1995) 51-74, esp. pp. 52-59; and also in Francis Watson, "The Authority of the Voice: A Theological Reading of 1 Cor 11.2-16," *New Testament Studies* 46.4 (2000) 520-536, esp. p. 525.

[418] For the rejection of 11:2-16 and 14:33b-36 as post-Pauline 'pastoral' insertions, see W. Munro, *Authority in Paul and Peter: The Identification of a Pastoral Stratum in the Pauline Corpus and 1 Peter* (SNTSMS 45; Cambridge: University Press, 1983) pp. 67-82; on 11:2-16 see G. W. Trompf, "On Attitudes Toward Women in Paul and Paulinist Literature: 1 Corinthians 11:3-16 and its Context," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 42 (1980) 196-215, and the reply by Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "The Non-Pauline Character of 1 Cor. 11:2-16?" *JBL* 95 (1976) 615-22. For the genuineness of 11:2-16 as part of the original letter see Joël Delobel, 1 Cor 11,2-16: Towards a Coherent Interpretation," in *L'apôtre Paul. Personnalité, style et conception du ministère* (BETL 73; ed. A. Vanhoye; Leuven: Leuven University/Peeters, 1986), pp. 369-389; and Caroline Vander Stichele, "Authenticiteit en integriteit van 1 Kor 11,2-16. Een bijdrage tot de discussie omtrent Paulus' visie op de vrouw" (Catholic University of Leuven S. T. D. Dissertation, 1992).

(=Joseph Turmel, 1926) and Alfred Loisy (1933), and taken up by William O. Walker (1975, 2001), Lamar Cope (1978), and G. W. Trompf (1980).[419]

The manuscript evidence to support this theory is: (1) one late Latin manuscript, Codex Fuldensis (dated AD 546), which retains these two verses in their canonical position (i.e., they follow v. 33), and 36-40 follow it (i.e., the canonical order). But oddly, vv. 36-40 are written out again in full at the bottom of the page and the scribe has put a sign in the margin to indicate that the text in the bottom margin (i.e., vv. 36-40) should be read immediately after v. 33, thereby omitting vv. 34-35; and (2) in Codex Vaticanus there is a text-critical sign that indicates the scribe's awareness of a textual variant at the beginning of 1 Corinthians 14:34.

The objections to the former are that the text in the bottom margin was not written at the same time as the main text (even if it can be argued that the same scribe wrote both texts) because the bottom text has to be squeezed into the bottom margin. So, the exemplar that lies behind Fuldensis had the standard Latin (Vulgate) text. The marginal text is a secondary text. It does not belong to the Vulgate tradition. It is a foreign, secondary intrusion in that tradition.

Second, the marginal text has a mark to indicate where it starts (i.e., at the end of v. 33) but no mark to show where the reader should continue after he has come to the end of the marginal text. This would seem to indicate that the marginal text was not read as the main text, but, if the reader is interested, then the inserted scribal mark tells him where he might find an alternative text to the one he has just read. But the priority is clearly given to the main text.

Third, given the 300 copies of the Greek text used in the critical apparatus of UBS[4] not to mention the many languages into which the Greek was translated, Codex Fuldensis (copied 500 years after the original Greek text) would be unique if it were to omit 14:34-35. But its main text retains these verses in the body of the text and were it to be recopied, no doubt the next copyist would have to consult other versions to decide between the two rival texts. He would find no support for the marginal reading anywhere and therefore it might well have been dropped.

Fourth, the assumption that Bishop Victor, who revised and corrected Fuldensis (but did not write the original himself), regarded vv. 34-35 as an interpolation has been imposed on the text. Nowhere does Bishop Victor say or imply this. The rewritten marginal text may be a reproduction of the order of the Western Text which, similarly, reads vv. 36-40 after v. 33, but vv. 34-35 are then read after v. 40. It maybe that whoever copied the Western text into the bottom margin forgot to put vv. 34-35 after v. 40 in Codex Fuldensis (or, because of the limited space could not do so, and in any case he knew that v. 40 concluded the chapter, which would have facilitated stopping at that point). So there is the possibility of forgetfulness to account for the missing verses following v. 40, and not that Bishop Victor regarded vv. 34-35 as an interpolation.[420] The most likely explanation, therefore, is that the secondary, marginal text was intended to give the Western order of the verses and in the process vv. 34-35 were accidentally omitted (due to the constraints of space?). To claim that Fuldensis "gives evidence of an original text without vv. 34-35"[421] if by "original text" is meant the original autographs, is surely preposterous, given that there is a 500-year gap between it and the original autographs with not a single witness to the same phenomenon in the intervening centuries.

Fifth, in order to attribute the "interpolation" to an influential Bishop of the Church, and so give the "interpolation theory" some semblance of authority, it has been conjectured that, since the writing of the text is clearly not that of Bishop Victor, whose handwriting can

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[419] The latest proponent of this approach is P. B. Payne, "Fuldensis, Sigla for Variants in Vaticanus and 1 Cor 14:34-35," *NTS* 41 (1995) 240-262.

[420] For a photograph of the text of 1 Cor 14:34-40 in Codex Fuldensis see P. B. Payne, op. cit., p. 261.

[421] P. B. Payne, op. cit., p. 241.

be seen in three notes, one at the end of Acts, and two at the end of the Apocalypse, the original work was commissioned by Victor (for which there is no evidence) and that after it was written, Bishop Victor ordered (another conjecture) the original scribe to write vv. 36-40 in the bottom margin. ". . . Bishop Victor ordered the end of 1 Corinthians 14 to be rewritten omitting vv. 34-5,"[422] Why Victor himself, whose revisions and corrections are said to be evident all over the manuscript, chose, on this one occasion, to recall the original scribe to insert what appear to be the Western order of the verses (but incomplete) is hard to account for. In order to give Fuldensis a place in the history of textual criticism its significance is given the following gloss:

> Because of Victor's stature and text-critical interests, his textual choice in the margin, omitting 1 Cor 14:34-35, is far more important for textual criticism than his scribe's first writing of the text above. Indeed, his manuscript is perhaps the most important witness elucidating the early history of this text.[423]

I think at this point we have entered the fairyland of all obsessed scholars who think that their work has repositioned the magnetic North Pole of Textual Criticism somewhere near the South Pole, and who think that all future text-critical work must be realigned to their "major" discovery.

Sixth, there is another Vulgate manuscript which follows the Western order of the verses, namely Reginensis (8th cent. AD), and here it agrees with the marginal text of Fuldensis, except that it followed v. 40 with vv. 34-35, which, we have suggested was omitted by the scribe of Fuldensis (for whatever reason). The inference from this is that Fuldensis' marginal text may be an incomplete replication of the Western Text of 1 Corinthians 14:34-40. That is, the scribe of Fuldensis intended to follow the Western Text, but forgot to put vv. 34-35 after v. 40.

Seventh, the "interpolation theory" relies on another gratuitous conjecture for thinking that Victor was convinced 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was an unwarranted interpolation. It reads as follows:

> Consequently, we must assume that Victor had sufficient evidence to convince him that the Vulgate text was wrong at 1 Cor 14.34-5. Otherwise there would have been no point in his ordering the rewriting of the entirety of 14.36-40, the largest gloss in his entire manuscript and the only gloss written with care to make the lines perfectly parallel. . . . It is safe, therefore, to assume that Victor had what he believed to be sufficient manuscript evidence for making this change as well.[424]

It is very convenient that all of Victor's "sufficient manuscript evidence" has been lost. So we jump from not a shred of evidence anywhere among the hundreds of copies of the Vulgate before Fuldensis, to Victor's complete assurance that every copy of the Vulgate tradition was wrong all along in having verses 34 and 35 in its text, despite the fact that Victor chose the Vulgate as the base text for his manuscript. This is special pleading.

If it is an interpolation then it must have become an accepted part of the text before the time of Tertullian (AD 160-240) because he quotes these verses in:

> For how credible would it seem, that he who has not permitted a woman even to learn with overboldness, should give a female power of teaching and of

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[422] P. B. Payne, op. cit., p. 260.

[423] P. B. Payne, op. cit., p. 250.

[424] P. B. Payne, op. cit., p. 245.

> baptizing! "Let them be silent," he says, "and at home consult their husbands."[425]

We conclude that the "interpolation theory" has overlooked the possibility that the marginal text in Fuldensis points to the only known textual difficulty in 1 Corinthians 14:34-35, namely, that these verses have been transposed in the erratic Western Text. *There is no known extant manuscript on earth that actually omits these verses.*

The second line of evidence that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 is an interpolation is said to come from Codex Vaticanus where "there is a text-critical sign that indicates the scribe's awareness of a textual variant at the beginning of 1 Corinthians 14:34."[426] In the case of this acknowledged tangential evidence of Codex Vaticanus the objection is we do not know what the "scribe's awareness" consists of. It might be an awareness that these verses are transposed after v. 40; and, secondly, in any case, this transposition is found mainly among the witnesses to the Western Text. Thirdly, the Western evidence is all very late, as we have seen above, even if there is evidence that as a text-type it might go back to the second century AD. But what is a decisive fact against the interpolation theory is that there is not a single example anywhere in the New Testament where the Western Text alone is witness to the original text. It is special pleading to ask that in this one place we have a single exception to this stark fact. It is special pleading to ask textual scholars to lay aside all the early papyri and all the early translations in favour of a 6th century Latin text which has no other earlier, extant Latin MS evidence in its support.

It is surely special pleading to argue that because every Greek manuscript begins a new paragraph at v. 34 and again at v. 36, that this constitutes clear evidence that vv. 34-35 are an interpolation.[427]

Next, it is urged that because Codex Vaticanus has 27 cases of a "bar-umlaut" sigla occurring in the NT at points where NA^{27} likewise notes a textual difficulty (in 23 out of the 27 cases), that this, too, constitutes evidence of an interpolation here. For this argument to have any weight it would have to be shown that in all 27 cases we have interpolations at these points which is clearly not the case.

Another argument used to undermine the authority of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 as authoritative Scripture is the argument from silence.

> The interpolation thesis may explain why no citation of 1 Cor 14.34-5 is made by any of the Apostolic Fathers or by Justin Martyr († AD 165), Athenagoras († *c.* 177), even though he cites both 14.32 and 14.37, Irenaeus († AD 202), *The Shepherd of Hermas* (ii AD), Tatian († post AD 172), Clement of Alexandria († pre AD 215), even though he cites 1 Cor 14.6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 20, Caius († AD 217), or Hippolytus († 235). Clement of Alexandria does not cite 1 Cor 14.34-5 even though he discusses the behaviour of women in church in *paed.* 3.11, . . . [428]

This kind of argument might deceive the unlearned, but the learned know only too well when handling meagre literature belonging to a past age that "Absence of evidence is not evidence of absence." Arguments from silence seldom catch the learned out, but they may convince the unwary and the inexperienced scholar. When determining whether an Early Church father knew of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 one needs to ask whether the specific topic of 1 Corinthians 14:34-5 (not chap 14 in general, i.e., on prophesying) is ever the specific subject of any Church Father's extant writings, and also, given the small amount that has survived of

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[425] *Baptism.* 15.17, cited from A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (9 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, reprinted 1989), 3.677. It should be noted that $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$ $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ and $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ which all date to around AD 200 have the canonical order, and not the Western order.

[426] P. B. Payne, op. cit., p. 240.

[427] Cf. P. B. Payne, op. cit., p. 251.

[428] P. B. Payne, op. cit., p. 248.

any Church Father's voluminous works, it would be presumptuous to argue from this lack of evidence that no Church Father (apart from Tertullian) knew of these verses. We know from what little has survived of the works of the Early Church fathers that they engaged with the issues of their day—*with contemporary issues;* and if there was no problem with feminists in their day, then the need to quote 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 and 1 Timothy 2:11-12 would probably not have arisen. Can it be shown that the Early Church fathers were concerned with rampant feminism in their day? If not, then the opportunity to quote 14:34-35 does not arise, and the argument from silence is void.

We conclude that the "interpolation theory" has overlooked the possibility that the bar-umlaut in Vaticanus points to the only known textual difficulty in 1 Corinthians 14:34-35, namely, that these verses have been transposed in the erratic Western Text. *There is no known extant manuscript on earth that actually omits these two verses.* Therefore, one suspects that the "interpolation theory" has more to do with theological (i.e., feminist) concerns than with objective textual criticism. It is not a coincidence that those who push hard for the "interpolation theory" also push hard to "prove" that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 appropriates words and phrases from the context but uses them in a non-Pauline way, or in a way alien to its present context. This would appear to be the real agenda behind the "interpolation theory." The simple solution is ignored, namely, the only textual problem noted in NA[27] is the transposition of these verses to follow v. 40. It is awareness of this textual problem that can account for the marginal text in Fuldensis and the bar-umlaut in Vaticanus. It requires special pleading to argue that it is not this textual problem, but the interpolation of these two verses into the canonical text that lies behind the Fuldensian text and the bar-umlaut in Vaticanus, given that there is not a manuscript in the world which omits these two verses.

4.3.9.4. 1 CORINTHIANS 14:36

The initial sarcastic question in 1 Corinthians 14:36: "Or *from you* went out God's word?" indicates annoyance on Paul's part which is directed against a claim by a section of the church to have a special revelation (a "word of God") which he was aware ran counter to what he had just written. He had written: "It is not permitted to them to speak," but the rival "word of God" may have given women permission to speak in church.

There was only one church in Corinth but the wording of the Lord's commandment mentions "churches." This has raised the possibility that what Paul quotes in vv. 34-35 was a directive already in the public domain which had its origin in a directive addressed to the universal church. This directive Paul says came from the Lord Himself. It is not Paul's directive, newly created to meet the situation in Corinth. If it had been he would have used the singular "church."

The two questions put by Paul to his opponents were designed to show-up the subjective nature of the so-called "word of God" that gave permission to women to take an active part in the worship service. First, he challenges the view that the universal practice of the Church (which presumably had the authority of all the Apostles behind it) was to be replaced by a new, and contrary practice emanating from Corinth. Because the revolutionary new practice did not come from the Apostles, and was contrary to what Paul had taught them, he knew that it was a false "word of God."

Second, he challenges the other possible view that Corinth was to be an exception to the universal practice of the Church: that what was not permitted in the universal church was to be permitted by special dispensation (i.e., by a "word of God") in Corinth. He recognises both claims to be false. He does not spare their blushes. His own authority is at stake. Because if they are right then he is wrong. If he is right then they are wrong.

He publicly challenges his opponents' credibility as prophets and as spiritual men by calling on them to acknowledge that what he had just written was "a command of the Lord."

This was a very astute challenge. If they rejected his claim this would put them in direct confrontation with an Apostle. If they accepted his claim they would have to back-down and acknowledge that they were wrong: that they had "received" a bogus "word of God" to permit women to be vocal in the church service.

Some of the versions have captured the showdown in their translations. Thus: "You challenge this rule? Pray, did God's word start from you? Are you the only people it has reached?" (Moffatt); or, "Tell me, was it from you that God's word was sent out? Are you the only people it has reached?" (Knox).

The following translation probably reflects Paul's thoughts in vv. 36-38: "Or from you did a word of God go out [to all the churches contrary to the commandment in 33b-35]? Or for you alone did [a word of God] come in [contrary to this commandment]?[429] If anyone considers [himself] to be a prophet, or a spiritual man, let him [the one who has permitted women to speak in church] approve [the] things which I am writing to you that they are the Lord's commandment. If he does not acknowledge [that it is the Lord's commandment], let him not be acknowledged [as a prophet or a spiritual man]." This hits hard at Paul's opponents. They must either back down and accept his teaching, or openly oppose him.

Paul's last word on the subject (v. 38b) expresses his impatience with false "words of God." Referring to "the commandment of the Lord" we have what looks like an attempt to isolate his opponents for public condemnation which is captured in different ways by the versions:[430]

"Anyone who disregards this will himself be disregarded" (Moffatt; cf. Berkeley; Twentieth Century New Testament); "If he does not recognize it, he himself shall receive no recognition" (Knox; mg. "'He himself shall receive no recognition,' possibly in the congregation, but more probably in the sight of God [cf. 13. 12 above]."). Or, "Unless he recognises this, you should not recognise him" (Jerusalem Bible, cf. RSV, NRSV; Wm Barclay); "But if anyone disregards *or* does not recognize [that it is a command of the Lord] he is disregarded *and* not recognized [he is one whom God knows not](Amplified); "If anyone ignores it, he in turn should be ignored" (NAB, cf. NIV); "If he does not acknowledge this, God does not acknowledge him" (NEB; cf. REB, "If he does not acknowledge this, his own claim cannot be acknowledged"); "But if he does not pay attention to this, pay no attention to him" (Good News Bible; cf. Goodspeed); "If any man takes no notice of this, no notice will be taken of him" (C. K. Williams). Each of the versions retain the same word in the two parts of the sentence in an attempt to reflect the Greek: disregard—disregarded; recognise—not recognised; attention—no attention; notice—no notice; ignore—ignored, and some such reciprocal penalty seems to be in view for those who reject Paul's authority.

Paul seems to anticipate that his challenge may be shrugged off with the reply: "We don't *know* if you're right." "But if any man does not know the Lord's voice when he hears it, he is one of those to whom, on the last day, the Lord will say, 'I do not know you'"

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429 See D. A. Carson's translation of 14:36 in "'Silent in the Churches': On the Role of Women in 1 Corinthians 14:33b-36," in John Piper and Wayne Grudem (eds.), *Recovering Biblical Manhood & Womanhood* (Wheaton, ILL.; Crossway Books, 1991), pp. 140-153, esp. p. 151: 'Or [if you find it so hard to grant this, then consider:] did the word of God originate with you? Or are you the only people it has reached?'

430 Some translations give a weaker ending: "But if any man be ignorant, let him be ignorant" (Wm Tyndale; AV; Concordant Version; Weymouth; Lamsa's Peshitta); "But if anyone still disagrees—well, we will leave him in his ignorance" (*The Living Bible Paraphrased;* marg. Or, "if he disagrees, ignore his opinion"); and less likely: "But if any disregards it, let him disregard it" (Ferrar Fenton). Alternatively, it might be translated: 'but if anyone [wants] to [plead] ignorance, let him [plead] ignorance [of the Lord's universal commandment].' Paul's opponents—who probably claimed to be recognised prophets or to have proven spiritual powers or gifts (in 2 Cor 11:13 they even claim to be 'apostles of Christ')—would lose face if they had to confess ignorance of what the universal Church practice was. Paul's challenge may have been to expose either 'ignorance' (ἀγνοσια) or 'knowledge' (γνῶσις) in public in order to isolate the trouble-makers. Once they acknowledged the universal practice was for the women to be silent then they had no option but to re-introduce it. The strength of Paul's argument lies in his use of the universality of the practice to deny its introduction into a single member of the Body of Christ.

(Weymouth). Paul's five-word parting shot may contain a fiercesome threat. Is there an echo of the Lord's words, "My sheep hear my voice, and I know (γινώσκω) them, and they follow me" (Jn 10:27)? The threat is that if they do not recognise the Lord's voice in the commandment Paul has just written to them then they are not the Lord's sheep. Paul seems determined to ostracise his opponents if they do not return to the Lord's commandment that women are not to speak in the church.

A. C. Wire noted that the concluding threat is given particular weight by being put in the *ius talionis* form in which divine retribution is implied by the passive of the same verb as the human act: "Whoever does not recognise this, God does not recognise"; meaning that one who denies what Paul is teaching will not be recognised as a prophet and spiritual. The fact that Paul forces a spiritual vote of confidence *at exactly this point* shows that the women's silencing is not a minor issue, but the turning point in his determination to retain his leadership over the church.[431] The issue of women speaking in church will split the church into those whom God will not recognise as His people, and those whom He will recognise.

On the importance Paul attached to the two universal traditions note the space he gives to the head-covering, and note also the force that tradition has both in Jewish and Christian religion. As in rabbinic tradition Paul has handed on *(paredoka)* to the churches he established sacred traditions *(paradoseis)* which must be held fast *(katechete).* In this same section of the epistle, Paul will use *paradosis*-terminology for the narrative of the institution of the Lord's Supper (11:23). In 15:1-3, he uses the terminology for the basic credo of Christ's death and resurrection (vv. 3-5). Indeed, in 15:2, he uses the same verb for the Corinthians' faithful adherence (*katechete*, cf. 1 Cor 11:2). In 1 Corinthians 11:2-16, therefore, Paul does not think, as *Inter Insigniores* (i.e., the Vatican *Declaration on the Question of the Admission of Women to the Ministerial Priesthood*) does, that he is dealing with "practical disciplinary questions of only minor importance." Paul sees in the question of the head-covering a problem which touches the substance of the apostolic tradition, which included both "faith" and "morals" (cf. 1 Cor 11:23; 15:1; 2 Thess 2:15; Rom 6:17; 2 Thess 3:6).

Here, in 1 Corinthians 14:34 the "Lord's commandment" (i.e., the universal, apostolic tradition) encompasses either (1) the whole Epistle, or (2) the whole of chapter 14 (Paul's directives for the edification of the congregation and good order in the worship service), or (3) the specific command prohibiting the Lord's female disciples from speaking in the Church. In favour of (1) is the wording: ἃ γράφω "the things which I write," and ἐστὶν ἐντολή "they are a commandment." The singular "commandment" may be significant.[432] Many of the oldest Greek manuscripts with the singular ἐστὶν ἐντολή did not divide up the Epistle into "commandments" some of which we can discard as no longer relevant, and so out-of-date, and can be ignored; and some which are permanent for all time. Collectively, all that Paul is writing to the Corinthians has the force of a single commandment of the Lord. They must take all of the Epistle on an equal basis—as coming with the authority of the Lord behind each part of it.

In favour of (2) is a ruling which will change the format of the worship service in Corinth. Up until now some, who had only the gift of tongues (i.e., could speak foreign languages) had been able to exercise it without any restriction. Maybe they monopolised the time but at least they were under no restriction. Now comes a restriction from Paul which they are not going to be happy with. It might mean that their "contribution" will be cut down or cut out of the formal service. This would create resentment on their part. "How can Paul cut off the flow of our 'word of God' from reaching the church?" they could have argued theologically. Paul lays down a single criterion covering the numerous "spiritual gifts" that the Lord has gifted His people with to build them up. The criterion each must pass is, Does it edify the whole congregation? The operative words are "edify" and "whole." If it does not

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[431] Cf. A. C. Wire, *op. cit.*, pp. 155.

[432] The Majority Text has the plural εἰσιν ἐντολαί.

pass this dual test then the owner/possessor of the gift must remain silent in the church, and exercise it outside the formal church meeting. Paul gives first place to prophesying because this gift, by its very nature (edification, exhortation, comfort, 14:3) is directed to the whole body of believers and is in the common language. He does not forbid tongue-speaking in the formal service but it must pass two tests, first, it must be interpreted into the local language (14:5, 13, 19, 27-28), and second, it must edify the whole church (14:12, 17, 26, 31). If it fails to pass either of these two tests the owner/possessor of the gift must remain silent in the church, but not outside the church.

In favour of option (3) is Paul's reference to: "the law says." The law was given by God who is frequently called "Lord" (κύριος) in the Greek translation of the Hebrew Old Testament, the same term that is used in v. 37. Some EVV take it in this sense (cf. Knox ["is God's commandment" (1945)], Phillips ["by divine command" (1959)], and Taylor ["from God Himself" (1962)].[433] Also in favour of this view is the fact that vv. 39-40 then resume the topic of how best to exercise their spiritual gifts in the worship service. Something had entered the mind of Paul as he wrote vv. 34-35 which irritated him making him suddenly break off the flow of his instructions and meet a challenge to what he had just written. What was it? It can only be that women were being permitted to speak in the church meeting. (11:2-16 deals with the situation that they were legitimately prophesying at home [outside the Church service] but with their heads uncovered, and he strongly disapproved of the innovation). In 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 the ban on speaking in church was not going to be popular with some sections of the Christian community so he reinforces it with the revelation that it was a "commandment from the Lord" Himself (cf. 1 Cor 7:19), and as such must be obeyed. The plural "churches" (as we have seen) suggests that the commandment did not come through Paul to the church at Corinth, but was a universal directive that come to all the churches directly from the Lord. If so, it meant that Paul's opponents would not be able to say it was his arbitrary rule.

Whichever of these three options we take, the "Lord's commandment" must include 1 Corinthians 14:34-35, and as such it is an act of disobedience for a woman to speak in the church. And those who permit and encourage her to do so are also sinning against the "Lord's commandment." Any member of the Church can challenge the recent practice of women preaching/teaching/speaking in church with the question: "Who gave you authority to speak in Church? Is it from heaven or from men?" If s/he says "From heaven," then s/he must produce the "word of God" that supports the claim. If s/he says "From men," then the practice must be rejected immediately and decisively as a product of ignorance or wilful disobedience.

Anglo-Catholics and some evangelicals have continued to point out that the Church universal never permitted women to speak in church. The aberration entered the church only recently under pressure from false feminist teaching. One recent member church claimed a "word of God" (just like Corinth 2000 years ago) to introduce the practice *against the universal custom,* and from that bad example the whole Church today is being gradually infected.

The Church not only has God's Word, which should be sufficient on its own to settle the matter, but it also has the 2000-year long practice of the Universal Church as a guide to its interpretation (see Part 3 for the evidence). A third witness is the synagogue. For 2000 years the Jews have retained the practice of women being silent. There has never been a time in their history when women (even their most honourable and famous) were permitted to speak in public. The teaching was: "They do not [however] bring a woman to read the Scripture in public."[434] Women were never taught to read the Torah, hence they could never be called

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[433] See Appendix A for 38 translations of this text.

[434] Tosefta Megillah 3.11. *The Tosefta. Moed—The Order of Appointed Times.* Translated from the Hebrew by Jacob Neusner (New York: Ktav Pub. House, 1981), p. 290. (The Tosefta is a collection of additions to the Mishnah [made up of tannaitic *beraitot*], and like the Mishnah it has the same six divisions/orders. However, it is four times larger than the Mishnah and written in Mishnaic Hebrew.)

upon to be one of the five, six or seven readers (depending on the Holy Day) to read in public, but a minor could (2.8). The custom was that "All are obligated for the reading of the Scroll of Esther . . . Women, slaves, and minors are exempt" (2.7), though these classes could qualify to make up the quorum of seven readers, "And all figure in the number of seven, even a woman, even a minor. They do not [however] bring a woman to read . . . ."

But there is a fourth witness—the practice in the Greco-Roman world. Plutarch (AD 45—125), a contemporary of the Apostles, wrote in his *Coniugalia Praecepta:*

> Whenever the moon is at a distance from the sun we see her conspicuous and brilliant, but she disappears and hides herself when she comes near him. Contrariwise a virtuous woman ought to be most visible in her husband's company and hide herself when he is away. (139.9) Cato expelled from the Senate a man who kissed his own wife in the presence of his daughter. This perhaps was a little severe. But if it is a disgrace (as it is) for man and wife to caress and kiss and embrace in the presence of others, is it not more of a disgrace to air their recriminations and disagreements before others, and, granting that his intimacies and pleasures of his wife should be carried on in secret, to indulge in . . . plain speaking in the open and without reserve? (139.13)
>
> Theano, in putting her cloak about her exposed her arm. Somebody exclaimed, "A lovely arm." "But not for the public," said she. Not only the arm of the virtuous woman, but her speech as well, ought not to be for the public, and she ought to be modest and guarded about saying anything in the hearing of outsiders, since it is an exposure of herself; for in her talk can be seen her feelings, character, and disposition (142.31).
>
> Pheidias made the Aphrodite of the Eleans with one foot on a tortoise, to typify for womankind keeping at home and keeping silence. For a woman ought to do her talking either to her husband or through her husband, and she should not feel aggrieved if, like a flute-player, she makes a more impressive sound through a tongue not her own. (142.32)

The dual traits of staying at home and being silent in public were viewed by the non-Christian culture of Paul's day as virtues in a wife. Arising out of an observation on the relationship between the philosopher and the rich classes, Plutarch draws an analogy:

> So it is with women also; if they subordinate themselves (ὑποτάττουσαι ἑαυτᾶς) to their husbands, they are commended, but if they want to control (κρατεῖν), they cut a sorrier figure than the subjects of their control. And control ought to exercised by the man over the woman, not as the owner has control of a piece of property, but, as the soul controls the body, by entering into her feelings and being knit to her through goodwill. As, therefore, it is possible to exercise care over the body without being a slave to its pleasures and desires, so it is possible to govern a wife, and at the same time to delight and gratify her. (142.33).[435]

There is very little here that Paul would have objected to. Thus, the non-Christian world had standards that were not far off those of Christianity itself, as regards the marriage relationship, and thus the seed of the Gospel fell on fertile soil, in this respect. The modesty and good sense that naturally pertained to women all around the Mediterranean basin was one factor that attracted them to Christianity, when they saw how Christian husbands, through their Founder's teaching, loved their wives as Christ loved the Church.

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[435] Plutarch, *Moralia* (16 vols; Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heineman, 1971), vol II, pp. 305-323.

4.3.10. 1 TIMOTHY 2:8-12

The Pastoral Epistles are addressed to individuals, not to churches. There is nothing in the context of 1 Timothy to suggest that Paul's instructions must *all* be located in a church context. Some will require a church setting such as Paul's request to Timothy to "instruct the brothers" (4:6) which would require a church setting.[436] The letter is a personal one to Timothy ranging from private, temporary, medical matters (5:23) to public, permanent teachings (2:8-12). Paul is laying out before Timothy his own, ordered pattern of living which he wants him to follow, and to preserve good order in the universal church as much as in the local church at Ephesus where Timothy was staying and may have been the visiting overseer/bishop.

Not too long after this letter was written to Timothy, Jesus wrote a severe letter to this same church in which he expressed His anger for departing from their first love (Rev. 2:4), yet it was outwardly a very successful church, full of people doing good works. He even commended it for its labour, patience, intolerance of false teaching and false apostles, which they were able to expose, for their perseverance and stickability ("you have not become weary"), yet their love for Him evidenced itself in refusing to obey His commands, "If you love me you will keep my commandments." He threatened them that if they did not return to their original, submissive love and acceptance of His commands to govern every aspect of their lives He would close the church down. They refused and it was shut down. It is a ruin today. Paul could already see the trend in his day, "Now the purpose of the commandment is love from a pure heart, *from* a pure conscience, and *from* sincere faith, from which some, having strayed, have turned aside to idle talk" (1 Tim 1:5-6). This teaches us that there is no substitute for obedience to Christ's commands. King Saul thought he could substitute expensive, beautiful cattle for obedience and he lost his kingdom as a result.

1 Timothy 2:1-15 has its setting in an out-of-church context but within the Christian community (the "house of God which is the church[437] of the living God," 3:15[438]). Paul is thinking of all Christians worldwide in their private lives which they are to live out in a potentially disordered environment. Their prayers and lives are directed toward the establishment of good order *in the world,* hence the reference to "kings [plural] and all in authority" (1 Tim 2:1) so that they may be effective in their witness "everywhere." If there is good order in the world this is to the advantage of Christianity and Christian growth and maturity. Christ's house is a worldwide community and as extensive as Satan's kingdom.

In 1 Timothy 2:8, Paul returns to the topic of prayer with which he began in verse one and requests "that men pray everywhere." Paul appears to have every Christian man's home in mind (so he is still thinking globally) because the instructions to the Christian women to busy themselves in good works requires a home-based life.[439] The lists of her "good works" are given in 5:10, 14. The adornment is not limited to their appearance in church but rather must cover their everyday lives. Paul's life does not fall behind the Christian widow who "continues in supplications and prayers night and day" (5:5). It is unlikely that Paul prayed "for all men" only on a Sabbath/Sunday. These instructions are for *everyday* living. They indicate how Paul lived out his daily life in praying for all men and he instructs Timothy to

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[436] 1 Tim 2:8-12 is also dealt with under 4.8.

[437] Note the singular, "church," a reminder of the one body of Christ.

[438] This should be compared to Moses' house, meaning the whole national life and not just the Tabernacle/Temple worship services. We are Christ's house (Heb 3:2-5), which is the totality of all Christ's followers throughout the world.

[439] Compare also the notes under 4.8.1. Men's Prayer (1 Tim 2:8).

follow his example.[440] "Everywhere" and "everyday" just about sums up the global perspective that Paul has.

The building block of any worldwide community is the home. Throughout vv. 11-15 the home globally is the context.[441] Paul does not say "I do not permit a woman . . . to have authority over *men*," which he would have written had he been thinking of a church situation. Rather, he says "over a man." And "man" here refers to her husband, which takes Paul back to the first husband and wife, Adam and Eve. He uses them as the representative husband and wife. In every Christian marriage the husband is Adam and the wife is Eve. The first home was replicated globally. "He has made of one blood all the families of the earth" (Acts 17:26). Paul makes his case for good order in the home knowing that this is the nucleus of the worldwide church (Christ's house, not Christ's houses).

The argument from creation focuses on two permanent, theological facts. First, Eve was created *after* Adam, so that he is *prior* to her. Second, Eve sinned before Adam, so that she is *prior* to him in transgression.

If we take these points in order, the person God created first was to be His helpmeet (Gen 2:5b); the one created second was to be Man's helpmeet (Gen 2:18).[442] Adam was given headship over God's creation. Eve came next, and she came into a world already handed over to Adam. The implication is that she, in her perfect, sinless state, is to recognise her place in God's world and that Adam is her head, consequently, she cannot reverse their roles and become his head. Submission is a built-in feature of her life as his help-meet.

The second permanent teaching Paul draws out of the first married couple's creation is that the husband, Adam, was not deceived, but his sinless wife, Eve, was deceived by Satan. She was *prior* to him in being deceived, and *prior* to him in the experience of sin ("she fell into transgression"). Although Eve was a perfect human being, and made in the same moral image as Adam, she was unable to see that she was being led into sin even with her eyes wide open.[443] This inability to discern what was going on as she was being easily led along by the Serpent into sin is still part of her vulnerability even as a born-again Christian woman.

Paul sees Eve alive in every woman, as he sees Adam alive in every man. It is this gender solidarity that gives legitimacy to his contemporary, theological deduction. It was her gender-specific inability to avoid being drawn into sin more easily than Adam,[444] that disqualifies her to be a teacher of her husband. It is also the reason why she is to remain in subjection to her husband. God ordained that her future all-time condition will be, "he will rule over you" (Gen 3:15). He will, hopefully, prevent her from falling into sin because he has (or should have) Adam's gender-specific ability to discern when he or his family is being tempted to sin. She will always remain vulnerable to sin without meaning to put herself in that position. She should remember that Eve—the representative women—was without sin (something which no woman has ever been since her time, not even the mother of Jesus) when she was hoodwinked into disobedience. If a sinless Eve could be deceived into sinning against God in a sinless, perfect state what chance does any modern woman have of resisting sin, for all women are born in Eve's fallen image? And this inability to resist falling into sin is still an element in every Christian woman's constitution.

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440 Cf. Rom 1:9, "without ceasing I make mention of you always in my prayers;" "continuing steadfastly in prayer" (Rom 12:12).

441 See Appendix B for a selection of translations of these verses.

442 See also under 1.2.1. on their distinct gender-specific functions.

443 See the supplementary comments under 2.3.

444 Paul uses ἠπατήθη (aor pass ind 3 sg) with reference to Adam, but uses ἐξαπατηθεῖσα (aor pass ptc nom sg fem) to refer to Eve's deception. The first means "was tricked." The use of the indicative might suggest a single act which might have caught Adam out but didn't; but the second means "was being completely fooled, or, was being thoroughly deceived." The use of the participle denotes a drawn out event which ought to have given Eve time to realise what was happening. It was not a sudden, swift, single act that caught her off guard.

Unfallen Adam, by contrast, had the ability to discern what was going on. He had to overcome his own conscience and make the choice to sin. He had the option to sin or not to sin. *He chose to sin. He was not deceived by the Serpent.* His wife did not have the option to sin. She was rolled over by Satan to do his will.

Because sin entered humanity through the woman's *female* constitution it did not bring disaster on Adam. Sin entered into Man only when Adam (the representative of all men) sinned *deliberately.* He had the option to sin; she didn't. She seemed blissfully unaware that she had disobeyed God's command as she shares the fruit with Adam. She retained her innocent state of being naked without being ashamed of that state until *after* Adam had eaten the forbidden fruit. Adam experienced shame *immediately* he passed the point of disobedience. It was only *then* that she experienced shame when "the eyes of both of them were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together and made themselves coverings" (Gen 3:7).

Scripture does not say so, but we have to presume that Adam would not have allowed his wife to disobey God had he been present with her when the serpent began his temptation. She was in all probability on her own when she was gradually tricked into eating the forbidden fruit. It was only *after* she had eaten from the fruit that she presented it to her husband, which suggests that they did not eat it together otherwise it would have read, "and they ate it." Instead it reads, "and she also gave to her husband with her, and he ate" (Gen 2:6). When Eve came to him with the forbidden fruit Adam must have realised the enormity of what she had just done but *he took advantage of her leadership* to see what would happen if he ate it, using her as an excuse, no doubt, as it transpired later on when he was questioned by God.

The prohibition on a woman teaching or ruling a man applies whether the woman is a virgin or married, rich or poor, Jew or Gentile, an educated professor or an uneducated mill-girl, slave or free, because, biologically and theologically, she is born in the image of Eve from which she can never escape in this life, any more than man can escape from his Adamic image in this life. The prohibition is located in her femininity, in her genes, in nature, in creation theology.[445] Consequently its origin is not to be traced back to local customs or cultures which come and go. This theological truth goes back to **Eden** not to Corinth or Ephesus. This theological truth goes back to **Eve** from whom all women in the world have descended. Consequently it applies to all women everywhere and in all ages. It is a global prohibition. It applies in every home on every continent. That is what gives Paul's theological argument its permanent, abiding status.

Consequently, embedded in her perfect female, Eve-image, is a blind-spot: *an inability to recognise when she is being led astray.* It was there in her unfallen state; it is there in her fallen state; it is still there in her renewed state in Christ.[446] It is a permanent feature of being female and it is one of two factors that disqualifies her from teaching men. If she deliberately ignores these two factors, she has cut herself off from Christ and made shipwreck of her faith. Women in public leadership positions over men, such as priests, pastors, presbyters, prebendaries, prelates, pray-ers in public services, and principals of theological colleges, draw their authority from the Serpent (1 Tim 4:1) not from the Spirit.

Paul is digging much deeper than we give him credit for in using these two permanent, theological arguments to warn each husband against permitting his wife to take the lead in his family. Satan has a vested interest in turning this arrangement upside down

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[445] Ronald Y. K. Fung, "Ministry in the New Testament," in *The Church in the Bible and the World,* ed. D.A. Carson (Exeter: Paternoster, 1987), p. 186, has recognised the general principle which finds its primary application in marriage.

[446] Whether the prohibition on teaching and ruling is seen as a permanent punishment (like the thorns and thistles) and so not due to a propensity within the female constitution to be deceived, the end result is the same: she is debarred from headship authority over her husband.

and unless the wife is aware of his tactics she will be easily rolled over again to disturb God's good order in the home.

Now if in the home the wife is not allowed to teach her husband or rule him, then, by extension, she cannot teach him in the church, otherwise she could teach him from the pulpit what she could not teach him from the parlour. This means that the husband must do the teaching and ruling in the home and when he does so Paul's injunction is, let the wife learn with a deeply submissive attitude, aware of the Eve within her who took instructions from someone other than her husband and was deceived by that teaching which led to such catastrophic consequences. *She is to fear to let that situation repeat itself both for her own good and for the good of her husband, hence the need for her to adopt a deeply submissive attitude toward her husband (or father in the case of unmarried daughters).* Paul puts it very strongly, "Let the wife learn in silence (i.e., a respectful, learner-disposition) with all submission." The word "all" is significant. There is not to be a single area of her life that is an exception to this deeply submissive attitude. She is to take the place of a respectful learner throughout her life and submit to her teacher-husband with all deference. Her "silence" does not refer to vocal silence,[447] but to a genuine, compliant disposition; a loving, submissive attitude toward her head. Sarah obeyed Abraham and called him her lord (1 Pet 3:6). The reason for this natural order is anchored in creation theology. She is to accept her station in life under her husband's rule as a providentially ordained one for her spiritual good and it is for all time. Faith is required on the part of the wife to accept this revelation and live by it.

The word for "rule" does not have an inherent evil connotation such as "domineer" has.[448] Man is to "rule" his wife, just as Christ rules the Church because they are both heads. This is the natural order, post-Fall (Gen 3:16) and post-Calvary. The pre-Fall, natural order must not be reversed in Christ's Kingdom—the Church—Paul is saying.

Paul seems to have thought deeply about the means by which sin entered into God's "very good" world and destroyed its virgin perfection, because he likened the whole Corinthian church (men and women) to a "chaste virgin bride" which *could* be deceived as the serpent deceived Eve by his craftiness, into accepting a different Gospel to the one he preached (2 Cor 11:2-3). So the potential for a whole church[449] to go off the rails is always present if they are not vigilant to recognise Satan in the form of external, scathing press and public opinion, frightening the Church to give up its distinctive doctrines and practices in the hope of appeasing public criticism; and also in the form of "savage wolves" who will be Christian leaders (Acts 20:29-30, "from among yourselves"), seeking to destroy them from the inside by substituting false Gospels, false spirits and false Christs for the real thing (2 Cor 11:3-4). The "savage wolves" today are feminist Christian leaders who hate the faithful and shut them up from speaking in the Church and eventually shut them out of *their* churches (they are theirs, not Christ's churches). Concerning Paul's vigilance he says he "did not cease to warn everyone night and day with tears" (Acts 20:31). A good leader will be recognised by the constancy ("night and day") of his warnings about the "leaven of feminism" and its destructive power. The false leader will never utter any "night and day" warnings. He never

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[447] In 1 Cor 14:34-35 vocal silence is imposed on all women in the public services, but here Paul is thinking of the home setting in which the husband is the teacher and ruler of his wife and children. It is in this context that she is to ask her questions and not in the public meeting where men are expected to do so. Jesus, at twelve years of age, was sitting among the teachers in the Temple both asking questions and listening to them. Women and girls would not have had access to the male court of the Temple where the teachers (and Jesus Himself, later on) taught, so they would have had to ask the male members of the family at home if they wanted to learn anything. This divinely ordained procedure Paul was divinely inspired to retain in the church (as it has been in the synagogue).

[448] See Appendix G for a fuller treatment on this word.

[449] This happened in 1994 when the Church of England passed by a two-thirds majority a law to permit women to teach and rule men in the church on the same terms as men (i.e., with an uncovered head).

sheds tears, that is how you recognise him. He is also a very popular man because he never corrects or disciplines anyone in *his* church (because it is his, not Christ's).

Now just as Eve had no defence against Satan and was easily robbed of her innocent state, so Paul notes that sin easily deceives all natural-born men because they have no defence against sin, having come into the world already robbed of Adam's innocent state. They start from a very low base, without God and without hope in the world. "For sin . . . deceived (ἐξηπάτησέν) me, and by it killed me" (Rom 7:11). Natural-born men may occupy pulpits as priests and pastors, and it is assumed that they are obeying Christ's commands. Each man must be vigilant to see that such leaders are indeed, born-again men, otherwise they become vulnerable to being deceived as Eve was, and as whole denominations have been in the recent past under the influence of feminist teaching.

Then, still thinking of the home situation, and the individual woman, Paul says that the wife will be saved even though she may have to go through the birthpains that her representative woman (Eve) brought on every woman.[450] Because Eve continues to live in every woman, Paul switches in v. 15b from the single wife at home to all wives globally, "if *they* continue in faith, etc."

The translation of 1 Timothy 2:15 should read, "But she shall be saved—despite[451] the [curse associated with] childbearing—if they remain in faith, etc." Or: "She shall be saved [as she goes] through the [cursed] childbearing [and not by avoiding it on theological grounds] if they continue in faith, and love and sanctification with sobriety." Paul is combating a contemporary view that women who go through the cursed experience of childbearing will not be saved, because they have willingly put themselves under the curse of Genesis 3:15 which Eve brought upon all females. This view took the form of "forbidding [Christian virgins] to marry" (4:3). In 5:14 Paul encourages "the young women to marry, to bear children, to be mistress of the house, to give no occasion to the opposer to revile. . ." as the prime purpose for their existence, in other words he has the headship of man in view throughout: woman was made for man, not to live apart from him, but to be his helpmeet. The teaching of "forbidding to marry" was a direct challenge to the headship of man because it kept man apart from woman and prevented the natural union of two becoming one flesh.

There can be no suggestion that salvation is *by means of* childbearing, as if a woman could be saved by works. That would contradict Paul's teaching that we are saved *by faith* followed by acts of faith. The background to Paul's teaching is the divine curse put on childbearing in Genesis 3:16. This curse seems to have been taken seriously to the extent that in order to avoid it marriage was forbidden. Paul repudiates this, "No, go ahead and marry *as normal,* and, as you enter into childbearing, continue to live a life of faith, love and sanctification with sobriety. This is the Way for women" (paraphrasing Paul's mind). Verse 15, then, is Paul's counter to the scare-mongering of some heretical teachers who are forbidding women to marry.[452]

4.4 SURELY YOU ARE NOT ASKING WOMEN TO GO BACK TO COVERING THEIR HEADS IN CHURCH, ARE YOU?

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[450] Woman is unique in that she is the only being in the world who experiences pain in giving birth to her offspring.

[451] Cf. the use of δια in 1 Cor 3:15.

[452] For the many ways this verse has been translated see Appendix B.

Should women have their heads covered when they are "praying or prophesying"? The succinct answer is, Yes. At the theological level, the one thing that most evangelical scholars are agreed on is that according to the teaching of the New Testament, women in New Testament times had a covering on their heads when they prayed and prophesied.[453] What has happened in the pew, however, is that women have gone with the prevailing fashion of the secular world and the covering slowly but surely slipped out of sight. Nothing was done about it at the leadership level (because the church lost its authoritative voice in the early part of the twentieth century, if not earlier) and this gave the practice the green light. Today it is a rare sight indeed to find a covered head in the mainline denominations, despite the knowledge at the scholarly level that the practice does not conform to the apostolic tradition that Paul handed on to all the churches he founded.

Now that the practice for women to worship bare-headed is almost universal in the main denominations in the Western church the trend has been to find (in some quarters) a theology that will justify the practice, because the thought of disciplining offenders is now unthinkable. The feeling is that somehow the new, pew practice *must* be right—*must* be given justification, and *must* be accepted by the leaders of the church, because the Church of Jesus Christ in the twenty-first century will no longer take any orders from its Head, or tolerate any form of discipline at any level against any person, gay, lesbian or straight. The church hierarchy has lost all credibility in the eyes of its members. Anything goes today: discipline is a dirty word. "Leave everyone alone to do what *they* want to do," is heard on all sides. "Let anyone be a minister if they want to, men or women—straight, homosexuals, gays, lesbians—anyone! Let anyone divorce and be remarried in Church, why not? It happens outside in the world, and that is acceptable, so why not in the church? What's wrong with abortion on demand? It happens outside and no one is sent to jail for it! It's not a crime, you know, to have an abortion." The Church is being constantly bombarded with this kind of irate, direct line of assault on its mission. But the same pressure to compromise comes in more subtle guises.

"We are living in a free society now," the Church is informed, "and this should be reflected in the life of the church." We are even warned that if the fashion in the church and the world does not keep in step then the church, not the world, will lose out, and it will be considered old-fashioned, and, "You don't want that image do you?" Here the appeal is to the flesh, to compromise its distinctive traditions, by softly spoken academics.

When the Church stoutly refuses to bow to this pressure (I speak hopefully), its feminist opponents resort to outright rejection, "In any case," we are informed, "even if Jesus Christ himself came back tomorrow and confirmed Paul's teaching (and it is only Paul's teaching anyway, Jesus had more respect for women than him!) who would listen to Him? If He insisted on it He would lose all His followers, so there, even He will have to accept that He cannot change anything *now*: the *people* will determine how they will appear before Him, not Him or His Bishops. We're living in a democracy now, you know. In any case, He got it all wrong, didn't He, when He said that women shouldn't preach in His Church? We have had women preachers for years now and we see absolutely nothing wrong with them—absolutely nothing. It was stupid to have asked for it in the first place, wasn't it? So even He can get it wrong sometimes. Fancy asking His Church to go back to wearing hats in Church again." And with that there is an exasperated shake of the head, as if to say, What is the Church coming to when we hear stupid suggestions like this again?

In a private communication to me a New Testament scholar suggested that a woman in Corinth who uncovered her head in public was on a par with a Christian woman who uncovered her breasts in public today. This equivalence would then explain Paul's anger at the women going "uncovered." It is then argued that since the significance that the

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[453] Cf. e.g. L. Birney, "The Role of Women in the New Testament Church," *Journal of the Christian Brethren Research Fellowship* 33 (December, 1982) 15-32, esp. p. 23.

Corinthian culture gave to an uncovered head is no longer valid today, it is completely inappropriate to ask Christian women to retain this anachronistic custom. It belonged to a culture of such extreme modesty that to pray with an uncovered head was to pray with uncovered breasts. The fact that this is a fabricated scenario and a distortion of Greek history and culture (such as we know of it) does not matter. What matters, we are told, is that here is a scenario that gives a plausible explanation for the "shame" of "uncovering" that Paul denounces so angrily. Unfortunately, for this solution the archaeological facts reveal public statues of honoured women with bare heads! Consequently, these would have been shameful statues in such an extreme culture of modesty, where to appear bare-headed was to appear topless! Like all such fabricated distortions of women's culture in Corinth, the motive is to justify the present practice of women removing their head-covering when praying to her God and Lord, and perpetuating disorder in Christ's Church. No church leader is going to preach that men and women should return to the apostolic practices. He would be out of job in no time, or if he gives leadership in a voluntary capacity, he would lose credibility overnight. The cost is suicidal. It cannot be done. Jesus must lose out on this one, they conclude.

Fabricated scenarios, such as the above, seldom appear in print but they are used extensively in evangelical churches, especially home-churches, where the level of biblical and theological knowledge is down-played at the expense of religious experiences and devotional talks. These vulnerable groups are fed continuously on the "milk of the Word," not the meatier doctrines which mature the Christian. In such uneducated settings a "scholar" could present the above scenario as the background against which Paul's letter is to be read. The result would be a justification for women disobeying the theological traditions that Christ instituted. Such house-churches are extremely vulnerable to manipulative pastors or "Shepherds" as they are also known by their membership. In what follows, fabricated scenarios, such as the above, will be exposed.

What gives these false scenarios some credence is the revelation that Near Eastern, Greek and Roman cultures are so different from our own that the cultural background is important to a right understanding of Scripture. The question is, Who has presented the correct cultural background to Paul's writings? So the battleground is shifted from Paul's words to Paul's worlds. If we break it down into its elements, we find:

(1) In Paul's day the head-covering on a woman had only a cultural significance. It belonged to a *culture of modesty.* It had no religious or theological significance in any religion or culture in which he moved. This is an important observation: *it was purely a fashionable thing to do.* Christian head-covering was different.

It was not a sign of modesty. It had a spiritual significance. It conveyed the theological information that the authority which a woman had by creation was not the same as the authority that was given to man at his creation. They differed in authority. This theological truth was given a visible symbol which differentiated the two sexes. In a feminist culture this symbol had to be done away with.

(2) In Paul's day those nations or cultures which practiced head-covering distinguished between its public and private use. Women were covered when they entered the public sphere, but uncovered at home. Christian head-covering was different.

Because the Christian head-covering had only a religious significance, the modesty value that the same covering had was purely optional. This is where 1 Corinthians 10:31-32 would play a part. In order not to offend one's neighbours, the Christian woman would adopt the head-covering in order to reach her own people with the Gospel. But where head-covering was not practiced among women, then it was not practiced by Christian women.

But because the Christian head-covering had only religious significance it meant that the public/private division did not apply. Christian women had to cover their heads when they prayed in public or in private, because they had entered the spiritual sphere.

The Christian division was not between public and private, but between spiritual and earthly. This division determined when she wore her head-covering.

(3) In Paul's day priestesses officiated in Roman and Greek religions, where, because they were indoors, they may have done so with uncovered heads. The evidence is meagre. Christian head-covering was different.

Godly women in the New Covenant Church were in the same position as the godly women in the Old Covenant Church. They were not allowed to participate as priests or officiants. Only men were permitted to officiate or speak in public.

(4) In Paul's day the female head-covering was not a universal custom. Some cultures did not have it, or had it, abandoned it, and went back to it again. There was no uniform culture or unbroken convention that was absolutely binding on all cultures in which he moved. The situation was much more fluid than many make it out to be. The evidence reveals very diverse situations and scenarios. Christian head-covering was different.

In Christianity, from the very beginning, there were three universal, theological traditions: (1) men-only ruled men; (2) men-only officiated; and (3) men-only were uncovered. Thus there was a uniformity throughout Christendom which was intended to remain rock-solid for all time to come. No fluidity was possible because these three traditions were grounded in creation theology and God's handiwork in the creation of male and female.

(5) In Paul's day a wide range of practices were tolerated. Men as well as women had a head-covering. Roman men who officiated in their pagan religion covered their heads, whereas Greek officials did not. The ordinary Roman and Greek male did not worship with a covered head (so far as the evidence goes). It is not clear what the ordinary Jew in Paul's day did. Some evidence points to some Jewish men (the more pious class) covering their heads when engaged in religious duties, but it seems most did not cover their heads. So Paul would not have done so before his conversion, though he was aware that all the priests in Judaism, without exception (on pain of death), *had* to perform their duties with a covered head. In this regard the Roman and Jewish religions agreed, but the Greek was different. Christian head-covering was different.

In Christianity no man may pray to God with a covered head, and no woman may pray with an uncovered head. These are fixtures that constitute good order in the Church. To interfere with them, modify or abandon them is to create disorder in Christ's Church.

So in five ways the Christian head-covering was different from the prevailing cultures in which it arose.

No society ever gave the woman's head-covering the theological significance that Paul has given it. *It was a completely new revelation—a new head-covering for His people.* It happened that there was a man-made *fashion* head-covering in existence that had no theological significance. So we should distinguish between two completely different kinds of head-covering: one cultural, and the other theological. The first is very often confused among Christian writers with the second. The knee-jerk reaction of most commentators when they meet the word "head-covering' is to assume that Paul is talking about the first, or cultural one. This knee-jerk reaction has becomes a continual trip-wire which very few commentators have avoided. They go straight into the trap. The *new* revelation is that the *new* head-covering is based on the analogy of hair on a woman. What hair means to her in the physical world, her head-covering means to her in the spiritual world. "Glory" is juxtaposed with "authority." The completely *new* head-covering is founded on something God has made, i.e., "nature," not on something man has made, i.e., "culture."

The head-covering of women in the Old Testament had no theological significance: it may have had a cultural one, we do not know. It is an irrelevance. The rainbow, circumcision, bread and wine, baptismal water, and the *new* head-covering all belong to the same category of theological symbols. Without an explanation accompanying them they have only a human cultural significance, if any.

But before we come to the archaeological and literary evidence for the old, cultural head-covering, something should be said of other ways round Paul's teaching on the *new* head-covering.

Lowery suggested that the bare principle of subordination is all that need be extracted from the passage and the *new* head-covering can be dispensed with.[454] Wilson has proposed that we do away with the *new* symbol altogether because it has now become an embarrassment but urges that we retain the principle behind it. He suggested that Paul told the Corinthians either to wear the *old* head-covering as a sign of the God-ordained male-female role distinctions, or wear the proper cultural symbol of God-ordained male-female role distinctions (i.e., Paul's *new* head-covering). He then concedes that these two possibilities may have led to the same application for the Corinthians.[455]

The whole drift of Wilson's argument is that to require women to wear head-coverings today in church is to ask them to do something abnormal rather than normal. But is not baptism "abnormal"? Is not the concept of eating a thumbnail of bread and a thimbleful of wine "abnormal"? Would not these also be "strange" to a visitor? If strangeness is the criterion for abandoning all Church practices, then the visitor sets the agenda and regulates the Church's worship and ordinances, not its Head.

Wilson advocates that as long as men and women today are not communicating by their dress that the creative order and distinctions have not been done away with, they are being obedient to this passage.[456] How do you communicate by "your dress"? Should *all* men wear ties? He advocates hair-pins as a substitute for the head-covering or that women wear a wedding ring to show that the male-female distinctions have not been done away with.[457] What do unmarried women wear? Having abandoned the biblical symbol of head-covering he concluded: This results in the conclusion that no symbol is actually called for in the passage![458]

In Paul's day there was a universal, theological dress-code in use. Disobedience threatened to isolate Corinth from the rest of the universal Church, but Paul brought it back into line. But the same forces that threatened it the first time round remained alive to come back and win the day. Can we be sure that Western culture is an advance on the ecclesiastical culture that obtained in all the churches of God that the Apostles founded?

With hindsight we can see that the Fall had a catastrophic effect on all relationships: between the Creator and Man, and between Man and Woman. For the duration of the Law, Man approached his Creator through a mediator (the Levitical priesthood) that covered its head. With the coming of the Lord Jesus—the new Mediator between God and Man—the pre-Fall situation was restored (potentially) in Christ Jesus who stands before His Father with an uncovered head. The "new man," like his brother (i.e., the Lord Jesus) can come before the Father with an uncovered head because his Mediator is uncovered. The original "glory" that Man had can once again shine forth in his "new life" with Christ. He becomes a "new Adam," and the Christian woman becomes a "new Eve"; each with their distinctive, God-given glory. Because, as we have seen in §1.2.1, God created Man and Woman with different functions in mind and placed Man over the works of His hands. This divine privilege placed on his shoulders the responsibility to fulfil His will and to bow down to Him. This was his primary responsibility, not his wife's. He was made "head" of his wife, and she has been commanded to obey him in everything so that he can carry out his God-given mandate—a

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[454] David K. Lowery, "The Head Covering and the Lord's Supper in 1 Corinthians 11:2-34," *BibSac* 143 (1986) 155-163, esp. p. 159.

[455] K. T. Wilson , "Should Women Wear Head-coverings?" *BibSac* 148 (1991) 442-462.

[456] K. T. Wilson, *op. cit.,* p. 461.

[457] See the reply to this suggestion under 4.4.2.5. "The Wedding-Ring Alternative," and under 6.4. "The Theological Significance of Gender in God's Worship."

[458] K. T. Wilson, *op. cit.,* p. 461.

mandate that was given to him before God created woman. It is as his helpmeet that she can fulfil her role to subdue the earth (Gen 1:26-28).

Corinth shows that disorder was and is not far below the surface in every church and family because of the lack of knowledge or revelation. Right knowledge is needed to combat disorder. Unfortunately, unlike the animal world which is pre-programmed with sufficient knowledge/instincts to function adequately, mankind is born in ignorance and must acquire the correct knowledge if it is to function to the glory of God. Paul managed to restore good order in the church in Corinth but it was not easy.

4.4.1. GREEK AND ROMAN WOMEN AND HEAD-COVERING

There is some confusion among Christian writers regarding the custom of women wearing a head-covering in public in Greek society.[459] It is assumed by some writers that women in Greek culture, and in particular women in Corinth, always covered their heads in public and especially in non-Christian temple worship, and that this custom was accepted by Paul so as not to offend Greeks. Guthrie could write: "Paul urges Christian women to respect the social custom of their time, in spite of their new-found freedom."[460] W. M. Ramsay, on the other hand cites Dion Chrysostom that the custom of women going veiled in Tarsus, Paul's home city, was an oriental, not a Greek, custom.[461]

There is also confusion in the terminology used. Some writers use "veil" when they mean "head-covering," and "veil" when they mean the oriental style with only the eyes visible.

What little evidence there is that Greek women may have been veiled up to the eyes (oriental fashion) has been collected by Caroline Galt. The evidence is not much nor is it convincing. However, as one comes forward from the fifth century BC the majority of the visual Greek evidence that she has collected shows that the face was exposed, with the *himation* or *stola* pulled up over the top of the head. She suspected that there was once a universal tradition of oriental veiling among all women going back to Assyrian times and quoted a 1500 BC Assyrian Code on veiling in support:

> If she goes out . . . into the street during the day, she is to veil herself. The captive woman who without the mistress (of the house) goes out in the street is to be veiled. The hierodule[462] who is married to a man is to be veiled in the street. The one [i.e., one free to marry] who is not married to a man is to have her head uncovered in the street and is not to veil herself. The harlot is not to veil herself; her head is to be uncovered.

Here both the virgin and the harlot can display their beauty in public, one to attract a husband and the other to ply her trade. So, appearing in public unveiled was not *in itself* a provocative or indecent act. In early Hebrew culture the exact opposite culture obtained; here both the harlot (Tamar in Gen 38:15) and the virgin (Rebekah in Gen 24:65) put a veil over their faces. If there had been a universal, oriental veiling then by the fifth century BC it was well on its way out in Greek culture. The only remnant left of it was a head-covering (a *stola*)

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[459] For the synagogue practice see 4.4.5.

[460] Donald Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction* (3rd. ed. Downers Grove, ILL.: Inter-Varsity Press, 1970), p. 445. Cf. also J. Duncan M. Derrett, *Studies in the New Testament. Volume One* (Leiden: E.J Brill, 1977), article: "Religious Hair," pp. 170-75, esp. p. 171.

[461] W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities of St. Paul* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1907), 201-205.

[462] A slave (of either sex) dwelling in a temple, and dedicated to the service of a god. She remained virgin or unmarried if she was a young widow.

leaving the full face exposed which Galt's evidence is useful as visual proof. Gill supplies some Corinthian evidence that women wore a head-covering (which he wrongly identifies as a veil).[463] Greek women, when going out of the house, would throw the upper fold of her robe over her head, which ended just above her eyes, so as to cover her hair. Pictures of this general type of head-covering can be see in *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities*.[464]

Among the Greeks only the *hetæræ* (mistresses, concubines), who were very numerous in Corinth, went about uncovered. Slave-women had shaven heads which was also a punishment for adulteresses. In Greek culture both sexes worshipped with uncovered heads whereas in Roman culture both sexes worshipped with covered heads.[465]

In the case of the Greek women, we can reconcile her appearance in public with a covered head and in private, or indoors, with an uncovered head, on the supposition that the head-covering was a functional garment intended to stop her hair-do from being blown about until she reached the temple where she took it off to perform her religious duties. She then put the covering back on to return home. It should be remembered that Corinth was a Roman city and that the church would include Romans as well as many other cultures. It was a multi-cultural city.

Archaeological evidence, especially numismatic and statuary finds, show Roman men wearing a headdress while at prayer which they would have had to put away when they became a Christian. The Augustan Altar of Peace and the Column of Trajan attest the same practice. Aeneas, "And our heads are shrouded before the altar with a Phrygian vestment."[466]

That Roman men covered their heads in worship is an established fact if Richard Oster's work is to be relied on. The phrase used by Paul to refer to a head-covering for the men in Corinth is "having something on the head" (κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων), which has a parallel in Plutarch who refers to a certain Scipio the Younger (185-129 BC) who conquered Cartage in 147-146 BC. He was sent out by the Roman Senate as an inspector (ἐπίσκοπον) of cities, peoples and kings:

> and when he arrived at Alexandria and, after disembarking, was walking with his toga covering his head (κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων τὸ ἱμάτιον), the Alexandrians quickly surrounded him, and insisted that he uncover (ἀποκαλύψασθαι) and show his face to their yearning eyes. And so he uncovered (ἀποκαλυψαμένου) amid shouting and applause.[467]

Plutarch regarded the covered male head as having symbolic value, i.e., it symbolised the concealment of the soul by the body. The following is his speculation why Romans sometimes covered and sometimes uncovered their heads depending on the gods they were worshipping. He asks:

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[463] David W. J. Gill, "The Importance of Roman Portraiture for Head-coverings in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16," *Tyndale Bulletin* 41.2 (1990) 245-260, esp. pp. 252-3.

[464] H. T. Peck, (ed.), *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities* (London: Osgood, 1897 [1896]), pp. 676, 1670.

[465] Though it is thought that probably only the officiating males in Roman religion covered their heads. See G. G. Finlay, "The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians," in *The Expositor's Greek New Testament* (5 vols.; Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans, 1897-1910), III. 872-73. For the visual evidence see Allen Brent, *The Imperial Cult and the Development of Church Order* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), Plates 14 and 15.

[466] Virgil, *Aeneid*, iii., 545.

[467] *Plutarch's Moralia, Sayings of Romans* (LCL; 16 vols.; ed. F. Babbitt; London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1931) 3.191 (200F). The full text reads: ὡς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἧκε καὶ τῆς νεὼς ἀποβὰς ἐβάδιζε κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχων τὸ ἱμάτιον, ἠξίουν ἀποκαλύψασθαι περιθέοντες οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς καὶ δεῖξαι ποθοῦσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ πρόσωπον. τοῦ δὲ ἀποκαλυψαμένου, κραυγὴν καὶ πρότον ἐποίησαν.

Why is it that when they [the Romans] worship the gods, they cover [ἐπικαλύπτονται τὴν κεφαλήν] their heads, but when they meet any of their fellow-men worthy of honour, if they happen to have the toga over the head [κἂν τύχωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχοντες τὸ ἱματιον], they uncover [ἀποκαλύπονται]?

This second fact seems to intensify the difficulty of the first. If, then, the tale told of Aeneas is true, that, when Diomedes [his enemy] passed by, he covered his head [ἐπικαλύψαμενος][in order not to be seen] and completed the sacrifice, it is reasonable and consistent with the covering of one's head [συγκαλύπτεσθαι] in the presence of an enemy that men who meet good men and their friends should uncover [ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι].

For they [men] uncover [ἀποκαλύπτονται] their heads in the presence of men more influential than they: it is not to invest these men with additional honour, but rather to avert from them the jealousy of the gods, that these men may not seem to demand the same honours as the gods, ... But they thus worshipped the gods, either humbling themselves by concealing the head [τῇ ἐπικρύψει τῆς κεφαλῆς], or rather by pulling the toga over the ears as a precaution lest an ill-omened and baleful sound from without should reach them while they were praying.

Or, as Castor states when he is trying to bring Roman customs into relation with Pythagorean doctrine: the Spirit within us entreats and supplicates the gods without, and thus he symbolizes by the covering of the head [τῇ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπικαλύψει] the covering and concealment of the soul by the body.

Why do they sacrifice to Saturn with the head uncovered [ἀπαρακαλύπτῳ τῇ κεφαλῇ]?

Is it because Aeneas instituted the custom of covering the head [ἐγκαλύψιν], and the sacrifice to Saturn dates from long before that time?

Or is it that they cover the head [ἐπικαλύπτονται] before the heavenly deities, but they consider Saturn a god whose realm is beneath the earth? Or is it that no part of Truth is covered [ἀποκρυφον however, all mss but one read ἐπίκρυφον] or overshadowed, and the Romans consider Saturn father of Truth?

Why do they also sacrifice to the god called "Honor" with the head uncovered [ἀπαρακαλύπτῳ [ἀκαλύπτῳ] τῇ κεφαλῇ]?

Is it because renown is a brilliant thing, conspicuous, and widespread, and for the reason that they uncover [ἀποκαλύπτονται] in the presence of good and honoured men, is it for this same reason that they also worship the god who is named for "honour"?

Why do sons cover their heads [οἱ μὲν υἱοὶ συγκεκαλύμμενοι] when they escort their parents to the grave, while daughters go with uncovered heads and hair unbound [αἱ δὲ θυγατέρες γυμναῖς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς καὶ ταῖς κόμαῖς λελυμέναις]?. . . .

Or is it that the unusual is proper in mourning, and it is more usual for women to go forth in public with their heads covered [ἐγκεκαλυμμέναις] and men with their heads uncovered [ἀκαλύπτοις]? So in Greece, whenever any misfortune comes, the women cut off their hair [κομῶσι] and the men let it grow, for it is usual for men to have their hair cut and for women to let it grow [κείρονται μὲν αἱ γυναῖκες κομωσι δ' οἱ ἄνδρες, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν τὸ κειρεσθαι ταῖς δὲ τὸ κομᾶν συνηθές ἐστιν]. . . .

But formerly women were not allowed to cover the head at all. At least it is recorded that Spurius Carvilius was the first man to divorce his wife and the reason was her barrenness; the second was Sulpicius Gallus, because he saw his

> wife pull her cloak over her head;[468] and the third was Publius Sempronius, because his wife had been present as a spectator at funeral games.[469]

But over against this positive evidence must be set visual evidence where women are portrayed without a head-covering both in Greek[470] and Roman culture. This would suggest that it depended on the function of the visual portrait (statue or painting). If the artist wanted to depict a domestic scene then the women are generally presented without a head-covering, or wearing just a head-band, and their faces are visible. This appears to be the most popular form on painted pottery. But if the artist depicted a religious or formal event (such as a wedding scene) then the women are presented covered, but exceptions can always be found to this general observation. So, for example, according to Gill, "Public marble portraits of women at Corinth, presumably members of the wealthy and prestigious families are most frequently shown bare-headed."[471]

There is inscriptional evidence of Roman women priests in Corinth. One inscription reads:

> To Polyaena, daughter of Marcus, priestess of Victory. The high priest [Publius] Licinius Priscus Juventianus, [while still living, (set up this monument)] with the official sanction of the city council to (this) excellent woman.[472]

There is evidence that there was a large contingent of Roman citizens in Corinth in Paul's time and that the Roman men and women covered their heads in religious duties.[473] Consequently Paul commanded Roman men to remove their cultural head-covering, and commanded Greek women to adopt a head-covering which was contrary to their culture.[474] There is no concession to either Greek or Roman cultures. Paul's approach is that the Lord Jesus Christ has His own distinctive culture for His people—the "Israel of God," which is to

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[468] There is some confusion here because in his article Boaz Cohen ("Concerning Divorce in Jewish and Roman Law," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 21 [1952] 3-34) notes that "Married women in Rome as a rule did not go out without head covering and it is told that Sulpicius Gallus had divorced his wife because she showed herself on the street with uncovered head, cf. Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 14 and *Val. Max.* VI.3.10." (p. 8 n. 23).

[469] All the extracts are taken from *Plutarch's Moralia* 4.21. *The Roman Questions* (sections 266C-F).

[470] So Gerhard Kittel, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (ET. Geoffrey W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965), Vol. 3 under κατακαλύπτω κτλ. (by Albrecht Oepke); cf. Hans Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians* (ET by J. W. Leitch. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), p. 185; and Ralph Bruce Terry, *A Discourse Analysis of First Corinthians* (Publications in Linguistics 120. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington, 1995), pp. 26-31; and Klaus Thräde, "Ärger mit der Freiheit. Die Bedeutung von Frauen in Theorie und Praxis der alten Kirche" (*"Freunde in Christus werden . . ." Die Beziehung von Mann und Frau als Frage an Theologie und Kirche* by G. Scharffenorth and K. Thräde. Gelhausen/Berlin: Burckhardthaus-Verlag, 1977) who claims that because women in Greece went uncovered for the most part, Paul was forced to draw on heavy theological artillery to institute a tradition that was probably Jewish in the Corinthian church. If so, this does not explain why Paul appeals to 'nature'.

[471] David W. J. Gill, "The Importance of Roman Portraiture for Head-coverings in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16," *Tyndale Bulletin* 41.2 (1990) 245-260, esp. p. 251. For the visual evidence see C. L. Thompson, "Hairstyles, head-coverings, and St. Paul. Portraits from Roman Corinth," *Biblical Archaeologist* 51.2 (1989) 99-115, and F. P. Johnson, *Sculpture 1896-1923* (Corinth 9; Cambridge, MASS.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens/Harvard University Press, 1931), pp. 86-87 nos. 160-163..

[472] J. H. Kent, *The Inscriptions 1926-1950* (Corinth 8:3; Princeton , NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1966), p. 89, pl. 17 no 199.

[473] Richard Oster, "When Men Wore Veils to Worship: The Historical Context of 1 Corinthians 11.4," *New Testament Studies* 34 (1988) 481-505.

[474] According to Henry Alford some ancient commentators (Chrysostom, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Theophylact Abp of Bulgaria) assume that men did actually cover their heads in church but Alford thinks Paul uses them hypothetically to bring out that other abuse which really had occurred (see Bradley H. Alford (abridger), Dean Alford's Greek Testament with English Notes. London: Rivingtons, 1869, under 1 Cor 11:3).

be universal and permanent. And it is a culture that is founded on theological principles based on the creation of man and women, and so it contrasts sharply with all other man-made cultures which generally have no theological significance.

The Corinth of Paul's day was founded as a Roman colony a century after it was destroyed by Mummius in 146 BC. It was re-established by Caesar in 44 BC and destroyed again in AD 396 by Alaric, leader of the Visigoths.[475] Most of its public inscriptions are in Latin, not Greek.[476]

> If we are to understand the background or cultural context of these letters we need to read them against the backdrop of a Roman colony, not a Greek city. Institutions, legal procedures, social customs, architecture, public images and to some extent language owed more to Rome than to the Greek world.[477]

In ancient Rome the custom obtained that both Roman men and women covered their heads in non-Christian temple worship when they were the active participants.[478] But others suggest that, "The covering of heads is not a general form of dress adopted by people attending a [Roman] sacrifice; it is specific to those who are taking an active part."[479]

Roman officials (from Emperors through to magistrates) could also be priests both in Rome and in Roman colonies throughout the empire. In which case they would perform priestly functions with their head covered. The cover was simply the *toga* drawn up over the head.

Jewish tradition required the priests to minister with covered heads (Ex 28:36-40; Ezek 44:18-20). No doubt there was a mixture of Greek, Roman and Jewish men in the church set up by Paul in Corinth next door to the synagogue whose leader was converted to Paul's teaching. "The Roman and Jewish practice was that men should pray with their heads covered; the traditional Greek custom was that men pray with heads uncovered. Within this context it may be a clash of customs that is the real issue in 11:2-16."[480] This misses the theological principles behind Paul's revelation. Paul had no say over the formulation of the dress-code expected of all Christians everywhere throughout the world. It was fixed by Jerusalem from where the Gospel was to go out into all the world. The theological dress-codes arise from the elevation of Christ to be the supreme head over everything, God Himself exempted.

Gill suggested that the problem with the men in 1 Corinthians 11:4 was that some members of the élite social class in Corinth were adopting or retaining the headdress

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[475] A Roman tomb was found at Corinth which was in use from a generation after Paul had been there until the destruction of Corinth in AD 396 when scores of bodies were placed in it and it was never opened again. It even contained the burial of a Christian lady called Maria (*c.* 380-390). The original tomb belonged to Coranus Patrobius whose son, Clodius Granianus, was proconsul of Achaia in AD 118. See Theodore Leslie Shear, "The Excavation of Roman Chamber Tombs at Corinth in 1931," *American Journal of Archaeology* 35 (2nd ser. 1931) 424-441.

[476] See W. W. Cummer, "A Roman tomb at Corinthian Kenchreai," *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 205-231; and David W. J. Gill, "The Importance of Roman Portraiture for Head-coverings in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16," *Tyndale Bulletin* 41.2 (1990) 245-260, esp. pp. 258-60.

[477] David W. J. Gill, "The Importance of Roman Portraiture for Head-coverings in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16," *Tyndale Bulletin* 41.2 (1990) 245-60, esp. p. 245.

[478] See Plutarch, *op. cit.*, 4.266-67.

[479] Cf. David W. J. Gill, "The Importance of Roman Portraiture for Head-coverings in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16," *Tyndale Bulletin* 41.2 (1990) 245-260, esp. p. 248.

[480] Raymond F. Collins, *First Corinthians* (Sacra Pagina Series, Vol. 7. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1999), p. 401. He concluded that Paul is talking about hair styles rather than about wearing a veil or covering one's head with a toga. The matter, he suggests, is "to avoid contentiousness over the matter of dressing one's hair" (p. 404) in the assembly. Others suggest it refers to a "woman who appears in the assembly with unkempt hair brings shame upon herself." Her flowing hair would be a sign that she wanted to be independent of her husband (p. 407). This is not only creative exegesis, it misses Paul's point completely, and devalues the theological arguments from creation.

associated with priestly status and this was causing a division among the men.[481] This seems unlikely, first, because Paul set up the pattern of worship in Corinth and lived there for eighteen months (Acts 18:11). The problem did not arise in that time when the church was formed, or if it did it was dealt with by Paul.

Second, Paul says that "not many" of the church members belonged to the upper classes (1 Cor 1:26), the majority were sexually immoral, idolaters, adulterers, male prostitutes, homosexuals, thieves, drunkards, slanderers and swindlers (1 Cor 6:11); in other words, the lower classes.

Third, it is not clear whether the men who covered their heads were converted priests, or whether the poorer classes of men (who comprised the majority of the church membership) were attempting to copy the active male participants in the pagan worship who were generally covered. In either case it does not say much for the power of the Gospel if they thought they could continue to practice their old pagan ways after their "conversion."

Fourth, if there was a problem it could have been solved by commanding all men to wear a head-covering; in other words, bring all the men up to the higher status *in church,* rather than bring all down to the lower status.

Fifth, Gill's identification of the problem (cultural) does not explain Paul's use of creation theology to resolve the problem (which is theological, because it touches on the headship of Man). Paul sets the issue of covering and uncovering in the context of God creating male and female and the need to keep a visible distinction between them because one was head of the other, so that they were not equal in the authority He gave each gender. If women had to be covered then the men had to be uncovered, or vice versa. The choice was settled in favour of women being covered because of the lesson from nature (see 4.4.4), consequently the men *had* to be uncovered. In any case Christ would not have been covered in His Father's presence, like a woman, and all Christian men are Christ's brothers. Gender has a theological significance.

Sixth, Paul is presented as giving two different reactions to Roman cultural conventions (as Gill sees it). On the one hand, the Roman women are to conform to their social conventions and return to covering their heads, but on the other hand, the Roman men are forbidden to conform to their social conventions and are commanded to uncover their heads in the Christian *ecclesia.* This is inconsistent, if not insensitive, handling of cultural conventions, if Paul was operating on a cultural plane.

Terry made the point well: "Rather than Paul pleading for respect of social customs, in 1 Corinthians 11 he is arguing for the maintenance of the Christian tradition (11:2). Some women were being influenced more by what society allowed than by what Christianity taught."[482] Having noted that all Paul's answers are rooted in Christ for solving the various problems that were brought to his attention by Chloe's friends, and which were raised in the Church's letter to him, Terry sums up the message Paul wants to get across to the church in Corinth in the ten discourses that comprise 1 Corinthians as follows:

> Obey Christ rather than follow social customs, such as boasting about men, committing fornication, suing one another, getting a divorce, eating meat offered to an idol, having women pray bareheaded, getting drunk, valuing ecstatic utterances, doubting the resurrection, and spending all your money on yourself.[483]

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[481] David W. J. Gill, "The Importance of Roman Portraiture for Head-coverings in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16," *Tyndale Bulletin* 41.2 (1990) 245-260, esp. pp. 248, 250.

[482] Ralph Bruce Terry, "Pattern of Discourse Structure in 1 Corinthians," *Journal of Translation and Textlinguistics* 7 (1996) 1-32, esp. p. 11.

[483] *Op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

4.4.2. VEIL OR HEAD-COVERING?

A common error in most commentaries on 1 Corinthians 11 is to interpret the "covering" in terms of local custom, and then go on to see in the veil covering the woman's head a sign that she is under the authority of her husband.[484] There is hardly a commentary that does not accept this assumption. Neither suggestion is correct. First, the word "veil" (*kalumma*) does not occur in the chapter, and anyway it would not make sense to talk about men "veiling themselves" under any conditions, certainly not Jewish men! The only Hebrew man in Scripture who wore a veil (κάλυμμα) upon (ἐπι) his face (not on his head) was Moses (Ex 34:33), and he only put it on in the *presence of men* so that the people would not see the glory of the Law fade (2 Cor 3:13). He took it off in the presence of God, because he was granted the privilege of speaking face to face with Him. Moses' veil had a theological significance, according to Paul.[485]

"It is not referring to a veil which covers the face, but to a headscarf, as the comparison with the man's hairstyle makes plain."[486] It is, therefore, a red herring to talk about veils when the text is talking about men and women covering their heads, not their faces.[487] Whether women wore veils then or now is another issue altogether,[488] and an indifferent thing as far as the subject of "covering" is concerned.[489] Veils belong to culture: coverings belong to worship. Veils belong to culture,[490] just as men's ties do, and, so far as I know, Scripture nowhere prescribes these articles as essential when we come before God in worship.[491] It does, however, very clearly prescribe that women should have a covering *on* their head, but nowhere does it specify the size, shape, or material, because that is not the most important thing. However, we do have a guide in that Paul asks that the hair and the headcovering should both stay on together or come off together. Now if a woman lost all her hair through some disease how much of her head would she cover to hide the fact that she was bald? Some women wear a token headcovering in the form of a headband. However, she should imagine herself to be completely bald and this will help her to decide how much of her head she will cover with an artificial covering. The covering is not a veil to cover her face but a covering to cover her baldness.

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[484] Cf. Leroy Birney, *op. cit.,* p. 20; and Léonie J. Archer, *Her Price is Beyond Rubies: The Jewish Woman in Greco-Roman Palestine.* JSOT Supplement Series 60 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), p. 205, ' It served as a symbol of the man's possession of the woman, and she wore it throughout her married life.' [F'n 5. Thus according to the Talmud, 'common law marriage' among the Noahides was considered dissolved when the husband removed the covering from his wife's head (*Ber.* 21a). See J. Morgenstern, *Rites of Birth, Marriage, Death and Kindred Occasions among the Semites* (Cincinnati, 1966), pp. 99-100 on the cutting off or covering of the hair amongst various Semitic peoples as the transition from virginity to the married state.

[485] For the Jewish use of veils see Louis M. Epstein, *Sex Laws and Customs in Judaism* (New York: KTAV, 1967), pp. 36-41.

[486] A. Schlatter, *Paulus, der Bote Jesu, Eine Deutung seiner Briefe an die Korinther* (Stuttgart, ²1956), p. 308; quoted by Werner Neuer in *Man and Woman in Christian Perspective* (ET by Gordon Wenham. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1990), p. 194 n. 337.

[487] J. B. Hurley, (*Man and Woman in Biblical Perspective* [Leicester: IVP, 1981], pp. 254-71) shows from extra-biblical sources that the covering covered the head. They were not full facial veils; they were often attached as hoods to the women's garments. See also Cynthia L. Thompson, "Hairstyles, Head-coverings and St. Paul: Portraits from Roman Corinth," *Biblical Archaeologist* 51.2 (1989), p. 113, for the evidence from Tarsus and Syria.

[488] Head-coverings may well have been universal for some psychological reason; on their use see Gerd Theissen, *Psychological Aspects of Paul's Theology.* ET by John P. Galvin (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), pp. 158-75.

[489] Banks (*op. cit.,* 93): "Paul throughout uses a word which simply means a 'covering'."

[490] See L. J. Archer, *Her Price is Beyond Rubies: The Jewish Woman in Graeco-Roman Palestine* (JSOT. Supl. 60; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), pp. 205, 212-13, 247-48.

[491] Mare (*op. cit.,* p. 256) notes that it was not proper for a first-century Jewish man to cover his head for prayer (a custom originally meant to indicate sorrow that evidentially really developed as a practice in the fourth-century AD), yet the act seems to have been innovatively tried in the Jewish synagogues in Paul's time.

The danger that talk of veils raises, is that veils may have been a social custom of the time and may have had relevance then but not now;[492] hence the false conclusion that 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 has no relevance today.[493] There is no unambiguous evidence, textual or visual, that the women of Corinth wore veils as opposed to a head-covering. But it suits feminists to import the idea of veils to turn off Western women from looking too closely at Paul's actual words. Note the following overlay:

> It is likely that the problem underlying 1 Cor 11.2-16 involves the activity of pneumaic Corinthian women who, during ecstatic worship, believed that they had transcended sexual differentiation. These women symbolized their status by becoming like men; they removed their veils—symbols of the inferiority and subordination which characterized their day to day living.[494]

Note the three assumptions (1) that women took part in the public worship service; (2) that women wore veils rather than head-coverings; and (3) that the veil symbolized inferiority rather than modesty.

Some commentators have assumed that the central issue in 11:2-16 was resistance to Paul's earlier introduction of the Jewish custom (when he founded the church) of having to wear an eastern veil, contrary to local Greek custom. He had been away from the Church for some time and more local women converts had been added to the church creating tensions for the leaders by not wearing veils as they prayed.[495] Heinrich Weinel suggested that as the veil covered the mouth and nose it was necessary to remove it in order to pray or prophesy in the Christian assembly.[496]

Another writer assumes that men and women were equal in being able to pray or prophesy in the public meeting but, Paul,

> Fearing that women who fulfil these prominent roles expose themselves to male erotic fantasy, Paul seeks to modify these shared practices by requiring women to cover their heads. . . . His [Paul's] anxiety is that the woman who prays or prophesies with uncovered head may become the object of the male erotic gaze: the problem to which female head-covering is the proposed solution is that of a male-oriented eros. As a woman articulates the word of God to the congregation, . . . her appearance may obstruct the reception of her word; or so Paul fears. . . . Paul's embarrassing contortions . . . . She is to cover her head so as to deflect the [male] look that would otherwise undermine her ministry. . . . the female head-covering is intended to ensure that this interdependence is preserved and is not distorted into covert eroticism.[497]

It seems odd that Christian men should be so overwhelmed by erotic fantasies during their spiritual worship, that instead of condemning these fantasies, Paul requires

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[492] On veiling of women in Semitic culture see A. Oepke, "Καλύπτω," TDNT 3:556-558; R. De Vaux, "Sur le voile des femmes dans l'Orient ancien," *Revue Biblique* 44 (1935) 397-412.

[493] This is the conclusion drawn by J. W. Roberts, "The Veils in 1 Cor. 11:2-16," *Restoration Quarterly* 3 (1959) 183-89.

[494] Margaret Y. Macdonald, "Women Holy in Body and Spirit: The Social Setting of 1 Corinthians 7," *NTS* 36 (1990) 161-181, esp. p. 166.

[495] Annie Jaubert, "Le voile des femmes [1 Cor xi.2-16]," *NTS* 18 (1972) 419-430; Robin Scroggs, "Paul and the Eschatological Woman," *JAAR* 40 (1972) 283-303; Marco Adinolfi, "Il velo della donna e la rilettura paolina di 1 Cor. 11,2-16," *RivBib* 213 (1975) 147-173; Wayne Meeks, "The Image of the Androgyne: Some Uses of the Symbol in Earliest Christianity," *History of Religions* 13 (1973/74) 167-168; André Feuillet, "La dignité et la rôle de la femme d'après quelques textes pauliniens," *NTS* 21 (1975) 157-191; and Robert Jewett, "The Sexual Liberation of the Apostle Paul," *JAARSup* 47/1 (1979) 55-87.

[496] *Paulus: Der Mensch und sein Werk. Die Aufänge des Christentums, der Kirche und des Dogmas.* Lebensfragen 3 (2nd. ed. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1915), p. 202.

[497] Francis Watson, "The Authority of the Voice: A Theological Reading of 1 Cor 11.2-16," *New Testament Studies* 46.4 (2000) 520-536, esp. pp. 522, 530, 532.

women to cover their heads! But what about covering their faces and bodies, if these are the real cause of the "male erotic fantasies"? And why only cover their hair when speaking? Surely her beauty is a cause of "erotic fantasy" without having to speak. But Paul nowhere uses the term "veil" in this passage; it is something *on* the head that he requires, not a cultural veil.

The same writer draws an analogy between Susanna (Sus 31) and the women of Corinth. At Susanna's trial, on a charge of adultery, she appears before her accusers, the two elders who had attempted to seduce her. The text reads, "And the wicked men commanded her to be unveiled—for she was veiled—so that they might be satisfied with her beauty" (31:32-33). The parallel is that, "When Corinthian women pray or prophesy, they occupy an equally public position in which (according to Paul) they expose themselves to the male erotic look. They must therefore follow Susanna's example and cover their heads (with a veil, as she did . . . .)."[498]

Finally, the same writer believes that Paul retracts his command to the women to cover their heads, believing that he made a mistake and got it wrong (2 Cor 3:18), and the Corinthian women were right to throw away their head-coverings (which the writer thinks was the veil).[499]

There are three other theories that interpret the "covering" as the woman's own hair.

4.4.2.1 THE WOMAN'S "BUN" STYLE IS HER COVERING

J. B. Hurley's theory is that the "covering" does not refer to a "veil" but to a certain hair style. This theory made its first(?) appearance in W. H. Mare's commentary. Hurley argued that—

> . . . any man who prays or prophesies with his hair up as a woman's [i.e., in a "bun" fashion] announces that he is under the authority of a man and thereby dishonours both himself and Christ. Conversely, any woman who lets her hair hang loose [which Hurley equates with being "uncovered"] dishonours both herself and her husband. By letting her hair down she puts on herself the sign of the accused adulteress [Num 5:18]."[500]

Yeo Khiok-khng presents the issue as, "Paul contends that a woman with an inappropriate hairstyle in worship will disrupt or dishonour the glory of God because the angels present at the assembly are concerned with the created order of God."[501] Why have we not heard of this universal hair style among all the Christian women before?[502] The Church Fathers are completely silent about it. The analogy with Numbers 5:18 is false because the woman is innocent until proved guilty, not the other way round as he assumes. In any case for a woman to wear long hair in any culture cannot be wrong.[503]

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498 *Op. cit.*, p. 531 n. 15.

499 *Op. cit.*, p. 536.

500 *Op. cit.*, p. 219. This theory is followed by Richard B. Hays, *First Corinthians* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1997), pp. 185-87.

501 Yeo Khiok-khng, "Differentiation and Mutuality of Male-Female Relations in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16," *Biblical Research* 43 (1998) 7-21, see esp. p. 18.

502 Another advocate for the issue being one of male and female hairstyles is Yeo Khiok-khng, "Differentiation and Mutuality of Male-Female Relations in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16," *Biblical Research* 43 (1998) 7-21, see esp. pp. 9-1I, "The issue under discussion here has nothing to do with 'veil' or 'covering', the language that is so prevalent in both RSV and NRSV."

503 See the figurine of two Corinthian women with identical hair styles which are long, carefully styled (horizontal waves), and reaching down over their bosoms, in Agnes E. Newhall, "The Corinthian Kerameikos," *American*

Archaeological evidence indicates that the Roman emperors' wives, Livias and Octavia, wore their hair in a simple bun, while other women wore elaborate hair styles.[504] All this teaches us is that the glory of a woman is her hair, something that Paul was to take up later on to show that hair functions differently on women than on men.

4.4.2.2 THE WOMAN'S OWN HAIR IS THE COVERING

A second theory that a number of scholars have put forward is the assumption that the covering mentioned in 1 Corinthians 11:5 is the same as the covering mentioned in 11:14-15.[505] Murphy-O'Connor wants to read "cover" as "bound hair" and "uncover" as "unbound hair." In v. 15b the *peribolaion* is her hair wrapped around her head in plaits. He puts his theory in the form of a new translation:

> Christ is the source of every (believing) person's being, but man was the source of woman's being, and God is the source of Christ's being as Savior. [4]Every man praying and prophesying with an unmasculine hair-do shames himself. [5]Equally, every woman praying or prophesying with an unfeminine hair-do shames herself—it is the same as if she were shaven. [6]For if a woman will not do her hair properly, she might as well cut it off. But if it is disgraceful for a woman to be shorn or shaven as men are, she should do her hair in a womanly fashion. [7]A man, on the contrary, should not adopt a feminine hair-do.
>
> Man and woman are different because they were created in different ways. In the Genesis narrative man is the glory of God, but woman is the glory of man, [8]because man was not made from woman, but woman from man, [9]and man was not created for woman but woman for man.
>
> [10]This difference must be respected in the new creation where woman has a power that she did not enjoy under the Law, but to convince the angels who watch for breaches of the Law she must appear as a woman by the way she dresses her hair.
>
> [11]In Christ man and woman enjoy the same power; [12]for as originally woman was made from man, so thereafter man came into being through woman, and this was also God's doing.
>
> [13]Judge for yourselves. Is it seemly for a woman to pray to God with an unfeminine hair-do? [14]Does not nature itself teach you that long hair dishonours a man, [15]whereas it is a woman's glory? For long hair is given her so that she may wind it around her head.
>
> [16]If any one is disposed to contest this, let me just say that we have no custom permitting men to appear womanish or woman mannish. All the churches agree that men should appear to be men and women appear to be women.[506]

This is not a translation but a mixture of theory and translation.[507] It hardly needs a refutation but see Delobel.[508]

Journal of Archaeology 35 (2nd ser. 1931) 1-30, esp. p. 25. There is another long-haired, carefully plaited woman opposite p. 26. All date from the 5th cent. BC. Fiorenza (*In Memory of Her,* 227) notes that short hair marked females as lesbians in Greek culture (cf. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 7:6; 11:10).

504 See Diana E. E. Kleiner and Susan B. Matheson, eds., *I Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1996), pp. 36-39,53, 124-125. For the visual evidence see Allen Brent, *The Imperial Cult and the Development of Church Order* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), Plates 17, 30 (bun), 20-22 (pony tail), 26, 28, 33 (taken back over the top of the head).

505 See, for example, J. Murphy-O'Connor, "Sex and Logic in 1 Cor. 11:2-16," *CBQ* 42 (1980) 482-500; F. L. Godet, *Commentary on First Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Kregel Pubs., 1977), p. 557; A. Padgett, "Paul on Women in the Church: the Contradictions of Coiffure in 1 Corinthians 11.2-16," *JSNT* 20 (1984) 69-86, esp. p. 70; J. B. Hurley, *Man and Woman in Biblical Perspective* (Leicester: IVP, 1981). See also G. G. Finlay, "The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians," in *The Expositor's Greek New Testament* (5 vols.; Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans, 1897-1910), vol. 3, 875, and E. S. Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroads/London: SCM Press, 1983), p. 227.

506 J. Murphy-O'Connor, "Sex and Logic in 1 Cor. 11:2-16," *CBQ* 42 (1980) 499-500.

507 For the rejection of "head" to mean "source" in Paul's use of that term, see Edward Donnelly, "Headship," in *Men, Women and Authority,* ed. Brian Edwards (Bromley. Kent: Day One publications, 1996), pp. 93-112, esp. pp. 99-100. Jesus is not the *source* of "every power and authority" (good and bad), but he is their master (Col 2:10).

508 Jöel Delobel specifically combats the idea that uncovered = unbound (as it does in Lev 13:45 and Num 5:18) in "1 Cor 11,2-16: Towards a Coherent Interpretation," in *L'apôtre Paul. Personnalité, style et conception du ministère* (ed.

John Heading replied to earlier versions of this kind of theory: "Such a belief is absolutely invalid, and shows either the inability to follow an argument or else a refusal to own the authority of Christ. The word *covering* in this verse means *something cast around,* a veil."[509]

Ambrose (*ca.* 397), however, used the "source" analogy to argue for woman's subjection to man.

> Women are commanded to be subject to men by the law of nature, because that man is the author or beginner of the woman; for as Christ is head of the church, so is man of the woman, From Christ the church took beginning, and therefore it is subject unto him; even so did woman take beginning from man that she should be subject.[510]

Another theory sought to reconcile 1 Corinthians 11:5 and 14:34 (and 1 Tim 2:11-12) by postulating the "covering" to be the woman's own hair, but only if she prays and prophesies in "an authoritative position" (i.e., in the authoritative manner of a man) does Paul strongly disapprove of it, so much so that he demands she shave off her covering/hair.

> The man cannot cover his head when he engages in an authoritative function. . . . How does a woman uncover her head? The logical equivalent of uncovering the head for a woman would be shaving the head. This is what Paul argues. If the woman is to seek to take the man's place, then she must uncover her head and thus be in the position of being shorn. . . . If she wants to pray or prophecy, then she should literally as well a symbolically uncover her head by shaving it.[511]

The implication of this analogy is that every man must be bald when "he engages in an authoritative function." In any case, when a woman prophet is delivering a prophecy *from God* she is giving an authoritative word to whoever it is intended for, because it is the Spirit speaking through her. Further, how is a woman prophet to know when she is engaged in an "authoritative function" and in a "non-authoritative function"? Who is going to set the criterion for her? Men? Granted that she is not permitted to deliver her prophecies in the church meeting, she can, nevertheless, be used of God to convey His message(s) to her family and friends. Only men can speak in the assembly.

In any case, Weeks has missed the irony in Paul's logic, which is, that to override the spiritual barrier against her speaking in church, she is required to override the natural barrier to remove all her hair. His point is, that for a woman to speak in church two unnatural actions must come together: throwing off the command not to speak, and throwing off her hair. *Both should go together.* The removal of her "glory" is the huge disincentive that the Spirit puts in her way from speaking in church. It is a barrier that no Christian woman would want to cross.

A. Vanhoye. BETL 73; Leuven: Leuven University/Peeters, 1986), pp. 374-75. As a result of Delobel's criticism Murphy-O'Connor acknowledged that he was wrong to derive uncovered from unbind (Heb פרע "unkempt"). But he held fast to the idea that the only covering Paul had in mind was feminine hair well-dressed in the conventional manner, and a woman who failed to give such attention to her hair would be deemed 'uncovered' ("1 Corinthians 11:2-16 Once Again," *CBQ* 50 (1988) 269).

509 John Heading, *First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Kilmarnock, Scotland: John Ritchie, 1965), p. 171. Cf. also the reply by Noel Weeks, "Of Silence and Head Covering," *WTJ* 35 (1972-53) 21-27, and D. R. MacDonald, *There is No Male and Female* (HDR 20; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), pp. 86-87; and B. Byrne, *Paul and the Christian Woman* (Homebush, NSW: St Paul Publications, 1988), pp. 39-40.

510 Ambrose *Of the Christian Faith* iv.28.32; *Paradise* iv.24, x.28, and in his First Epistle to Timothy, as quoted by Marvin A. Breslow, *The Political Writings of John Knox* (Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library/ London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1996), p. 51.

511 Noel Weeks, "Of Silence and Head Covering," *WTJ* 35 (1972-53) 27.

4.4.2.3 THE WOMAN'S LONG SWIRLING HAIR IS CALLED UNCOVERED HAIR

A third theory is that Paul was condemning the practice of pagan priestesses and prophetesses who, in the course of public worship, took the band off their long hair and allowed it to swirl around their heads in prophetic ecstasy. Baumert proposes the following translation (verse divisions have been added to his translation in square brackets for ease of reference):

> [4] Just as any man who, while praying or prophesying, *makes motions with his head,* dishonors his head (namely Christ), [5] in the same way a woman who while praying (out loud) or in prophetic speech (in the assembly) *loosens her hair,* dishonors her head (namely, the man); it is indeed the same as if she had been shorn. [6] That is, if a woman *does not cover her head* (with her hair), she should indeed cut off her hair. However, if it is unattractive (disfiguring) for a woman to cut her hair (shorter) or to shave her head, then she should *have her head covered* (with her hair arrangement).
>
> [7] As you know, a man is not required to *keep his head covered,* since he is the image and radiance (manifestation, visible brilliance) of God; however, the woman is the radiance ("brilliance" and glory) of the man. [8] Indeed, the man *is* (exists) not from the woman (the masculine from the feminine nature), but rather the woman from the man (the feminine from the masculine); [9] it is also known that a man was not created *because of* the woman, but rather a woman *because of* the man. [10] For that reason a woman is obliged *to keep her head under control,* because of (the presence of) the angels.
>
> [11] Moreover, neither (is) woman *without man* nor man without woman in the Lord; [12] for just as the woman (Eve) out of the man (Adam), so also the man (Christ) through the woman—the whole, however, from God.
>
> [13] Judge for yourselves! Is it proper that a woman *with her hair loosened* (in public) should pray to God? [14] Nature *also* does *not* teach you that it is disgraceful (a disparagement) for a man *to let his hair hang long,* [15] but *on the other hand* it is beautiful (an embellishment) for women to do the same; for the hair is given (to all!) *as a cover* (for protection).
>
> [16] Moreover, if someone disputes this: we do not have such a custom, nor do the communities of God.[512]

This theory suffers from an inconsistent translation of the word "cover" and "uncover" throughout 11:4-16. The Greek word for "cover" is translated as, "makes motions with his head" (v.4); "cover her head (with her hair)" (v.6); "have her hair covered" (v.6); "keep his head covered" (v.7). The Greek word for "uncover" is translated as, "loosens her hair" (v.5); "with her hair loosed (in public)" (v.13). As applied to men "uncover" would mean that he should "loosen his hair," before praying or prophesying!

The novel idea that "cover" means "makes motions with his head" is his own definition. When one has to rewrite the Greek lexicon in order to establish one's theory, the need destroys the theory and its foundation.

Paul, referring to men and women, consistently uses the term "covered" to mean *covered with an artificial covering,* and "uncovered" to mean *to be without an artificial covering* throughout 11:2-16. Only in v. 15 when he draws an analogy between the use of the artificial covering in the spiritual sphere, and the natural covering of hair in the physical sphere, does he refer to the woman's hair as a "covering" for her baldness. But the context shows that he is

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512 Nobert Baumert, *Woman and Man in Paul: Overcoming a Misunderstanding* (Collegeville, MI.: The Liturgical Press, 1996), pp. 183-84.

using the woman's natural covering of hair in the physical world as an argument for retaining her artificial covering in the spiritual sphere.

Other scholars think the covering is the woman's own long hair given to her as (ἀντι) a covering. *Anti* usually means "instead of," but can mean "as, for" in the sense of equivalence on rare occasions. Does the phrase mean that, since the woman has been endowed with long hair, no other covering is necessary? Or is it saying that a woman's long hair is nature's symbol of the need for her to cover her head in some additional way? "Both explanations are exegetically possible and, unless we believe this specific cultural practice is to be copied exactly in our day, it is relatively unimportant which we adopt."[513]

Note the common, imported assumption that this is a local, *cultural* practice that Paul is demanding should be retained. It changes things fundamentally if Paul has anchored the practice in creation, rather than culture.

The cultural argument is that Paul considered it improper for women to reject the cultural symbol of man's headship. Since that symbol no longer conveys rejection of man's headship in modern, Western cultures an uncovered head has no cultural significance today.

> In first-century Corinth the uncovered heads of the worshipping women[a] sent out a deliberate and unmistakable message of rebellion against God's created order. The impact a century ago may or may not have been similar, but such is not the case today.[b] Rejection of divinely-given authority is now manifested in other ways, more often by attitude and demeanour than by details of dress or hair-style.[c] While there seems to be a permanent basis for women wearing their hair significantly longer than men,[d] the precise cultural expressions of subordination[e] will vary with place and time and they are not the basic issue with which Paul is dealing.[514]

[a]Note the assumption that 11:2-16 took place in the church. But why assume an evil motive behind the removal of the head-covering in Paul's day? Could an innocent reason be that the women confused unity with equality in Christ, as still happens today when Galatians 3:28 is quoted out of context? It sometimes suits male commentators to assume the worst about the women in Corinth and paint them as unruly and shouting out in the services, and generally being a nuisance. This has the effect of putting all these spiritual women in a lower class than may have been the case historically. The injunctions are then read in the light of this false scenario which devalues them theologically.

[b]Note that by making a visible distinction on the head, the Lord reminded men and women *daily* (when they came before Him in prayer) how they related to Him and to one another. The loss of the symbol meant the loss of the reminder; and the loss of the reminder meant the loss of the knowledge that maintained everyone on their gender-specific course. The restoration of the symbols would be the most powerful evidence that all were back in a right relationship with God and with one another. But the restoration must be achieved by returning to God first and then remaining in the gender-calling in which each was created, and fulfilling *that* role to God's glory and one's own peace of mind and happiness.

[c]Did God not foresee our Feminist Age and the witness that His specially chosen symbols would convey to all the world in every generation? Are we wiser than He in abolishing His theological traditions as irrelevant in the twenty-first century? He does all things well, consequently, though we think nothing is lost, something is lost which He set out to safeguard by the use of carefully chosen symbols, otherwise He would not have designed hair to function differently on men and women from the beginning of creation. That loss is

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513 Edward Donnelly, "Headship," in *Men, Women and Authority,* ed. Brian Edwards (Bromley. Kent: Day One publications, 1996), pp. 93-112, esp. p. 97.

514 Edward Donnelly, "Headship," in *Men, Women and Authority,* ed. Brian Edwards (Bromley. Kent: Day One publications, 1996), pp. 93-112, esp. p. 110.

the three-fold cord that binds Woman to Man, Man to Christ, and Christ to God. Only the last link is secure. The other two are ambivalent at times with no constant "reminders" of their place in God's world, hence the disorder that presently characterises all Western churches.

[d]Note this assumes that κόμη means "long hair."[515]

[e]Note the assumption that the symbol reflects the relationship between Man and Woman, when in fact, they represent Man—God, and Woman—God. There is no biblical symbol to represent the Man—Woman relationship. We created the wedding-ring to symbolise this life-long covenant and there is nothing wrong in that. For a more detailed reply to the use of wedding-rings to replace the head-covering, see 4.4.2.5 and 6.4 below.

Male commentators have assumed that, by praying or prophesying with an uncovered head, the Corinthian women were making a deliberate statement of independence from male leadership. By this act they were dishonouring their own heads because an uncovered head was the same as a shaven head which, it is alleged, was the mark of an adulteress or prostitute. "If she wishes to be regarded as a reputable woman, let her conform to established usage. But if she have no regard to her reputation, let her act as other women of her class."[516] Would Christian women want to look like adulteresses? Surely not. This is a poor argument if it is Paul's. They could pray or prophesy bare-headed without having to shave their heads. The two are not culturally equivalent or the same thing. This is poor logic if it is Paul's.

4.4.2.4 PAUL IS REFERRING TO AN ARTIFICIAL COVERING

Rather than see Paul's requirement of a covering as representing the woman's subjection to her husband, it would appear that woman's hair was covered artificially because of "nature," that is, because of—

> its universal acceptance as a sign of sexual attractiveness. It was not merely that the head needed to be covered out of respect: it was because of the long tresses that it needed to be covered. It is certain that if a Hebrew woman untied her hair and uncovered it in public she was regarded as "shameless," and had no reputation whatever: this is said in so many words in the Mishnah.[517] The person injured when a married woman uncovered her hair in public was her husband, who was put to shame. He had a right to his wife's hair being covered in public.[518]

This is true as far as it goes, but Paul does not limit the covering to married women; it applies to all females, because of the headship relation that all females have vis-à-vis males and through this headship to God. Her artificial covering represents where she stands in the hierarchy of powers that God has distributed according to His own counsel. She comes behind Man as regards her authority (1 Cor 11:10), though she shares the same moral image as Man.

Chrysostom is aware of this hierarchy of powers.

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515 See Appdx C. "Hair" in the Bible, where it probably means "decorative hair," because there is also a verb form.

516 So argues Edward Donnelly, "Headship," in *Men, Women and Authority,* ed. Brian Edwards (Bromley. Kent: Day One publications, 1996), pp. 93-112, esp. p. 102.

517 Baba Qamma VIII.6; Danby 1933:343. A woman's hair is a sexual excitement: Bab. Talmud, Ber. 24a.

518 J. Duncan M. Derrett, *Studies in the New Testament. Volume One* (Leiden: E.J Brill, 1977), article: "Religious Hair," pp. 170-75, esp. p. 171.

> Even so ought man and woman to appear before God, bearing the ensigns of the condition which they have received of him. Man hath received a certain glory and dignity above the woman, and therefore ought he to appear before his high majesty, bearing the sign of his honour, having no coverture upon his head to witness that in earth men hath no head, but woman ought to be covered to witness that in earth she hath a head, that is, man.[519]

Paul uses another argument in 11:13-15 in support of his theological case. It is the argument from the Church's universal tradition which was common to every church in Christendom from Jerusalem through to Rome. But the abrupt change of approach is disarming. In 11:2-12 he spoke with apostolic authority and weighty theological arguments, now he stands among them as a friend asking them, "Is it right for a woman to pray to God uncovered?" The fact that he can ask the question in this way indicates that he is sure the Corinthian men were used to seeing women praying at home with covered heads. (Or else they already know the theological significance of hair given in vv. 14-15.) So his appeal is to the *status quo* which some wanted to depart from. This appeal to an already established convention (or theological connection) shows that Paul is not appealing to standard Greek practice but to the origin of the convention which reflected the woman's own understanding of her relation to God. He prefaced the chapter by praising the men for keeping the conventions he had handed down to them, so they could not very well depart from this one!

The Western fashion of women wearing hats is not a *full* substitute for the head-covering that was the *status quo* in the Churches of God in Paul's day. In any case Paul would probably have been equally as shocked by modern hats as by bare heads. There were no hats in New Testament times, but a cloth or hood hung down from the crown of the head and covered the back of the neck, and thus very little of the woman's glory (her hair) was uncovered, and *that* is the crucial point.[520] But since a *visual distinction* must be made between men and women when they appear before God in worship, it is at least a start in the right direction. Paul's main concern is that men and women should know the theological reasons *why* they are covered and uncovered. ***A distinction without a theology is worthless.*** Today the Church is in a good position to re-introduce a distinctive head-covering which should be given a clear theological significance and should not be confused with fashion. Jewish men have been wearing a distinctive *Tallit,* or prayer shawl, with which they cover their heads in worship for centuries and everyone knows its purpose when they see it.

In any case what is important is that man's glory—the woman, and the woman's glory, her beauty—is covered when she comes before God in worship in recognition that her glory was created out of Man for whom she was made, and in recognition that her womanly authority is not the same as that given to men. In the wisdom of God the covering has a double function. It distinguishes the male from the female worshippers (as opposed to free men versus slave/servant men, or some other class distinction), and it distinguishes two types of authority, that given to men and that given to women.

The covering served another incidental (but maybe not unintentional) purpose: it covered the woman's glory, her hair, her beauty, her power to attract men. This God-given power to attract men continues to operate after she is married. Her beauty continues to fascinate single and married men at all times and places. In the world it is a constant threat to every marriage: it cannot be turned off. The covering of her head to some extent lessens her unwitting power to attract/distract the attention of men during the most important function that men can ever enter into—the worship of God Almighty. Nothing should distract the

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519 Chrysostom *Homilies on First Corinthians* 26.

520 'It should be remembered that the veil was essentially a head covering and not a face covering,' so Léonie J. Archer, *Her Price is Beyond Rubies: The Jewish Woman in Greco-Roman Palestine.* JSOT Supplement Series 60 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), p. 205; see also L. M. Epstein, *Sex Laws and Customs in Judaism* (New York, 1967 [1948]), pp. 42-43.

worshippers from this duty.[521] Her hair is her glory and this is not to be displayed in the worship service.

When the male Levites were consecrated for the work in the Tabernacle God commanded them to shave off all the hair of their body (Num 8:7). Nowhere are women commanded to shave off all their hair (with the exception of medical problems [Lev 13:29, 33] and the Nazirite vow [Num 6:2, 5 , 18]) because that would result in shame, but it was no shame for a man to be bald. This was a one-off occasion. In Ezekiel 44:20 they are strictly forbidden to shave their heads, though they are to cut their hair (Heb. כסם, to shear or clip). Presumably this was to distinguish them from the Nazirites who had to let their hair grow long until their vow was completed. In other words, Yahweh expected his representatives to be clean, neat and tidy in appearance, and give no cause for contempt or criticism by onlookers.

But all this still leaves one wondering why the woman needs to have an artificial covering when she is before God. Some commentators mistakenly think she must only veil (=cover?) herself when men are present. It is a sufficient reply to this to ask: Are men to uncover their heads only when women are present? Or: Are they not to cover their heads because they are the image and glory of God (11:7)? The qualification for not wearing a covering in God's presence covers any one who is "the glory of God." It does not matter whether this person is rich or poor, bound or free, married or single, Jew or Gentile, or whether the opposite sex is present or not. What settles the issue is: Who is "the image and glory of God"? Scripture settles the matter beyond dispute: "A man ought not to cover his head, since *he* is the image and glory of God; but the woman is the glory of man."

Similarly, the qualification for covering one's head covers anyone who is "the glory of man," or taken out of man, or created for man. It does not matter whether this person is rich or poor, married or single, or whether the opposite sex is present or not. What settles the issue is: Who is "the glory of man"? To which Scripture gives the unambiguous reply: The woman is the glory of man (11:7). We might simplify the issue as follows: Every *male* ought not to cover his head, and every *female* ought to cover her head. Gender, not marital status, is the criterion. It is irrelevant whether the opposite sex is present or not; what is relevant is whether God is present or not.

But why the need for a covering on the woman? Why cover the *head* as opposed to covering some other part of the body, or entering barefoot into God's presence? After all Moses was told to take his sandals off at the "burning bush" incident. So why cover the *head?* It has been suggested that because man experiences woman as his own glory that Paul expects man's glory to be covered in worship.[522] And since woman's glory is focused in her hair then this accounts for that part being covered.[523]

There may be something in this suggestion and the following figure will help to explain why.

PAUL's UNDERSTANDING OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PHYSICAL AND SPIRITUAL WORLDS

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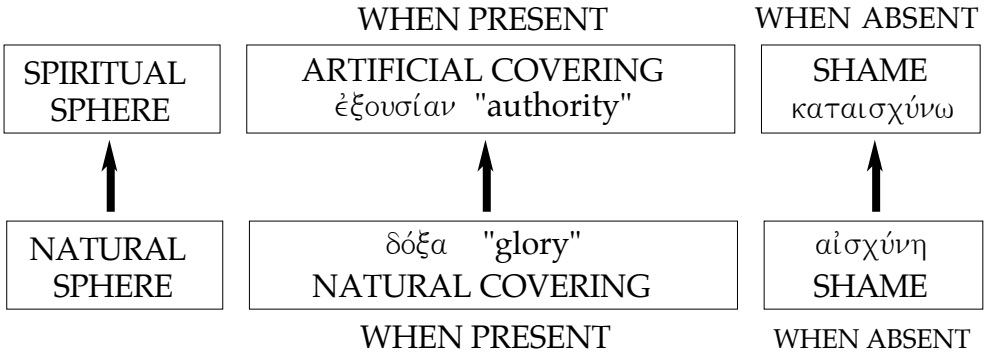
521 Tertullian (AD 220) complained about Christian virgins appearing in church without a veil/covering (*De virginibus velandis*).

522 Antoinette Clark Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress Press, 1990), p. 122.

523 It may be that Paul expects all females to marry, or has only married women in view, in which case there may be a link with the legal, symbolic act of covering a woman with a mantle (Ruth 3:9; Ezek 16:8) as a symbol of coming under the headship of her husband. Covering the head would then be symbolic of covering the whole body (as both texts describe) but this seems a very tenuous and unlikely link. Such a link would imply that unmarried women were free to pray or prophesy with uncovered heads, like the men. In Jewish culture only married women attend synagogue with covered heads; unmarried girls are uncovered. Paul, however, bases the tradition on gender not marital status. See Å. Viberg, *Symbols of Law: A Contextual Analysis of Legal Symbolic Acts in the Old Testament* (CB.OT, 34), Stockholm (1992), pp. 136-144.



This figure sums up the substance of 1 Corinthians 11. In verse 5 Paul sets out his case: "And every woman who prays or prophesies *[so we are now in the spiritual sphere]* with her head uncovered *[i.e., without an artificial covering]* dishonours her head *[the dishonour is two-edged; it brings shame on herself and upon man in the spiritual world]*—it is just as though her head were shaved *[in the natural world]*."

Now just as a woman would not want to be seen in public with a bald head, so neither does God want to see her in His presence with a "bald head," that is, without her artificial covering. Both states are shameful states. Therefore, Paul's argument is that if a woman will not wear her artificial covering before God, then she should not wear her natural covering before men. "Keep *both* coverings on, or take *both* off," is Paul's theological and spiritual logic.

The shame[524] that an uncovered woman evokes in the spirit world is similar to that that a bald woman evokes in the natural world. Hence Paul argues: "If a woman does not *[artificially]* cover her head *[in the spiritual sphere]*, she should have her hair cut off *[to reflect her spiritual shame]*; and if it is a disgrace for a woman to have her hair cut or shaved off,[525] she should *[artificially]* cover her head."

Paul is clearly using "praying or prophesying" as short-hand for the spiritual sphere. The opposite of this, the physical or earthly sphere, we could designate as "playing and profitising," in other words activities which belong to this world.

The argument is by analogy. God, through "nature," gives woman a good head of hair as a covering, teaching woman to put something on her head as a covering.[526] The analogy between the natural and spiritual spheres is very apt and extremely powerful.[527] The writer takes up the fact that, when God created woman, shame was built-in to feminine baldness.[528] In Deuteronomy 21:12, the glory or hair of a captive girl was removed in order to

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524 Matthew Henry, commenting on 1 Cor 14:34-35 says: 'Shame is the mind's uneasy reflection on having done an indecent thing.'

525 See Acts 21:24 four men who have completed their vow 'shave' (ξυρήσονται τήν κεφαλήν) their heads; in Acts 18:18 Aquila 'shears' (κειράμέος . . . τὴν κεφαλήν) his head because he, too, has made a vow. In Acts 8:32 the shearing of the lamb's wool can only refer to a complete removal of its coat. The use of these terms implies the complete removal of all the woman's hair.

526 Cf. Antoinette Clark Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress Press, 1990), p. 128.

527 Hurley (*op. cit.*, p. 215) thinks that 'nature' here means created order rather than custom. Calvin (loc. cit.) and *The Interpreter's Bible* (*loc. cit.*) take it to refer to local custom. Caird (*op. cit.*, p. 270) was completely baffled by the analogy: 'Whatever lesson Paul expected his readers to derive from Mother Nature, it is one which eludes the modern reader.' Scroggs (*op. cit.*, p. 298) even found it contradictory: 'Paul is actually self-contradictory in the "argument from nature". Banks (*op. cit.*, p. 98) could not quite see the force of Paul's analogy either: 'What is probably present here then is an appeal to social convention set forward as an appeal to 'nature', . . . As such it is a relative argument, one that had some force in Paul's time due to the fashions of the day but one that in another age and society (such as, for example, our own) would not carry any weight at all.' A case of erecting a straw man and then demolishing it!

528 "Ugly [*Turpe*] is the hornless bull, ugly [*turpis*] a field without grass, A plant without leaves and a head without hair" (Ov. *Ars. Am.* 3.249-50. Quoted in Kleiner and Matheson, 1996:164). See Saul M. Olyan, "What Do Shaving

test the affection of the man for her. The Creator therefore provided woman with a covering (περιβολαίου/*peribolaiou*, v. 15) of natural hair which became her glory (δοξα/*doxa*[529]). The writer then moves on to the different functions that God has placed between hair on a man and hair on a woman (irrespective of length or style). Man does not look upon his covering of hair in the same way that a woman does. Man may do away completely with all of his covering (skin-head fashion) without shame. He may even look more attractive in the eyes of women with a shaved head, but not so in the case of a woman. When she is bald she looks ugly, not to say grotesque, and instead of attracting men she repels them because she is such a repulsive sight. Man would be ashamed to acknowledge that such a repulsive creature was taken from him. A bald woman, therefore, brings shame on her own head. On the other hand, a woman with a covering of beautifully groomed hair is attractive and man is naturally honoured to know that such beauty was fashioned out of his body: she therefore brings glory to man by being covered with hair—"the woman is the glory of man" (11:7).

Can a man pray in private to God with his head covered? No, because he *is* "the image and glory of God;" and because the angels are present at all times in all places ministering to his needs.[530] Can a woman pray to God uncovered in private? No, because she is "the glory of man;" and angels are present.

Holmyard makes a distinction between public and private prayer and sees 11:2-16 as applying only to the public sphere and only if the prayer or prophecy is audible.

> If 11:2-16 concerns nonchurch settings, as suggested in this article, Carson wonders whether a Christian wife at home would have had to put on her head covering before she prayed privately.[531] The answer is that the coupling of prayer with prophecy in verse 4 implies a vocal activity; the issue of head coverings implies a public setting, not prayer in private. This is prayer or prophecy that others would hear.[532]

But Paul does not base his case on (1) silence versus audibility, or (2) on the presence of the opposite sex, or (3) on public versus private activity. He bases it squarely on the headship of Man (11:3). That single revelation sums up and pervades his whole theology. We noted earlier that it is only when men and women are in the presence of God, not in the presence of each other, that there is a fixed dress-code that they must abide by. They have no choice in the matter.

It is only a problem for women living in a culture that is far removed from the biblical culture that she experiences "culture shock" to learn that she should cover her head at

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Rites Accomplish and What do They Signal in Biblical Ritual Contexts?" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 117 (1998) 611-622.

529 See the study of this word by A. Haire Forster, "The Meaning of Δόξα in the Greek Bible," *ATR* 12 (1929/30) 311-16. He noted that δόξα *(doxa)* occurs about 445 times in the LXX and translates 25 Hebrew words. In 181 cases (or one third of the total) it translates the Hebrew word כָּבוֹד (*kâbôd*). All the Hebrew words bear the meanings of strength, wealth, beauty. Δόξα seems to connote to the LXX translators the external manifestation of male and female power and position whether it appears in money or clothes or appearance which is close to the Hebrew word כָּבוֹד. It is interesting that in Isa 8:7 the *kâbôd* of Assyria is her armies, in 60:13 the *kâbôd* of Lebanon is her trees, no doubt the cedar for which Lebanon was famous. In Ps 105:20 the *kâbôd* of Israel is Yahweh, yet they changed their *kâbôd* into the likeness of an ox. In 1 Kgs 4:22 the *kâbôd* of Israel is the ark. In some poetical passages a man's inner worth is his *kâbôd* (Ps 7:6; 29:13), that is, *kâbôd* is not invariably used of an *external* manifestation of power or excellence.

530 Even in the inter-testamental period there was the belief that, 'my angel is with you, and he is watching over your lives' (*The Letter of Jeremiah* 6:7). In Acts 12:15 the Christians praying for Peter said, "It is his angel," when Rhoda announced that he was at the door. The angel of every child has access to the Father (Mt 18:10; Heb 1:14).

531 D. A. Carson, "'Silent in the Churches': On the Role of Women in 1 Corinthians 14:33b-36," in John Piper and Wayne Grudem (eds.), *Recovering Biblical Manhood & Womanhood* (Wheaton, ILL.; Crossway Books, 1991), pp. 145-46.

532 Harold R. Holmyard III, "Does 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 Refer to Women Praying and Prophesying in Church?" *BibSac* 154 (1997) 471.

all times when she is conscious of being in the presence of God. She is not left ignorant of how God expects her to appear before Him at all times and in all places. It was no culture shock to women living in Jesus' day to be informed by Him that they ought to cover their heads when praying to His Father, because *at that time* it was standard procedure always to cover the head when in public, consequently women lived with a ready means of being able to cover their heads at any moment of the day. *The dress fashion was under the control of their religious beliefs and was servant to it.* Head-covering was also the secular custom in the West until after World War II. This is no longer the case by those who control Western fashion houses—the trend setters. It is less of a culture shock for Christian men to accept 1 Corinthians 11:4 because even the secular culture has adopted the biblical norm.

In Near and Far Eastern societies newly converted women find it less of a culture shock to cover their heads in religious worship, so that 11:5 would present less difficulty to them. This also applies to their standards of modesty in dress when compared to the West. It is becoming fashionable for young women (in particular) to appear in skimpy holiday clothing at church services to the applause and encouragement of happy-clappy vicars and ministers who preach that God looks on the heart and not on the clothes, little realising the end that such a trend leads to.

The note of incredulity that 11:4-5 arouses when it is understood that it applies to all times (morning, noon and night) and in all places—private and public (because it is based on distinct creation roles for men and women, and on Man's headship) can be explained on the grounds that Christian women have grown so used to being bare-headed in Western churches that they have assumed that it is "right," and even "Christian," in spite of the fact that it is not in conformity with Christ's explicit command to be covered.

It comes as a shock to realise how imperceptibly secular fashion has muscled the Church to conform to its ways and standards of dress since the beginning of the twentieth century. Women have taken their eyes off the Lord and unto the fashion of this world and have been gradually conformed to it. Secular society is very much in the driving seat of the Church in other areas, such as permissible sexual and moral standards of behaviour and practice. The Church hierarchy (local or national) is no longer the sole teacher of the moral standards in its own domain. The media is now the dominant moral trend-setter with its drip-feed methods of attacking Christ's teaching at all levels of doctrine and universal Christian traditions through Press, TV programmers, etc. The Church must face up to, and address, the dominant role that the secular media possesses over its members. Unless it remains distinctive in all areas of its life and doctrine it will surely merge into humanism, and the human mind will become the final arbiter of what is right and wrong both inside and outside the Church meetings.

Lastly, Paul does not place the wearing of a covering alongside meats offered to idols as an indifferent thing. Nor does he finish with the advice, "Let every man [and woman] be fully persuaded in his [her] own mind" (RV). Rather, he tells the women either to keep *both* coverings on or take *both* coverings off.[533] Her hair in the natural world is seemly; her artificial covering in the spirit world is likewise seemly. Her glory is to have a natural covering of hair; it is not a sign of subjection. Similarly, her "authority" in the spiritual world is to have an artificial covering on her head, and neither is it a sign of subjection. As the "glory" is hers so also is the "authority." If the Christian woman only knew that her uncovered head evoked a similar sort of reaction in the spirit world ("because of the angels") that the sight of a bald-headed woman does in this world, she would hasten to cover her head in the presence of God. From what has been said so far, one very clear fact emerges, namely, Paul is not one whit concerned with what is "seemly" in the culture at Corinth, but rather with what is "seemly" in the sight of God and His angels.

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[533] Cf. John Heading, *First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Kilmarnock, Scotland: John Ritchie, 1965), p. 169.

In the light of Paul's lesson from nature it does not make sense to say that the woman's long hair is the covering he is referring to in 1 Corinthians 11:4-7.[534]

It is suggested that since the head-covering is no longer accepted in a democratic society where men and women are treated as equal in all respects, that it should be replaced with a wedding-ring or some other alternative symbol which would retain the Christian view of marriage that the wife is to be in subjection to her head—her husband, as he is to be in subjection to his head—the Lord Jesus.

The objections to this view can be summarised as follows.

(1) A wedding-ring symbolises married love. My wife's wedding-ring is a symbol of my *love* for her, not of her *submission* to me, and the wedding-ring she gave me is a symbol of her *love* for me. It is debasing this lovely symbol if it is turned from symbolising *love* to symbolising *submission*. I am amazed that a lovely symbol of *love,* such as a wedding-ring conveys, should be dragged into a power-struggle between the sexes. Leave it alone to symbolise *love* and only love, not submission, which is a separate issue.[535]

(2) It has been suggested that the Church drop the requirement of a visible head-covering because it is no longer acceptable in a democratic society and that woman should show her *submission* to man using a different, visible symbol, such as a wedding-ring. If so, then a husband should not wear a ring, otherwise it would indicate that he is submissive to his wife, which defeats the point of the wedding-ring as a symbol of submission. A wedding-ring in secular society means only one thing, "I am married." It does not, and cannot carry the additional meaning of "I am in subjection to my husband." It would not be worn by the vast majority of women if it did symbolise that. "Submission" within the marriage relationship is a purely Christian teaching. It is despised in the non-Christian world.

The theological significance of the head-covering was that only *one* gender could and should have it. Those who take it upon themselves to overthrow what God has instituted will have to come up with a replacement symbol that has the one-way significance that His choice aptly demonstrates and which is embedded in the way He designed hair to function on a woman. But who will claim to be wiser than God to improve on His choice of symbol?

(3) It is important to note that the covering and uncovering of the head does not denote submission but *authority.*

The wedding-ring, however, denotes a relationship between two human beings; the head-covering, on the other hand, denotes a relationship between human beings *and God.* The first is a horizontal relationship (between two human beings—male and female); the second is a vertical relationship (between a human being and God; between creature and Creator). It is this vertical, creatorial relationship that is being symbolised in the different, compulsory dress-codes.

There is a hierarchy of powers that God has established according to His own will, and which we cannot question. As regards the degree of authority that they have over the exercise of their wills, God is at the top and Woman is at the bottom. It is His sovereign right to do as He pleases and that cannot, and must not be questioned. At God's right hand stands

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534 Cf. Cynthia L. Thompson, "Hairstyles, Head-coverings, and St. Paul: Portraits from Roman Corinth," *Biblical Archaeologist* 51.2 (1989) 99-115, esp. p. 112.

535 In any case, if a ring is to symbolise submission then why did Paul not recommend that all male slaves wear a ring, or a head-covering, to show that they had a human master and were not freemen or freedmen? This would have been a useful social distinction as men travelled about the world in Paul's day.

the Lord Jesus Christ who has been given "all power in heaven and on earth" and he submits only to God the Father (1 Cor 15:28); below Jesus—and to do His will—are archangels, then angels, then man, then woman. Each level has been given its own measure of authority by God. Whether we like it or not, God, in His own sovereign will, has given a greater measure of authority and responsibility to man than to woman. It is to denote this *difference* of authority that man comes before God with an uncovered head, and woman comes with a covered head. The head-covering is not related to marriage but to authority—to headship.

Feminists reject this unequal distribution vehemently and insist on equality of authority for both sexes. The Christian must go with revealed truth and that means that God has distributed authority *unequally* between the genders. This means that from God's perspective He always sees Man as being higher up the hierarchical ladder of delegated power and responsibility to govern His world. He has delegated to Woman a lesser authority, being the weaker vessel (1 Pet 3:7), but it includes the authority to govern His world alongside Man as his helpmeet (it is called "dominion" in Gen 1:28), but it does not include the expectation that her husband should do her will. Headship involves her doing *his* will in a voluntary, loving submission to him. It was always intended to be a relationship governed by love, not fear, or duty, or force, as can be seen in God's headship of Israel, Christ's headship of the Church, and a husband's headship of his wife. All three are love-headship relationships.

(4) The authority that God has unequally dispensed to men and women is gender-specific. Gender, not marital status, is the single criterion for wearing or not wearing a head-covering when entering the presence of God. *It is irrelevant whether the opposite sex is present or not; what is relevant is whether God is present or not.* It is irrelevant whether a man is single, married or widowed. It is irrelevant whether a woman is virgin, married or widowed. What matters is gender.

Note that it is only when a male enters the spiritual realm ("praying and prophesying" just about covers the whole Godward (praying) and manward (prophesying) aspects of his spiritual activity) that he is to be very careful that He approaches God in the manner the Spirit has prescribed for him. He must approach God in a reverent manner and not in a casual or sloppy attitude. There ought to a serious aura about that meeting, whether it occurs in private or in public. The same goes for the female. And both genders come into God's presence fully aware, throughout their life time, of their delegated status in His eyes. A man must not come into God's presence wearing the dress-symbol of the lesser authority that He has given to Woman (and which is denoted by a covered head). This would be to come before God as a Woman, which is a shame on him in the eyes of the watching angels. He is a disgrace to his Creator and to his Head, the Lord Jesus. Likewise a female must not come into the presence of God wearing the dress-symbol of authority that God has given to Man (which is denoted by an uncovered head). This would be an insult to God who has placed her a little lower than the Man in rank and authority.

(5) The benefit of the institution of covering and uncovering the head is that it acts like a compass at all times, in that it points everyone to God as the One who is the Head over all His creation and that He alone dispenses authority to whomsoever He chooses. He has chosen to endow Man with authority over Woman after the image of His own headship over His world. Dispensing with this institution would be as disastrous for good order in the Church and in the Christian family, as dispensing with a compass would be for a ship sailing in uncharted waters. The dress-codes are indispensible to maintain a correct alignment toward God and to remind males and females of their respective roles toward each other to the glory of God. Dispense with them and the 'reminder' is removed leading to disorder.

The object of feminism is to get women to leave their delegated level of authority (vis-à-vis Man) that God has placed them in, within His overall delegated authority structures, and to get her to strive for equality with Man at all levels of his life.

Some angels tried to do the same within their ranking structure and this resulted in disaster. Jude reminds us that "the angels who did not keep their proper domain but left their own abode," i.e., refused to stay at the authority level that God had, in His sovereign will, placed them in, and reached out for authority that God had not given to them, were thrown out of heaven. These angelic 'feminists' God "has reserved in everlasting chains under darkness for the judgment of the great day" (Jude 6). Feminism is the spiritual AIDS of the Western Church. It is a virulent, spiritual disease that has infected the whole of Western culture and our sisters in Christ are in great danger if they listen to the siren voice of feminists, and virtually all Western females, Christian and non-Christian, are feminists by default, unless they have quite deliberately set their faces against the evils of this sinister force that will ruin them and their marriages unless they stick close to the teaching of God's Word as He has revealed it through Paul in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 and in other Scriptures.

A woman who accepts by faith that God has, in His sovereignty, given Man greater authority than He has given to Woman (and if she is married that He has given the authority of headship of her life to her husband—be he Christian or non-Christian, it does not matter) is called upon by the Spirit to come (in the authority that pertains to her being female) into God's presence through prayer (be it in private or in public) because of the watching angels. But the covering does not symbolise she is under submission; it stands on its own as the *positive* symbol of the authority she has, not what she does not have. Donning the head-covering means: "I come before You, O God, in and with the *full* authority that You have given to me as a woman."

Similarly, a man who recognises that God has given the authority of headship of his life to the Lord Jesus, on the one hand, and on the other, has given him headship over woman, is called upon by the same Spirit to enter the spiritual sphere with a covering on his head. But the uncovered head does not symbolise he is under submission to Christ, his Head; it stands on its own as the *positive* symbol of the authority he has, not what he does not have. He says: "I come before You, O God, in and with the full (though relative) authority that You have given to me."

Paul noted: "For a man indeed ought not to cover his head, since he is the image and glory of God" (1 Cor 11:7). There is no hint here that his uncovered head is a symbol of submission; that he is under the headship of Christ. He *is* under the headship of Christ, but his uncovered head is not a symbol of that. *There is no symbol given to man to show that he is under Christ's headship.* Man works out his headship to Christ by being obedient to His will in everything, not by adopting some masculine dress-code. The reason for his uncovered head is traced back to his creation—to his being created in the "image of God." There is no symbol given to woman to show that she is under her husband's headship. She works it out by being obedient to his will in everything.

By analogy with the man's case, the woman's covered head has nothing to do with submission, otherwise unmarried virgins and widows could pray to God with an uncovered head. The theological reason why she should be covered goes back to creation, not to her marriage—not to the point in time when she got married and her husband became her head. Her head-covering is completely independent of her marital status. Her head-covering is gender-specific because her authority status is not the same as Man's, and her gift of authority is dated from her creation. *The unequal dress-codes reflect the unequal authority status that the Creator gave to male and female at the beginning.*

It is the contrast of women being covered and men being uncovered that reminds both genders of their relative position in God's authority and responsibility structures. When both come before God without this visible distinction then there is no visible reminder of the spiritual realities that should govern the whole of their lives. The loss of the visible reminder is a sure sign that the truth behind it has also been lost. The two go together. As bread and wine remind us of the Lord's death, so the head-covering reminds us of our different authority status in the sight of God. The symbols have been wisely chosen by God to suit

exactly the purpose He has chosen for them, and it is a sign of arrogance to remove or change them.

Show me a church where men and women "pray and prophesy" without the visible distinction that the Spirit has given to the universal Church to differentiate between male and female worshippers, and I will show you a church that is in a state of rebellion against God's authority and against His right to do as He pleases in setting Christ over man, and setting man over woman. This state of rebellion is often due to church leaders suppressing the unwelcome truth of 1 Corinthians 11:2-16, 14:33-37 and 1 Timothy 2:8-11, or, when systematically going through 1 Corinthians and 1 Timothy, they skip the "controversial" passages on the pretext that "since scholars are divided over what they mean how can we be expected to understand them?" So the fact that a Scripture passage is "disputed" becomes an excuse to avoid examining that particular Scripture and so, by default, the church Bible Study, or home study-groups, are deprived of the opportunity to examine these "disputed" Scriptures. The end result is that the Church is kept in a continual state of ignorance. And who wins as a result? "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge" (Hos 4:6).

If we return to the original reason for wanting to do away with the Apostolic tradition of head-covering we can draw out some lessons from it. The statement reads:

> It is suggested that since the head-covering is no longer accepted in a democratic society where men and women are treated as equal in all respects, that it should be replaced with a wedding-ring or some other alternative symbol which would retain the Christian view of marriage that the wife is to be in subjection to her head—her husband, as he is to be in subjection to his head—the Lord Jesus.

This statement confuses the state of marriage with the authority status that men and women have through creation. Not all men, and not all women, marry but there is a binding obligation on *all* women to cover their heads and on *all* men to uncover their heads when they are engaged in spiritual activities. So the two—marriage and spiritual activity—are two completely different states. Hence head-covering has nothing to do with one's marital status. It is connected solely with activities such as "praying and prophesying."

The confusion in the above statement was that head-covering was wrongly linked with submission in the marriage relationship, and was thought to be a symbol of it. This is where the confusion originated. We have shown that 'covering' and 'uncovering' are given positive values, not negative ones, and go back to creation (not to marriage) for their significance.

So long as the wedding-ring symbolises the love a couple have for each other, then fine, keep it. But once it becomes a symbol of submission then abolish it immediately, for there is no Scriptural warrant for a woman to wear any item of clothing or a ring on her finger, or a hat on her head, to show that she is under subjection to her husband. If she had to wear such a symbol then all men should have a symbol showing that they were in subjection to Christ, their head, but no such symbol exists, and neither does it exist for married women.

The covering and uncovering of the head is connected solely with gender and the two genders were created in the beginning with different degrees of authority. It is this *difference—this inequality*—in authority that the dress-codes point to and symbolise. The Spirit knows this; the angels and archangels know this; and Satan knows it. Is it any wonder, then, that he is striving to do away with the universal tradition of head-covering? His greatest allies are conservative-evangelical leaders and evangelists, and they are now in the majority in the visible church. The doctrine of headship has all but vanished from the pulpits of Christendom because it is politically incorrect to point up the unequal distribution of authority that God, in His sovereign will, apportioned to male and female "in the beginning."

Satan's strategy in the past has been to shift the 'covering/uncovering' Apostolic tradition (which symbolised different degrees of authority) away from the creation of male

and female and unto the marriage state, where the 'covering' was then associated with the woman's submission to her husband. With the introduction of the Women's Lib movement, the suffragettes, and other pressure groups, the evil effects of being in 'subjection' were abolished along with the symbol that had come to be associated with this evil.

The Church must recover the original significance of the tradition and never allow it to be associated with marriage again. Head-covering must never again be associated with submission. *That* was where the Church went wrong in the past and lost its way.[536]

4.4.3. LONG OR SHORT HAIR? WHAT IS "NATURE" (1 CORINTHIANS 11:13-15)?

In relation to section 4.4.2. ("Veil or head-covering?") a second difficulty occurs in those translations of 1 Corinthians 11:14 which take the Greek term κόμη to mean "long hair" as opposed to "short hair." In itself, the Greek word does not inherently mean long hair as opposed to short hair. Greek does not have a specific word for short hair but it does have a word for long hair which is καρηκομόωντες.[537] The fashion among the men of Athens was to wear short hair which is, nevertheless, called κόμη. And in other parts of Greece men, by custom, allowed their hair to grow long, but it, too, was called κόμη. "No abstract length of hair was in mind as much as male and female differentiation. The Spartans favoured shoulder-length hair for men, which they tied up for battle, and no one thought them effeminate (cf. Lucian *The Runaways* 27; Herodotus *History* 7.208-9)."[538] Some suggest that behind 11:4-6 Paul has in mind the equations: long hair on a man = homosexual; and short hair on a woman = lesbian, and that Paul ironically suggested that the short-haired women should shave off all their hair and be overtly lesbian.[539]

A case can be made out from 11:14 that where a man "makes hair" (i.e., behaves like a woman toward his hair) then he shames his sex; but 11:4-7 is addressing the issue of headship roles. Here Paul is arguing that it would be wrong for man to take the place of a woman in God's creation. The head-covering on the woman is the badge—the authority (11:10)—that she has from God to be in the position she is in, and man should not cross over

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[536] Due to their difference in authority and responsibility, God has given His male disciples the right to speak in His Church. His female disciples are not permitted to speak in Church, or to teach men, or to have any kind of authority over men. This is based on their created status, not on culture. See §4.3 for a fuller treatment of this topic. The majority of Christian leaders in the visible Western Church have rejected the Holy Spirit's ban preferring to import secular, feminist values, resulting in women ministers, pastors, bishops and archbishops. No doubt the Lord has His elect few—His 7000—who have not bowed the knee to feminism. It is for the benefit of these faithful disciples that this book has been written, in order that they might know the certainty of those things which Paul taught in 1 Cor 11:2-16; 14:33-37 and 1 Tim 2:8-11.

[537] This was the style of the Achaeans (and Corinth was in Achaia) who wore their hair long all over, whereas the Abantes wore theirs long only at the back of the head, pigtail style, which was called ὀπισθόκομος (or ὄπιθεν κομόωντες). See Liddell & Scott, *s.v.* Cf. G. G. Finlay, "The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians," in *The Expositor's Greek New Testament* (5 vols.; Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans, 1897-1910), vol. 3, 875, who notes that the Athenian youth cropped his head at 18 yrs of age, and it was a mark of foppery or effeminacy (a legal ἀτιμία), except for the aristocratic Knights, to let the hair afterwards grow long. The term κομηται is used for a man's full head of hair when it is set in apposition to baldness, cf. Plato's *Republic* 453. There are a few hints in Josephus that may suggest Galilean men wore long hair such as *Ant.* 8.7.3, "Their riders also were a further ornament to them, being, in the first place, young men in the most delightful flower of their age, and being eminent for their largeness, and far taller than other men. They had also very long heads of hair hanging down, and were clothed in garments of Tyrian purple." . . . . "And the Galileans who seem to have gone bonkers, dressed like women and decked their hair" (*War* 4.10.10). There was also the "fine heads of hair" of Aristobulus' witnesses (*Ant* 14.3. 2). It appears that prophets were expected to have long hair (Ant 5.8.4).

[538] David K. Lowery, "The Head Covering and the Lord's Supper in 1 Corinthians 11:2-34," *BibSac* 143 (1986) 155-163, esp. p. 158.

[539] Cf. J. Murphy-O'Connor, "1 Corinthians 11:2-16 Once Again," *CBQ* 50 (1988) 265.

into her position. *That* is where the shame of 11:4b comes in. The relative authority positions of men and women is based on gender.

So in itself, the word κόμη may denote the style it has by custom in each geographical location, and not by looking up a Greek dictionary. In Athens (which was just north of Corinth) they used the word κομᾶν to mean "to plume oneself," meaning, to be proud.[540] Already in the 4th century Chrysostom supplied κομᾶν in v. 4.[541]

Women have always paid more attention to their hair than men, but it too, is simply called κόμη, without stating whether it was long or short, or piled up on top of the head, or hanging loose. So here too, the term κόμη, could conceivably denote the *fashion current at the time of writing*, whether it was short or long hair.

The Greek words κόμη and θρίξ are used of the hair of the head of both sexes. In the LXX θρίξ is found more frequently (42 times) than κόμη (11 times). In the New Testament θρίξ is found 16 times and κόμη is found only once (1 Cor 11:15) but twice as a verb (1 Cor 11:14).[542] However, θρίξ is by far the general term for hair *per se.* In Classical Greek literature it has a much wider application as it is used of a horse's tail and mane, of pig's bristles, of dog's hair, and even sheep's wool, but it is limited (except for goat's hair [Ex 25:4; 35:26]) in the Bible to human hair in the widest sense including any body hair (Lev 14:8-9) pubic hair (Isa 7:20) and beards (Ezr 9:3).[543]

The uncut hair of the male Nazirite was not to be neglected. In Num 6:5 (LXX) the text reads: τρέφων κόμην τρίχα κεφαλῆς, "caring [for] hair—hair of head." The participle comes from the verb "to tend, cherish, maintain." In this context it would mean grooming his hair, or looking after it, as it was to be presented to the Lord at the end of his vow because he was holy. There is a close association between "grooming" and κόμη in this text. The Hebrew can be translated as: *"to increase [encourage?] the growth* (Piel of גדל) *of the locks of the hair of his head [through grooming?]."*

Another difference between the two words for hair is that while θρίξ always designates the substance itself, κόμη is found both as a noun and as a verb. The verb form suggests that the substance, θρίξ, has something done to it and the result is called κόμη, possibly "groomed or decorated hair."[544]

Θρίξ is used of the hair on the head of men and women in Leviticus 13 as well as any body hair. The Nazirites' long hair is simply called τρίχας in Numbers 6:18. In the LXX addition to Esther 4:17 Esther cuts off her hair (called τριχῶν) and throws it all over her royal apartments in grief. Revelation 9:8, "and they [army of locusts] had hair [τρίχας] as hair [τρίχας] of women." Luke 7:38, "she began to wet his feet with her tears, and with the hairs [θριξὶν] of her head she was wiping, and was kissing his feet." John 11:2, "and it was Mary who . . . did wipe his feet with her hair [θριξὶν]." John 12:3, "Mary, therefore, having taken a pound of ointment . . . and did wipe his feet with her hair [θριξὶν]."

If either term was intended to convey the idea of length it would be τρίχα (θρίξ), but it is not the one used by Paul in 1 Corinthians 11:14. If we had more information on the attitude of Greek men and women toward hair then maybe we might be able to throw light on what Paul meant by the term κόμη. We can only work back from his use of the verb "making hair" that this was somehow a shameful thing for a man to do. What would cause shame? There are two possibilities. On the one hand, he could be referring to cross-over hair styles. There were probably recognised hair-styles for men and women. Here is a situation

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540 The expression τρέφειν κόμην = κομᾶν in Herodotus 1.82 (see Liddell & Scott, *Gk lex.* sub τρέφω, II.4)

541 Cf. *Ep. 1 ad Cor.* hom. 26.1 (PG, 61, 213).

542 See Appendix C 'Hair' in the Bible.

543 See Appendix C 'Hair' in the Bible.

544 Raymond F. Collins translates as: "if a man has a hairdo it is a disgrace to himself, but if a woman has a hairdo it is to her glory," in *First Corinthians* (Sacra Pagina Series, Vol. 7. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1999), p. 413.

where "shame" could come in if men adopted the κόμη of the women. The term "nature (φυσις, *phusis*)" in this context would then mean "custom;" a meaning it has in Classical Greek literature. It can even refer to style.[545]

On the other hand, Paul may simply be referring to any man who starts paying attention to his hair (frequent washings, perming, dyeing, tying it up with ribbons, etc.). Such behaviour would be considered womanly. In this would lie his shame. Philo was disdainful of homosexuals:

> Mark how conspicuously they braid and adorn the hair of their heads, (περιφανῶς οὕτως τὰς τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἀναπλεκόμενοι καὶ διακοσμούμενοι) and how they scrub and paint their faces with cosmetics and pigments and the like, and smother themselves with fragrant unguents. . . . In fact the transformation of the male nature to the female is practised by them as an art and does not raise a blush.[546]

The Stoic philosopher Musonius Rufus (who wrote a dissertation on hair) noted that since hair is given as "a covering by nature," it has only a utilitarian value for men: "the hair should be cut only to get rid of too much of it and not for looks, as some think they must . . . ." He then complains:

> In fact that which seems to them good-looking is quite the opposite and does not differ from the efforts of women to make themselves beautiful. . . . So men who cut their hair [after a particular fashion] are obviously doing it out of a desire to appear handsome to those whom they wish to please . . . . Clearly such men have become slaves of luxurious living and are completely enervated, men who can endure being seen as womanish creatures, hermaphrodites, something which real men would avoid at all costs.[547]

An encounter with a young man "whose hair was arranged too carefully" (*Discourses* 3.1.24-36; see also 3.1.14, 42-45; 3.22.10, 30; 4.1.116; Frag. 18) provided Epictetus (a disciple of Musonius Rufus) with the opportunity for a discourse on masculine beauty in which it becomes clear that for a man to give exaggerated care to his appearance, particularly to the hair of his head, is to blur nature's distinction between the sexes (*Discourses* 3.1.30-31).[548]

The geographer Strabo noted that some men looked like women due to their hair fashion and observed: "speaking generally, the art of caring for the hair consists both in its nurture and in the way it is cut, and both are given special attention by girls and youths" (*Geography* 10.3.8).

Vigorous reactions against long and/or elaborate hair for men especially as it relates to homosexuality can be found in Hellenistic Jews like Philo who approves of their punishment by society for debasing "the sterling coin of nature" for disgracing himself, his family, his nation and the whole human race.[549] A similar sense of violating "nature" was felt by Latin authors such as Juvenal (in his second *Sature,* 1. 96), and Horace (*Epodes* 11,28).[550]

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[545] Liddell & Scott, *Greek Lexicon,* sub φυσικος. Some understand Paul to appeal to nature meaning 'the common sense of decency that is prevalent at a certain time,' so defined by F. H. Von Meyenfeldt, *The Meaning of Ethos* (Hamilton, Ont.; A.R.S.S., 1964), p. 35.

[546] Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 3:37. ET by F. H. Colson. 10 vols. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MASS: Harvard university Press/ London: Wm Heinemann, 1984. See Vol. VII Bk III.37.

[547] Taken from Raymond F. Collins, *First Corinthians* (Sacra Pagina Series, Vol. 7. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1999), p. 397.

[548] Cf. J. Murphy O'Connor, "Sex and Logic in 1 Cor. 11:2-16," *CBQ* 42 (1980) 482-500, esp. p. 487.

[549] James W. Thompson, "Creation, Shame and Nature in 1 Cor 11:2-16: The Background and Coherence of Paul's Argument," in *Early Christianity and Classical Culture* edited by J.T. Fitzgerald, T. H. Olbright and L. M. White (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003), pp. 237-258.

[550] See Jöel Delobel, "1 Cor 11,2-16: Towards a Coherent Interpretation," in *L'apôtre Paul. Personnalité, style et conception du ministère* (BETL 73; ed. A. Vanhoye; Leuven: Leuven University/Peeters, 1986), p. 371.

Pseudo-Phocylides (*ca.* 30 BC—40 AD): "If a child is a boy do not let locks grow on his head. Do not braid his crown nor the cross knots at the top of his head. Long hair is not fit for boys, but for voluptuous women."[551]

That women, by nature, treated their hair as their glory can be seen in probably one of the oldest love songs to survive. It was composed by the wife of King Shusin (2037-2029 BC, III Dynasty of Ur). She says:

My hair is lettuce, well-watered,
It is gakkul-lettuce, well-watered;
Its *tangled coils* were tightened,
My nursemaid has [*piled them*] high,
Has made my hair stag(-like)[552],
Has tightened its small combs,
Straightened my "graceful crown,"
The "graceful crown," my hair, the lettuce is the fairest of plants.[553]

Given the foregoing discussion, the interpretation of κόμη would refer to a well-groomed head of hair (such as you would expect to find naturally on a woman). A man with a similar head of carefully groomed hair would be regarded as effeminate in manly circles. Support for this view of "nature" comes from its other occurrences. The word is found eleven times in the New Testament, nine of which are in Paul's writings (Rom 1:26;[554] 2:14, 27; 11:21, 24, 1 Cor 11:14; Gal 2:15; 4:8; Eph 2:3).[555] The usage in Romans 1 and 2 most closely parallels the meaning here. In Romans 2:14, doing the things of the Law by "nature" is to reveal the law of God written in their hearts: it is written into the "image of God" in which all men are created. In Romans "nature" is God's "natural order," and to be against "nature" is to be against something that God has placed in His creation (1:26).[556] God created male and female with all that that implies for securing sexual identity. In every age there is this awareness of identity and this is what Paul seems to be referring to here.

If κόμη meant long hair how would Paul's teaching apply in African cultures where women do not have long hair? A Western man with short back-and-sides would have very long hair by African standards. There can be no shame in having long hair *per se* since the Nazirites had long hair, as did Absalom, whose hair got caught up in the branches of a tree. Even his long hair may have been considered short by the standard of the women who wiped Jesus' feet with the hair of their heads. The Puritans wore hair much longer than most men do today, but it was "short" in relation to the length contemporary women wore theirs.

But presumably the *attention* given to hair among all women is universal and belongs to her instinct to groom it because it is her "glory." Paul is referring to some "barrier" that has been crossed. In his age when men delighted in being men and women were women, here was a gender "barrier" that could involve shame for men if they crossed it. I suspect that

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551 *Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides* 210-212.

552 An alternative translation for this line is: "In the hair on my head she made 'a-lum'," and given that *a-lum* can denote a fine species of sheep with long, thick wool, we have a parallel with Song of Songs 4:1, "Your hair is like a flock of goats streaming down Mount Gilead." So the woman's long hair flowing down from the crown of her head is likened to a flock of black sheep descending Mount Gilead. See Yitschak Sefati, *Love Songs in Sumerian Literature* (Ramat-Gan, Israel: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1998) pp. 361-62.

553 Ibid, p. 361.

554 Noel Weeks is against 'nature' = local custom because of Rom 1:26 where Paul calls homosexuality 'against nature.' Here 'nature' cannot mean 'the common sense of decency,' he argues, because the point of the passage is that man's common sense of 'decency' has been so perverted as to approve the degrading practice. In Romans it clearly means the created state of affairs. This fits 1 Cor 11:14 ("Of Silence and Head Covering," *WTJ* 35 [1972-53] 22).

555 See Appendix C 'Hair' in the Bible.

556 Cf. G. W. Knight, "The Role Relation of Man and Woman and the Teaching/Ruling Functions in the Church," *JETS* 18 (1975) 81-91, esp. p. 85 n. 17.

since it is "natural" or innate (inbred) for woman to groom her hair (as it is a powerful sexual signal), and "natural" for men not to pay *that* kind of attention to theirs (because hair does not function in the same way in men), that therein lies the "barrier" that some men crossed to the jeers of their fellow countrymen. If this is the solution then 1 Corinthians 11:14 would be better translated: "Does not even nature itself teach you that if a man, on the one hand, has [well-groomed] hair, it is a shame to him; but if, on the other hand, a woman has [well-groomed] hair, a glory it is to her, because hair—in place of a covering [of her baldness] —has been given to her [by God when He created her]."

What, however, must be avoided here is the suggestion that the whole passage (11:2-16) is to be seen in the light of Paul's contemporary culture.[557] The sense of shame Paul is referring to belongs to the nature of men and women, and is therefore common to every generation from the beginning of creation to the end of time.

4.4.4. SYMBOL OF HUSBAND'S OR WIFE'S AUTHORITY?

The third difficulty propounded by the commentaries arose out of the first. Having assumed that "covering" meant "veiled," they went on to assume that "authority" in 11:10 must mean the authority the woman was under, that is, her husband's authority. This assumed exegesis was then strengthened by adding the word "sign" or "token" before "authority."[558] The authority referred to in v. 10 is the woman's own authority, whether she is married or not.[559]

By authority is meant her right to stand in God's presence when praying to Him. She has the authority that derives from also being in the moral image of God. However, in her origin she did not exist apart from her helpmeet role. She was created specifically for man and was made in the moral image of God in order to fulfil the helpmeet role that God designed her for. As a mother she has authority over her children. She will also one day judge the angels (1 Cor 5:3). It is one thing to say that a wife is under the authority of her husband but it is another, and different thing, to say that she has her own personal authority, which is what Paul is referring to in 11:10. Both are correct. Unfortunately, in the past the two things were not distinguished.

L. J. Lietaert Peerbolte suggested that in covering her head the woman was demonstrating that she has control (=authority) over her own head: "What Paul states here, then, is that a woman should have control over her own head, should control her head. Apparently she does so by covering it."[560] But why should she need to have a visible sign to indicate to men and angels that she is not an imbecile? Men have no visible sign. Does this

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[557] Cf. Raymond F. Collins, *First Corinthians* (Sacra Pagina Series, Vol. 7. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1999), p. 399.

[558] See Appdx I for references to veiling in the Bible.

[559] See A. Roberts, "Power on the Head," *The Expositor* 10 (August, 1894) 139-149, the power is the woman's power; cf. S. T. Lowrie, "1 Corinthians XI and the Ordination of Women as Ruling Elders," *PTR* 19 (1921) 113-130, esp. p, 114; and Hooker (*op. cit.,* pp. 413ff.) where she examines the various theories only to reject them in favour of the 'authority' being the woman's own authority. E. S. Fiorenza (*In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* [New York: Crossroads, 1983], pp. 227-30) argues that 1 Cor 11:2-16 is not requiring the veiling of women. It is opposing women with free-flowing hair as in orgiastic cults. She maintains Paul is demanding 'proper' hair-styles to symbolise women's spiritual power. For a different view see W. Gerald Kendrick, "Authority, Women, and Angels: Translating 1 Corinthians 11.10," *Bible Translator* 46 (1995) 336-43 who rejects Hooker's view in favour of Fee's. He translates 11:10 as: "Because of this, and on account of the angels, a woman ought to have freedom over her head to do as she wishes."

[560] L.J. Lietaert Peerbolte, "Man, Woman and the Angels in 1 Cor 11:2-16," in *The Creation of Man and Woman,* edited by Gerard P. Luttikhuizen (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 76-92, esp. p. 87.

mean that all men have their own head under control? This is not the key to Paul's thought in 11:2-16.

David Lowery suggested that the principle, "everything is permissible" (6:12; 10:23; cf. 8:9) may have been the theological reason given for throwing off the woman's covering and the meaning associated with it. Paul regarded this act, not one of liberation, but of libertinism (11:5-6). She might as well shave her head. Woman's glory was derived from man and complementary to his. Man, then, was God's authoritative representative (or likeness). If she abandoned this complementary role, she also abandoned her glory, and for Paul an uncovered woman's head gave symbolic expression to that spirit. For the woman to exercise her freedom to pray or prophesy without a head covering, the sign of her authority (*exousia,* a liberating term; cf. 7:37; 8:9; 9:4-6, 12, 18) would be to bring the wisdom of God (Eph 3:10) into disrepute.[561]

Notice that the only time the woman is commanded to wear a covering is when she comes into *direct relation with God,* either when she prays to Him or when God chooses to reveal a prophecy through her. Likewise the only time a man is commanded not to have a covering on his head is when he is addressing God or when he is to reveal a prophecy from Him.[562] Outside these spiritual times it does not matter if the woman has nothing on her head. She is free from her cultural environment as far as the writer of 1 Corinthians is concerned. His concern is to see that correct spiritual order is preserved when either sex approaches God in worship whether this is in private or in public.

This is further borne out by his reference to the angels. The preceding context explains what this means. Three aspects of the fundamental difference between male and female are spelled out in verses 7-9:

1. *They differ in glory.* Man is the glory of God: woman is the glory of Man (11:7).
2. *They differ in point of origin.* Man's life came from God directly: Woman's came from Man's living body (11:8).
3. *They differ in purpose.* Man was created for God: Woman was created for Man (11:9).

Paul concludes his theological position in v. 10, "For this reason, and because of the angels,[563] the woman [or, female] ought to have authority on her head."[564] The angels know the facts about the origin of man and woman and why they were created, and also that man is the head of woman. They also know that man was created a little lower than themselves (Hen 2:9), therefore man came next to them in rank (as far as this age is concerned), followed by woman, who was created specifically for man. Here was an arrangement that they instantly recognised as meaning: Woman is subject to Man, therefore she ought to be silent as the Law says (1 Cor 14:34),[565] and she ought not to rule over Man (1 Tim 2:12). Now if, and when, they see this arrangement turned upside down, and the Woman rules over the Man, *and that in Christ's own Kingdom,* they immediately recognise disorder if not open rebellion. And if angels do not die they also know what the punishment is for disobeying God's command and authority, since in their own life-time they witnessed something of His wrath

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[561] David K. Lowery, "The Head Covering and the Lord's Supper in 1 Corinthians 11:2-34," *BibSac* 143 (1986) 155-163, esp. pp. 157-58.

[562] K. T. Wilson noted: 'For a man to veil the reflection of God in a service in which he is praying to Him or delivering a prophetic word from Him would be inconsistent. Though the reflections are similar [in men and women] they are not identical' ("Should Women Wear Head-coverings," *BibSac* 148 (1991) 442-462, esp. p. 450.

[563] That these can only be good angels, see Hooker (*op. cit.,* p. 415), and see Scroggs (*op. cit.,* p. 300) on the angels in rabbinic literature.

[564] Hooker (*op. cit.,* p. 415) thinks Paul was resorting to deception ('practical expediency' she calls it) in bringing in 'the angels' in order to force the women to cover their locks as these were distracting the men, not the angels, from the worship of God.

[565] According to Jewish usage, the whole Old Testament can be so designated; cf. Rom 3:19; Jn 10:34. Paul appears to quote the substance of Isa 28:11-12 as 'the Law' in 1 Cor 14:21 (but cf. Dt 28:49 which has a similar idea). Jesus quotes Ps 82:6 as "the Law" in Mt 10:34.

against some of their own order when He mercilessly cast them out of the Kingdom to await the judgment of the great Day.[566]

In covering her head the Christian woman is acknowledging that in the creation order God has made her female, and, therefore, she has been allocated a specific place in the hierarchy of powers and authorities that is different from man. The uncovered head denotes one kind of authority; the covered head denotes a different kind of authority. God has given to man and woman different kinds of authority, and the outward and visible token of these is represented in a covered head for women (to represent her God-given authority), and an uncovered head for man (to represent his God-given authority).

If a man covers his head in the presence of the angels (in the *ecclesia,*[567] or formal gathering of the Church) it signals that he has only the authority allocated to women. This is not glorifying to Christ, his Head, who gave him authority belonging to Man.

Similarly, if a woman uncovers her head, she is declaring (by her uncovered head) that she has the authority given to Man. This is not glorifying to Christ either, because she is female. She is declaring that she is equal to Man. This is going against the created order of authority. She has been given her own authority, and she should be content to live within that ordained sphere, and not grasp for authority that God has not given to her.[568]

W. Neuer rightly notes: "If the subordination of women were regarded as a consequence of sin, then the head-covering would not be a sign of honour for women, but a shameful sign of her guilt."[569] But he also puts forward the novel idea that *exousia* means power which the woman actively exercises, so "authority," or "authorisation."

> The point of the passage is therefore: if the women pray or prophesy before other members of the church, then they only possess the spiritual authority to do so if they do it obediently, accepting the position assigned to them at creation.[570]

Does a woman need to have a head-covering on her head to symbolise to everyone that she has spiritual "authority" to pray to God because she is in a right relationship to her husband? Would man not also need an identical head-covering to symbolise that he, too, is in a right relationship to his Head?

It was not a symbol of being under her husband's authority (as Neuer has argued [p. 114]), otherwise unmarried women, widows and virgins would not need to cover their heads when praying or prophesying.

The act of covering or uncovering the head is an important theological act. It does not represent the horizontal relationship between man and woman, but the vertical relationship between God, on the one hand, and male and female, on the other. When men and women display the symbol of their God-given authorities (in the covering or uncovering of their heads) they are, in fact, exulting in their respective callings, authorities, privileges, and

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566 On the place of angels in Christian worship and Qumran see J. Fitzmyer, "A Feature of Qumrãn Angelology and the Angels of 1 Cor. XI.10," *NTS* 4 (1957-58) 48-58.

567 For a comprehensive study of this term see John L. Murphy, "The use of 'ecclesia' in the New Testament," *American Ecclesiastical Review* 140 (1959) 250-59, 325-32.

568 Robert Knight, "Paul's rebuke of women praying with uncovered heads: A new interpretation of 1 Corinthians, chap. xi. 10," *Journal of Sacred Literature* 4 (July, 1849) 88-101, suggested that a man (=head) 'covered' meant that a woman had come between him and God, and so in a subordinate relation to her; and if he was uncovered she was silent and in a subordinate relation to him. Likewise, if a woman was 'covered' it meant that a man had come between her and God, and she was subordinate to him, and if she was 'uncovered' she was speaking directly to God with no man intervening between her and God. In this way he saw no need for a physical covering on the woman: the man was her metaphorical 'covering'.

569 Werner Neuer, *Man and Woman in Christian Perspective* (ET by Gordon Wenham; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1990 [German orig, 1988]), p. 115.

570 Werner Neuer, *Man and Woman in Christian Perspective* (ET by Gordon Wenham; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1990 [German orig, 1988]), p. 115.

responsibilities. The symbols remind each of them of their God-ordained stations in His creation order.

The phrase "the woman ought to" is an argument from theology, just as it is in the balancing phrase "a man ought to." The basis of "ought to" stems from the fact that each has been defined as the "glory" of a different "head." The logic consists of a parallel made up of four elements with one element on the man's line unspoken. Assuming the major premise that the head must always exhibit glory in worship (vv. 4-5), the argument in the man's case proceeds from conclusion (a man ought not to cover his head) back to the theological premise (being God's image and glory), whereas in the woman's case it proceeds from theological premise (but the woman is a man's glory) to conclusion (therefore the woman ought to have authority on her head). The conclusion we might have expected was that she ought to be covered this being the logical counterpart to men not covering their heads. In other words the text could grammatically be read as follows where A=cover/uncover, and B=glory, and the apodosis is indented:

READING 1

A1 On the one hand (μέν), man, indeed, ought not to cover [his] head,
  B1 being the image and glory of God.
B2 But on the other hand (δέ), woman is man's glory
  A2 therefore she ought to have authority on [her] head (v. 10)

Here v. 10 supplies the apodosis (A2). But the apodosis only comes after two intervening verses which seems an unlikely occurrence.

Another way to read the text is to supply the missing protasis in the parallel, thus:

READING 2

A1 On the one hand, man (μέν), indeed, ought not to cover [his] head,
  B1 being the image and glory of God.
A2 But on the other hand (δέ), [woman ought to cover (her) head
  B2 because] woman is man's glory.

This reading then gives the order: protasis followed by apodosis for both sets, with perfect symmetry in the contents of A and B. This means that v. 10 is not the apodosis but a new idea which is related to vv. 8- 9 and not to v. 7.

A variant on Reading 2 would be as follows:

READING 3

A1 On the one hand (μέν), man, indeed, ought not to cover [his] head,
  B1 being the image and glory of God.
B2 But on the other hand (δέ), woman is man's glory
  A2 [therefore she ought to cover (her) head]

Here the ellipsis, or missing apodosis, has been supplied (=A2) but the balance in the content of the protases (A1 and B2) has not been kept the same. For this reason Reading 2 is to be preferred.

Paul has omitted (by ellipsis) the A2 words: "woman ought to cover (her) head because." The "ought to" in v. 10 could be Paul's way of making explicit the implied ellipsis in v. 7. However, since his mind has moved on from making that point in v. 7, it seems more probable that v. 10 relates to the matter in vv. 8-9. In verse 8 he makes the point that woman derived her being from man; and in verse 9 he makes the point that she was created for man. There is a heavy emphasis here on the priority of man and her dependency on him for her *raison d'être.* It is in this context that Paul reasons "she ought to have authority on the head." The authority he is referring to here refers to the authority she derives from her attachment to man. The angels are to understand that she shares in the authority given to man: and that that

this explains where she fits into the complex system of principalities and powers. So her authority is a derived authority even though she is created in the moral image of God.

GENDER	PHYSICAL HEAD	GLORY	AUTHORITY
MAN	UNCOVERED (REVERSE = SHAME)	GOD'S GLORY	GOD'S AUTHORITY (SHARED WITH MAN)
WOMAN	COVERED (REVERSE = SHAME)	MAN's GLORY	MAN's AUTHORITY (SHARED WITH WOMAN)

Paul studiously avoids any hint of "putting down" women by ending on the bland note that she ought to be covered. Instead he switches the attention to the positive authority status (4th column) she has in God's created order: she has her own "derived authority" which is not quite the same as that given to man which Paul was going to point out from the logic of her different dress mode. Angels perform all sorts of ministering roles for the benefit of mankind and it is for their benefit that men and women ought to dress differently when they appear before God.

In his presentation Paul has left out the reference to man's "delegated authority" (4th column) as something that is self-evident from his logical presentation. It was this omission that misled commentators into concluding that the woman's covering represented the husband's authority which she was under.[571] She is under that, but the cover does not represent that fact; rather it represents her own personal derived authority (derived because she was derived from man's body and re-united to him in marriage) in a cosmos of differing authorities ("because of the angels"). The four columns contain eight different concepts. We are given seven of them, and we can supply the remaining one, namely, man's authority, which is none other than God's authority which He shared with Adam when He created him.

Finally, after appealing to theology (11:2-12), and to local community convention (11:13-15), Paul appeals to apostolic, universal, church convention (11:16)—an extremely powerful argument. Earlier he had sharply rebuked them for the divisions they brought about among themselves. "Is Christ divided?" Of course not! But here they are bringing about another kind of division; that between themselves and all the other churches of Christ. The Church is one, just as there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism.

The phrase Wire translates as "if any think they want to make an issue of this" she says can be read:

> "if any think they can win out on this" or, more literally, "if any think they are victory-lovers." This suggests Paul could be picking up a positive self-designation of the women and using it ironically.[572] This is supported by the fact that in every other instance of this kind in this letter where Paul dissociates thought and reality, his challenges take up what seem to be their positive self-designations: they "think they are wise," "think they know something," "think they stand," and "think they are prophets or spiritual people." . . . If the women who prophesy see themselves as "issue-makers," "victory-lovers," or

[571] Evangelicals are guilty of making this mistake. See Edward Donnelly, "Headship," in *Men, Women and Authority*, ed. Brian Edwards (Bromley. Kent: Day One publications, 1996), pp. 93-112, esp. p. 97, "The woman with uncovered head is making a cultural statement about her personal independence. She is rejecting, in public worship at least, the authority of men over her. Paul understands this as repudiation of a divinely-established order and it is with this order, rather than the first-century expression of rebellion against it, that we are primarily concerned." Can we assume repudiation and rebellion were the motives for discarding the head-covering? These are evil motives. Could they have had more innocent, misguided motives?

[572] The positive use of the same word is found in 1 Clement 45,1 again applied to the Corinthians.

> "contenders," this is further indication that their heads are uncovered due to some assertion or claim, not simply by custom. The designation also suggests the possibility that they have overcome some opposition to their uncovered prayer and prophesy, that they found the contention a positive experience, and that they welcome other challenges as a chance to prove their gifts.[573]

Paul's rhetorical challenge turns into a rebuke: "we have no such custom, nor do the churches of God." The custom referred to is the woman's praying or prophesying without covering their heads. "We" stands for Paul and all the churches he founded elsewhere as they are then coupled with all the other churches of God (presumably which he did not found). Paul makes two other appeals to church practice in 4:7 ("What have you that you did not receive? Cf. 11:2) and 7:17 ("and thus in all the churches do I direct").

4.4.5. THE PRACTICE IN THE SYNAGOGUES

It would appear that many of the early churches had the synagogue form of worship.[574] Indeed, the Gospel was always preached to the Jew first and whole synagogues, no doubt, accepted Jesus as the Messiah they had been expecting. Since there was no blue-print to follow regarding the way they were to organise themselves, by default Jewish-Christians continued their well-established, and carefully thought out synagogue structures. The apostle James addressed his general epistle to these new Jewish congregations:

> James, of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ, a servant [δοῦλος] to the Twelve Tribes who are in the Diaspora: Greetings! . . . . if there should come into your synagogue [συναγωγὴν ὑμῶν] . . . . (my translation).

The words of the epistle are addressed to the male members. He uses the term "brothers" four times (4:11; 5:7, 9, 19) but prefers the warmer expression, "my brothers" which he uses eleven times. In this respect he is no different from a contemporary rabbi addressing a similar congregation. James gives the impression of being "at home" with his Jewish brethren all over the Roman Empire.

We noted above (4.3.2) that Paul also addresses all his church epistles to the male members of the congregations.[575] The missionary Church began in the synagogues throughout the world, and accepted its authority structure of Elders. Paul ordained Elders in most of the churches he set up. Only after the Jews had had an opportunity to accept Jesus as their Messiah did Paul feel obliged to set up a rival "synagogue," which he preferred to call an *ecclesia,* a term that is used in the LXX—alongside the term synagogue—to describe the Church of God in the Old Testament. Both terms equally referred to God's "called-out" people.

When James and Paul entered a synagogue how were God's people dressed with respect to head-covering and did the Jews give it any theological significance?

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573 Antoinette Clark Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress Press, 1990), p. 129.

574 See 4.3.2 for Christian synagogues. Richard E. Oster, "Supposed Anachronism in Luke-Acts' Use of συναγωγή: A Rejoinder to H. C. Kee," *NTS* 39 (1993) 178-208. He sets out the positive evidence for synagogues (both as a place of worship and as a congregation) in the pre-AD 70 period. While Kenneth Atkinson also argued against Kee's view he noted: 'Although the author of Luke-Acts undoubtedly fabricated stories for entertainment value, he did accurately reflect both local colour and religious institutions from the pre-70 CE era' ("On Further Defining the First-Century CE Synagogue: Fact or Fiction?" *NTS* 43 (1997) 491-502, esp. p. 492. For the evidence for diaspora synagogues see A.T. Kraabel, "The Diaspora Synagogue: Archaeological and Epigraphic Evidence since Sukenik," ANRW II.19.1:477-510.

575 See Chart 19. Title: "Paul and the New Testament writers addressed their letters to men."

The short answer is that all the women were covered.[576] According to the Mishnah (Ket. VII.6), a married woman who went out with an uncovered head (ראשה פרוע) violated Jewish custom (דת יהודית) and could be divorced by her husband and suffer the loss of her marriage settlement.

But the men were not covered unless they took an individual part in the service such as reading the Torah, praying, or speaking. In which case they put a head-covering on in the belief that they were in the very presence of—and addressing—the Most High. It was felt that a man should *humble himself* before God by putting a covering over his head. It was the *deepest sign of respect* that a Jew could show. It was the private experience of being in the presence of God that induced the scholars and rabbis to cover their heads both in the synagogue and at home, or out walking. That was the theological significance given to men wearing a head-covering. The women wore a covering out of modesty and were silent participants throughout the service. But it would not have been unusual to see men in the synagogue without a head-covering. A Jew was not forced by tradition or custom to wear a head-covering when he entered the synagogue, so neither James nor Paul would have been compelled out of respect for Jewish tradition to don a head-covering, and, given their new-found discovery that Jesus was their Head, they could take advantage of the option not to wear a head-covering.[577]

The means for covering the head was the *Tallit,* which was a large piece of cloth which was draped round the shoulders and covered the entire body. It could be lifted up over the head and would hang down leaving only the face exposed. Scholars would wrap this around themselves during an act of devotion either inside or outside the synagogue.

Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai was one day journeying on his ass and he was asked by his fellow-traveller to explain the mystery of "the Chariot." He immediately got down from his ass, covered his head, and sat down under an olive tree on a stone before he would discourse on "the Chariot." His explanation was: "Should I ride upon an ass when, the discussion pertaining to "Matters of the Chariot," the Divine Presence (שׁכינה *[Shekinah]*) is with us and ministering angels attend us?" (139).

A head-covering worn only by scholars was the *Sudar*. It was a wrap-around piece of cloth like a turban (142). It could be used in place of the *Tallit* to cover the head. Putting on a *Sudar* before one was married was viewed as presumptuous (147).

The Babylonian rabbis deemed it commendable to keep their heads covered as a sign of humility in the presence of the Divine. Rabbi Huna would not walk as much as four paces with an uncovered head. His reason was: "The *Shekinah* is just above me" (147). Such a claim fits not any ordinary person, but only a man of exceptional learning and piety, firm and habituated in his communion with God. A belief in the presence of the Deity is presupposed in all cases which involve "wrapping oneself" in the *Tallit* which involves, at least in part, a covering of the face (147, 149).

The rabbis were held in such high esteem, especially by their pupils, that they were believed to be attended by the *Shekinah*. Their disciples covered their heads as a mark of respect when they met them or passed them in the street. Krauss comments, "This obviously indicates an affinity between the presence of scholars and the presence of God" (146). A story is told about Jesus in a scurrilous work called *Toledot Jesu* in which he is accused of not

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576 J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), p. 359.

577 The two most useful works on the head-covering in Jewish tradition are by Samuel Krauss, "The Jewish Rite of Covering the Head," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 19 (1945/46) 121-168; and "Should One Cover the Head When Participating in Divine Worship?' in *Year Book, Central Conference of American Rabbis, XXXVIII* (1928), pp. 589-603. This article is thought to be the work of J. Z. Lauterbach. All the following quotations are from Krauss' larger, and more up-to-date work. The page reference is placed in parenthesis. Krauss sets out to show that male head-covering was not originally obligatory upon the Jew in his religious life private or public. The head covering originated with the rabbis and scholars and, like all customs which begin with the nobility, it was copied eventually by the ordinary Jew, so that today it is unthinkable for a Jew to enter the synagogue without covering his head.

covering his head when passing two rabbis. This was thought to be a sign of arrogance (144-45).

The Talmud contains the provision that a man may recite the *Shema'* with uncovered head. The passage reads:

> A *Poheah* (פוחח, that is, one whose legs are visible or whose garments are otherwise torn) or one whose head is bare (מגולה) is permitted to recite the *Shema'*. Some say that one whose legs are visible or garments otherwise torn may do so but not one whose head is bare, for such a one may not pronounce the Tetragrammaton. In either case [whether a *Poheah* or bare-headed—Editor] one may render the Targum (the translation). But a *Poheah* may not do the public reading of the Pentateuch or officiate before the ark, or lift his hands in priestly blessing (152).

Hebrew men also covered their heads as a sign of mourning. David covered his head in shame when fleeing from Absalom (2 Sam 15:30; cf. Jer 14:3; Esth 6:12). They also covered their heads during the marriage ceremony, as if they were mourners (135).

In the pre-Christian religion of ancient Rome the priests had their heads covered while offering sacrifices (130), as did the priests in the Old Testament and Persian priests (130).

The manner in which head-covering became a universal practice in Jewry is explained by Krauss as follows:

> The average individual is eager to put himself on a level with the high and mighty. A good example within Judaism is the popular wearing of the *Tallit* (fringed, of course, with *Zizit*) and the donning of *Tefillin,* both of which practices were originally limited to the Scribes, Pharisees, or Rabbis. Partly as a result of the striving to rise in the social scale, and partly under steady prompting by the Rabbis, the *'Amme' Ha-arez,* the ignorant, at first loath to follow those rituals, became at length acquainted with them, fond of them, and zealous for them. . . . Originally a token of rank, eventually it became the attire of the multitude. (134)

We have no undisputed rabbinic tradition dating back to the time of Jesus which would settle the issue once and for all whether the ordinary male in the synagogue was covered or uncovered. What we do have is a picture of what was happening in Talmudic times. The Talmud contains a disparate collection of Jewish literature dating between AD 200 to 500 and is mainly a commentary on two-thirds of the Mishnah which is the written form of the Oral Law that existed at the end of the second century AD which was collected by Rabbi Judah the Prince. The picture that the Talmud gives is very confused. It contains statements that the men were covered but other statements that they were uncovered. What we cannot know is how the destruction of the Second Temple in AD 70 affected the head-covering. Covering the head would have been universal once the news got out, but we cannot say when they stopped mourning for its destruction. The *Mishnah* (*Sotah* IX, 15) states: "Since the Temple has been destroyed, the free born and the scholarly have had to cover their heads in shame" (132 n 41). Then there is the fact that the priests covered their heads when in the presence of God. How far did this practice influence synagogue practice once worship in the Temple ceased? Did the priests continue to wear their head-covering when they entered the synagogue to continue the worship of God, albeit in a non-sacrificial manner? Lauterbach's explanation that the Hebrew priests covered their heads to distinguish them from the priests of heathen deities is feeble, and does not explain how headgear any more than their special undergarments would achieve this, or why they covered their heads for nearly 1500 years without interruption.

Is there a hint in 2 Corinthians 3:7-11 that the Jewish men wore a veil (using this in the broadest sense that covering the head can mean covering the face also [see Krauss, 155 n. 122]) during the reading of the Torah? ". . . . for to this day the same veil [κάλυμμα] remains when the old covenant is read. It has not been removed, because only in Christ is it taken away." Most commentators take the veil in this context to be metaphorical, not literal. Could it be both? We noted above that synagogue males were uncovered except when they were reading the Torah, praying or prophesying, or otherwise engaged in a sacred act. How far back this custom goes is not known. If Krauss is right that the practice started at the top, with the rabbis and scholars, then Paul may have been alive when this was in vogue.

As far as the rabbinic data goes we have to allow that a good deal of freedom characterised the synagogue practice of covering and uncovering the male head in Jesus' day, and that there was no compulsion (as there is today in Orthodox Jewry) to wearing a covering. What, then, was the situation with the womenfolk in places of worship?

From the little evidence that we can glean from the Old Testament it would appear that the Hebrews knew nothing of the strict separation of men and women in their ordinary everyday life. The women wore veils only on certain occasions (Gen 24:65; 38:14). In the Old Assyrian Law Code it is ordained that married women and widows, when appearing in public places, are required to veil their faces (127). But harlots in early Hebrew society also covered their heads and faces, compare Tamar in Genesis 38:14. So there was no uniform custom throughout Semitic society.

On the specific question of covering the woman's head while in the synagogue the Talmud is virtually silent. Lowery accepted that the public head-covering of women was a universal custom in Jewish[578] and Greco-Roman culture.[579] The nature of the covering varied considerably,[580] but it was commonly a portion of the outer garment drawn up over the head like a hood.[581]

Most of the information in the Talmud has to do with the woman's appearance in the open market, in public. In general, Krauss (137) and Lauterbach are agreed that the situation as described by Paul in 1 Corinthians 11:5, would have obtained in the synagogue. Philo, who was a contemporary of Jesus, implies that Jewish women were covered in public (155). Tertullian (AD 200)(North Africa church father) wrote: "So sacred, among the Jews, is the covering of the women that by this they are recognisable" (155). The wicked man is one "who sees his wife go outside with her head uncovered" (tSot. 5.9; ySot. 1.7, 17a; bGitt. 90a).

At her wedding, the bride shows herself for the last time as an unmarried girl, wearing her hair loose. Having the hair loose and dropping to the shoulders is the token of the unmarried state, hence of virginity and chastity. Among conservative Jews, cutting off the bride's long tresses is part of the marriage ceremony. The reverse of this is the covering worn on the married woman's head (156). The married woman who walks abroad with her hair loose violates Jewish custom. Such was the manner among pagans.

Tal Ilan is adamant that Kraus is wrong to state that a woman could go bare-headed in public and refers to a very early *Baraitha* which warns that "the daughters of Israel should not go outdoors with loosened hair," meaning, "that they may cover their heads," implying a head-covering (bKet. 72a); and in *Sifre* he notes the following interpretation of the passage "and he shall let loose the hair on the woman's head" (Num 5.18): ". . . . of the daughters of Israel, that they cover their heads" (*Sifre* Num. 11, p. 17 ed. Horovitz). He points out that in the *aggadah* there are examples of modest women who even covered their heads indoors. Thus Qimhit, when asked by the sages how it happened that seven of her sons served in the

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578 Josephus *Antiq.* 3.270; Mishnah, *Ketuboth* 7.6; Babylonian Talmud, *Ketuboth* 72a-b.

579 Plutarch [*c.* AD 50-120], *Moralia* 3.232c; 4.267b; Apuleius *The Golden Ass* 11.10.

580 Ovid [43 BC—AD 18], *The Art of Love* 3.135-65.

581 David K. Lowery, "The Head Covering and the Lord's Supper in 1 Corinthians 11:2-34," *BibSac* 143 (1986) 155-163, esp. p. 157.

high priesthood, gave the following answer: "The beams of my house never saw the hair of my head" (yHor. 3.5, 47d; bYoma 47a). He points out that unbound hair is depicted as compromising a woman's modesty. The worst of Susanna's humiliations occurred when the elders, who were accusing her of adultery, demanded that her head be uncovered (*Susanna* 32).[582]

The Jewish tradition in Babylonia was for men to cover their heads in private as well as in the public prayers of the synagogue. This shows that there was a consistency in their underlying attitude to Yahweh. We have shown that 1 Corinthians 11:4-5 applies to all time and all places and is not limited to the formal church meeting. Women could pray or prophesy for six and a half days in the week (or ninety-five per cent of the week) but when they do, Paul is directing them in chapter 11 *how* they are to do it—covered. In chapter 14 he tells them *where* they may not pray or prophesy—in church.

Krauss accepted the statement of the Mishnah that, as far as Babylonia was concerned, men had their heads sometimes uncovered and sometimes covered; that women had heads always covered; and that children's heads were never covered (143). In Palestine he thinks the custom was different: it was the usual custom for grown men to go bareheaded. The custom of covering the head began with scholars (indoors and outdoors) due to reverence. Over a long period of time this eventually was adopted by all males when entering the synagogue.

If this is how the custom developed then Jesus and the Apostles probably did not cover their heads when they went to the Temple or into the synagogue. James and Paul did not have to break with Jewish custom and neither did Christian women. So 1 Corinthians 11 reflected the standards of dress current in the synagogue at the time. However, Paul gave the uncovered male head a theological significance that prevented Christian men from following the change of practice that came over the Jewish synagogues where covering the head (not leaving it uncovered) became the sign *par excellence* of humbling oneself before God. Paul did not get this idea from Judaism but from dwelling on the revelation he had received that *the head of man is Christ,* whereas in the synagogue, the head of man was God. Because Jesus was a *man* and did not have his head covered in the presence of God (being the express image of the Father), so neither must His brothers cover their heads in the presence of God. It was this statement that crystallised the break with Judaism which knew only that the head of man is God, and the head of woman is man. Christianity and Judaism have the last statement in common, and therefore there was no change in status for women as regards man being her head. Consequently Christianity could take over this aspect of Judaism without much difficulty and could draw on the entire teaching, doctrine, and history of the Old Testament to guide them as to the role relationship between men and women. But for a woman under the Law (Moses) and a woman under Grace (Jesus) the difference in freedom was enormous. Out went all the ritual and ceremonial laws. Every day was a "clean" day for the Jewish-Christian woman. She could enter the Christian synagogue every Lord's Day. She could have fellowship with her brothers in Christ, never fearing that she could make them unclean. All foods and meats were lawful to eat. Taboo after taboo were joyfully broken. She could receive a personal sign of the Covenant she was entering—baptism, instead of being in a covenant on the strength of a sign given only to her husband. Only two things were carried over from Judaism into her new world which could not be altered. These were (1) she could not speak in the Christian synagogue. Worship was still the duty of her husband, and that responsibility was not to be shared or taken away from him, and (2) she must cover her head when praying or prophesying, which gift could be exercised anywhere except in the formal, public assembly of God's people. Outwardly there did not appear to be any change but inwardly she was a changed person—a lover of the Lord Jesus Christ. Only what came out of

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[582] Tal Ilan, *Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Palestine* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996). pp. 129-130.

her mouth could defile her. She was made clean once and for all time by the blood of the Lamb.

4.4.5.1 MODERN JEWISH PRACTICES AND CONTEMPORARY CULTURE

The *Daily Mail*[583] gave the insights of two Orthodox Jewish women. One made the point that in her religion, "A woman's modesty is fiercely guarded and she isn't supposed to be loud and showy in her looks or her manner" (cf. Peter's statement in 1 Pet 3:3, "Your beauty should not come from outward adornment, such as braided hair and the wearing of gold jewellery and fine clothes. Instead, it should be that of your inner self, the unfading beauty of a gentle and quiet spirit, which is of great worth in God's sight. For this is the way the holy women of the past . . . made themselves beautiful. They were submissive to their own husbands, like Sarah, who obeyed Abraham and called him her master."). She goes on, "But just because I am expected to dress modestly doesn't mean I want to look unattractive. . . . We cannot show off our cleavage or wear short dresses, so I usually opt for loose cotton skirts, ... To dress appropriately, I am expected to wear conservative cuts which do not reveal my figure. We're not allowed to wear trousers for that reason. . . . When I get dressed in the morning, one of the first things I do is to cover my hair. A woman's hair is deemed to be the most beautiful and sacred part of her body and once you are married, only your husband is entitled to see it in its full glory. I have a wig for every day of the week with another one for special occasions. . . . People outside our faith consider rules such as that to be pointless, but these are practices we have grown up with."

"During our menstrual cycle there are 14 days when we are not permitted to have any physical contact with our husbands. If I have to pass the salt to Neville [her husband] . . . I have to leave it on the table in front of him to ensure that our hands don't touch. . . . Sometimes it can be hard, especially if you just want a cuddle after a bad day, . . . But I think it's important for a woman to have those two weeks to herself, not just because you don't particularly want to have any intimacy during that time but also because it enables you to keep a check on your self. I feel much more in tune with my body than many women because of the way I live.

"For the first five to seven days of the period you are bleeding. Then you spend the next seven days checking yourself to ensure that you are clean. Then, we go for a ritual bath at a Mikvah where there is a special pool of cleansing rainwater to bathe in. . . . After Mikvah, we are at our optimum time to conceive. . . . the weeks of abstinence enrich my marriage. (Cf. Peter who urges his male readership to "dwell with your wives according to knowledge" [1 Pet 3:7]). If Christian husbands are to be considerate towards their wives (Christian or not) they should follow the Law in these matters.

"I'm not saying our way is guaranteed to keep a marriage alive, but after having four children . . . I still feel a tingle when I see my husband and know we can be intimate again."

The second Orthodox Jewish woman commented, "Non-Jews generally perceive Orthodox women as subservient, but that is not the case. In many ways we are more advanced than Western women because traditionally, wives have always worked and earned their living while the men studied our religion. As long as the job comes second to being a wife and mother, this is just as acceptable today. I have never concentrated on my career to the exclusion of everything else. Teaching [her job] has always come second to my family and that is the way it should be. [Christian women take heed.]. . . . Though I would never judge someone else for the way they live their lives, it does seem that the family is too often undermined in modern society and that is a terrible thing."

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583 *Daily Mail,* (British) Thursday, June 22, 2000, pp. 47, 50-51.

In the case of both Orthodox and biblical Christianity it is the perception by the outsider that is false not the reality. Neither should change the perception just to please the outsider or they will lose the reality of a harmonious, marriage relationship. This is one area where both religions are in tune with the Creator's will for His people.

"Every aspect of my day-to-day existence is governed by my religion. . . . The 613 laws of the Torah . . . encompasses all areas of life . . . we follow them because that's what the law says. . . . There are stringent laws defining what we can eat and how we eat it. We can't eat pork or birds of prey—only animals with cloven hoofs that chew the cud, as the law describes. Shellfish isn't kosher either because the law says that anything that creeps is abominable. Any fish we eat has to have fins and scales. Similarly, we can't eat milk and meat together and, in our kitchens, we have separate dishes, sinks, fridges and dishwashers for meat and dairy products so that the two are never mixed. We do not question this and accept it along with the other rules."

"Our clothes also have to be kosher. It is forbidden for us to wear any outfit that has a wool and linen mix. There is no obvious explanation for this but that is what the law states, so we do not need any convincing."

"My children go to Jewish schools and socialise within the Jewish community. When they are on holidays, I allow the youngest to swim in mixed sessions if they want to, but I prefer the 14 and 16-year-olds to swim at separate times because it is unseemly for girls and boys of that age to see each other in such a state of undress." This is wise, in that it is taking into account the attraction that is embedded in their biological development but for which they are not yet ready to enter in a meaningful relationship. Knowledge and revelation is required to turn this "attraction" into a successful adult relationship.

"We don't believe in any physical relationship between the sexes before marriage—and that includes touching each other. This is something we are strict about and I try to protect my children from temptation by encouraging them to go out in single sex groups. It's impossible at that age to go out with someone you fancy and not touch them, so this is the best way. Just because we are strict about this doesn't mean they can't have fun."

"Sometimes, I do wonder what my life would be like if I hadn't been born an Orthodox Jew. But I think it's wonderful to know that my world is identical to my great-great-grandmother's, especially on the Sabbath or festivals. The Judaism that we practice is the same as the Judaism practised 5,000 years ago. The only difference is we are living in modern times and we have to adapt our lifestyles to the Torah. It can't be the other way round. We are not going to change our beliefs just because it is trendy to have mixed services. Orthodox Judaism never changes. . . . I'm proud of the way we live. Some would be too shy to speak out but I feel it is important to send out the message that we are modern women following an ancient path."

The trouble with Western Christianity, in particular, is that it has taken its eye off Christ's teaching and compromised with trendy changes. It does not have the steadfast loyalty to resist the influences of the world. The world and Jesus are opposites. One cannot tolerate the other because they represent two, diametrically opposed ways of living out one's life on this earth. They are continually competing and warring against one another. They have been at enmity from the beginning of Creation in one form or another. But some Christians cannot recognise what belongs to the world and what belongs to Christ. In Christ's Kingdom there is good order, and this is reflected in how His worshippers approach God in worship. It is the natural, instinctive trend of the world to introduce disorder into Christ's Church by reversing what Christ commanded His people to do.

For a woman to discard the head-covering means that she has cast away her allotted authority and position in God's order, which is a fixed part of the divine order. The symbols cannot be altered: they are fixed for all time. Fashions may come and go and may even coincide with these headship symbols but the Christian Church has no authority to change the symbols. Jewish and Moslem men are unashamed to wear a head-covering on their heads

in public at all times out of respect for God or Allah, why should it be considered a shameful thing for women to wear a covering in public to show her respect for her Lord?

We are left in no doubt what the practice of the Apostolic and the post-Apostolic churches was because Clement of Alexandria (*ca.* AD 193) wrote in *The Instructor* that the woman should be covered when she goes to church, "since it is becoming for her to pray veiled."[584] Prayer was silent prayer, as another Church Father, Ambrosiaster (4th cent.), indicates, "Women know, indeed, that in the house of God men have the first place and that women there ought to pray, keeping their tongues quiet, but opening their ears to learn . . . ."[585] Cyril of Jerusalem (AD 386) did not permit women either to pray or sing aloud in church.[586]

The world seeks to free women from the creation order by presenting the case as one of emancipation from male domination, from exploitation, from being subservient to their husbands. It is one thing to recognise that all men are sinners and the Law was often drafted for the specific purpose of controlling hard-hearted husbands from abusing their God-appointed place in His creation, on the one hand, and on the other, of recognising that no Christian husband can ever wilfully depart from the law of Christ to love his wife as himself and as devotedly as Christ loved and loves the Church. The call to women to be "free" from God's revealed will for them is a fatal call and can only lead to disorder and disharmony in their lives.

We can learn from the example of modern Jewish women that it possible to stick tenaciously to Christ's teaching, as they have done for 3,500 years to Moses' teaching, in the face of changing cultures, each "modern" in its own day, but each passing away or discarded by the next generation. The Church has, until the present time, followed the teaching of its Head as regards male leadership, but for the first time in its history it has given in to the passing "modern" culture through which it is living, and in the process has become embarrassed by the Gospel it is supposed to preach in all the world.[587]

4.5. THERE IS SCRIPTURAL WARRANT FOR DEACONESSES, SO WHY NOT EXTEND THE ELDERSHIP TO WOMEN (1 TIM 3:11; TITUS 2:3-4)?

The only evidence ever put forward for female elders is Titus 2:3 where older women who teach younger women are mentioned alongside older men. Unfortunately for this hope the Greek is *presbytidas,* "older women," whereas a woman elder (or elderly lady) would have been *presbytera.*[588] The case then rests on the argument that deaconesses had some kind of leadership over men in the church.

The only evidence ever put forward for deaconesses in the New Testament are Rom 16:1 (Phoebe[589]) and 1 Timothy 3:11 (deaconesses or wives of deacons). It would appear that when Paul uses the term "deacon" of himself (Col 1:25), Timothy (1 Thess 3:2), Epaphras (Col

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584 Leroy Birney, "The Role of Women in the New Testament Church," *JCBRF* 33 (1982) p. 29.

585 Ambrosiaster, *Commentary on 1 Corinthians,* on 1 Cor. 14:34-35 (CSEL 81-2, 163, 3—164).

586 See A. J. Maclean, 'The Ministry of Women,' *Church Quarterly Review* 89 (1919/1920) 193-215, esp. p. 207. For a fuller account of the practice of the Early Church see 5.2.

587 See further on this topic, §6.3.

588 See 1 Tim 5:2. Cf. Brian Edwards in, "Leadership in the Bible," in *Men, Women and Authority,* ed. Brian Edwards (Bromley. Kent: Day One publications, 1996), pp. 50-67, esp. p. 58.

589 We shall not here prejudge the issue whether Phoebe held an official office of "Deacon(ess)" or was simply a "servant" as every Christian was and is. This is treated more fully under 4.5.1 and 4.5.2.

1:7) and Apollos (1 Cor 3:5) "he is obviously concerned with service and not with office."[590] The synagogue did not have a formal office of Deacon. It is a distinctively ecclesiastical idea.

The post-NT evidence for deaconesses is very meagre indeed.

The first piece is from a letter of Pliny to Trajan (who reigned AD 98-117) where he speaks of the torture of two "ancillis" who were called "ministrae."[591] It is rather odd, however, that neither Ignatius nor Polycarp mention this office.[592]

The second piece is Tertullian who may be referring to deaconesses in his *On Exhortation to Chastity* (13 end), when he refers to men and women "in ecclesasticus ordinibus" who owed their position to their chastity. However, it is possible that this is a reference to the order of widows or virgins, as far as the women are concerned.

The third piece is from Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata* 3.6.53.3-4) who speaks of *"feminis diaconis"* but the context is a discussion between Paul and Timothy (1 Tim 3.11).

The fourth piece of evidence comes from Clement's student, Origen, who refers to *"feminas in ministeris Ecclesiae constitu"* (*Commentary on Romans* 16.1,2) which seems unambiguous about there being deaconesses.

What was the role of a deaconess?[593]

In the *Apostolic Tradition,* attributed to Hippolytus (*ca.* 170-235) we are told of a ceremony of laying on of hands for deaconesses that is an exact duplicate of the ceremony for deacons.[594]

In the *Didascalia* (*ca.* 225) (at 3.12) deaconesses are said to have the responsibility of instructing new female converts on how to live a Christian life. They are to be honoured (2.26.5-8).

In the *Apostolic Constitutions* (*ca.* AD 350-400) also of Syrian provenance, the deaconesses receive the newly baptized female convert (3.16). The bishop is to "ordain also a deaconess who is faithful and holy, for ministering to the women" (3.15.2) and to anoint women with oil after the deacon has done so in preparation for baptism.

In the Council of Nicea (AD 325) Canon 19 numbers deaconesses among the Kanoni. However, the office of deaconess was unknown in the West before 394 because it was in that year that the Synod of Nîmes condemned the recent incursion of women (from the East) who hold the levitical office and the bishops in Synod exhaust the capacities of language in declaring their detestation of such a novel outrage, repudiate the ordinations, and say that nothing of the kind be done in future. At least three Councils, one at Orange (441) which declared that deaconesses were on no account to be ordained, one at Epâon (517), which again forbade the consecration of widows into deaconesses, and one at Orleans (533) mandated that the ordination of deaconesses be stopped entirely, and the 533 second Council of Orleans banned even unordained deaconesses.[595] One stipulation that came in very early was that a deaconess had to forty years of age or older, unmarried or a widow.

The order had begun as a means of practical service, but eventually had evolved sacral functions at baptism (possibly to prevent scandal since often baptism was in the nude). Thereafter, it involved the teaching of new female converts, again as a matter of decorum.

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590 J. G. Davies, "Deacons, Deaconesses and the Minor Orders in the Patristic Period," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 14 (1963) 1-15, esp. p. 1.

591 Pliny the Younger, *Letters,* 10.96-97, *Loeb Classical Library* 2 (1969) 404-05.

592 See the anonymous review article II in the *Church Quarterly Review* 47 (1898/9) 302-341, esp. pp. 305-27. This is an excellent summary of the origin and spread of the office of deaconess. The office was unknown in the West before the beginning of the 5th century. The office was known but not filled in Egypt during the same period (pp. 308, 317). The function was probably in existence in the East under the name of Widow certainly by the end of the 2nd cent. (p. 311).

593 See the anonymous review article II in the *Church Quarterly Review* 47 (1898/9) 315-317.

594 Cf. *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church,* 653.

595 See the anonymous review article II in the *Church Quarterly Review* 47 (1898/9) 317-8.

While there are numerous similarities between Elders and Deacons there is one overriding distinction between the two offices. The Elders exercise the oversight or management of the local church, having the responsibility for the organising of the work of God, for the discipline in the congregation, the overall worship of the church, the ordination of other Elders, the setting aside of suitable *men* to ensure the true succession of the Gospel, and appointing suitable women, when necessary, for Christian social work among women. The deacon, on the other hand, carries out tasks that have been delegated to him by the Eldership, and they are, therefore, responsible in the first place to the Elders who appointed them.

Regarding the functions of the Deacon we have no detailed list. However, we do know the type of work they were given to do. In Acts 6:1-6 we read of the Apostles' concern not to be drawn away from "the ministry of the word of God in order to wait on tables." They were aware, however, that this work was *their* responsibility, but as they had no time to do it as well as they might, they wisely delegated their work to other *men* to do on their behalf: "Brothers, choose seven men from among you who are known to be full of the Spirit and wisdom. We will turn this responsibility over to them and will give our attention to prayer and the ministry of the word." Seven *men* were consequently chosen to sort out the trouble among the widows. Although this particular work among the women was given to men and not to women, this could have been because the situation required firm leadership. It is likely that there was other work among the women which would not be appropriate for a man to do, so although we have only one reference to a woman being called a deacon/servant (διάκονον from διάκονος) in Romans 16:1, namely, Phoebe, no doubt certain tasks would be instinctively felt to be "woman's work," even if the women concerned are not given any title or official appointment.

In Rome and in other large cities the number of deacons was maintained at seven in continuation of the original number; and on great days the seven deacons ministered to the bishop at the Eucharist. At Rome subdeacons came into existence at least as early as the first half of the third century, and a few years later the clergy comprised seven deacons, seven subdeacons and forty-two acolytes, besides fifty-two inferior clergy. The acolytes would carry the consecrated Eucharist to the clergy of district churches.[596]

Following the Reformation in Europe the office of deaconess is first attested among the Independents in Holland. We give here the actual account:

> At Amsterdam, before their division and breach, they were about three hundred communicants, and they had for their pastor and teacher these two eminent men before named [Mr. Francis Johnson and Mr. Henry Ainsworth], and in our time four grave men for ruling elders, and three able and godly men for deacons, one ancient widow for a deaconess, who did them service many years, though she was sixty years of age when she was chosen. She honoured her place and was an ornament to the congregation. She usually sat in a convenient place in the congregation, with a little birchen rod in her hand, and kept little children in great awe from disturbing the congregation. She did frequently visit the sick and weak, especially women, and, as there was need, called out maids and young women to watch and do them other help as their necessity did require; and if they were poor, she would gather relief for them of those that were able, or acquaint the deacons; and she was obeyed as a mother in Israel and an officer of Christ.[597]

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[596] See Walter Howard Frere, *The Principles of Religious Ceremonial* (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1928) p. 42.

[597] William Bradford, *A Dialogue, or the Sum of a Conference between some Young Men born in New England, and sundry Ancient Men that came out of Holland and of Old England,* 1648. The quotation is taken from an anonymous article in the *Church Quarterly Review* 47 (1898/9) 329-30.

The office was gradually introduced elsewhere. One early eighteenth-century work on the subject gave the following directions. A deaconess is not to be ordained before the age of forty "unless upon a particular occasion, of which the Bishop is to be judge;" and she is to assist at the baptism of women, to instruct children and women before baptism, to supervise the women in Church and rebuke and correct those who misbehave, and "to introduce any woman who wanteth to make application to a Deacon, Presbyter, or Bishop."[598]

The modern revival of the office of deaconess may be said to have begun in 1833 when there arose in Germany the "Society of Deaconesses for the Rhenish Provinces of Westphalia." This was replicated all over Europe and in England an anonymous work (but thought to be by Florence Nightingale) was published in London in 1851, entitled, *Account of the Institution for Deaconesses.* But these were really sisterhoods with the vows. They were voluntary societies for common life and work which the volunteers could leave at the call of more urgent duties. Whereas the deaconesses of the East (and later in the West but which died out in the twelfth century) were a regular part of the ministry and ordained on the basis of individual character, the eighteenth-century deaconess-institutions were voluntary organisations *of the laity.* They were the equivalent of the Catholic nun, the "Sisters of Mercy," without noviciate, superiors, and vows. In fact, Elizabeth Fry in 1840 had toyed with the idea of calling her institute the "Protestant Sisters of Charity."[599] In time there was an attempt to bring in "ordination" of some kind. This came about unofficially in 1861 when the Bishop of London (Dr. Tait), *acting on his own authority,* laid hands on Miss Elizabeth Ferard, thus setting her apart as a (titular) deaconess. In 1871, 1891 and 1897 the office received further ecclesiastical recognition and thus the ancient name finally emerged again.

4.5.1. WOMEN'S MINISTRY

The New Testament position regarding the place of women in the public service of God is in sharp contrast to that which obtained in the rest of the Mediterranean world and the Near East.[600] A woman could be a priest or a prophet in the Greco-Roman world.[601] As a prophetess she was simply Apollo's mouthpiece. The Sibyl was another famous prophetess.[602] But women did not normally become teachers in the ancient world. Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*[603] contains only one woman in ten books—Hipparchia. She provides an illustration of how women were *not* accepted in teaching roles.[604]

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598 Thomas Deacon, *A Compleat collection of devotions; taken from the Apostolical Constitutions, the ancient liturgies, and the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England. Part 1. Comprehending the publick offices of the Church . . . .* London, 1734. Reprinted as *Fragmenta liturgica.* Vol. 6. Bath: Bimms & Goodwin, 1846; see 6.293 and *Church Quarterly Review* 47 (1898/9), p. 330 n. 4.

599 For the history of the rise of the new deaconess see J. S. Howson, *The Diaconate of Women in the Anglican Church* (London: J. Nisbet, 1886). The object of his book was to urge that the deaconess movement should receive some further ecclesiastical recognition, rather than that an ancient ecclesiastical order should be revived.

600 See A. M. Blackman, "On the Position of Women in the Ancient Egyptian Hierarchy," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 7 (1921) 8-30, which attempts to refute Herodotus' statement that 'no woman exercises priestly office . . . but men in all cases.'

601 See H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* (2nd ed.; Oxford: Blackwell, 1956), pp. 10-35. See A. C. Wire *op. cit.,* pp. 237-69, for the most complete literary record of women prophetesses in Greco-Roman religions; and Ute E. Eisen, *Women Officebearers in Early Christianity: Epigraphical and Literary Studies* (ET by Linda M. Maloney. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 2000), p. 104 (and chap 1 B) for the evidence for women's ministry in ancient religions and even in Judaism.

602 See H. W. Parke, *Greek Oracles* (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1967), pp. 49-55, 132-33.

603 Loeb Classical Library 6.96-98.

604 See James G. Sigountos and Myron Shank, "Public Roles for Women in the Pauline Church: A Reappraisal of the

In the New Testament church the only teaching ministry done by women was done by older women (the feminine form of Elder is used of any elderly woman) who were expected to pass on to younger women/wives their wisdom on how to run their homes[605] and to be subject to their husbands.[606] In the apocryphal story of Thecla and Paul, when Thecla became a convert she was taken by Tryphaena to her house "for eight days where she instructed her in the word of God, so that the majority of the maidservants also believed."[607] This second century AD story fits the culture of the time: women minister to women.

It is interesting that the teaching regarding submission is given to the older women, and it is *their* responsibility to iron out difficulties that the younger wives may have in this area. Of course, this is the natural right of older women in most nations, tribes, and societies. It is a non-institutional convention which is here being strengthened in the New Covenant society. Their ministry is based on sex discrimination (in the good sense of that word) and so it is not to the whole church, though if ever there was an office of Deaconess these older women would surely qualify for it.

Regarding the translation "deaconess" in Romans 16:1 it should be pointed out that the Greek word means a servant (even a slave) of any kind. In the Greek there is only one form of the word which is masculine (there is no feminine form) which is applied to male and female servants alike. Neither is the word always a technical term. It has the ordinary meaning of "servant" as can be seen in Mark 10:43: "whoever wants to become great among you must be your servant (or deacon)." In this sense every Christian—male and female—is a servant/deacon of Christ. It is not clear whether Phoebe was a servant in this sense, or in a technical sense (as in Philippians 1:1 and 1 Timothy 3:8, 12?). The term "deaconess" is a loaded translation here. Since there is considerable doubt as to the exact nature of her work, it would be best to err on the side of truth and call her "a servant of the church in Cenchreae."[608]

Given this background it is not surprising to discover that according to two early Christian documents, the *Didascalia* (3rd cent. AD) and the *Apostolic Constitutions* (late 4th cent. AD)[609] the function of the deaconess was to assist the clergy in the baptising of women, ministering to the women who were poor and sick, instructors of women catechumens, and in general intermediaries between the deacon or the bishop and the women of the congregation. The office died out by and large in the 11th century, but was revived in 1836 in the Lutheran Church.[610]

Evidence," *JETS* 26 (1983) 283-95, esp. 288-92. P. W. Barnett ("Wives and Women's Ministry (1 Timothy 2:11-15)," *Evangelical Quarterly* 61.3 (1989) 225-38) argues that Paul was not forbidding women teaching generally but only forbidding them as 'official' elders/overseers. See the reply by Timothy J. Harris, "Why did Paul Mention Eve's Deception? A Critique of P. W. Barnett's Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2," *EQ* 62 (1990) 341-42.

605 In classical Greek the 'lady of the house' was called ἡ κρατοῦσα (Aesch.) from κρατέω, "to rule, hold sway, be strong, powerful."

606 For the continuation of the Apostolic teaching on this subject in the post-Apostolic period see H. Wayne House, "Distinctive Roles for Women in the Second and Third Centuries," *BibSac* 146 (1989) 41-54.

607 "The Acts of Paul and Thecla" 40-41, in *New Testament Apocrypha,* Vol. 2, ed. by E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964).

608 The following translations prefer 'servant': *AV* (1611), *RV* (1881), *ASV* (1901), *Weymouth* (1913), *NAS* (1960), *Smith-Goodspeed* (1931), *King James II* (1971), *Ferrar Fenton* (1883-), and C. I. Scofield (1909). Robert Young's *Literal Translation* (1862) has 'ministrant'. J.B. Rotherham (1872) has 'minister,' as does *NRSV* mg (1989).
The following translations prefer 'deaconess': *RV* mg (1881), *Moffatt* (1913), *RSV* (1946), *Phillips* (1947-72), *Berkeley* (1959), *NEB* (1961), *Jerusalem Bible* (1966), NAB (1970), and *NRSV* (1989).
The following prefer a paraphrase:
The Living Bible (1971): "a dear Christian woman."
Knox Version (1963), "she has devoted her services to the church at Cenchrae."
H. J. Schonfield (1955), "who is an administrator of the Cenchreae community."

609 See *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church* (ed. by J.D. Douglas), p. 286.

610 For the history of the office of deaconess see *The Ministry of Women. A Report by a Committee appointed by His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,* with Appendices and Fifteen Collotype Illustrations (London: SPCK, 1919).

The pragmatic decision to allocate delicate, womanly matters to older women to look after is not surprising. It would not have been thought proper for a man to place his arms around female converts when lowering them into the waters of baptism, and rightly so. To avoid all appearance of indecorous behaviour, women attended women in the baptismal waters and were their personal attendants on these occasions so that men were kept at a respectable hands-off distance during these hands-on occasions.

Given the cultural boundaries between Jewish men and women (including separate women's quarters, etc.) and the need to preserve proper decorum between the sexes, these two early Christian documents probably reflect the practice that obtained from New Testament times.

Worship is a magnifying of God's glory and the exclusive right of God to glory is the foundation of Paul's theology. People seek their own glory at the expense of the glory of God. In Paul's definition of "head" the male has been linked with Christ and thereby with God, whereas the female has been linked with man. In his presentation the attention shifts from the "greater" in each pair as head of the "lesser," to the "lesser" as glory of the "greater." The woman's uncovered head, taken to be the glory of man, is not allowed to compete for priority with man's uncovered head, which is the glory of God. Paul argues that an uncovered woman leading in worship disrupts or dishonours the glory of God because she represents man's glory at the time and place where God alone is to be glorified. Only the man, whose head represents Christ's glory, is to be uncovered in this setting.[611]

It is interesting how the doctrine of headship lies behind Peter prohibition preventing wives from teaching the gospel to their unbelieving husbands.

> It is not that Peter is unconcerned for evangelism or is unaware that a wife may know some things that her husband does not. Rather, Peter appears alert to the very real danger of a wife vaunting herself over her husband with her superior knowledge, and so he expresses his desire that husbands be won [to Christ] "without a word by the behaviour of their wives."[612]

So even when it comes to the very salvation of a husband the wife must at all times remember that her unbelieving husband is still her head, and she must be very careful to "preach the Gospel" to him by working out the Gospel teaching itself in her own life. Hence Peter's insistence that she does not preach by word but by deed. This command comes straight out of Peter's understanding of headship. In this he is at one with Paul. In recognising the headship of her husband (who in this case is not a Christian) she is actually fulfilling the Gospel. Contrast this with John Chrysostom who did not understand the implications of headship and urged the Christian wife to instruct her unbelieving husband in the truths of the Gospel.

> How, then, can he [Paul] afterwards say, when he writes to Timothy: "I do not permit a woman to teach or to have authority over men"? This posture refers to the case of a man who is pious, professes the same faith, practices the same wisdom; but, when the man is not a believer and the plaything of error, Paul does not exclude a woman's superiority, even when it involves teaching. Writing to the Corinthians, he says, "If any woman has a husband who is an unbeliever, she should not divorce him. Wife, do you not know that you might save your husband?" But how can the believing woman save her unbelieving husband? By

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611 Antoinette Clark Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress Press, 1990), p. 121. Cf. also Morna D. Hooker, "Authority on her Head: An Examination of I Cor. XI. 10," *NTS* 10 (1963-64) 414-15.

612 G. P. Hugenberger, "Women in Church Office: Hermeneutics or Exegesis? A Survey of Approaches to 1 Tim 2:8-15," *JETS* 35 (1992) 358.

instructing, obviously, by teaching, by trying to lead him to the faith, as Priscilla did with Apollos.[613]

Obviously Chrysostom had not taken into account the whole revelation on the subject when he wrote this. This fragmentary approach to Scripture, whereby one text is treated in isolation from others, is typical of modern day approaches to the three central texts and the doctrine of headship out of which they spring. This emphasises the need for a holistic approach to these texts, and for an approach that adopts a truly biblical hermeneutic in order to apply these Scriptures to modern life.

4.5.2. PHOEBE THE "DEACONESS"

The term "deacon" did not at first denote an office or an ordained position in the Church. F. J. A. Hort noted, "to Greek ears the word almost always seems to suggest relatively low kinds of offices . . . . Our word 'menial' nearly answers to the sense thus practically predominant . . . . The true proper sense is preserved in . . . Lk xii.37 . . . xxii.26f."[614] He concluded that Phoebe was not a deaconess in the later, technical sense, but in the same sense that Stephanus was (cf. 1 Cor 16:15). To be a deacon was to be someone's lowly slave virtually. It was the term par excellence to denote servanthood; not promotion but demotion. In this sense every Christian is Christ's slave—a humble deacon.

Phoebe would, most likely, have been engaged in work that had to do with the women in the church in Cenchrea, *given the culture of the time.* But the tenor of the passage might suggest that she was a mature woman who was doing a service to the whole church (even if it was specifically for the benefit of the women, because there were matters to do with females that male deacons could not do). The text is silent regarding the nature of her work, and maybe we should be too, and not use this brief mention of her to hang all our modern ideas about the function of deaconesses on.

In any case it is clear that the church deacons (male) were under the direction of the Eldership and responsible to them. The deacons "served" the Elders and the local church in a delegated role for the good of all.

Kroeger misrepresents Phoebe by calling her an "overseer,"[615] because an overseer is another word for a bishop/elder. In Acts 20:17 Paul called for the elders of the church in Ephesus and told them: "Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers [ἐπιστολή; RV, bishops], to feed the church of God." To call Phoebe a bishop/overseer appointed by the Holy Spirit is a gross misrepresentation of the Greek language never mind being a distortion of the doctrine of Man's headship. Phoebe is called a προστάτις in Romans 16:2. It occurs only here in New Testament.

Given the Greek culture of the time where respectable women did not usually appear alone in public without a servant with them (usually she got her slave maid to do most of the out-of-doors jobs for her),[616] or hold public office, or speak in any public assembly of citizens, a woman's sphere of life revolved around the household.[617] It is in this connection

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[613] See under 5.2 below. Priscilla and Aquila were expelled from Rome by the imperial edict related by Suetonius, *Claudius,* 25.

[614] F. J. A. Hort, *Christian Ecclesia* (London, 1897), pp. 203, 208.

[615] Richard Clark Kroeger & Catherine Clark Kroeger, *Rethinking 1 Timothy 2:11-15 in Light of Ancient Evidence* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992), p. 17. See Excursus 2 below under (b) Kroeger calls Phoebe an "overseer."

[616] Cf. with this the seclusion of Athenian women in M. C. Howatson (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature* (2nd. ed.; Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), under 'Women' p. 599.

[617] Cf. Léonie J. Archer, *Her Price is Beyond Rubies: The Jewish Woman in Greco-Roman Palestine.* JSOT Supplement

that the significance of the word should be sought, and not as that word would be used of a man's sphere of influence which was mainly outside the home.

It would be a hermeneutical mistake to look up a Greek dictionary and apply a function that would be culturally acceptable for a man to fulfil but which would not have been possible for a woman to fulfil, and apply it to Phoebe. The masculine form of the word is προστάτης and it has a wide range of meanings such as (1) a *chief* of a party in democratic Greek states, *president, ruler,* where in some Greek states it was actually a title. It also has another set of meanings such as (2) *one who stands before and protects, a protector, guard, champion,* used especially of certain gods as Apollo. The word occurs only five times in the LXX and always of high-ranking civil servants. (1 Chr 27:31, overseers of David's economic wealth [sheep, cattle, farms, vineyards, labourers, and his treasures]; 1 Chr 29:6, overseers of the work on the proposed Temple; 2 Chr 8:10, overseers of the non-Israelite labourers on Solomon's Temple; 2 Chr 24:11 (*bis*), the king's officers and the High Priest's officer. A woman could not occupy these offices. (3) In Athens it was the name given to a citizen, a patron who *took care of emigrants or aliens* in a foreign city, or a resident alien who had to pay taxes but enjoyed no civic rights.

There is a separate feminine form (προστάτις) which is used of Phoebe which would suggest that out of all the masculine "occupations" noted above it is the third meaning that would most readily apply to her *in this context,* because Paul's use of the word implies that she *took care* "of many and of myself also." She was a patron, a generous-hearted lady, who looked after the unfortunates.[618] In 1 Timothy 5:10 it was expected of mature widows that they "had entertained strangers, . . . saints' feet she washed, . . . those in tribulation she relieved, . . . every good work she followed after."[619] This probably sums up Phoebe work as a "deacon." So looking after travelling Christians (evangelists, apostles and their co-workers) was customary work for mature women. So Paul, as a traveller, would have had first-hand knowledge and experience of Phoebe's kindness in Cenchrea, hence his desire to "pay her back" by asking his friends in Rome to take good care of her physical needs when she arrived. She would not have travelled alone in those days, but in the company of brethren (cf. 1 Cor 16:11-12).

Mardi Keynes claimed that Phoebe is called "leader," "described in the Greek as a *gospel minister* [Greek *diakonos* (Rom 16:1)] *and leader* [Greek *prostatis* (Rom 16:3)]. Using the same Greek root, Paul told *leaders* to *govern* [Greek *ho proistamenos*] diligently (Rom 12:8)."[620] Bruce Waltke replied:

> Her argument, however, is flawed philologically. To be sure *prostatis* derives from *proistemi,* but in usage it never means "leader" but "protectress, patroness, helper" (BAGD, p. 718) (cf. "succourer" (KJ), "a great help" (NIV), "benefactor" (NRSV). Moreover, *ho proistamenos* in 12:8 may also mean "those who give aid" (BAGD, p. 707, entry 2) (cf. "he who gives aid, with zeal" (RSV).[621]

About 800 years after Paul wrote Romans we get Phoebe's name linked with this Epistle either as the one who carried it to Rome or as the one who wrote it down at Paul's dictation.[622] To interpret the word to mean that Phoebe was "a ruler of many and of me

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Series 60 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990).

618 For examples of a προστάτις see R. A. Kearsley, "Women in Public Life in the Roman East: Iunia Theodora, Claudia Metrodora and Phoebe, Benefactress of Paul," *TynBul* 50.2 (1999) 189-211.

619 An Elder was also expected to be "a lover of strangers (hospitable)" (Tit 1:8; 1 Tim 3:2).

620 Mardi Keyes, *Feminism & the Bible* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1995), p. 12.

621 Bruce K. Waltke, "The Role of Women in the Bible," *CRUX* 31 (no. 3, 1995) 29-40, esp. p. 40 n 18.

622 See Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London/New York: United Bible Societies, 1971), p. 541. There are seven subscriptions. They are (1) 'To the Romans', which is by far the majority reading of the mss; (2) 'To the Romans written from Corinth'—3 mss; (3) 'To the Romans written through Phoebe from Corinth'—2 mss; (4) 'To the Romans written from Corinth through Phoebe the *diakonos'*—7 mss; (5) 'Of the

[Paul] also"[623] would be inconsistent with 1 Timothy 2:11 where Paul teaches that a woman is not to rule a man. We must not only consult a Greek dictionary, but a Greek dictionary of culture, if we are to make a proper match in a given context, as we have shown above.

We must expect that Paul would always speak and act in a consistent manner with his teaching that, "the head of woman is man." Understanding his theology will often help us to determine how his vocabulary is to be defined in situations which involve relations between men and women. The term *prostatis* "patron" is a good example. Phoebe was not an "overseer" or bishop because such an office would be incompatible with her gender; only males could be overseers.

Feminists conjecture that there were five women who held leadership roles in their respective communities: Chloe (1 Cor 1:11), Prisca (Rom 16:3; 1 Cor 16:19), Euodia and Syntyche (Phil 4:2), and Phoebe (Rom 16:1-2). They hold that these five women functioned in equal partnership with men in the church: Chloe as a "patroness of some kind"; Prisca in teaching with her husband, Aquila; Euodia and Syntyche by "visiting friends and setting up networks for evangelisation;" and Phoebe as a "benefactress and guardian"[624] and as a deacon[ess].

4.5.3. JUNIA THE APOSTLE

Sometimes it is urged that the apostle Junia[625] was a woman (Rom 16:7).[626] First, it does not say that Junia was an apostle. The text reads: "Salute Andronicus and Junias [Ἰουνιᾶν], my kindred, and my fellow-prisoners, who are of note [ἐπίσημοι] among [ἐν] the apostles, who also have been in Christ before me" (RV). The word "note" occurs only twice in the New Testament, here and in Matthew 27:16, where Barabbas is called a "noted prisoner." The meaning is that he was a *well-known* individual among the population. Similarly, Andronicus and Junias were *well-known* among or by the Twelve Apostles; not that they were included with the Twelve Apostles. This is now recognised in a detailed study of ἐπίσημοι ἐν followed by the dative in a search of all the Greek literature (60 million words) from Homer (8th cent. BC) to the fall of Constantinople to the Muslims in AD 1453. The study showed that "almost always, when ἐπίσημος was followed by a personal noun in the genitive, the idea was a comparison from within ("outstanding *among...*"); but when ἐπίσημος was followed by

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holy and praiseworthy apostle Paul. Letter to the Romans written from Corinth through Phoebe the *diakonos*'—1 ms; (6) 'The Letter to the Romans was written through Tertius and was sent through Phoebe from Corinth'—1 ms; and (7) 'To the Romans written from Corinth through Phoebe the *diakonos* of the church in Cenchrae'—13 mss plus Textus Receptus.

[623] As is done by Aída Dina Besançon Spencer, "Eve at Ephesus," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 17 (1974) 219, following Russell C. Prohl, *Woman in the Church* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1957), p. 70.

[624] See H. Wayne House, "The Ministry of Women in the Apostolic and Postpostolic Periods," *BibSac* 145 (1988) 387-99, esp. p. 389 for a discussion of these terms.

[625] It is interesting that the earliest Gk MS is 𝔓46 (late 2nd or early 3rd cent.) reads JULIAN, not JUNIAN, and some Old Latin mss follow this in 3/4th cent. Jerome and the Bohairic Coptic (4th cent.) have JULIAN, as does the Ethiopic (7th cent.). Both forms are Roman names and it is known that the ending -A (with or without an additional accusative sign) can, in all of the languages of the early translations, be used for both feminine and masculine names. Also the ending -AM (in Latin) as in Juliam and Juniam, can be either a masculine or feminine form. So the form of the name is ambiguous. Only the surrounding context can decide the gender of the person addressed.

[626] John Thorley, "Junia, a woman apostle," *Novum Testamentum* 38 (1996) 18-29; cf. Ute E. Eisen, *Women Officebearers in Early Christianity: Epigraphical and Literary Studies* (ET by Linda M. Maloney. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 2000). See the comprehensive essay by Eldon Jay Epp, "Text-Critical, Exegetical, and Socio-Cultural Factors Affecting the Junia/Junias Variation in Romans 16,7," in *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis: Festschrift J. Delobel*, ed. A. Denaux, pp. 227-91 (Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 2002).

the dative (i.e., ἐν + dative)—as in the case in Rom 16.7, the meaning was "well known to." The grammatical structures are:

ἐπίσημοι+ dative = "well known to" (and so excluded from the group)

ἐπίσημοι+ genitive = "well known among/within" (and so included in the group)

Thus, on the one hand, in 3 Maccabees 6.1 we read that Eleazar the priest was *prominent among* the priests of the country" (i.e., ἐπίσημος + genitive). On the other hand, in Ps Sol 2.6, where the Jewish captives are in view, the writer indicates that "they were *a spectacle among* the gentiles" (i.e., ἐπισήμῳ + dative).[627] Another study came to the same conclusion. This article examined in depth the syntax of the Greek and concluded that Junia was not an apostle [i.e., not included], but well-known to the apostles. Their conclusion was:

> To sum up the evidence of biblical and patristic Greek: although the inclusive view is aided in some *impersonal* constructions that involve ἐν plus the dative, every instance of *personal* inclusiveness used a genitive rather than ἐν. On the other hand, every instance of ἐν plus *personal* nouns supported the exclusive view, with *Pss. Sol.* 2.6 ["they were **a spectacle** among the gentiles"] providing a very close parallel to Rom 16.7. . . . The genitive personal modifier was consistently used for an inclusive idea, while the (ἐν plus) dative personal adjunct was almost never so used.[628]

It would appear that Junia's *fame* (not person) was among the apostles. If Junia, as a person, was part of the apostolic band then the genitive (τῶν) would have been used.

Second, it is urged that since others were known as apostles outside the Twelve (e.g., Barnabas, Acts 14:4, 14; and James, Gal 1:19; 2:9) that Junias was one of these. We have very little evidence what function these "apostles" had. The term, when not used of the Twelve Apostles, describes a "messenger" of an important person, or group, or a church (2 Cor 8:23; Phil 2:25). The term, like "deacon," can have an ordinary, everyday meaning, or be a technical term for an office. There is no evidence that the non-technical apostles had any authority of their own.[629]

Third, the gender of the name itself is ambiguous because the same Greek consonants—without the accent which alone can distinguish between the male and female forms of the name—can be the name of men and women.[630]

The earliest manuscript to introduce the Greek accents appears to have been D (a corrupt 5th cent. MS[631]). The female form is Ἰουνίαν and Ἰουνιᾶν is the male form. W. Neuer claims that apart from a few exceptions the Greek manuscripts indicate the masculine form.[632] He also suggested that given Paul's fondness for shortening names, the name is best explained as a short form, Junias, of the common man's name Junianus.[633]

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[627] Daniel B. Wallace, "Innovations in Text and Translation of the NET Bible, New Testament," *The Bible Translator,* 52.3 (July 2000), pp. 335-349, esp. p. 343.

[628] M. H. Burer and D. B. Wallace, "Was Junia Really an Apostle? A Re-examination of Rom 16.7," *New Test. Stud.* 47 (2001) 76-91; esp. pp. 87, 90.

[629] Paul's enemies in Corinth claimed to be 'apostles in Christ' (2 Cor 11:13). Possibly Silvanas (Silas) and Timothy were considered apostles of Paul, i.e., ones sent out by him (1 Thess 1:1; 2:6), or the term may refer to his own Apostleship in this context.

[630] Thorley admits the possibility that the Greek text might represent the accusative of the masculine name (*op. cit.,* p. 21). The same conclusion was reached by Grudem & Piper in *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood: A Response to Evangelical Feminism,* ed. John Piper and Wayne Gruden (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 1991), pp. 79-80.

[631] This MS takes liberties with the Greek text and its witness to any reading is never to be trusted without the support of other manuscripts. As a general rule any readings unique to this MS are probably false.

[632] Werner Neuer, *Man and Woman in Christian Perspective* (ET by Gordon Wenham; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1990), p. 131, which is cross-referenced to F. Blass & A. Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen, 1976) 101.

[633] Ibid, the cross references are to W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, *The Epistle to the Romans* (London, 1958), p. 422f., and W. Bauer, *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen christlichen*

Since the Greek accents were not introduced until the 5th century and did not become common until the 7th century how did the early translations understand the name? The earliest translations are the Old Latin, Coptic (Sahidic and Bohairic) and Syriac, but in these languages we have the same ambivalence: many Greek forms ending in —α could also be either male or female![634] In English we have Jackie, Hilary, Ashley and Nicky for both boys and girls.

Fourth, it is sometimes argued that the ending —ας is *always* feminine when it is added to a vowel as in Juni-as. But we have the name of a man in the next verse (16:8) called Ampliatus shortened to Ampli-as. Ἀμπλιᾶτον *(Amphiliaton)* has been shortened to Ἀμπλιᾶν *(Amphilian)* in a few MSS in the Nestle-Aland Greek text.[635] The ending —ας is commonly used throughout Hellenistic Greek to indicate shortened masculine names.

Fifth, the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament* (4th rev. ed. 1993) gives the masculine form of the name an {A} rating which denotes the highest degree of certainty.[636] We might add a sixth reason: the Apostle who wrote 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 and 1 Timothy 2:11-14 would be inconsistent to appoint a woman as an apostle if this involved authority over men.[637]

We need to distinguish between descriptive and prescriptive roles for women in Paul's epistles. The study of the descriptive should be controlled by an analysis of the prescriptive teaching of Paul on the subject of women's role in the church and the wider church community. Paul established clear parameters (which he already found in the Hebrew Scriptures) for women's roles in the church. The mention of only five women is purely fortuitous or accidental (he knew many more women, and no doubt many more women helped him), but Paul's norms regarding women's roles in the church are foundational, and thus much more important. We would expect Paul to abide by his own principles, or rather "the commandment of the Lord" (1 Cor 14:37).

For some to talk about these women in "leadership" or "authority" roles they should first of all define these terms in the light of Paul's use of them. To avoid Paul's world-view of the relationship between men and women, and focus solely on five names, about whom we know so little, will lead to a distortion of Paul's teaching and eventually annul it if the descriptive is allowed to dominate the prescriptive. The way the descriptive data is used by those who object to Paul's prescriptions gives a false impression that women occupied the same positions as men in every respect in Paul's churches.[638] Paul is then pictured as

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Literatur (Berlin and New York, 1971), p. 751.

634 Thorley admits this: "All extant early translations (Old Latin, Vulgate, Sahidic and Bohairic Coptic, and Syriac versions) without exception transcribe the name in what can be taken as a feminine form; none gives any positive sign that a masculine name is being transcribed. However, the ending -A (with or without an additional accusative sign) can, in all of the languages of the early translations, also be used for some masculine names" (*op. cit.,* pp. 20, 23). He points out that in Coptic and Syriac the translators were not consistent in how they transliterated masculine and feminine Greek names (p. 23). The conclusion from this is that no solution can be found by an examination of how the early versions translated/transliterated Greek personal names. We are thrown back to the Greek text itself which, while ambiguous when considered in isolation from its context, is cleared up when the social and agrarian background is taken into account.

635 *Novum Testamentum Graece,* 20th edition. Ed. by D. Eberhard Nestle (Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1952), *s.v.* Rom 16:8 apparatus. Ἀμπλιᾶν is also the reading of the Majority Greek Text (see Z. C. Hodges, and A. L. Farstad, *The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text* [Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1985], *s.v.* Rom 16:8 apparatus).

636 Cf. W. Bauer, (ed.) K. and B. Aland, *Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament.* 6 ed. Berlin/New York, 1988 (see under Ἰουνιᾶς) for the justification for the masc. form in Rom 16:7. I quote the rating here even though I do not place great confidence in it because the system itself is based on dubious criterion on occasions in my experience.

637 See 4.8 for the cultural/social objection to public roles for women in an agrarian society.

638 See Francine Cardman, "Women, Ministry, and Church Order in Early Christianity," pp. 300-329, in *Women & Christian Origins*, ed. by Ross Shepard Kraemer and Mary Rose D'Angelo (New York/Oxford: OUP, 1999). The writer assumes that women lost their original equality with men as leaders of churches when the Church became institutionalised. She believes that the Church, by the middle of the second century, began "to take on the values of their [Graeco-Roman] culture, particularly in regard to gender roles and the ordering of family and society"

contradicting his own teaching. But Paul was confident he had the mind of Christ in this matter, so there can be no contradiction between what he preached and what he practised. To argue otherwise is to undermine the authority of the New Testament Scriptures.

> It is time we admitted that if Priscilla, Phoebe and Junia are the only evidence that can be offered for women in leadership and teaching in the church, then the case is lost simply because none of them is clearly stated to have had either a leadership or a teaching ministry.[639]

4.6 PAUL WAS ANTI-FEMININE. HIS VIEW ON MARRIAGE WAS ECCENTRIC. HE ADVISED AGAINST MARRIAGE FOR "ALL MEN"

The impression that Paul was against marriage is still held against him because of his teaching on marriage in 1 Corinthians 7. Because of this he has been regarded as a male chauvinist.[640] But justice, I feel, has not been done to this chapter or to Paul's view on marriage elsewhere in his epistles.

If we look closely at the situation in Corinth to which this chapter was addressed everything in the chapter fits together and should not be lifted out of its context and background.

The situation Paul is writing to is one where a wave of sex-mania had engulfed the city of Corinth (7:2, "since there is so much immorality"; 7:26, "because of the present crisis").[641] In ancient literature the verb κορινθιάζομαι "to Corinthise" is found occasionally with the meaning "to practice fornication."[642] Paul's pastoral concern is that the church should not be swept off its feet, or in any way be influenced by this wave of permissiveness. The church must stand firm in the midst of this immorality. With the emphasis on not being swayed by the eroticism of the city, nor allowing its evil influence to penetrate into their lives, he asked the whole church to carry out Christ's directive: "Stay as you are" (7:17, 20, 24) which was given in a previous letter (now lost). In its present context this means: "Let everyone stay as he or she is *for the time being.* Concentrate on remaining uninfluenced by your environment. It is good that no one be married *during* the present distress."

The context of 1 Corinthians 7 is a specific directive from the Lord Jesus, given to a specific local church situation, at a specific moment in time. Paul was placed in the role of answering the local church's questions regarding the application of this specific directive in

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(p. 300). But the Church's culture was set by its predominantly Jewish membership. Her work is dependent on the Pastoral Epistles not being the work of Paul and written well into the second century to reduce and then eliminate the leadership role that women once had.

639 Brian Edwards in, "Leadership in the Bible," in *Men, Women and Authority,* ed. Brian Edwards (Bromley. Kent: Day One publications, 1996), pp. 50-67, esp. p. 59.

640 Cf. G. W. Trompf, "On Attitudes Toward Women in Paul and Paulinist Literature: 1 Corinthians 11:3-16 and Its Context," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 42 (1980) 196-215; J. Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910), p. 271; E. H. Pagels, "Paul and Women: A Response to Recent Discussion," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 42 (1974) 543-549; Lone Fatum, "Image of God and Glory of Man: Women in the Pauline Congregations," *Image of God and Gender Models in Judaeo-Christian Tradition* (ed. K. E. Børresen). Oslo: Solum Forlag, 1991. Pp 56-137, esp. p. 86.

641 This situation should not be confused with the reputation that Corinth had prior to its demolition by Mummius in 146 BC, where 1000 prostitutes were linked to the cult of Aphrodite (Strabo viii.6.20). When the city was rebuilt by the Romans it had a modest cult shrine (Strabo viii.6.21).

642 See Liddell-Scott-Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon,* s.v. κορινθιάζομαι and κορινθιάστης, "whoremonger."

different situations. The kinds of questions he was being asked were, "Did Jesus mean that my engagement is to be broken off?" (The directive arrived just as someone got engaged.) "Does He mean that I am to divorce my un-Christian wife?" (Asked by someone not sure if Jesus meant by "not to touch a woman," referred to a specific class of woman, i.e., an unsanctified wife). "Should I go ahead and give away my daughter(s) in marriage or suspend the wedding arrangements?" (Asked by parents.) The directive came at a time which was seen to "freeze" all the normal developments and relationships that are in progress in any society at any one point in time. But the directive was intended to be local and temporary, to meet a specific situation of immorality in Corinth. Even though it was local and temporary it has principles and guidance that can be carefully lifted out and applied in the general course of the Church's life in all ages.

Given this background, Paul's chief concern, then, like Peter's, was to protect the flock from following the way of the city, "living in debauchery, lust, drunkenness, orgies, carousing and detestable idolatry. They think it strange that you do not plunge with them into the same flood of dissipation, and they heap abuse on you" (1 Pet 4:3-4). Paul's advice was for their own good that they "may attend upon the Lord without distraction" (7:35 RV). Here, then, is a man who has a truly deep, pastoral concern for the welfare of his brothers (4:14-15), and gives them the very best advice he can in order to see them through the "present crisis."

Paul's apostolic interpretative-application of the Lord's directive is addressed to six groups of people in the church. (1) Married Christian couples; (2) unmarried Christian men and women; (3) mixed-marriages where the unbeliever wants to stay; (4) mixed-marriages where the unbeliever wants to leave; (5) Christian fathers concerned about their virgin daughters; and (6) Christian fathers/fiancés concerned about betrothed virgin daughters. To each of these groups Christ's word to the church is: "Stay as you are *for the time being."* This directive from the Lord Jesus was probably not meant to be taken in an absolute sense even during the present period, as Paul's advice makes clear.

Paul then goes through each of these groups making adjustments in the light of their circumstances. In these concessions he is interpreting the mind of Christ without ever undermining the directive itself. In these concessions Paul shows a remarkable understanding of human sexual behaviour and psychology. He knows (through the Spirit) exactly how to modify the directive to meet the peculiar needs of each group.

Concerning those in group 1 (7:2-7) he meets the possible (maybe actual) misinterpretation (of the original directive which was contained in his previous letter) that they are to abstain from sexual relations completely. He replies that he did not mean that at all. He meant that their sexual relations should continue normally without ever wanting to "touch" each other *as a result of being aroused by the eroticism of the city.* He wished that they could *resist being aroused* by this extra-marital stimuli as he (Paul) would certainly resist it if he were in Corinth. He wishes they could remain "normal" as he would in such a situation. That is what he means when he says in 7:7, "I wish that all men were as I am *[in this matter of resisting the urge to have sexual relations as a result of being aroused by the eroticism of their environment]*."

Why should sexual relations between Christian couples be influenced and regulated by their evil environment? They shouldn't be. Nevertheless, Paul, realising that married couples are not in the habit of exercising abstinence with regard to their sexual feelings wisely suggests, and here is the concession, that because of the real temptation to sin, "because of your lack of self-control" (7:5), they should not deprive each other of this "way of escape" (10:13) unless it be by mutual consent, and for a limited time. This was surely the wisest advice to give married couples in such *exceptional* evil times.

It would have been a pointless, thoughtless, and a hurtful remark had Paul told the married men that he wished they were unmarried. That would have been to belittle their *charisma* and exalt his own unmarried status. This would have been completely out of

character with Paul's own policy not to offend anyone (10:32-33). He did not wish that they did not have their *charisma,* but rather, that in the *present distress* they could exercise sufficient self-control over their *charisma* that they would not be led into temptation under the abnormally high external stimuli to do so, just as he (Paul) would raise the level of his self-control to meet the same situation. The concession was made to the lack of self-control over the *charisma,* and not to the *charisma* itself.[643]

To those in group 2 (7:8-9, those who are presently unmarried), both men and women who could contract their own marriages, he interprets the directive: "Stay as you are," to mean, "Do not get married *under present conditions.*" Paul realised that the "normal" conditions under which men and women marry were suspended due to the immoral climate, hence there was the real danger that young men in particular might be carried away by their passions to seek a wife when they might never have got married under "normal" circumstances. The real danger here was that after the wave of eroticism had passed these persons would be left high and dry and be unable to satisfy their partners without the external stimuli of their promiscuous environment.

Once again, Paul shows an instinctive awareness of the psychology of sexual compatibility. The directive, then, was good and extremely timely. It was designed to shield his unmarried brothers and sisters in Christ from the dangers latent in their situation.

On the other hand, Paul may just be reinforcing Jesus' instructions to his people in Corinth, that *for the sake of the Gospel* no one should get married *at this time.* The local church was to give its *entire* resources to spreading the Gospel of His love for the city and its environs. Marriage divides one's interests. The husband and wife must please each other and this means less attention to the Lord, "their interests are divided" (7:33-34c). The unmarried are in a better position to please the Lord and look after His interests (7:32-34b). "The unmarried man is anxious about the things of the Lord, how to please the Lord . . . . And the unmarried women and virgins are anxious about the affairs of the Lord, so that they may be holy in body and spirit . . . . I say this . . . to promote unhindered devotion to the Lord" (7:32-37).

Because the proclamation of the Gospel was in its infancy Jesus may have desired that everyone put that work first to the exclusion of all other pursuits. Marriage would clearly divide the interests of His people and divert their energies from preaching the Gospel to the world in their own generation, for the impression Jesus left His church with was that He was coming back *very soon*. Marriage is not the most important thing in anyone's life, rather it is doing the will of Jesus to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every person.

To those in group 3 (7:12-14) who had an unbelieving marriage partner there was the possibility that the Christian husband may have understood Jesus' directive, "It is good for a man not to touch a woman," to mean, "not to touch an *unholy* woman," that is, an unbelieving woman.[644] If so, were they to separate? Paul meets this situation by prefacing his own remarks with those of the Lord on the subject of divorce and separation (7:10-11). They are one flesh, therefore if the unbelieving partner wants the marriage union to continue it should continue: there is no theological reason to separate from an unbelieving partner in this instance.

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[643] Incidentally in 7:4 Paul is not arguing here for the equality of the sexes. On this see D. Daube, "Pauline Contributions to a Pluralistic Culture: Recreation and Beyond," in *Jesus and man's hope,* eds. D. G. Miller & D. Y. Hadidian (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, 1971), pp. 223-246, esp. p. 240. This work deals specifically with the "Pauline privilege" (*privilegium Paulinum*) as being compatible with Jesus' teaching on the indissolubility of marriage. It is strong on the rabbinic background to the sexual problems in 1 Corinthians 7.

[644] See 7:14 where children of unbelievers are regarded as unclean/unholy and children of Christian couples as holy. The same distinction would have been carried into the adult sphere where everyone is either in Christ or not in Christ: there was no neutral position. Christians must only marry Christians (1 Cor 7:39).

Obviously the unbelieving partner would have no real defence against the permissive society, which makes it all the more important that the directive given in 7:2-4 (but not v. 5) be followed in this instance.

To those in group 4 (7:15-18) where the unbelieving partner wants to end the marriage, they were allowed to do so. The Christian partner in such a situation is to accept this as his/her calling. They are now to "remain in the condition which he was in when God called him" (7:20). Paul then uses this opportunity to expand a little on the universal directive ("This is the rule I lay down in all the churches") that everyone should remain in the calling "that the Lord assigned to him and to which God called him" (7:17).

Note that the "calling" is the one experienced at the exact moment when one became a Christian. If a man was unmarried he was to stay unmarried (unless he burned with desire, in which case the general rule to remain in the state God called you in is overridden by the gift *[charisma]* of marriage). If a man was a slave he was to stay a slave (unless he could legitimately become free). If he became free this was not to do as *he* pleased but to become Christ's slave. If he was born a Jew and became a Christian, he can remain a Jew and follow Jewish customs so long as these did not contradict the life of Christ within him, who regarded all Jewish ceremonial laws and customs as unnecessary to salvation. If an unmarried girl became a Christian she should remain unmarried and "be holy in body and spirit" (7:34). If a man was a soldier when he became a Christian he was not to leave the army. Jesus wanted to reach men and women in all walks of life and in all professions so that He commanded them to stay in the calling in which He called them and witness to Him there. In this way He could reach into every nook and cranny where people were and present them with His claims on their lives.

To those in group 5 (7:25-35), the fathers who have the responsibility of providing husbands for their virgin daughters, he says he has no *direct* command from the Lord. But *indirectly* he can tell them what the mind of the Lord is. He reasons thus: Your virgins should be married only to Christian men in the church. The men have been commanded not to marry during the present distress/crisis. Some of them may have to marry because of their *charisma* (7:9). If they desire to marry your daughter then do not place any unnecessary obstacles in the way of such marriage. In short Paul was saying: It all depends on the men.

To those in group 6 (7:36-38), to the fathers whose virgin daughters have been engaged to be married before the directive was made known to the church, Paul asks that the wedding be postponed for the time being. However, the decision to make the postponement lies not with the father ("he that gives in marriage"), but with the fiancé, and this was surely the correct advice. "If she is getting on in years and he feels he ought to marry," then they should get married (7:36).[645] They are not reckoned as having gone against the temporary prohibition on marriage, "he is not sinning." However, if the fiancé puts off his marriage in order to keep Christ's command "he does better."

Verse 38 is addressed to the fiancée's father assuring him that he is not sinning in allowing the marriage to go ahead.

Section summary

So often chapter 7 is taken as the "normal" situation. If so, it puts Paul in a bad light. Closer examination, however, has shown that this was an abnormal situation. And even closer examination of the text and context shows that the temporary ban on marriage came,

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[645] Several biblical passages refer to the transactions requisite for the arranging of a marriage (Gen 24; Song of Sol 8; Jud 14:2-7), which were conducted by members of the two families concerned, or their representatives. Usually the consent of the prospective bride was required. Giles (p. 132) notes: 'Up to the age of twelve a father had full power over a daughter . . . . He could . . . marry her off to anyone at all. Normally she was betrothed at about twelve for after this age a father could not betroth her to anyone against her will.' This obviously was not the practice when Paul wrote 7:36 ('and if she is getting on in years').

not from Paul but, from the Lord. It was a sin to have ignored it (7:28, 36). In this chapter, then, we can observe the direct intervention of the Head of the Church in the care and protection of his flock. The danger of being led astray into sexual immorality seems to have been a common one for the churches of those times. We read of a similar situation in the church in Thyatira (Rev 2:20-24). "Nevertheless, I have this against you: You tolerate that woman Jezebel . . . . By her teaching she misleads my servants into sexual immorality . . . . I have given her time to repent of her immorality . . . . I will cast her on a bed of suffering . . . . I will strike . . . . Then all the churches will know that I am he." Thus it would appear that He who "walks among the seven golden candlesticks" exercised a more direct supervision of the lives of church members in the first century than we can observe in the twenty-first century. Perhaps dozens of temporary situations were covered by directives or "commands of the Lord" in a similar fashion to 1 Corinthians 7 but these have not been preserved by the Holy Spirit for our learning.

Only by taking certain statements in chapter 7 out of context is it possible to hold that Paul was "against marriage," or, "against women." As for his being anti-feminine, he did not appear to find it difficult to adjust to the company of women if we are to go by the large number of women he greets in his epistles, see Romans 16 and Philippians 4:3 in particular.

As Bruce Waltke rightly pointed out marriage is the normative state if we are to take Genesis 2 as normative. Here, in a perfect, sinless world, God observed Adam, and declared that it was "not good" for him to be alone. The whole of the Old Testament presents marriage as a holy and an ideal state. Though marriage was not a set requirement for holiness, it is instructive that the norm for all the priests and highpriests, that is, for the most holy persons standing between the people of Israel and their God, were married men. The High Priest, in particular, was expected to marry a virgin from his own tribe.[646] Neither he, nor the priests, could marry a divorcee (Lev 21:7, 13-15). Priests were born priests, i.e., holy persons, but Nazirites were the most holy persons in the Old Testament by their own choice. They were married persons (male and female). He shares with the High Priest (unlike the priests) the unique distinction that while in the period of his Nazirite vow he could not make himself ceremonially unclean, not even for his father or mother (Num 6:7; cf. Lev 21:11). While in his/her state of "separation" to the Lord, they are to abstain from many things but they never fasted sexually. Celibacy was never imposed on any person in the Old Testament. "Marriage was part of their consecration, worship, and holiness" (Waltke).

> Paul, as noted, elevates singleness for "gifted" individuals to an even greater state (1 Cor 7). In regard to women who are called to singleness, however, his design is not to favour women's careers outside the home over motherhood within it, but, in addition to minimizing the dangers of an "impending crisis" (v. 26), to enable them to be fully devoted to Christ without distraction (vv. 32-35). Apart from this "giftedness," the apostle teaches as normative behaviour that older women teach younger women "to love their husbands and be busy at home, to be kind, and to be subject to their husbands, so that no one will malign the word of God" (Titus 2:4-5).[647]

The normative behaviour of the older women is sadly neglected today. They are a redundant lot; cast aside or ignored by their "know better" daughters, so that a life-long accumulation of wisdom is left largely untapped by the next generation, who are left to "learn by their mistakes" what their mothers and grandmothers could have told them to watch and so avoided repeating the errors of the past. In any return to a biblical culture, greater influence and status must be accorded to the wisdom of the older generation of both

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[646] Bruce K. Waltke, "The Role of Women in the Bible," *Crux* 31 (no. 3, 1995) 29-40, esp. p. 32.

[647] Bruce K. Waltke, "The Role of Women in the Bible," *Crux* 31 (no. 3, 1995) 29-40, esp. p. 33.

men and women, so that we can build on the best of the past and learn what to avoid for our good from the "mistakes of the past."

Male Christian leaders will often promote young, good-looking women over the heads of older, more mature women, to stand at the front in public meetings or even to preach. Mature women ought to be presented as the role models for younger women to follow if we are to imitate Paul who prized their experience and teaching skills in his pastoral work.

4.7 "BE SUBJECT TO ONE ANOTHER" (EPHESIANS 5:21) MEANS THERE IS NO HEADSHIP OR SUBORDINATION AMONG GOD'S PEOPLE

The quotation in Ephesians 5:21 reads: "Submit to one another out of reverence for Christ. Wives submit to your husbands . . . " (NIV). The AV and RV translate as "subjecting/submitting yourselves to another." There is a world of difference in saying "to one another" which is reciprocal, and saying "to another" which implies one party submitting to another party. That is one problem. The second is to give the verb two different meanings (1) "submit," or (2) "be thoughtful and considerate, act in love."[648] Which translation is correct?

If the verb "subjecting/submitting" *always* has the connotation of one party submitting to another party in the sense of a lower rank submitting to a higher, then the AV/RV is correct. However, if the verb can sustain the meaning "considerateness, thoughtfulness, an attitude of love toward one another, putting the other person's interests above your own," then the NIV is correct, and the sense would be of "mutual voluntary submission."[649]

Unfortunately for those who wish to give the Greek word "submit" (ὑποτασσόμενοι) the meaning "be thoughtful and considerate, act in love" there is no positive support in any first century Greek document for this meaning, for the term always implies a relationship of submission to an authority.[650]

But just suppose for a moment that the Greek word could have the meaning "be thoughtful and considerate, act in love" while it might "fit" the context of Ephesians 5:21, this meaning would be nonsense in other texts. Take, for example, Luke 10:17, "The seventy-two returned with joy, and said, "Lord, even the demons *submit* to us in your name." Now, try substituting the new meaning of "act in love, be considerate" in place of "submit" in the sentence. It would read: "The seventy-two returned with joy, and said, "Lord, even the demons *act in love and are considerate* to us in your name." It does not fit.

The verb "to submit" (ὑποτασσω) occurs 38 times in the New Testament (see Appx E). In the AV it is translated in the following ways: put under (6x); be subject unto (6x); be subject to (5x); submit (one's) self unto (5x); submit (one's) self to (3x: Eph 5:21; Jas 4:7; 1Pet 2:13); be in subjection unto (2x); and the following occur only once each, "put in subjection under; be made subject to; subject; be subject; be under obedience; be in subjection to; be made subject unto." It can be seen from this variety that a reciprocal meaning is never connected with the verb "to submit." As Grudem points out, one thing is constant in every use of the word in all these relationships: the submission is never "mutual" in its force: it is always one-way in its reference to submission to an authority.

But all is not lost if we go back to the first problem. If it can be shown that the word ἀλλήλοις "one another" *always* has a reciprocal meaning (everyone to everyone), then we can retain the meaning "submit" but envisage Paul advocating mutual subjection. Unfortunately

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[648] Mary J. Evans, while agreeing that there is an element of subordination in the term *hypotassõ* sees the main idea as 'mutual adaptation and co-ordination' ("A Response to L. Birney's 'The Role of Women in the New Testament Church,'" *Journal of the Christian Brethren Research Fellowship* 33 [December, 1982] 33-40, esp. p. 39). Unfortunately, she does not give any contexts in classical or biblical literature where this meaning occurs.

[649] This concept is unambiguous in 1 Cor 10:24 (ἑαυτοῦ . . . ἑτέρου). Paul illustrates how an apostle can be all things to all men without losing his authority as an apostle in the context of 1 Cor 9:19-23.

[650] See Wayne Grudem, "The myth of 'mutual submission,'" *Council for Biblical Manhood and Womanhood News,* October, 1996, Vol. 1 No. 4, pp. 1-4.

always cannot be used with the translation "one another," in the reciprocal sense. Grudem has shown it is a fallacy to argue that because ἀλλήλοις means "everyone to everyone" in *some* verses, it must mean that in *all* verses. The word *must* be translated in two distinct senses according to the context, (1) "one another," which is two-way, and (2) "one to another," which is one-way. The examples of its one-way use are numerous.[651] For example, in Revelation 6:4, "to make men slay one another," means, "so that some would kill others" (not "so that every person would kill every other person," or, "so that every person being killed would "mutually" kill those who were killing them," which would make no sense. In Galatians 6:2, "Bear one another's burdens" does not mean "everyone should exchange burdens with everyone else," but rather, "some who are more able should help bear the burdens of others who are less able." In 1 Corinthians 11:33, "when you come together to eat, wait for one another" means, "some who are ready early should wait for others who are late." There are many other examples where the word "one another" simply cannot mean that "everyone does something to everyone else," because the sense of the context simply will not allow that meaning (see Mt 24:10; Lk 2:15; 12:1; 24:32, etc.). In these verses "one another" means, "some to others." So the AV/RV is correct in the translation of 1 Corinthians 11:33 as "wait/tarry one for another," and in Eph 5:21, "submitting yourselves one to another" is the only coherent translation given that the verb "submit" is always one-way, and the word ἀλλήλοις permits a one-way meaning of "to another." Since Paul is aware that good order in the church at Ephesus is dependent on its members rendering to some in their midst due respect and reverence his meaning, then, is "submitting yourselves to another [some to others] in the fear of Christ."

Grudem's arguments for this translation are very convincing. He strengthens it by a second line of exegesis, namely, if everybody is to submit to everybody, then why go on to list pairs of persons between whom there is an existing authority relationship? And why always put the weaker member first: wife-husband; child-parent; slave-master? Why did Paul not tell the parent to obey the child, the husband to obey the wife, the master to obey the slave, if the Greek really meant "mutual submission"? Also why, after he has asked the weaker member of the pair to submit to the stronger, does he then address the stronger member in a manner that reminds them not to abuse their stronger position in the relationship? If the word does not mean "submit" but "be considerate," the logic of the context is lost. It only makes sense once we recognise that the pairing shows that authority structures are in view.

W. Neuer noted that the wife's duty to submit to her husband cannot be relativized by an appeal to Eph 5:21 where church members are exhorted to "be subject to one another." For the Greek phraseology does not necessarily mean a strictly mutual submission, but can also describe the appropriate respect for order that should characterise behaviour. This is borne out in what follows. There is no example of mutual submission, only of unidirectional submission: Church to Christ; wife to husband; children to parents; slaves to masters. Neuer paraphrases Eph 5:21 as: "Be subject to each other within the appropriate framework—wives to husbands, children to parents, slaves to masters, not indiscriminately all submitting to each other, but one submitting to the other, that is the lower to the higher."[652]

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651 I am indebted to Grudem's article *(op. cit.)* for the following examples.

652 Werner Neuer, *Man and Woman in Christian Perspective* (ET by Gordon Wenham. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1990), p. 126.

Another argument used to support the idea of equality between all believers is the priesthood of all believers.[653] This has been answered by L. Wm Countryman.[654]

4.8 LOCAL CUSTOMS NEED TO BE UPDATED (1 TIM 2:8-12)

The Exposition on the Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy noted that:

> Although Holy Scripture is nowhere culture-bound in the sense that its teaching lacks universal validity, it is sometimes culturally conditioned by the customs and conventional view of a particular period, so that the application of its principles today calls for a different sort of action.[655]

There is the assumption in many commentaries that Paul has taken over customs local to Corinth, such as women covering their heads in public and being silent in the assembly, or local to Ephesus, such as women learning in quietness, and not teaching or ruling men, and that he has invested these with the sanctity of law, and a law which is permanent and universal.[656] We are informed by these commentators that no word of God was spoken in a cultural vacuum. God did not shout culture-free maxims at His people from a distance. Instead, He stooped to their level, entered their history, assumed their culture and spoke their language. Consequently Scripture is an amalgam of substance and form, of eternal truth (which transcends culture) and its transient cultural presentation. The former is universal and normative; the latter is local and changeable. How can we distinguish between them? How are we to handle the cultural element in Scripture? Three answers are given: (1) retain the original permanent teaching *and* its local form; (2) retain the original permanent teaching but not its local form; and (3) retain neither the teaching nor the form.

The latter option regards the local form as transient and consequently when it passes out of fashion then the teaching attached to it also drops out.[657] In the case of head-covering (1 Cor 11:4-15), being silent in the assembly (1 Cor 14:34), refraining from teaching men or exercising leadership over men (1 Tim 2:11-12), since these are now passing out of fashion then the theological arguments that were used to give them force are no longer relevant to the modern church. The assumption behind this option is that the form came first and was justified by a later theology. The danger of declaring any passage of Scripture to have only local (not universal), and only transient (not perpetual) validity is that it opens the door to a wholesale rejection of apostolic teaching, since virtually the whole of the New Testament was addressed to specific situations.

In the case of the first two options the assumption is that the theology came first and found expression in a form. The point of disagreement between them is that the first regards

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653 See Stephen F. Townsend, "Women in the Church—Ordination or Subordination?" *Evangel* 15 (1997) 10-21.

654 L. W. Countryman, "Christian Equality and the Early Catholic Episcopate," *ATR* 63 (1981) 115-138, esp. pp. 128-136. It is sometimes argued that if women have a call from God the church has no business in closing the door on her vocation (see Ursula Roberts, "The Ordination of Women to the Priesthood," *Church Quarterly Review* 117 [1933/1934] p. 6). Lord Cecil Hugh replied: 'I cannot believe in the reality of a vocation which is contrary to the teaching of the Bible and the church' ("The Ordination of Women to the Priesthood," *Church Quarterly Review* 117 [1933/1934] p. 23).

655 Norman L. Geisler, *Inerrancy* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1979), p. 501.

656 For another treatment of 1 Tim 2:8-12 see 4.3.10. and Excursus 2.

657 A. T. Hanson, "Just as the first half of this chapter showed the author at his best, so the second half seems to show him at his worst. Christians are under no obligation to accept his teaching on women" (*The Pastoral Letters,* The Cambridge Bible Commentary on the NEB [Cambridge: CUP, 1966], p. 38). He caricatures Paul's perception of woman's role: 'a woman, a weak, gullible creature, should find her natural vocation in a life of domesticity in subordination of her husband' (*The Pastoral Epistles* [NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982], p. 74).

the form as an indispensable expression of the permanent teaching, whereas the second regards the form as dispensable in the sense that it can undergo constant updating according to the region of the world where the permanent teaching is preached.

Ethical commands and their cultural expressions are not equally normative and must therefore be distinguished. The issue then facing us is to decide in each instance whether the cultural form (or expression) is an integral part of the teaching, or whether it is open to updating or "cultural transformation."

If we take the case of 1 Timothy 2:8-12 it is argued that here we have three examples where "cultural transformation" must take place if the permanent teaching is not to be lost. The three cases are (1) men's prayers, (2) women's adornment, and (3) women's submission.

It is argued that if the first two examples are granted then the third follows. In essence the argument is that in the case of men's prayers we recognise in v. 8 that praying without anger and disputing, on the one hand, is ethical, but on the other hand, lifting up holy hands is a cultural expression of that ethic; and in the case of women's adornment there is nothing in the text of v. 9 which requires us to distinguish between the commands to women to dress modestly, on the one hand, and on the other, that they are to avoid hair-plaiting and jewellery. Unlike the first part of v. 9, the second part is surely not an absolute ban on all hairstyles in which the hair is plaited. It cannot mean that all material adornment is forbidden to women today just because it was prohibited in Paul's day. So in each case there is an ethical command (which is permanent) which is expressed in a local convention or custom (which is not permanent).

When we come to the third example (1 Tim 2:11-12) it is argued that Paul's instructions cover only the universal principle of female submission to male "authority," and not its changeable cultural expression, so women should submit to the headship (i.e., caring responsibility) of men, and not try to reverse sexual roles, but not necessarily refrain from teaching or ruling them, because the local expressions of submission in the Ephesian culture (and maybe the wider Greek culture) required that women did not teach or lead men, but that is not so today. Must "submission" always and only be expressed in "silence," and must "not exercising authority" always and only be expressed in "not teaching"? In other words can we divorce "teaching" from "authority" which could not be done in Paul's day? In other words, Is it legitimate to see the submission to male authority as permanent and universal (because grounded in creation, see v. 13), while seeing the silence and teaching activities as a first-century cultural expression of it, which is therefore not necessarily applicable to every culture, but open to cultural transformation into each? If so, this would allow women to teach and lead men today because these activities are no longer seen as carrying "authority" in our Western society; they are now viewed as compatible with "submission" to male authority. But in order to avoid infringing on male authority, group ministries would include women ministers under the direct caring responsibility of a male "leader."

Let us look at each of the three examples in their own right first of all, and see if they are all in the same category.

4.8.1. MEN'S PRAYER (1 TIM 2:8)

1 Timothy 2:8 reads: "I desire, therefore, men to pray in every place lifting up holy hands, apart from anger and disputing."[658] Here the command to pray is channelled through a particular visual form: men praying with outstretched hands toward heaven/God.

In Hebrew thought hands are the agent of the heart and so their state will reflect the moral and spiritual state of the heart. Iniquity or blood on the hands means polluted hands

[658] Compare also the notes under 4.3.10. 1 Timothy 2:8-12.

(Isa 59:3; Ezk 23:37; Ps 7:3), the opposite to pure or hallowed hands as envisaged in 1 Timothy 2:9. To wash the hands is to express innocency (Pss 26:6; 73:13), consequently clean hands and a pure heart go together (Ps 24:4) and Yahweh will recompense to each man according to his own righteousness, that is, according to his clean hands (Ps 18:20, 34). The cleanness of a righteous man's hands may even benefit others (Job 22:30). On the other hand, even a righteous man's clean hands may not be seen as clean in Yahweh's pure sight (Job 9:30). Only those who have clean hands can come before Him in worship (Ps 24:4). Clean hands enables one to live a confident life (Job 17:9).

Lifting up the hands with the palms facing heaven appears to have been the normal accompaniment to vocal prayer in Israel (cf. Solomon's prayer of dedication, 1 Kgs 8:22, 38, 54 [=2 Chr 6:13]). The hands stand for the heart, and consequently if the hands are "clean" then this is symbolic of a clean heart. It is almost as if the worshipper is holding up his clean heart in his hands for Yahweh to inspect in order that He will grant his petition. Indeed Lamentations 3:41 reads: "We lift up our heart on *our* hands to God in the heavens." If the hands are not "clean" then Yahweh will turn away His face from them, "Your new moons and your set seasons have My soul hated; . . . and in your spreading out your hands, I hide My eyes from you. Also, when you increase prayer, I do not hear you" (Isa 1:15).

There are many examples in the Old Testament of prayer being associated with upraised arms and hands spread out in a direct and personal appeal to Yahweh to hear strong petitions. "My eye grieved because of affliction. I called You, O Yahweh, all the day I have spread out to You my hands" (Ps 88:9); "I have spread out my hands to You. My soul *is* as a weary land [waiting] for You" (Ps 143:6); "Arise, cry aloud in the night . . . Lift up to Him your hands, for the soul of your infants, who are feeble with hunger" (Lam 2:19). The gesture is used in blessing Yahweh, "So I bless You in my life, in Your name I lift up my hands" (Ps 63:4), and to express delight in being His follower, "And I lift up my hands to Your commands that I have loved, and I meditate on Your statutes" (Ps 119:48). It was probably always an integral part of communal worship, "And Ezra blessed Yahweh, the great God, and all the people answer, 'Amen, Amen,' with lifting up of their hands, and they bow and do homage to Yahweh—faces to the ground" (Neh 8:6); and individual worship, "Hear the voice of my supplications, in my crying to You, in my lifting up my hands toward Your holy oracle" (Ps 28:2); "Lo, bless Yahweh, all servants of Yahweh, who are standing in the house of Yahweh by night. Lift up your hands in the sanctuary and bless Yahweh" (Ps 134:2); and "My prayer is prepared *as* incense before You; the lifting up of my hands *as* the evening present" (Ps 141:2).

The practice of spreading out the hands as a sign of worship was probably universal. "If we have forgotten the name of our God, and spread our hands to a strange god, does not God search this out?" (Ps 44:20)

In times of intense emotion especially in times of repentance and heart-rending pleas the hands would go out to Yahweh, "And at the evening-sacrifice I rose from my affliction, and from rendering my garment and my upper robe, and I bowed down on my knees, and spread out my hands to Yahweh my God, and say, 'O my God, I am ashamed . . . .'" (Ezra 9:5). "Zion spreads out her hands; there is no comforter for her" (Lam 1:17).

Stretching out the hands horizontally toward someone is also an appeal gesture, compare Isa 65:2, "I [Yahweh] have spread out my hands all the day toward an apostate people, who are going in an unprofitable way—after their own thoughts."

We can conclude from these examples that lifting up the hands when praying was probably a very common sight. Consequently, when Paul said to Timothy, "I desire. therefore, men to pray in every place, lifting up holy hands, apart from anger and disputes" (1 Tim 2:8), he was not introducing a new tradition, but making a plea that Christian theology should infuse the centuries old convention. The convention (or religious custom) preceded the institution of the Christian Church. It does not have the force of law behind it. It has the sanction of Scripture only because it is an aid to prayer.

Now since Paul is not introducing a new Christian custom this particular case fits into the category of inherited conventions. It is in the same category as those that a missionary would find in another culture. If there is nothing incompatible with the Gospel or Christian ethics then such neutral conventions can be utilised to build up the Church. Because Paul accepted a pre-existing custom this does not mean that it is binding on the Church for all time. But the teaching that men should pray without anger and dispute is permanent and binding. The form that prayer takes will vary from nation to nation but there will be some connection between it and the type of prayer offered to God. An acute awareness of God often results in prostration as the instinctive position to adopt in His presence. David sat before the Lord when he prayed (1 Chr 17:16) suggesting a more contemplative prayer. Kneeling, standing, prostrating, with hands raised, drooped, clasped or clapping will all reflect the mood of the person praying. There should be a direct connection between the expression and the mood of the person praying as there is between the thought and the words used to convey it. There is body language and there is speech language. A slouching posture of the body while one is addressing the Creator suggests a contradiction between the two "languages." It is the encounter of the human with Deity that produces its own impact on the human frame resulting in an "appropriate" posture as the body, mind, and soul comes to terms with the awesome experience. However, there can be a remembrance of what happened to the body in such an awesome encounter and this can be reproduced mechanically by others as an aid to inducing the coveted experience. Kneeling is often the outward expression of an inward state of feeling humble. But there can sometimes be a dislocation between the outward and the inward, between the visible expression and the inward reality. Here Paul takes up the outward expression and encourages the men to ensure that it matches the inward state of the soul. We can learn from this example that if there are outward expressions that are related to a spiritual experience then we can use them as an aid to faith. This means that "lifting up the hands" remains to this day as a legitimate option and aid to prayer even if it is not used very widely in the Western Churches. But we cannot dismiss the expression of lifting up the hands as a purely man-made, arbitrary, unconnected pantomime piece. When Jesus said, "when you stand praying" (Mk 11:25), we are not to infer that that is the only legitimate way to pray, or that it is wrong to sit or kneel to pray. The example of Peter (Acts 9:40) and Paul suggests that they preferred to kneel to pray (Acts 20:36; 21:5). In Acts 7:60 Stephen knelt down before his martyrdom.

Jesus prayed with his eyes open (not closed), head tilted back (not bowed)(Jn 11:41), he prayed with his face in the dust (Mt 26:39), he knelt down to pray (Lk 22:41), he sat (1 Cor 11:24), he reclined (Mt 26:26; Mk 14:22), and he stood (Jn 6:11; Mt 14:19; Mk 8:7). Jesus lifted up his hands and was blessing his apostles as he ascended into heaven (Lk 24:50). No doubt each posture was well-suited to the kind of prayer he made.

Our body language is just as eloquent as our tongue, and may be more so when we cannot find words to express our deepest thoughts, as in the publican's case who stood afar off and would not so much as lift his eyes to heaven, but smote upon his breast as he murmured the words, "God be merciful to me a sinner" (Lk 18:13). Distance, direction of gaze, distress (smiting his breast continuously), were as much a part of his prayer as the half dozen words he uttered. The expression and the prayer are inseparable in this case. The language of mind and body harmonised, and were more complete and eloquent, than either on its own could be.

So this example does not support the thesis that praying and its expression are not intimately connected. It can be argued that God sees the thought before He hears it, so why clothe our thoughts in words? What words are to the thought so lifting-up of the hands are to the desire to speak to God. The action and the desire say the same thing; they complement one another: body and spirit acting in unison. Neither words or actions are essential to prayer, but we are human beings who require hands and voices to express our love and concerns to God. If we can profitably do away with words or lifting up of our hands in our

prayers then let the strong do so, but weaker mortals may require both and they should not be denied them. They are optional to fulfil the command that men pray without anger and dispute, but they are as much aids to faith as the water of baptism and the bread and wine are.

In contrast to the optional convention of lifting up our hands when praying to God, the gender-specific commands to women in vv. 11-12 are based directly on Scripture (Gen 2-3), and take their foundation in events both before and during the Fall, and so are not optional but compulsory, permanent and universal.

4.8.2. WOMEN'S ADORNMENT (1 TIM 2:9-10)

When we examine the second example it is said that Paul places a ban on women wearing braided hair, wearing expensive jewellery, and wearing expensive clothes in 1 Timothy 2:9-10. What Paul is suppressing here is surely the top range in hairdos, jewellery and clothes. Paul recognises that in the worldly woman her inner world is faithfully reflected in her outer adornment: the focus is placed on the physical (fading) beauty of woman.[659] In the case of the spiritual woman the focus is placed on the spiritual (abiding) beauty of woman. Paul's theology tells him that outward adornment can add *nothing* to spiritual adornment. There is no connection between them. His advice to cut down the excessive feminine urge to attract attention to herself does not exclude plaiting of the hair which is modest, or wearing jewellery which is not ostentatious, or wearing becoming clothes. His advice to cut out the constant universal danger facing every woman in every age to pay more attention to the outward woman than to the inner woman, by urging her to concentrate on good works, makes good sense. Here there is no dichotomy between ethics and expression in the case of the Christian woman. The Christian woman will have a different set of values to the worldly woman which will work itself out in a distinctively Christian approach to life and a different culture as regards dress fashion, expenditure on cosmetics, and so on. 1 Timothy 2:9-10, if taken seriously by Christian women, would lead to a distinctively Christian feminine culture.[660] That is how revolutionary these two verses are. It should be possible to recognise a Christian woman by a modesty that pervades everything about her: her modest clothing, the attention given to her hair, her looks, etc., when compared to the woman who has never read 1 Timothy 2:9-10. Excessive attention to, and pride in, outward adornment reflects an inner disposition which is unbecoming in a Christian woman, just about sums up Paul's teaching here. His advice is not optional: it is essential: it is perennial. There is nothing here which is local and transient. An anonymous wit noted, "Women's styles may change, but their designs remain the same." The danger to follow the fleshly culture of the world is constant and universal in every generation. It is a danger peculiar to every women—Christian and non-Christian—to the day of their death.

Note that Paul is thinking of the woman only as an individual in that the three areas of ostentation concern her hair, her jewellery, and her clothes—all personal to her *as she appears in public.* But ostentation went further than just her public appearance when assembled for worship. No doubt ostentation extended to her beautiful home, its furnishings, her banquets, her children, her mode of transport, her servants, etc., but Paul does not

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[659] Paul was not alone in observing the love of ostentation in women. See the remarks of contemporary non-Christian critics in Timothy J. Harris, "Why did Paul Mention Eve's Deception? A Critique of P. W. Barnett's Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2," *EQ* 62 (1990) 338; and D. M. Scholer, "Women's Adornment: Some Historical and Hermeneutical Observations on the New Testament Passages," *Daughters of Sarah* 6.1 (1980) 5.

[660] Sections 4.1.1.1. and 4.9. should be read along with this section.

address these areas here. Presumably if his teaching is acted upon as regards her personal public appearance then it would apply by extension to the rest of her life, home and family.

But there may be another reason why Paul concentrates on the visual appearance of the woman after she has stepped out through her front-door (on any day of the week, not just to go to church). Ostentation could be infectious and contaminate the whole female section of the Christian community, who would be very susceptible to fashion changes. By pointing out the danger he could save each family a lot of expenditure and wasted effort and time, which would be better spent on good works.

To sum up these two alleged examples of cultural transformation. In the case of the men's prayer, Paul inherited a centuries-old tradition of lifting up the hands when praying which he retained, because he altered it by associating the lifting up of the hands with the absence of anger and dispute in the minds of all men who are responsible for praying.

In the case of women, Paul addresses the area of danger peculiar to them, namely, the attention to their outward appearance. This was not a centuries-old inherited tradition which Paul was trying to suppress, but a genetic danger that every woman in every generation and nation is born with. It is peculiar to women, and like our old nature, it must be crucified. In every age and nation the ostentation will take a form unique to it, but the universal danger to focus attention on the outward to the detriment of the inner remains with every woman until the day she dies. It is part of her fallen nature. There is nothing that is local or transient in Paul's teaching. Only the form of the ostentation can change from age to age. The danger, and Paul's prescription to counter it are permanent.

It is mischievous to read Paul's prohibition on braided hair, etc. as an absolute ban and then to point out that it cannot be taken in an absolute sense today because there cannot be something intrinsically evil in plaiting the hair, or wearing expensive jewellery or clothes, as these are all relative today. And then from this step to argue that the prohibition on women speaking in Church, teaching and ruling men, is likewise not an absolute ban even though it appeared to be so *at that time* because it was anchored in creation theology.

First, in the context of 1 Timothy 2:9-10 Paul is *contrasting* two completely different modes of dressing (modesty versus ostentation) and *contrasting* two completely different life-styles (worldly verse godly piety). The difference between what constitutes ostentatious adornment today and what constituted ostentatious adornment in Paul's day will be a matter of judgment but the contrast itself—the ostentation—will live on as long as women exist. The contrast in life-styles might take on a local colouring but, here again, the contrast between the Christian and the non-Christian woman is as permanent as the enmity between the seed of the serpent and the seed of the woman. The contrasts between the adornments and the life-styles are here to stay until the end of time. The woman professing godly piety through her preoccupation with good works is a world apart from a woman whose mind is preoccupied with her outward appearance.

Second, the absolute ban on women speaking in Church and teaching and ruling/leading men is not based on local culture but on the Headship of Man and on Scripture.[661] These activities are incompatible with Woman's submissive role and since Man's headship is rooted in his genes, it is as permanent as life on earth.

We should note that the modesty in dress and the non-participation in public meetings expected of women in Roman society is close to what Paul is advocating and can best be summed up in Plutarch's essay *Advice to a Bride and Groom:*

> It is not gold or precious stones or scarlet that makes her [i.e., a woman adorned], but whatever betokens dignity, good behaviour, and modesty (26)
> . . . . and most women, if you take from them gold-embroidered shoes, bracelets, anklets, purple and pearls, stay indoors.

[661] See 1.3 and all of 2.

> . . . . Not only the arm of the virtuous women, but her speech as well, ought to be not for the public . . . . For a woman ought to do her talking through her husband . . . (30-32).

What made the Gospel attractive wherever it was preached was the near convergence of its standards of modesty and behaviour with the very best ideals in Greek and Roman cultures. Greek, Roman and Hebrew cultures were also patriarchal, and this must have facilitated the attractiveness of Christianity. Until recent times most civilised societies were patriarchal in structure. No doubt the Creator knew best when He appointed man as head of women, but modern man thinks he knows better.

4.8.3. WOMEN'S SUBMISSION (1 TIM 2:11-15)

The argument here is that the principle of submission is permanent but not its expression.[662] It is suggested that silence in the church was alright for the age in which Paul lived but it is no longer considered an expression of submission today. Likewise in Paul's day teaching men or being in a position of leadership was considered unwomanly conduct, but this, too, is no longer relevant today.[663]

First, those who argue this way, when pressed for an appropriate expression of submission by women today to replace the expressions in 1 Timothy 2:11-12, are either silent or openly declare that the whole idea of submission is itself also out of date.

Second, those who argue this way do not take into account that in the three creation theology passages (1 Cor 11:3-116; 14:33-38; 1 Tim 2:11-15) the teaching is not peculiar to the local church but to the church universal on the grounds that Man is the head of Woman.

Third, those who argue this way do not take into account that in these three creation passages Paul goes back to texts relating to the pre-Fall (as well as the Fall) situation on which to base his commands, and not to local customs.

Paul handles this third, so-called, cultural transformation example differently than the other two examples considered above in that he makes a direct appeal to Scripture—to theology, for support. This shows that the principle of Man's headship was established by God before the Fall and so it was intended to be a permanent feature of the Man-Woman relationship which has been restored in Christ Jesus, the new head of Man.

Even if Paul's admonitions concerning "lifting up hands" while praying or wearing "braided hair" are in some sense culturally conditioned, his prohibition regarding women teaching and exercising authority over men is normative for all ages precisely because Paul grounds his injunction in the universally applicable facts of Genesis 2-3.[664]

On the issue of head-covering I have shown above (4.4) that this is based on the analogy of nature, not nurture, which has provided woman with a covering of hair to hide the shame of her baldness. It is also used to distinguish male and female worshippers because they have been given different authorities by God. To Man was given headship of Woman, and to Woman was given her own authority derived from her position in God's creation to be Man's helpmeet.

If head-covering (as distinct from veiling the face, which Scripture nowhere commands women to do, either in the Old or New Testaments) was practised in New

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[662] Cf. e.g. John Stott, *Issues Facing Christians Today* (Basingstoke, Hants.: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1984). "13. Women, Men and God," pp. 234-57. Idem, *The Message of 1 Timothy & Titus.* The Bible Speaks Today (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1996).

[663] See the end of 4.3 for the Roman view (Plutarch) that women should not speak in public.

[664] So e.g. E. F. Brown, *The Pastoral Epistles* (London: Methuen, 1917), p. 20; cf. Susan T. Foh, *Women and the Word of God: A Response to Biblical Feminism* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1980), pp. 123-24, 127-28.

Testament times then it had a secular significance, not a religious one. Veiling and covering the head in public was a cultural convention connected with female modesty. This cultural significance must not be confused with the new, spiritual significance that this convention received through Christ's apostles. There is no suggestion in Paul that the Church head-covering had anything to do with female codes of modesty. He points out its spiritual or theological significance which is grounded in creation theology, namely, Man's headship of Woman, and the different authorities that God has given to Man and Woman.

To ignore the new, spiritual significance given to women wearing a head-covering when in the presence of God, and to revert to giving it a secular/cultural meaning and then throwing that out because it is deemed local and transient is mischievous. It would be on a par with a Jew throwing out the rite of circumcision (which was given to Abraham with a new, spiritual meaning) on the grounds that it had previously been a secular rite whose significance was now deemed to be local and transient! The rainbow had no significance until one was attached to it by God; there were many types of baptisms in Jesus' day but the water of baptism had no significance until it received it from Christ Himself; similarly the bread and wine have no inherent spiritual significance. In none of these Christian symbols or those of the Old Testament Covenants (the Noachic Covenant with its rainbow promise; and Abraham's Covenant of Circumcision) is the spiritual significance obvious. The meaning is brought to the symbol by revelation and has to be constantly brought to it otherwise the symbol takes over and becomes an end in itself. When men remove their head-covering when entering the presence of God they should constantly remind themselves why Jesus has commanded them to appear in this manner. In this way the symbol of an uncovered head will have an abiding influence on his life and remind him of his creation responsibilities before God. It is not without good, sound spiritual reasons that Jesus, the Head of the Church, has given *different* symbols to men and women to remind them of their *different* status and *different* powers which he has given to each of them for the upbuilding of the Church and to maintain good order in His Church and Kingdom. The symbols are not local (and so transient) but universal (and so permanent). They do not come from man (with only man's authority behind them) but from God (with God's authority behind them).

Nowhere does God tell men to lift up their hands when praying to Him. Nowhere does God tell women to put on jewellery or comb their hair when they appear before Him. But He does tell them—men and women—how they are to appear before Him: one covered and the other uncovered.

Another way round 1 Timothy 2:8-11 is to deny that these words belong to Paul. By suggesting that the Pastoral Epistles are non-Pauline the reader is encouraged to treat them as non-Apostolic writings. The Pastorals are said to have been written in the second century AD. This is a favourite ploy of feminists to exclude these Epistles from the doctrine of Headship. The Pastorals are said to overturn the Apostolic situation which was non-patriarchal, and which permitted women to be teachers and preachers of the Gospel. This "freedom" was lost, they claim, when the Church became more patriarchal in the second century AD. The argument runs:

> The inculturation of Christianity, which necessitated an accommodation to the patriarchal environment, is accepted as one of the principal reasons for this change [in women's roles]. This is said to have led to an ecclesiastical praxis that assigned women a role in the house and excluded them from general Church activity.[665]

The Pastorals set out the qualifications of a Bishop, but this is oddly side-lined by feminists with the observation that, "No woman is attested with this title in the New

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[665] Cf. Ute E. Eisen, *Women Officebearers in Early Christianity: Epigraphical and Literary Studies* (ET by Linda M. Maloney. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 2000), p. 11. See also p. 101, ". . . [1 Tim 2:8-11] was taken from conservative Greco-Roman ethics and made to serve the author's theological . . . interests."

Testament, but neither is any man."[666] Greek grammar is ignored. Feminists argue that there were women bishops in New Testament times and quote 1 Corinthians 16:19 for Prisca and Col 4:15 for Nympha, because they were heads of houses and bishops were heads of houses.[667]

Section Conclusion

I conclude that in the case of men's prayers we can retain the original permanent teaching but not necessarily its local form or expression *every time* we pray. The expression, however, is still as viable and spiritually useful today as it was in Paul's day, and Christians today, individually and corporately, will find lifting up their hands to God in prayer to be the only appropriate action to accompany their intense emotions on occasions. So the expression, while optional, is always available among a catalogue of other expressions not listed by Paul in 1 Timothy 2:8. We must not think that because Paul mentions one expression that it is this or nothing. We must not treat the Bible as if it were an encyclopaedia: all is not written down but what is sufficient for our guidance, and from which we may deduce other truths.

The fact that Paul took up an existing religious practice from the Old Testament Church means that we may take up other such practices, by extension of Paul's hermeneutic, if they are compatible with the Gospel. Similarly, in a missionary situation local practices and customs may be taken over and given a distinctively Christian touch as Paul did with lifting up hands adding "without anger and dispute." But we must be sure that the "cultural transformation" is thoroughly Christian and not syncretistic.

In the case of women's adornment we can retain the original permanent teaching but since the exact hairstyle fashion (braided hair elaborately decorated with gold thread), which was current in Ephesus in Timothy's day, may not be repeated over the centuries then this aspect of Paul's prohibition may not be relevant in some parts of the world today. However, since it is the nature of fashion to be constantly on the move this is no problem because what Paul's is subverting is the *attention itself* that is given to following worldly attitudes toward fashion. The *attention* is the problem because it reflects a wrong evaluation of hair and one's appearance. The woman must ask herself, Why do I (compared to men) spend so much more time and expense on outward adornment? Paul and every man could appreciate the admiration, the praise, and being the centre of attraction that hairdos, expensive jewellery and clothes,[668] were intended to invoke in others. Is this attention-seeking in keeping with the Christian gospel? Apparently not in Paul's evaluation. Is it vain? Yes, because outward adornment can add nothing to spiritual adornment.

Paul is not suggesting that women be dowdy in dress, look dishevelled, avoid jewellery and disdain make-up. He positively encourages them to adorn themselves but "with modesty and seriousness" and this is a universal and permanent injunction. Peter likewise throws the emphasis on the inner, not the outer, beauty (1 Pet 3:4). The danger both are pointing out is that *undue attention to, and showing off* the physical aspects of her body

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666 Ute E. Eisen, *Women Officebearers in Early Christianity: Epigraphical and Literary Studies* (ET by Linda M. Maloney. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 2000), p. 206.

667 Ibid, p. 206. Two other women bishops are said to be Tavia (Ignatius, *Smyrna* 13.2) and the widow of Epitropus (Ignatius, *Polycarp* 8.2).

668 The word here is πολυτελεῖ 'costly or expensive', and occurs only three times in the NT. It is used of the "*expensive* perfume" applied to Jesus' head (Mk 14:3). Peter (1 Pet 3:4) uses it of "the unfading beauty of a gentle and quiet spirit, which is of great worth in God's sight." His statement is set in the same context as 1 Tim 2:9-10, namely, how women are to beautify themselves. Peter urges: "Your beauty should not come from outward adornment, such as braided hair and the wearing of gold jewellery and fine clothes. Instead, it should be that of your inner self , the unfading beauty of a gentle and quiet spirit . . . ."A synonym, πολυτίμος, is used of the expensive perfume that was used by another woman and applied to Jesus' feet (Jn 12:3). It is also the word used of the single "very expensive" pearl in Jesus' parable in Mt 13:46.

reflect directly and badly on women who profess to live a godly and pious life. There is a latent contradiction in her activities.

If modest dress is essential in Church how much more so on the beach? Christian women must have consistent standards of modesty in all areas of their life. They cannot follow one standard in Church and another on holiday. Modesty must be in the mind as much as in the appearance.

4.8.4. RABBINICAL TEACHING ON THE PLACE OF WOMEN

On the attitude of Jewish men toward women we have some remarkable cultural insights in the following extracts from rabbinic writings.[669] They were of the view that looking and talking to a woman could lead to the sin of adultery, or even worse—the birth of bastard children. Theoretically, adultery carried the death penalty. Because of this danger a need was felt to "construct a fence around the *Torah*," that is, to institute safeguards against coming too close to the opportunity to transgress. They introduced two "fences."

> The first fence was the admonition against a man's speaking with a woman not related to him: "A man should not speak with a woman in the market, even if she is his wife, much less another woman, because the public may misinterpret it" (Abot de Rabbi Nathan), or speak to a woman through the agency of a third party (B.M. 87a; Kidd. 70b).

The second fence was the admonition not to look at another woman in public. Ben Sira is adamant that men should not look at women other than one's wife (9:5; 8; 41:21). "Our rabbis taught: He who pays a woman by counting out coins from his hand to hers in order to gaze at her, even if the level of his *Torah*-knowledge and good deeds has reached that of Moses our teacher, he will not escape the punishment of Gehenna" (bBer. 61a). A man is forbidden to walk behind a woman, even if she is his wife, for the same reason. A man was always to walk ahead of a woman in order to prevent his indulging in lascivious thoughts through observation of the female form. If one did find himself walking behind a woman, the law obliged him either to turn in another direction or hurry to get ahead, or to fall back to such a distance that scrutiny of her figure was no longer possible. The prohibition on walking behind a woman applied even to the married couple, for otherwise people might suspect that the husband was following a stranger to some illicit rendezvous. In the opinion of the Talmud: "It is better to walk behind a lion than behind a woman" (Erub. 18b; Kidd. 81a; Ber. 61a). The advice to men was that when they saw a woman in the street they were immediately to avert their gaze, the reason being that, "The heart and the eye are two agents of sin; the eye sees and the heart desires."[670] Ben Sira (9:8; cf. 41.21c; T. Reub. 3.10.) urged:

> Hide your eyes from a lovely woman
> And gaze not upon beauty which is not yours;
> By the comeliness of a woman, many have been ruined,
> And this way passion flames like fire.

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[669] See in particular Léonie J. Archer, *Her Price is Beyond Rubies: The Jewish Woman in Greco-Roman Palestine* (JSOT Supplement Series 60; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), pp. 205-13, 245-50, 302-8; and Tal Ilan, *Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Palestine* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996). pp. 125-128.

[670] Quoted in Epstein, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

It was held that, "He who looks at a woman's heels, it is as if he looked at the place of her pudenda, and if he looks there, it is as if he had intercourse with her" (yHal. 2.4, 58c). Voyeurism is equated with adultery. Not dissimilar is the teaching of Jesus, "You have heard that it was said by the ancients, 'You shall not commit adultery.' But I tell you that anyone who looks at a woman lustfully has already committed adultery with her in his heart" (Mt 5:27-28).

A man prevented his wife and daughters from public gaze so as to protect his brothers from falling into sin. Consequently, a woman was expected to remain concealed within her house.

In one suspected of adultery, Philo notes the procedure, "The priest . . . removes her kerchief in order that she may be judged with her head bared and stripped of the symbol of modesty regularly worn by women who are wholly innocent" (*Spec. Leg.* 3.56). Also Josephus, "As for the woman, one of the priests stations her at the gates which face the Temple and after removing the veil from her head, inscribes the name of God upon a skin . . ." (*Ant.* 3.270). As these quotes show, the veil served as a symbol of modesty, but according to some this was a secondary characteristic/development to the subordination element, because if it were for modesty then we would have expected a face covering.[671]

Ket. 7.6 lists seven offences for which a woman could be divorced. One was to go out in public with an uncovered head. Indeed, so serious was this act of defiance that the Shammaites, who recognised no cause for divorce other than adultery saw it as legitimate grounds for divorce, regarding the deed as equal to unfaithfulness by the wife (y. Sot. 16b).

Men expected their women to observe certain standards of modesty and women expected these standards of other women. Above all, wives and daughters were to do nothing which would attract undue attention to themselves. They were encouraged whenever possible to go about their business at quiet times of the day when men would be occupied elsewhere. Philo urged women to make their visits to the synagogue after the markets had closed for the day. They were not to dawdle in the streets but were to go directly to their destination. Women who loitered in public places were assumed to be harlots (Prov 7:10f; Sir 9.6-7; Sac. 21f.; 4Q184.17-18).

Contrary to common assumption the veil did not cover the face but only the head. Had it covered the face then the various warnings to men not to gaze upon a woman's beauty would have been meaningless. Note also that Josephus records as a peculiar law among the Persians that they forbade their women to be seen by strangers (*Ant.* 11.191). See also Ket. 72a-b where the rabbis, while advocating the traditional use of the veil, agreed that it was in accordance with the Torah if the woman's head was covered by her work basket when she was out in public. It was not until the time of the Amoraim that veiling the face, as an extreme of modesty, became more general. The veil then, which covered the head (but never the face in New Testament times), was a sign of demure behaviour; bareheadedness being interpreted as haughty, arrogant, and provocative, that is, contrary to the behaviour demanded of a woman subject to the authority of her husband.

Apart from serving visitors, wives did not participate in social functions which took place within the home. The only time when they sat with male guests was on the occasion of a religious feast such as Passover. In the main they ate in their own quarters, often only joining their husbands for a communal meal once a week (see Ket. 5.9).[672]

The most important rule of conduct for women when moving in public was that they should never, under any circumstances, speak to a man. To do so was to invite instant

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671 Léonie J. Archer, *Her Price is Beyond Rubies: The Jewish Woman in Greco-Roman Palestine* (JSOT Supplement Series 60; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), p. 213.

672 This throws light on the so-called 'house-churches' where it is supposed that men and women mixed indiscriminately. Such a church meeting would have taken place in the man's quarters and the usual separation of the sexes would have been compulsory to avoid scandal, to put it no lower, but probably the separation was dictated by the Temple/synagogue fashion.

divorce (Ket. 7.6). The rabbinical attitude was, "If God had meant women to rove, He would have created her out of Adam's foot instead of from his rib" (Gen. Rab. 18.2). Also: "He considered well from what part to create her. Said He: 'I will not create her from [Adam's] head, lest she be swell-headed; nor from the eye, lest she be a coquette; nor from the ear, lest she be an eavesdropper; nor from the mouth, lest she be a gossip; nor from the heart, lest she be prone to jealousy; nor from the hand, lest she be a gadabout; but from the modest part of man, for even when he stands naked that part is covered." And as He created each limb He ordered her, "Be a modest woman." Yet in spite of all this . . .she is swell-headed, as it is written, They walk with stretched-forth necks (Isa 3.16) . . . she is a coquette, with wanton eyes (ibid.), she is an eavesdropper, Now Sarah listened in the tent door (Gen. 18:10) . . . she is prone to jealousy, Rachel envied her sister (Gen 30:1) . . . she is light-fingered, And Rachel stole the teraphim (Gen 31.19) . . . she is a gadabout, And Dinah went out (Gen 34.1)(Gen. Rab. 30.1).

Philo would like to see in the ideal wife, "her moral nature free from guile, her conduct from stain, her will from craft, her speech from falsehood . . . in her company come piety, holiness, truth . . . self-control, temperance, orderliness, continence, meekness, frugality . . . modesty, a quiet temper, ...[673] A silent woman is a gift from the Lord (Sir. 26.14, cf. 2 Pet 3:4).

Given the more secluded world in which a woman was expected to live a life of modesty and faithfulness toward her husband and the good management of her home in both the Greco-Roman and Jewish/Hellenistic worlds, it is hardly surprising that when Paul said it was a "disgraceful thing for a woman to speak in church" he was reflecting both the prevailing sensibility of the age in which he lived and his own finely-tuned theological position which was the universal custom of the Apostolic Church. Unfortunately, these two do not come together today except, maybe, in Orthodox Jewry. In the modern church it is no longer a disgrace because the prevailing customs of the world have long since swept through it driving out its biblical values of modesty in dress, and any concern for the will of its Head.

Before we can ask, What does this passage of Scripture mean for us today? we have to ask a prior question: What did it mean to those who first heard it or read it? This means getting a good grasp of the cultural background against which all Scripture was given. Once having acquired that background, and understood the theological principles involved in each teaching, story, or event, then and only then, can we ask the hermeneutical question: "What does this mean for us today?" And that question ought to have been asked by every generation, in order to safeguard the teaching of every word of God. If that practice had been carefully followed from the time of the Apostles there would have been continuity of understanding and less chance for confusion to set it. There would also have been Church unity from the beginning to the present day. As it was, the Church allowed itself to be swallowed up by the world and it became worldly, with the consequent loss of its heritage. Since the Reformation the phoenix-like Church has been attempting the difficult task of, first of all, reconstructing the ancient world culture of the Bible in order to understand the text, and then, seeking to understand how it may be applied in contemporary life.

This work has shown something of the background against which Paul's teaching regarding the place of women can be placed, appreciated, and understood. Because his teaching was based solely on theological principles and sound, spiritual reasoning there can be no question that the practices the Lord set up (through men like Paul and Peter) in all the churches of God are the same that ought to prevail today. If Paul was wrong to convey the Lord's commandment that women should keep silent in the churches *using theological principles and the Law,* then he cannot be trusted in any other instance where he uses the same method.

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[673] See Sac. 26-27 (= De sacrificio Abelis et Caini/On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain).

4.8.5. THE NON-PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE SERVICE

Some modern commentators, ignorant of the original cultural setting in which Paul delivered his injunctions concerning women's place in the worship service, have read into his words limitations on what he meant by, "Women should be silent in the churches, for they are not permitted to speak, but should be subordinate, as the Law says." Virtually every commentator will permit woman to speak in some fashion. Their starting point is the present-day practice of permitting women to speak in church. This is both a methodological and hermeneutical mistake. All exegesis should come through the Bible from Genesis 1. This is the correct method or approach to understanding the New Covenant Scriptures. The correct hermeneutic is to reconstruct the exact circumstances under which an epistle was written; to get inside the mind of the writer, his circumstances, his culture, and anything that will throw light on what he says and why he says it. This research will include, crucially, who is being addressed. In all of Paul's epistles he is addressing the male members in the first place, and if the women want to know what is going on then let them ask their husbands at home. The primary focus is on all the male members of the church because they have control of their families who are to obey them in everything. When Christ controls the men He controls their families. So logically, the Epistles are aimed directly at the "brethren."[674]

The suggestion that Paul is quite clear that women are to take no individual part in the worship service clashes with modern day culture which modern commentators have uncritically assumed to be biblical, so that they fail to think about the issue from Paul's perspective and theological viewpoint. All sorts of exegetical contortions are explored to permit what Paul forbid in an attempt to justify modern practices. The idea that modern practices could be unbiblical does not occur to them because theirs is an unbiblical hermeneutic. The battle is won or lost at the methodological and hermeneutic levels.[675]

The question is: Would it have been revolutionary and shocking had Paul permitted women to pray or prophesy in church? The answer is clearly Yes. "If there is anything they want to know let them ask their own husbands at home, for it is disgraceful for a woman to speak in the church." Paul was not prepared to permit such a revolutionary and shocking practice in the churches of God, not because it was against the prevailing culture of Greece and Rome (which it was), but because of theological reasons: reasons deeply embedded in the heart of the Christian religion—the headships of Man, Christ and God.

A useful study setting out a broad comparative social analysis of the role of women in agrarian societies around the Mediterranean basin is that by Stuart Love.[676] Love's task

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[674] See Chart 19. Title: "Paul and the New Testament writers addressed their letters to men," and 4.3.3.

[675] This was recognised by the feminist scholar, Grant Osbourne, "the determining factor in the discussion is hermeneutical," in "Hermeneutics and Women in the Church," *JETS* 20 (1977) 337-352, esp. p. 337. For the five basic hermeneutical rules appealed to by feminists see Stephen Rees in, "Interpreting the Bible on Gender," in *Men, Women and Authority,* ed. Brian Edwards (Bromley. Kent: Day One publications, 1996), pp. 70-92. The five are: Rule 1: Clear passages have priority over obscure passages. Rule 2: Broad principles have priority over individual texts. Rule 3: Narratives have priority over doctrinal statements. Rule 4: Bible writers are controlled by their culture. Rule 5: Bible readers are controlled by their culture. See pp. 88-89 for his eight rules on interpreting Scripture. In summary they are: (1) Use all Scripture; (2) No internal contradictions; (3) Doctrines are propositional statements in Scripture; (4) Cultural background does not affect infallible teaching; (5) Background information should not override the natural meaning; (6) Recognise modern biases as distorting; (7) Begin with the primary meaning; and (8) Test our experiences by biblical standards and by submitting to its authority.

[676] Stuart L . Love, "Women's Roles in certain Second Testament Passages: A Macrosociological View," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 17 (1987) 50-59. Abstract: A woman's place is within the private world of the household. The public realm belongs to men. Through the delegated authority of her husband a wife manages the domestic realm. The Second Testament evidence supports the model as described. Significant passages which appear to negate the model do not do so upon closer examination. A woman's "salvation" is through bearing children,

was descriptive so no consideration was given to the hermeneutical question, "What does this mean today?" The model he uses centres on three aspects of the role of women growing out of the social structure of agrarian households: (1) the care of households; (2) the bearing of children, and, (3) the public and private behavioural expectations of women.

In all the main cultures the domestic care of the household is the wife's own world through which she pleases her husband by feeding, clothing and enhancing his standing among his peers. A woman's place is within the household. The public realm belongs to men. Women, especially unmarried daughters, lived in semi-seclusion. At home special corridors, rooms, and doors were designed to protect a woman's privacy, especially when the husband entertained guests.[677]

He noted that due to the separation of the public and private realms women do not usually participate or have major roles in political, educational, and religious functions.

Further, since a wife is "embedded in her husband" (Love's expression) she usually lacks authority to intrude into the economic and property decisions outside of the household. Therefore, wage-earning by a wife would bring public dishonour on her husband whose responsibility it was to provide for and protect his family.[678]

S. Love asks, What about women leaders such as Mary, the mother of Mark in Acts 12:12; Lydia in Acts 16:14f.; and Chloe in 1 Corinthians 1:11? How would the culture of the time have seen their roles? He concluded from his comparative study that these women were exceptional, and along with Tabitha (Acts 9:36-41), Phoebe (Rom 16:1f.) and Tryphena, Tryphosa, and Persis (Rom 16:12) they were probably widows. Their circumstance is exceptional in two ways: (1) they are not disadvantaged or oppressed; and (2) they are not subordinated within their husband's family. Stählin believed that they were well-to-do, which may partially explain their exceptional status.[679] Finally, they seem to fit Paul's conviction concerning widows, "Thus a married woman is bound by law to her husband as long as he lives, but if her husband dies she is discharged from the law concerning the husband" (Rom 7:2).

In the Epistles there are three examples of domestic or household codes (Col 3:18—4:1; Eph 5:21—6:9; 1 Pet 2:13—3:7) similar to the Greco-Roman or Jewish-Hellenistic model. All follow the hierarchical structure for ordering family life. In Colossians and Ephesians a complete agrarian household is described composed of three dyads—wives/husbands, children/fathers, slaves/masters. Each dyad mentions the weaker or inferior member first. Following the agrarian model, children are mentioned in relation to their fathers. Thus, the superior member of the household is the husband, father, or master. Peter's code evinces an even stronger tie to the agrarian model.

S. Love examined the boundaries between "public" and "private" spheres in the Greco-Roman world and in the book of Acts.[680] These spheres were clearly delineated in the cultures he examined. Love notes all the texts in Acts covering public and private events. Although generic terms such as "men" and "brethren" might include women (who were out of their homes at the time), the audiences and speakers are men (cf. Mt 14:21; 15:38; with Mk 6:44; 8:9). In fact, he noted that the application of generic references to the male gender is so

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many children if possible, and especially sons.

677 In the Roman world, too, there were separate male and female parts of the house: "For it is impossible to expel extravagance from the wife's part of the house when it has free range amid the men's rooms" (Plutarch [AD 45-125], *Moralia*, 144.48).

678 G. W. Trompf, "On Attitudes Toward Women in Paul and Paulinist Literature: 1 Corinthians 11:2-16," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 42 (1980) 196-215. points out in a study of 1 Cor 11 that leader patterns in "all known ancient Mediterranean cultures reflect male dominance" (p. 213).

679 Gustav Stählin, "χήρα." *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (Gerhard Kittel, ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1967. VIII, 440-65), pp. 442, 451.

680 On the clear distinction between 'home' and 'market-place' see John H. Elliott, *A Home for the Homeless: A Sociological Exegesis of 1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981).

prominent that when women are included the author states so specifically (Acts 5:14; cf. 1:14; 8:3, 12; 9:2; 13:50; 17:4, 12, 34; 21:5; 22:4).[681] The author's social sensitivity to women is evident, but their role is circumscribed by agrarian social realities.

There are only three private settings where women are present: Acts 1:12-14; 12:12 in the house of Mary a widow; 16:13-14 group of women (including Lydia) but they are not met for prayer (cf. v. 16). None of these examples violate agrarian expectations. Women are noted for their help to the church but in ways acceptable to agrarian norms.

S. Love concluded from his survey that the evidence of the book of Acts supports the public/private role distinction for men and women among Christian, Jewish, and Greco-Roman settings. Christian households constituted the focus, locus and nucleus of the ministry and mission of the Christian movement, and subordination to authority is a characteristic feature of household structure and conduct (cf. 1 Cor 14:32; 1 Pet 5:5; Heb 13:17; 1 Cor 16:16; 1 Thess 5:12). The Christian man's duty is to proclaim salvation, to teach and pray in public, and so to save himself and others (1 Tim 2:8; 4:16). The Christian woman's role is to be the faithful mother of a family.

S. Love examined the role of five women who served with Paul to see if they fitted into the agrarian model used all over the known world at that time. The women are Phoebe (Rom 16:2), Mary the mother of Rufus (Rom 16:13), Prisca (Acts 18:2, 28, 26; Rom 16:3; 1 Cor 16:19; 2 Tim 4:19); Nympha (Col 4:15) and Lydia (Acts 16:14-15). Four women, Mary, Tryphaena, Tryphosa, and Persis (Rom 16:6, 12) are extolled for their hard work. In Romans 16:1-16 eight women are mentioned for greeting and/or special commendation by Paul. In light of the agrarian model it is probable that their assistance is similar to the service women rendered to Jesus (Lk 8:1-3). He concluded that it is problematic that these women's ministries were centred in the public proclamation of the gospel.

Given Love's study of the agrarian model and the almost complete lack of a public role for women he makes the significant remark, "If women prophesied in church in 1 Corinthians 11 then it is the exception to the agrarian model." This would support the conclusion, arrived at on other grounds, that 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 has its setting in the domestic or private sphere. Love's study can be backed up with countless studies on the clear distinction in Greek, Roman and Jewish societies between the private and the public contribution of women. Given the agrarian model of those times there is just no way that a woman would be seen, never mind heard, speaking in a public assembly. This appreciation of the universal background to Paul's missionary journeys helps us to grasp the significance of his statement that it was/is a disgrace for a women to speak in the public assembly of the Church. Not only would it have been a disgrace and a scandal in the eyes of the world but such a spectacle cut right across the Apostolic understanding of Man's headship responsibilities.

Because the evidence is so clear and strong concerning the conditions under which women were kept secluded from public life, and this cannot be denied, then the evidence is turned around to argue that Paul could not have written 2 Timothy 2:11-12 any other way because to do so would have been against the culture of the time. Consequently his command to be silent and submissive was the only option open to him.

> All the things in this chapter are mere temporary regulations to meet a given situation. If we want Paul's permanent view on this matter, we get it in Galatians 3:28 . . . . In Christ the differences of place and honour and function within the Church are all wiped out.
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> . . . . We must not read this passage as a barrier to all women's service within the Church, but in the light of its Jewish and its Greek background. And we must look for Paul's permanent views in the passage where he tells us that the differences are wiped out, and that men and women, slaves and freedmen, Jews

[681] See Chart 19. Title: "Paul and the New Testament writers addressed their letters to men."

and Gentiles, are all eligible to serve Christ.[682]

The respectable Greek woman led a very confined life. She lived in her own quarters into which no one but her husband came. She did not even appear at meals. She never at any time appeared on the street alone; she never went to any public assembly, still less did she ever speak or take any active part in such an assembly. The fact is that if in a Greek town Christian women had taken an active and a speaking and a teaching part in the work of the Christian Church, the Church would inevitably have gained the reputation of being the resort of loose and immoral women. The plain fact of the situation was that in any Greek society no other regulations than these could have been laid down.[683]

The implication of this line of reasoning is that Paul was wrong to use theological arguments to establish permanent Church practices. Given the totally different educational achievements of women today, and the greater freedom that she has achieved by force for women in general, and given the full swing of the pendulum for full emancipation for all women in every sphere of living, we are assured that Paul, if he were writing 2 Timothy 2:11-12 today, would endorse the new situation with the words of Galatians 3:28.

The fault with this argument is that it overlooks the fact that Paul worked from the universal practices of "all the churches of God" to the specific situation in Corinth, not the other way round. Hence silence and head-covering were to be practised in Corinth *because* they were practised in every other church throughout the world. There is no concession to the many different cultures over which the Gospel spread. There was a distinctive world-wide Christian culture because the Gospel had gone out into all the world in a very short space of time (Rom 1:8; Col 1:6; 1 Tim 3:16).

This argument also fails to come to terms with Paul's inspiration. It reveals a low view of the Apostle and a deep scepticism about his claim to be inspired. He is presented as dysfunctional—unable to see that what he said in Galatians 3:28 was the "truth," and what he said in 1 Corinthians 11:4-15; 14:33b-35 and 2 Timothy 2:11-14 was "passing away." He is like the proverbial curate's egg—good in parts. He attached theological significance to something that was socially conditioned which was a bad mistake for the Apostle to the Gentiles to make, because it revealed that he was not under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit when he wrote those passages. Paul did not see the "emancipation of women" that Galatians 3:28 envisaged and so he wrote as a Jew and not as a Christian. The proof of this is that the Holy Spirit has overruled what Paul commanded, because the world-wide trend today is to recognise that Paul was wrong to command women to be silent and covered in church. The present trend would not be received with joy throughout the world if the Holy Spirit were not behind it, feminists argue. Therefore the trend itself is the evidence of the Holy Spirit guiding the Church out of the "slavery" that Paul imprisoned it in for 2000 years. To go against the present trend is to fight against the Holy Spirit.

Would those who argue for the above also argue that the present trend to admit practising homosexuals and lesbians into the ministry and eldership of the Church is also the work of the Holy Spirit? Is every trend Spirit led?

If Paul was only inspired now and again how are we to know which parts are inspired and which are not? Is all Scripture given by inspiration of God or only parts of it?

This argument overlooks the reason why Jesus and Paul go back to Genesis 1-3 to establish the New Kingdom truths of the Gospel. It fails to see the headship connection between 1 Corinthians 11:7-7; 14:34-35 and 1 Timothy 2:13-14.

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682 William Barclay, *The Daily Study Bible, The Letters to Timothy, Titus, Philemon* (Revised edition, 17 vols; Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1975-76), pp. 68, 89.

683 William Barclay, *The Daily Study Bible, The Letters to Timothy, Titus, Philemon* (Revised edition, 17 vols; Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1975-76), pp. 77-78.

4.8.6. TRANSPOSING FIRST-CENTURY CULTURAL EXPRESSIONS

The world Jesus lived in was very different to the one we live in today as regards means of communication, food, hygiene, education, work and transport, but human nature has not changed. Common to all mankind is our need for the basic necessities of life, such as food, clothing, family life, work, etc. These basics will take diverse expressions but these are to be expected given the God-like nature of man. Consequently we must bear in mind that God's Word is given within an already established culture (one established by Himself in all its essentials) and perfectly fitted to convey His will. This is seen supremely in Jesus Christ who came in human form and lived as a first-century Jew.

The attitude of some toward the gap that separates first century Christianity from twenty-first century Christianity is that the twenty-first century is far superior to Paul's Christianity. Hence Barclay could write concerning 1 Corinthians 14:34-35:

> No man ever rose completely above the background of the age in which he lived and the society in which he grew up; and Paul, in his conception of the place of women within the Church, was unable to rise above the ideas which he had known all his life. . . . It would certainly be very wrong to take these words out of their context and make them a universal rule for the Church.[684]

Yet the same author could go on to observe:

> Paul goes on to speak with a certain sternness. He is quite certain that, even if a man has spiritual gifts, that gives him no right to be a rebel against authority. He is conscious that the advice he has given and the rules he has laid down have come to him from Jesus Christ and his Spirit, and if a man refuses to understand them he must be left in his wilful ignorance.

How can the rule that a woman is to be silent in the assemblies be from Jesus and yet Paul be a man of his own age?

Concerning the head-covering in 1 Corinthians 11 this is conveniently side-stepped by placing it in a particular cultural capsule and thereby avoiding its relevance today. A good example is William Barclay's treatment of the passage:

> This is one of these passages which have a purely local and temporary significance; they look at first sight as if they had only an antiquarian interest because they deal with a situation which has long ceased to have any relevance to us; and yet such passages have a very great interest because they shed a flood of light on the domestic affairs and problems of the early Church; and, for him who has eyes to see, they have a very great importance, because Paul solves the problems by principles which are eternal.
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> The problem was whether or not in the Christian Church a woman had the right to take part in the service unveiled. Paul's answer was bluntly this—the veil is always a sign of subjection, worn by an inferior in the presence of a superior; now woman is inferior to man, in the sense that man is head of the household; therefore it is wrong for a man to appear at public worship veiled and equally wrong for a woman to appear unveiled. It is very improbable that in the twentieth century we are likely to accept this view of the inferiority and

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684 William Barclay, *The Daily Study Bible, The Letters to the Corinthians* (Revised edition, 17 vols; Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1975-76), p. 136.

> subordination of women. But we must read this chapter in the light not of the twentieth century but of the first, ...[685]

Barclay then confuses the issue by assuming that Paul is talking about the veil in eastern culture, the *yashmak,* a long veil leaving only the forehead and eyes uncovered and reaching down almost to the feet. He understands the veil as conveying two things, (a) it was a sign of inferiority, and (b) it was a form of protection for the woman. Consequently he translates 11:10 as: "For this reason a woman ought to retain upon her head the sign that she is under someone else's authority."

He next disparages the culture of the Old Testament by noting that under Jewish law woman was vastly inferior to man. She was a thing, and was part of the property of her husband over which he had complete rights of disposal. By placing the passage in a cultural capsule Barclay conveniently assumed it to be irrelevant for the Church today. He could then argue: "It would be quite wrong to make this passage of universal application; it was intensely relevant to the Church of Corinth but it has nothing to do with whether or not women should wear hats in church at the present day." But despite its local significance and apparent irrelevance to the Church today Barclay extracts "three great permanent truths" from the passage. (i) Paul's point of view was that in such a situation it was far better to err on the side of being too modest and too strict rather than to do anything which might give the heathen a chance to criticize the Christians as being too lax or be a cause of temptation to the Christians themselves. (ii) Even after he has stressed the subordination of women, Paul goes on to stress even more directly the essential partnership of man and woman. (iii) Paul finishes the passage with a rebuke to the man who argues for the sake of argument.

One wonders if this is all the Holy Spirit intended to teach in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16, and if it was, whether it could not have been said in fewer words and without the unnecessary digression into the Adam and Eve story, and superfluous talk about headships.

It is often asserted that Paul's purpose was to make the church conform to local standards of decency, such as head-covering or keeping silence and that his teaching may have relevance for us in that the principle of seeking to avoid offence is applicable to us, but that the specific details are not binding on us. Hence in the case of oriental veiling, which was not universal, according W. M. Ramsey, who cites Dion Chrysostom to the effect that the custom of women going veiled in Tarsus was an oriental and not a Greek custom. Ramsey sees Paul's teaching as arising out of the influence of his upbringing in Tarsus.[686] Paul never advocated Christian women or men wearing a veil.[687] In any case Paul is able to appeal to the uniform practice of the churches (11:16) and not to local custom.

We must distinguish between what is permanent and universal (because grounded in creation, see 1 Timothy 2:13-14; 1 Cor 14:34; 11:8-9; or grounded in Jesus' teaching), and what is a first-century cultural expression of it, which is therefore not necessarily applicable to every culture, but open to cultural transformation into each.

An Icelandic traveller would not appreciate having his feet put in a basin of cold water when he arrived home after a long trek, but in the hot, dusty climate of the Near East a foot-sore traveller would welcome it with relish. When Jesus was invited to a meal in the house of a Simon the Pharisee he pointed out that he did not provide the customary water to

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[685] William Barclay, *The Letters to the Corinthians* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1976), p. 97. Note the misunderstanding of Paul's concepts. Paul never believed or inferred that woman was inferior. Men and women were different and created for different ends. Woman had a unique place in God's creation and He placed her under Man's headship, to do her husband's will. But Barclay's misrepresentation is typical of most anti-Pauline commentators. Note the further misrepresentations, (1) veil, in place of Paul's "covering;" and (2) the veil is a sign of subjection, which is cultural. Contrast this with Paul's view that the covering is a recognition that a woman's authority is different from her husband's. Paul's view is theological not cultural.

[686] W. M. Ramsey, *The Cities of St. Paul* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1907) pp. 201-205.

[687] See 4.4.2.

wash his feet, or oil to anoint his head, nor did he give him the customary welcoming greeting of a kiss (Lk 7:44).

At the Last Supper Jesus took on the servant's task of washing the guests' feet. When he finished he told his disciples that they ought to wash one another's feet after his example (Jn 13:14-15). Does this mean we have to adopt this environmentally conditioned custom, even in Iceland, as a universal Church practice to be performed just before we observe the Lord's Supper? Common sense tells us that the hot environment of the Near East brought about this particular and necessary custom with its dusty, unmade roads. So this custom is environment-specific and may still be operative where the same conditions prevail. However, if we look behind the practice to the thought then we might see hygiene and personal comfort as the *expression of love toward a guest* taking this particular form due to the environment. Can these concerns be met in our culture using a different form because the environment is different? If so, then we have the equivalent duty to provide these for our guests.

Simon the Pharisee did not provide water for Jesus to wash his feet, or oil, or a personal greeting, which suggests that he was deliberately keeping his distance from Jesus while at the same time curious to meet him. So, looking after the welfare of each other (which may be environmentally conditioned), greeting, and showing affection will be the cultural equivalents of washing, anointing, and kissing, in any culture.

The head-covering has also been regarded as another legitimate case for cultural transformation. In this case due to the changing social role of women since Paul's day it is suggested that Paul should not be seen as placing any restrictions on women.[688]

4.8.7. GREET ONE ANOTHER WITH A HOLY KISS

When we look at non-biblical cultures we find that it was most unusual for men to greet another man's wife, never mind kiss her. Greco-Roman society treated the public kiss, both hetero- and homosexual, with considerable reticence. In Roman society the elder Cato threw Manilius out of the Senate because he kissed his own wife in the presence of his daughters.

Pliny describes an infection brought from Asia Minor by a quaestor's secretary in the middle of the principate of Tiberius Claudius Caesar. "Women were not liable to the disease, or slaves and the lower and middle classes, but the nobles were very much infected through the momentary contact of a kiss."[689] One can only conclude that the nobility kissed more than the other groups mentioned. Dio Chrysostom portrays the return of a young lad from the hunt who gives his betrothed a kiss along with the hare he has caught (*Orat.* 7.67). But later when Dio approached and kissed two hunters with whom he had been reunited he was ridiculed and he "understood that in the cities people do not kiss one another" (*Orat.* 7.59).

In Plutarch's *Fabius Maximus* two armies are reconciled and the men kiss one another as a sign of reconciliation (Section 18). In the time of Claudius men are said to have kissed each other when they met on the streets. It may have become the fashion in the early imperial period.

Josephus mentions kissing only four times; the only time he used φιλήμα is in the death scene at Masada when the fathers bid farewell to their loved ones before they massacre them (*Jewish War* 7.321). He portrays the infamous feigned kiss of Amasa (*Ant.* 7.284) which led to murder and the kiss of encouragement, obeisance and reconciliation between Achab and Adabos (*Ant.* 8.387). The pagan king, Darius, kisses the guardsman, Zorobabelos, who

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688 Linda Mercadante, *From Hierarchy to Equality: A Comparison of Past and Present Interpretations of 1 Cor 11:2-16 in Relation to the Changing Status of Women in Society* (Vancouver: G-M-H Books for Regent College, 1978).

689 Pliny, *Natural History,* 26.3.3-4.

had given the winning answer to the question, "What is the strongest?" and thereby makes him his kinsman, although the kiss comes only after he has asked for permission to rebuild the temple (following 1 Esdras 4.47; *Ant.* 11.59). Under these conditions it was only natural for the pagan king to seal his covenant by kissing the devout Jew.

Jacob kissed Rachel at their first meeting (Gen 29:11; cf. *Ant.* 1.288-91). This was puzzling to the Jewish rabbis. John Calvin was forced to assume that, "The order of events, however, is inverted in the narration of Moses; for Jacob did not kiss Rachel till he had informed her that he was her relative."[690]

In Judaism three types of kisses were apparently considered valid. Genesis Rabbah 70 [45b] states: "In general kissing leads to immorality: there are however three exceptions, namely kissing someone to honour that person (Samuel kissing Saul, 1 Sam 10.5), or kissing upon seeing someone after a long absence (Aaron kissed Moses, Exod 4.27) and the farewell kiss as when Orpah kissed Naomi (Ruth 1.14)."

The awareness that kissing between "brothers" was open to abuse is referred to in 1 Clement (AD 95-97), "Seeing then that we are the portion of the Holy One, let us do all things that pertain to holiness, forsaking slander, disgusting and impure embraces, drunkenness and rioting and detestable lusts, abominable adultery, detestable pride" (30.1).[691]

In *Joseph and Asenath,* which is a pre-Christian document but with Christian interpolations, when Joseph arrives Asenath's father urges her to greet Joseph. As she moves toward Joseph to kiss him Joseph stretches forth his right hand and says, "It is not fitting for a God-fearing man who blesses the living God with his lips . . . to kiss a foreign woman . . ." (8:4-5). But he goes on to say, "But a God-fearing man will kiss his mother, and his sisters born of his mother, and the sisters related to him, and the wife he sleeps with, who bless the living God with their mouth. Similarly it is not proper for a God-fearing woman to kiss a strange man, for it is an abomination before God" (8.6-7). There is no evidence that non-relatives could kiss each other.

"There is no basis in ancient texts, Jewish and Greco-Roman, outside the NT for the transformation of the kiss into a sign of religious community. There is no analogy in any body of religious literature to this practice commended by two writers of the NT."[692] A general admonition to kiss each other is not found in Jewish sources. It is unique to the Christian Church.[693]

But in the early church Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* 3.12) ruled that one is never to kiss his wife in the presence of domestics and never to greet her in the presence of slaves.

In the light of this strict cultural background to what extent can our present "anything goes" culture be read back into the text of the Apostolic codes of behaviour? For example, it is quite common to see vicars greet other men's wives, and young men and young women greeting each other in church with a so-called "holy kiss." When this questionable practice is challenged the justification is given that Scripture says: "Greet one another with a holy kiss."

But the apostolic writers were addressing *men* when they said, "Greet one another with a holy kiss (φιλήμα ἁγίον)" (Rom 16:16; 1 Cor 16:20; 2 Cor 13:12; 1 Thess 5:26; 1 Pet 5:14

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690 John Calvin, *Commentary on the Book of Genesis* (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 1948), 2.128.

691 The quotation is from Michael W. Holmes (edited and revised), *The Apostolic Fathers. Greek Texts and English Translation* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book, 1999), p. 61.

692 But the greeting did not originate with Jesus as suggested by William Klassen, "The Kiss in the New Testament: An Example of Social Boundary Lines," *NTS* 39 (1993) 122-135. It was already an accepted part of Jewish male life. Jesus did not receive the customary greeting of a kiss when he entered Simon the Pharisee's house (Lk 7:44).

693 J. B. Lightfoot, *Notes on Epistles of St Paul from unpublished commentaries* (London: Macmillan, 1895), p. 90 noted that the kiss was soon incorporated into the Eucharistic ceremony. See Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 65 Tertullian, *de Orat.* 18 and *ad Uxor.* ii. 4; *Const. Apost.* ii. 57, viii. 11. Compare Cyril of Jerusalem *Catech.* xxiii., *Myst* v. 3; Chrysostom, passim e.g. Hom. xx. *in Matth.* p. 205,; Clement of Alexandria, *Paedag.* iii. 11, §81.

"kiss of love [φιλήμα ἀγάπη]").[694] The grammatical gender is masculine. The *Good News Bible* consistently translates it as a "brotherly kiss" in Paul's texts,[695] and "the kiss of Christian love" in 1 Peter 5:14. Given the known culture of the time and the separation of male and female worshippers that God introduced into His Old Testament Church, it would have been against proper decorum for Peter and Paul to introduce a completely new custom of kissing women. Women greeted women and men greeted men. There would not have been any cross-gender kissing or physical contact between men and women.[696]

Ignorance of the contemporary situation in Paul's day led the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* to state concerning the "holy kiss:"

> No limitation is expressed or implied. The Christians were simply bidden to "greet one another." Nor is there any doubt that the primitive usage was for the "holy kiss" to be given promiscuously, without any restriction as to sexes or ranks, among those who were all one in Christ Jesus; . . . [697]

Similar ignorance lies behind the statement that the kiss was "indicative of the strong bond of brotherhood which bound Christian brothers and sisters to each other."[698] This indiscriminate kissing is then used as "proof" of the "complete spiritual equality of men and women."[699]

The abuse that the misapplication of these texts has led the modern church into, where younger women in particular are singled out for this treatment, is well known. Its origins are not found in biblical culture but in a culture that is anti-Christian; from the contrived "affection" of the stage world, and popularised by television celebrity shows. The text tells men to kiss men but this is conveniently forgotten. Kissing the opposite sex under the guise that Scripture commands it is to take advantage of another person's innocency. The practice ought to be dropped because it is based on a false understanding of Scripture. There is not a shred of evidence of Jewish men greeting women—not even their wives in public—with a kiss; indeed, Near Eastern culture as a whole is against such a practice.

The equivalent of the "kiss"[700] in our culture is shaking hands and men should be content with that lest it leads on to sin. The principle of greeting one another is the important thing, the form that it takes will vary from culture to culture (rubbing noses or bowing toward one another, etc.).

In the two explicit cases where men are said to have kissed each other (Paul and the Ephesian elders, and the prodigal son and his father) the men embraced each other with their heads on each other's shoulders, and, presumably, kissed each other's neck or cheek while in that embrace. Such a warm, full frontal embrace and kiss between men and women would be frowned on today, never mind then. Given the Jewish culture of the time, Paul never

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694 The verb καταφιλέω occurs six times, Mt 26:49; Mk 14:45 Jn 7:38, 45; 15:20 Acts 20:37. See Chart 19. Title: "Paul and the New Testament writers addressed their letters to men," and 4.3.3.

695 Which is translated as 'brother kiss' ('Bruderkuss') in the modern German translation of the Bible, *Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft* (1982).

696 It is quite common to find Christian writers assuming that modern practices of cross gender kissing was advocated by Peter and Paul; cf. William Klassen, "The Kiss in the New Testament: An Example of Social Boundary Lines," *NTS* 39 (1993) 122-135.

697 Wm Smith (ed.), *A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* (London: J. Murray, 1875), II, 902.

698 James Donaldson, *Woman: Her Position and Influence in Ancient Greece and Rome, and Among Early Christians.* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1907), p. 172.

699 T. B. Allworthy, *Women in the Apostolic Church* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1917), p. 68.

700 Under φιλεω Liddell & Scott give *kiss on the mouth* (φ. τῷ στόματι) from which we may infer that 'kiss' by itself does not inform us which part of the head men are to greet men. Since kissing on the mouth was probably an explicit sexual act, it is doubtful if this is what the apostles had in mind. Judas kissed Jesus (Mt 26:49 and parallels); a woman kissed his feet (Lk 7:38, 45), the prodigal son's father fell on his neck and kissed him [kissed his neck?] (Lk 15:20), the elders of Ephesus 'wept as they fell on his neck and kissed him' (Acts 20:37). In all these cases the word is καταφιλέω.

intended his injunction to kiss one another to be taken outside the specific context in which it was originally given, as it has been done indiscriminately today.[701]

This example illustrates that we must be careful not to lift something which is descriptive and culturally conditioned, and make it prescriptive without taking into account the original setting in life in which the practice was in vogue. If it had been understood that the culture of Paul's day did not permit men and women to kiss one another, then the injunction, "Greet one another with a holy kiss," would never have been taken in the modern way by the original hearers/listeners. It would have been shocking and a scandal in Greek and Roman culture.

In the light of the cultural facts and also that Paul addressed his admonition to men it is surprising to find a twentieth-century writer say:

> He [Paul] was certainly the first popular ethical teacher known to instruct members of a mixed social group to continue to greet each other with a kiss whenever or wherever they meet. . . . The imperative is not limited to one's own gender for the protection of the holy kiss resides in what it communicates. It was not an erotic act, but an act meant to express ἀγάπη—that 1 Peter 5.14 saw clearly. Paul is as liberated in attitudes towards women as Jesus himself had been, and in comparison with Jewish and Hellenistic moralists only Musonius Rufus comes close to him. . . . Paul invites a situation in which a woman will give a man unrelated to her, except in the household of God, a holy kiss in public.[702]

If Paul had introduced a completely unheard of practice of women kissing men in what non-Christians would have considered a new social group they risked the slander of those who were on the outside looking in. But how would this sexual scandal fit into Paul's exhortation that Christians were not to give offence? "Become offenceless, both to Jews and Greeks, and to the church of God" (1 Cor 10:32). Would it attract prostitutes to become "Christians" in order to enjoy the new innovation and get new trade?

The first recorded criticism came from Athenagoras in *ca.* AD 175 who invoked an unknown scripture against kissing a second time because it was enjoyable (*Supplicatio* 32). Clement of Alexandria warned against the shameless use of the kiss "which occasions foul suspicions and evil reports." He warned that "love is not proved by a kiss" and complained that there were those "who do nothing but make the churches resound with a kiss." On the manner of kissing he advised: "We dispense the affection of the soul by a chaste and closed mouth, by which chiefly gentle manners are expressed." Tertullian (*De oratione* 18) said that no public prayer was complete without the members of the congregation kissing each other. But he also displayed keen sensitivities to the pagan husband who was offended by the knowledge that his own wife kissed other men in public.

Because it is not clear whether women and men were divided into separate physical areas of the pagan temples in Greek and Roman public worship, as was the case in Jewish worship, it is possible that the injunction to greet one another with a holy kiss may have been misapplied in a cross gender situation.

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701 For the evidence that Paul was addressing men in his epistles see 4.3.3 above.

702 William Klassen, "The Kiss in the New Testament: An Example of Social Boundary Lines," *NTS* 39 (1993) 130-31. See the evidence in "Musonius Rufus, Jesus and Paul: Three First Century Feminists," in *From Jesus to Paul: Studies in Honour of Francis Wright Beare* (ed. Peter Richardson and John Hurd; Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University, 1984, pp. 185-202. Klassen (*op. cit.,* p. 132) also envisages Paul greeting Lydia with a kiss on the streets of Philippi (Acts 16:11-15).

4.9 IS THERE A DISTINCTIVE CHRISTIAN CULTURE?

Should Christianity have its own distinctive culture and should there be universals that characterise it? The short answer is Yes. A Christian is one who is totally and absolutely a follower or imitator of Christ and his teaching, and an imitator of His Apostles and their teaching. His commands (whether conveyed through His own lips or those of His Apostles) should govern every minute of his/her life.[703]

We live in an age of increasing nudity paraded under the guise of art and fashion. When there was only one married couple in the world, namely, Adam and Eve, the Creator Himself made clothes to cover them. If the Creator Himself covers them then this is a very significant cultural act and it should be imitated for all time and in all cultures where Christians are called upon to follow the teaching of the Bible. The modesty with which a Christian woman covers her body is a direct result of the teaching of Scripture. She will not follow the fashion of the world which is to draw attention to the flesh.

Jesus told Satan that man cannot live on bread alone but needs "every word that proceeds out of the mouth of God." The entire Old Testament is God's Word to His Church in the wilderness. This revelation created the OT Church's culture from top to bottom. No facet of life was not touched by it. It totally dominated the life of every person living within the borders of Israel. God created His own culture from scratch and caused it to be written down.

The Exposition on the Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy noted that, "In inspiration, God utilized the culture and conventions of his penmen's milieu, a milieu that God controls in His sovereign providence; it is misinterpretation to imagine otherwise."[704]

It was within this historically conditioned, religious culture that God continued to speak to His people, constantly drawing their attention to His universals through His prophets. This theocratic culture could not be improved upon. God revealed to His people that their God-centred culture would be the envy of the world, if only they would follow it closely.

Waltke pointed out that the Old Testament revelation of God's will is normative for His Chosen People and cannot be ruled out of hand for three reasons: (1) God ordained Israel's culture; it is not man-made. (2) God's prophets critiqued Israel's culture but not patriarchy, which He instituted; and (3) The practice of Jesus confirms male headship. On the first point he notes:

> First, God sovereignly ordained the culture in which he became incarnate. The roles played by godly women in ancient Israel are due to his design, not chance. The Sovereign God, not Lady Luck, is Israel's Lord. Since his sovereignty extends even to assigning the pagans their gods and their cultures (Deut 4:19), we may rightly suppose that the Sovereign did not hand over to Chance either his representation of himself as father, Son and Spirit or the role of women in the nation that he chose to bless the world by embodying and disseminating his teaching (cf. Gen 18:18-19).

On the second point he noted:

> Second, Israel's prophets, God's mouth, were iconoclasts, not traditionalists, who called Israel into the dock for numerous injustices. . . . However, not one of these cultural revolutionaries regarded patriarchy as an unjust or oppressive form of government. Quite the contrary. They interpreted the rule by women as

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703 Sections 4.1.1.1. and 4.8.2. should be read with this section.

704 Norman L. Geisler, *Inerrancy* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1979), p. 500.

> God's judgment against the sinful nation. Isaiah, for example, ridicules it: "Children are their oppressors, and women rule over them" (Isa 3:12). They inveighed, however, against the abuse of power that oppressed women: "The women of my people you cast out from their pleasant homes" (Micah 2:9).

He might have mentioned Malachi's complaint that the men "cover the Lord's altar with tears, with weeping and groaning because he no longer regards the offering or accepts it with favour at your hand. You ask, 'Why does he not?' Because the Lord was witness to the covenant between you and the wife of your youth, to whom you have been faithless, though she is your companion and your wife by covenant" (Mal 2:14). On the third point he observed:

> Third, our Lord was a revolutionary in his own age with regard to the role of women in worship. He amazed his disciples by conversing with a woman because he violated the prejudice of both the Jews and the Romans against women (John 4:27). The Son of God bestowed dignity upon the Samaritan adulteress, "unclean" by Jewish standards, by revealing to her for the first time that worship would now be directed toward the Father in heaven, not toward "Mecca-like" Jerusalem on earth (John 4:21-25). Moreover, our Lord entrusted women to be the original witnesses to his resurrection, the cornerstone of the Christian faith, though their testimony would have been discounted in a Roman court . . . . He rewarded the devotion of Mary of Magdala . . . by allowing her to be the first person to meet him after his resurrection . . . . His disciples refused to believe Mary's report of the risen Lord. In fact, they dismissed it as an "idle tale" . . . . Later Jesus rebuked them for their unwillingness to believe her . . . . yet he implicitly confirmed the role of men as rulers by not appointing a woman as an apostle, though women followed him, ministered to him, and were his close friends.

Waltke might have pointed out that Jesus did not appoint His own mother to any position of authority even though she knew him for the whole of his 33 1/2 years, whereas the twelve apostles only knew Jesus for the last three and a half years of His life. She must have been in her early fifties, whereas all the Apostles were only as old as her son. It is a common objection to Jesus' choice of only male apostles that He was a prisoner of his patriarchal culture. In other words He was short-sighted. But the same objectors press for woman leaders by selectively pointing out that Jesus went against His culture in sending women to inform His Apostles that He had risen. Waltke continues:

> Does it make sense to argue that Jesus, who in these matters pertaining to theology was so counter-cultural with respect to women, only appointed male apostles, upon whom he founded his Church, because he was culturally conditioned? Is it not more plausible to think that had he intended to empower women to have equality with men in government, he would have called a woman to be an apostle, either before or after his resurrection? The appointment of men or women to this important office is not a matter of theological indifference.[705]

Waltke might also have pointed out that in the qualifications laid down in 1 Timothy 3 and Titus 1 for the office of Elder no provision was made by the Holy Spirit for a woman holding this office.[706]

But to return to the topic of this section, no Christian can read the Bible on a daily basis and not be influenced by this drip-feed exercise in his daily cultural expression. For

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[705] Bruce K. Waltke, "The Role of Women in the Bible," *Crux* 31 (no. 3, 1995) 29-40, esp. p. 31.

[706] See 3 above.

example, the frugality of the Christian man in the way he spends his money on himself and his family in order to give more to help maintain and/or establish a vibrant Christian witness in his own locality and on the mission field is the outcome of taking the Great Commission seriously as part of his calling—a calling which every Christian man is obliged to fulfil in some direct manner.

When a Christian's eyes are fixed solely and resolutely on the things of Christ this will alter his world view, and permanently alter his outlook on all things. He will regard himself as steward of whatever material blessings he has. Everything is to be used for the glory of Christ and the Father. He will gladly submit all in the service of Christ. This attitude of mind and heart does not spring from the natural goodness of the human heart. It requires nothing less than a fundamental regeneration of his life which is the work of the Holy Spirit. Without it many can ape the Christian way of life but never know the deep joy of sacrificing what he knows he cannot keep for something which he knows he cannot lose. Eventually the fake Christian will give himself away, his unregenerate heart will not be able to keep up the facade and this come out in an unwillingness to give up something that s/he knows is required by Scripture. The real self will emerge as a disobedient spirit, as one who will suppress the truth rather than conform to it. It is at that point that the Christian worker should step back from discussing post-conversion issues with such an individual, and seek to convert the mind of such to a new baptism into Christ—a willingness to put His teaching above everything else.

Of Caleb it was said: "Because my servant Caleb has a different spirit and follows me whole-heartedly, I will bring him into the land he went to" (Num 14:24). Contrast Caleb with King Saul who was commanded to exterminate the Amalekites but disobeyed: he spared the best of the cattle and sheep because of democratic pressure, as he explained to Samuel, "the people took of the spoil of the flock and cattle . . . for sacrifice to Yahweh your God" (1 Sam 15:20). Saul, the appointed leader, allowed himself to be pressurised into a democratic compromise with God's specific command ("it was only when my troops demanded it that I let them keep the best of the sheep and oxen . . ."). He put the blame on the people and justified giving in to their high moral sounding demands because he thought their motive ("to sacrifice to Yahweh") was a good one. Good or bad he had a higher duty that should have been carried out to the letter. He was God's legitimate king and he should have rejected the will of the people.

Today ministers of the Gospel are giving in to pressure from the people to reject specific commands such as proper head-coverings, and over who should speak in the assembly. Saul took upon himself the authority to qualify or modify God's specific command to him. He did not have this authority, and neither does any minister, to change God's good laws. For his arrogance Saul was rejected as king of Israel and God raised up another leader, someone whom He could trust not to give in to the democratic voice, who would carry out all His laws. We are told today that if we conform to God's will in the matter of head-covering and speaking in Church then no-one will want to become a Christian, therefore God's laws *have to be set aside* in order to gain converts for Him. Samuel's reply to Saul still stands today: "Obedience is far better than sacrifice" (1 Sam 15:22); and Jesus' teaching is still applicable today: "If you love Me keep my commands" (Jn 14:15).

The issues discussed here can only take root in a regenerate heart and can only blossom in an atmosphere of trust and faith in the Lord, and a deep love for every word of the Master, and a burning desire to conform to His every wish; to seek out the principle as much as the letter, but also to be prepared to follow the letter even where an understanding of the principle has not been grasped.

The Christian Church today has lost its own distinctive culture and prefers to put a Christian veneer over the fleshly ways of the world to which it has given in to at almost every level. But every level is transformed when Christians receive the "mind of Christ." His values become their values. His desire become theirs—to please the Father in everything. Having the

mind and the Spirit of Christ will alter the Christian's total outlook and the value he puts on time, possessions, pursuits, education, work, art, scientific advancement, etc. The Christian's values will be shaped and guided by the teaching of Scripture and not by standards of behaviour and language acceptable to producers of TV sit-coms and radio plays, or the morals of the lowest common denominator.

The writings of the Apostles gave careful consideration to spell out for the Christian community certain codes of behaviour which were compatible with the acceptance of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and others which were incompatible with it. The leaders of Christ's Church saw things more clearly then than any modern Christian will possibly ever see them. The modern Church tends to sit in judgment on these Apostolic codes of behaviour and compromise them.

If we examine the Christian culture outlined in the Apostolic codes it is clear that the Headships of God, Christ and Man are central to them. Yet when we examine the non-Christian cultures of Greece and Rome we discover that the headship of Man is already in force within those cultures and in every culture surrounding the Mediterranean basin and in the ancient Near East cultures. This was something that these cultures had in common with Judaism. But "headship" in these cultures is a witness to the fulfilment of the curse that God pronounced in Genesis 3:16. This kind of "force-headship" will never lead to peace as these cultures bear witness to.

Given that the curse of Genesis 3:16 was destined to pervade human culture, beginning in Adam's own family, we are not surprised to find that it pervades every human nation, tribe, clan, and family in the world. It is a universal "given" that will characterise every culture until the Lord returns. But Paul has showed the world "a better way," the way of "love-headship" which can only be restored when a man submits to the headship of Christ.

Jesus makes the point that all men from the creation of the world to the end of time will rise up on the same day and meet together at His Judgment throne. The men of Nineveh will point the finger of God's condemnation at the men of Jesus' generation as will the Queen of Sheba (separated by 1000 years of human history) (Lk 11:31-32).

Differences of cultures are irrelevant when it comes to obeying God's moral laws which are relevant for all ages and cultures. Every generation must saturate itself in "every word of God" and allow its values and outlook to dominate and shape its culture. Anything that replaces it is an idol. So crucial is the need for "every word of God" to live a life pleasing to Him that God commands His people to consider them all their waking hours and even during the hours that they lie down to sleep. Such attention to God's Word will produce its own distinctive culture among God's people universally.

4.10 EVANGELICAL COMPROMISES

Under "evangelical compromises" are included views which are current in evangelical circles which may not have appeared in print. The following are some such views.

4.10.1. WOMEN ARE PERMITTED TO TEACH MATURE MEN PROVIDED THE WOMEN ARE UNDER SOME "ULTIMATE MALE TEACHER."

Those who take this view go part of the way with Paul in that they note that Paul's foundation is based on creation theology, and not on the culture of Corinth. This is to be welcomed. However, they do not go all the way with Paul. They compromise his stand

against all participation of women in the worship service. They have overlooked the unbreakable connection Paul makes between silence and submission. They go together: they cannot be separated without destroying the submissive disposition.[707]

Their compromised position is to allow women to teach men provided she in turn is answerable to another man for what she teaches, and that he can "correct" her. Surely every male teacher is in the same position as a female teacher. If s/he is in error the gathered church of male members should discipline him/her as in 1 Corinthians 5:4, "in the name of the Lord Jesus—ye [all the "brothers"] being gathered together, also my spirit . . . to deliver up such an one to the Adversary for the destruction of the flesh . . ." (Young's Literal Translation). There is no suggestion in the NT that over every woman teacher there sits a big brother keeping an ear open to everything she says in case she leads "Adam" astray again. The big brother who is termed by them the "ultimate male teacher" sounds very much like a male Protestant Pope!—the Ultimate Supreme Teacher—the Infallible Teacher. What happens when Big Brother departs from Scripture and the female teacher does not?

Who or what this "ultimate male teacher" is, is not clarified. Would a bishop fulfil the role of "ultimate male teacher"? If so, then women can be ordained to the ministry, but opponents of women's ordination are against this development. When the day arrives (as it surely will) when we have women bishops then she can retain her position theologically because the Archbishop will be the "ultimate male teacher." When the day arrives (as it must) when we have a woman Archbishop then she too can retain her position theologically, because the world-wide Anglican Communion will be given the title of "ultimate male teacher," or will the Pope (by then) be the "ultimate male teacher"? And then one day we shall have a woman Pope because Jesus will be "acknowledged" to be Head of the Church, the "Ultimate Male Teacher" to appease residual "Protestant" reservations.

Evangelical theologians and ministers have given in to the demand for "equal opportunities for women" by permitting them to become ordained ministers. The same force is operating even now to press for "equal opportunities for women" to become bishops and archbishops, and why not? Once the principle is conceded it is inconsistent to refuse women the opportunity to get to the top, and become Archbishop. If they are consistent with their own theological reasons for permitting women to become ordained ministers then it would be un-Christian of these evangelical ministers to stop her reaching the top. There can be no half-way stage (the women will see to that!). The most powerful argument that Dr. George Carey could put forward for many years against the ordination of women was not theological, but pragmatic. His much quoted words were, "The time is not right." When pressed at the height of the debate to admit women to Holy Orders he stated quite openly: "There are no theological arguments against the ordination of women."

By making small concessions over a long period of time to the demand for "equal opportunities" the Church created a climate where the apostolic tradition was broken. Now that women are ordained, as night follows day, there will be an unstoppable engulfing of the entire hierarchy of the Church of England by those who object to Paul's teaching on Man's headship *from the inside*. The compromised position of some evangelicals will give the feminists the "theological justification" that they have been desperately seeking in order to teach mature men. Evangelicals who oppose women ministers but permit women to pray or speak in the public church meeting are in the same camp with the feminists. They can oppose

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[707] Some want to compromise the exclusive teaching role that God has given to men, by advocating that a woman might teach men if she herself is under a senior male teacher, see Paul W. Barnett, "Wives and Women's Ministry (1 Timothy 2:11-15)," *Evangelical Quarterly* 61 (1989) 225-38. John Stott approves of women clergy but draws the line at their appointment to position of rector or bishop in *Issues Facing Christians Today* (London: Marshalls, 1984), pp. 252-54 (see also 4.8.1-3). He does not spell out what Christians are to do when women are appointed as rectors and bishops. Presumably concede, and draw the line at the appointment of women to the Archbishopric. And what then, when that last office is taken? Is he advocating we disobey a woman who is made a rector? The Holy Spirit drew the line at not permitting a woman to speak in the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ. Once that line is passed then consistency dictates that she be Archbishop one day.

a woman becoming archbishop because the Word that debars women from leadership of men also debars them from speaking in church. Evangelicals are being inconsistent if they disapprove of the former but approve the latter. They both stand or fall together.

4.10.2. WOMEN ARE PERMITTED TO PROPHESY IN CHURCH BUT ARE NOT PERMITTED TO INTERPRET TONGUES.

Some reading 1 Corinthians 14:34, see it as:

> a prohibition on women *pronouncing* on an utterance in tongues, because to have a woman interpret decisively such utterances would contravene the principle of 1 Tim. 2—such interpretation would involve the kind of authority that a teacher has in expounding the word of God. In an important way the person who interprets has an ultimate authority in the particular setting. He can allow or disallow utterances: the utterances need his *imprimatur* and the speakers are to that extent under his authority. *It is not simply a question of explaining the utterance's meaning; it is a question of adjudicating its validity.* Without an interpreter the speaker in tongues cannot submit his or her utterance to the Church (v. 28). It is no doubt for that reason that women are allowed to prophesy, since ultimate authority continues to lie elsewhere. Moreover, when they do prophesy, they are under the authority of a "judge," who to that extent has authority over them (v. 29). This is all perfectly consistent with 1 Tim. 2 and the principle that it lays down.

This viewpoint assumes that the spiritual message conveyed by the tongue speaker was some kind of non-human language (the tongue of angels) and that therefore the one "interpreting" it could introduce their own ideas into what was said, leaving the congregation at the mercy of the interpreter. This is the fear that lies behind the prohibition on women being the interpreter. But this misses the point. The tongue is a human language and the interpreter is someone who is a native speaker and so know the language in question, or the Holy Spirit has given someone else in the congregation the gift of the same human language. The content of the one speaking in tongues and the one prophesying is the same, because it is the same Spirit in both that is speaking. Consequently, the interpreter is just an intermediary. Whereas prophesying is the Spirit speaking directly, the tongue-speaker is the Spirit speaking indirectly to the church. Both are valid, says Paul, provided there is an interpreter in the case of the tongue-speaker. It is irrelevant whether the interpreter is male or female. What prevents a woman from being an interpreter in church is that this is the one place where she is not allowed to speak, not even to interpret. She can be an interpreter and a prophetess outside the church.

In any case the argument is confused. On the one hand it talks about a woman "*pronouncing* on an utterance in tongues," and then equates this with interpreting the utterance (" because to have a woman interpret decisively . . . "). If the interpreter is simply translating the human language of the tongue-speaker, this is not the same thing as pronouncing on it, or passing some value-judgment on it. They are two distinct functions. It would clarify the matter if instead of using the term "interpreter" we used the word "translator" instead.

The suggestion that the interpreter "can allow or disallow utterances" and that the hearers are at the mercy of the interpreter in conveying more than what the tongue-speaker conveyed, is not correct if the interpreter is merely a translator. If the translator fails to give a competent translation it is a misrepresentation of what the tongue-speaker said.

Having missed the point that the interpreter is a translator and nothing more, the argument then proceeds quite illogically that, "women are allowed to prophesy, since ultimate authority continues to lie elsewhere."

This compromise maintains that the prohibition on silence in 1 Corinthians 14:34 is a limited to a ban on women being an interpreter of tongues. Is not the interpretation itself *also* the work of the Holy Spirit? Can a godly woman not be trusted to give a true translation? If she can speak in a human tongues to deliver a Spirit-message, why can she not speak in a translation tongue? Neither the delivery nor the translation belongs to her but to the Spirit. If the Spirit is the agent for both conveying the tongue-message and for translating it, then there can be no input by the human means (male or female). The difference does not lie in some supposed unsuitability or defect in the agent the Spirit uses, but in the headship relation between man and woman. The headship of Man requires submission on the part of women and the form this takes is silence throughout the worship service as it was under the Law (14:34b).

If a woman cannot be a translator of tongues (human languages) inside the church building can she be an interpreter outside the church building? In an evangelistic address can she be a translator of a human language? In other words, must all preaching by males in their native tongues have male translators? If the situation is outside the formal church meeting then provided the woman is covered and there is no offense given to the culture in which the message is being delivered, a woman may use her gift to interpret the male speaker's message. If it is inappropriate to hear a woman speak in such a public role then a male translator should be used.

If a woman has the gift of teaching (or tongues or prophecy) from the Holy Spirit the gift of teaching cannot be any different from the same gift given to a man, so it is difficult to see how the same gift can have two gender forms: one a male form (ultimate teacher) and the other a female form (non-ultimate). *The spiritual gift must be the same because it comes from the same Spirit.* Consequently to regard the same gift as slightly unreliable when given to a woman, so that she always has to be under the authority of a male with the same gift (presumably), but always reliable when given to a male, is a man-made distinction and it has no counterpart when compared to the gift of prophecy or tongue-speaking which men and women receive from the same Spirit. If a woman is given the gift to teach then it is the same gift as that given to a man, and she must exercise it in the sphere in which she is called to fulfil her creation function, namely, at home and among her own sex. The same goes for every gift she is given. If she is a teacher then she must teach with the authority that a man teaches with, but only within the sphere she is called to function in. The check on every woman teacher's gift will be the menfolk of the women she teaches. Each wife is expected to put her questions to her own menfolk, but in the case where a woman convert is the sole Christian member of her family, then other female teachers will be able to edify her in her own home, if necessary.

It is difficult to accept this view because it uses 1 Corinthians 14:34 to prevent women being a translator of a message given in an unknown tongue, because, it is argued, it puts her in a crucial position between the tongue-speaker and the rest of the Church. Unfortunately for this view it does not come out of the text itself, and, significantly, it does not take us to 1 Corinthians 14 to justify this odd interpretation. Why not? The immediately preceding topic to 14:34-35 deals with prophesying, not tongue-speaking, so if anything, the prohibition on women speaking must include prophesying. But this view admits that women can prophesy in the Church. If "prophesying" includes "edification," that is, teaching (as it does in 14:3) then women, on this approach, could also "teach in prophesying." But the immediate context of 14:34 would prohibit her from "prophesying." It is therefore puzzling why this view chooses to silence the woman giving an interpretation of tongues (which is dealt with in 14:27-28) but does not silence her from prophesying (which is dealt with in vv. 29-33 and

continued in v. 39). It may be that this view assumes 1 Corinthians 11:5 permits her to prophesy in church. But since Scripture cannot contradict Scripture, and since 11:1-16 comes under the out-of-church section of the Epistle (i.e., it goes with chaps 5-10; see 4.3.6) which is supported by the universal/cosmological principle in 11:3, the context of chapter 11:2-16 is not the worship service but the day-to-day exercise of praying or prophesying that all Christians (male and female) indulged in every day of the week. Women can pray or prophesy every day of the week and when they do so they must be covered. The only place and time when they must be silent is in the formal weekly gathering of the *ecclesia:* there they are to recognise publicly the headship of Man by remaining respectfully quiet and attentive to what is going on, just as the holy women of old did when they came with their menfolk to worship at the Temple of God in Jerusalem.

Also this view has not taken into account the hermeneutical context, which belongs to the first-century, and which shows that Paul is speaking to men ("brothers"), not women, throughout the Epistle.[708] If this had been observed then the prohibition on women would have been seen to be a permanent ruling. The background to 1 Corinthians 14 seems to be some form of frustration in the worship service where men were using their gifts inappropriately. Maybe tongue-speakers were monopolising their limited worship time, boring the rest, especially when there was no translator present. The letter to Paul probably asked for some ruling on the problem, and he gives the guiding criterion that whoever participates in the service must see that what he has to contribute benefits all those present and not just a minority. "Let all things be for building up" (v. 26).[709]

There are other aspects of the worship service not dealt with by Paul here (such as the reading of the OT and the Gospels [in its oral stage?] and prayers for all men, etc.) which would need to be fitted into the worship time, so Paul limits the number of tongue-speakers and prophets to "two, or at the most, three" of each kind. He then makes the significant addition in v. 34 that women are not to use their gifts of tongue-speaking and prophesying (minimum application because of the immediate context; but in fact the reason he gives in vv. 34b-35 rules out all speaking of any kind by women) during the worship service.

4.10.3. WOMEN ARE PERMITTED TO PRAY IN CHURCH BUT NOT TO PROPHESY

A Liberal-Conservative position[710]

The bottom line of this position permits women to pray in public, and to lead men in prayer in the church meeting on the same terms as men (i.e., with an uncovered head[711]). However, it abides by the command in 1 Timothy 2:12 that a woman should not teach (or preach to) men in the church meeting. Those advocating this position would claim to be "evangelical Christians." However, this position is a concession or compromise (some would say an act of appeasement) to the persistent secular and vociferous feminist pressure on the Church's traditional teaching.[712]

The justification to pray in public is taken from 1 Corinthians 11:5. Indeed, this is the only justification put forward, yet it hangs precariously on *the assumption that this passage*

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[708] See 4.3.3. and Chart 19. Title: "Paul and the New Testament writers addressed their letters to men."

[709] See 4.3.4 and 4.3.9 above.

[710] This section should be read in conjunction with 4.3.6. "1 Corinthians and its out-of-church context."

[711] See 4.4. which deals with the theological significance of head-covering and Chart 18. Title: "The significance of the uncovered head in the presence of God."

[712] In Britain this pressure has come through the Equal Opportunities Commission, political correctness, sex discrimination legislation in the workplace, liberalising the marriage and divorce laws, etc.

refers to the church meeting. Given this assumption, the argument goes, "If the men can pray in church with an uncovered head, then the women can also. Paul uses the same phrase, 'pray or prophesy,' and applies it equally to men and women. Paul treats the sexes as equals as regards their functions in church."

Two minor supporting arguments are: (1) that the watching angels of 11:10 are present in the church service and (2), the reference to "the churches of God" in 11:16 may also point to a church setting for the chapter.

OBJECTIONS

The evidence for a church setting for 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 from the two minor supporting arguments is inconclusive because angels are everywhere,[713] not just in church meetings, and the term "churches of God" in this context is intended to cover the universal community of God's people. The custom of women praying or prophesying with an uncovered head, says Paul, is not found anywhere among the churches of God, that is, among the Christian communities throughout the world and this is borne out by the testimony of the Early Church Fathers.

The five main weaknesses of this interpretation are:

(1) It is illogical. Paul says, "pray *and* prophesy."

(2) It sets up a contradiction between 1 Corinthians 11:5 and 1 Timothy 2:12; 1 Corinthians 14:26.

(3) 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 is assumed to refer to the church meeting.

(4) It sets up a contradiction between 1 Corinthians 11:5 and 14:26, 34-35.[714]

(5) Even if a woman could pray in public she must do so with her head covered. The dress-codes are gender-specific, theological, and as permanent as their natures.

Regarding the first point, Paul says "pray or prophesy," not just "pray." If women can pray in church then logically they can also prophesy or preach.[715] By conceding women could not teach (through preaching) or have authority over men, the hope was that they

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[713] 1 Cor 4:9, "we have been made a spectacle to the world, both to angels and to men." "I charge you before God and the Lord Jesus Christ and the elect angels . . . ." (1 Tim 5:21).

[714] Some versions make the contradiction explicit by introducing the assumption into their translation. The *Good News Bible* (2nd ed. 1994) reads 1 Cor 11:5, "And any woman who prays or proclaims God's message in public worship . . . ." The words "in public worship" are not in the Greek (the words are inserted three times, at 11:4, 5, 13). Then it translates 14:34-35, "the women should keep quiet in the meetings. They are not allowed to speak . . . . It is a disgraceful thing for a woman to speak in church." The reader is left with a contradiction on the one hand, and the need to reconcile this with an infallible Word of God on the other. *The Jerusalem Bible* (1966) also creates a contradiction by inserting a heading: "Decorum in public worship" and a sub-heading before 11:2, "Women's behaviour at services." It then strangely locates chapter 14 "in the community" rather than in the church. *The New American Bible* (1970) heads ch. 11 with "Conduct at Public Worship." *The New English Bible* (2nd ed. 1970) inserts the heading: "Men and women in the church." *The New International Bible* (1979) likewise has: "Covering the Head in Worship." Its 1982 edition has "Propriety in Worship" at ch. 11 and "Orderly Worship" at ch. 14. The *RSV* (1946) has a header title, "Instructions on worship." J. B. Phillips' translation, *The New Testament in Modern English* (1958) hints at a contradiction with its translation: "But in the case of a woman, if she prays or preaches with her head uncovered . . . ." Likewise *The Living Bible* (1971), "And that is why a woman who publicly prays or prophesies without a covering . . . ." The word "publicly" is not in the Greek. See the footnotes under 4.3.6. "1 Corinthians 11 and its out-of-church context" for those who place 11:2-16 in an out-of-church context.

[715] Paul's definition of "prophesy" is set out in 1 Cor 14:3, "But he who prophesies speaks edification [= teach] and exhortation [= command] and comfort [= counsel] to men. . . . prophesying is not for unbelievers but for those who believe . . . . you can all prophesy . . . that all may learn [= teach] and all may be encouraged [= counsel]" (14:22, 31).

might be permitted the innocent activity of praying in public. The innocent act of picking fruit from the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil was not thought to have any theological consequences *at the time.* What leaven is to unleavened bread, compromises are to the Truth. Both are altered permanently. Both products have to be destroyed. 1 Corinthians 11:5 cannot be used to support women praying in public without conceding to them the right to teach (through preaching) in church. If they cannot preach then they cannot pray. The two stand or fall together. Which is it?

On the second point, Scripture is set against Scripture so that 1 Corinthians 11:5 condones what 1 Timothy 2:12 condemns. Having conceded that women cannot teach or have authority over men, this "evangelical" position is faced with a dilemma if 1 Corinthians 11:5 applies to the church meeting. But there is no contradiction if 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 is dealing with an out-of-church situation where women pray or prophesy (covered) in their own homes.

No. 3 is responsible for no. 4. We can test the assumption in no. 3 by examining the contradiction in no. 4.

We know from Acts 2:17-18 that all of God's people—male and female—could prophesy. This was a universal gift that accompanied the gift of the Spirit.

> And it shall come to pass in the last days, says God, that I will pour out my Spirit on **all flesh**; your sons and your daughters shall prophesy. . . . And on my menservants and on my maidservants I will pour out my Spirit in those days; **and they shall prophesy**.[716]

When we examine 1 Corinthians 14:31 we see that the same outpouring of the Spirit is still a common feature in the Christian community. But in this context the gift of "prophesying" is said to be on all the *men* in the church. Paul, addressing the "brethren,"[717] says: "For you can all prophesy one by one." Having said this, the Spirit then explicitly excludes the sisters from speaking in the public worship service with the words, "Let your women keep silent in the churches, for they are not permitted to speak, but they are to be submissive as the law[718] also says." So a gift that every Christian—male and female—had from the Holy Spirit could not be used indiscriminately, or in prohibited places, "The spirits of the prophets are subject[719] to the prophets" (1 Cor 14:32).

The ban on women speaking (Greek *lalein,* which is the general word for any kind of verbal communication, including prophesying) in church is anchored in God's wisdom when He set up His worship under the Old Covenant. The worship service of the New Testament Church was not set up in a cultural vacuum. Hundreds of synagogues existed all over the Roman Empire. Wherever Jews lived there were synagogues. The first congregation in Corinth consisted largely of ex-synagogue members. Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, became a Christian with all his family. He was baptized by Paul (1 Cor 1:14) and the new church met in Justus' house, next door to the synagogue (Acts 18:7-8).

The synagogue was modelled on the Temple in Jerusalem in that men and women sat apart from each other, replicating the Court of the Men and the Court of the Women in the Temple.[720] All its functioning office-bearers were male.[721] Women were not permitted to

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[716] The Ephesian church began with twelve men who, as soon as Paul baptized them "the Holy Spirit came upon them, and they spoke with tongues and **prophesied**" (Acts 19:7). Here "prophesying" may well have taken the form of instant praise and thanks to God at being incorporated into His new Church.

[717] As was his consistent practice in all his epistles; see 4.3.3. for the data and Chart 19. Title: "Paul and the New Testament writers addressed their letters to men."

[718] The term "law" is used of the quotation from Isaiah 28:11-12 in 14:21, so that Paul is referring to the whole of the Old Testament under this term. The use of the plural "churches" reads like a universal ruling by the Spirit, which Paul applies to the one church in Corinth (1:2).

[719] Or: under the control of the prophets.

[720] Acts 2:46 and 5:42 show the Church meeting in the Temple "daily," presumably in the male quarter (i.e.,

speak in any public meeting. God never asked any of His prophetesses to go to the Temple to deliver a message to His people as He did with Jeremiah and the other male prophets, including the twelve Apostles (Acts 5:20). Prophetesses, like Huldah, prophesied in their own homes to whoever came to visit them.[722]

When God set up His Temple worship He, according to His own predestined plan, excluded His female followers from having any direct, public part in His worship (cultus). He, in His wisdom, excluded women from the priesthood despite the fact that the contemporary cultures of the Near East had priestesses. Even the perfumes used in the Temple were made by the men. Jesus never heard a woman speak in any of the synagogues he attended or preached in. It was unheard of. It was a shameful thing for a woman to speak in the synagogue or the Temple. For the past 2000 years the Orthodox Jewish synagogue has preserved this tradition. And this theologically-based cultus was continued into the Church by the Spirit through Paul. It has been retained by the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches and some Protestant denominations (particularly the Brethren) to this day. Only in the Western world has the tradition been dropped under feminist pressure.

Given the undisputed fact that throughout the Old Covenant period, extending back to Adam himself, women were not permitted by God to enter His service of public worship on the same terms as men, and given the fact that the Lord Jesus (through Paul) endorses His Father's positioning of them to the end of time, the Church cannot interfere in this divinely-approved arrangement. It is the way God and the Lord Jesus want it. Christ is the direct head of every man and, through man, He is the head of every woman (1 Cor 11:3). Christ expects all His Christian men to appear before Him in church and give Him their offerings of praise and devotion. Thus there is a continuity in His worship from the beginning of time to the end of time. Men, and men only, conduct His public worship and bring it to Him on behalf of their families.

Now, since all women (whose *direct* head is man, not Christ[723]) are explicitly excluded from speaking any kind of individual contribution in the New Covenant church, the reference to women "praying or prophesying" [724] in 11:5 could not have taken place in the

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Solomon's Porch, Acts 5:12; cf. 3:11) where the women were not permitted to mix with them. Presumably the Church worshipped in the Temple until it was destroyed about 40 years later. Peter and John keep the regular "hour of prayer" in the Temple (Acts 3:1). God kept His male and female worshippers apart under both Covenants so that there would be no distraction in their service to Him. The total number of names (which suggests a written list) of the pre-Pentecost Church was about 120 *men* who are addressed as, "men, brethren" in Acts 1:16 (so this total is exclusive of women and children), likewise also when the 5000 *men* believed in Acts 4:4, and the 5000 *men* were fed with the five loaves (Mt 14:21). The words "men , brethren," refers to the eleven male apostles in Acts 2:37. This focus on the men is in keeping with their prime responsibility to bring their families' praise to God. It is still very much a man's religion, not a joint affair (for at home, see 1 Pet 3:7; Acts 5:1-10). When the twelve Apostles summoned the Church it was the men (the "brethren" v. 3) who came (Acts 6:2).

[721] It is in continuity with God's past structures, and with an eye to preserving man's headship over his world (both his physical and spiritual worlds), that the Holy Spirit appointed seven male deacons to oversee the work among the widows (Jew and Greek) in the growing church in Jerusalem (Acts 6:1). Seven female deaconesses could have been chosen to do what was primarily work among women, and there were scores of capable women who could have done the job better than the men, some early feminists would have argued. All authority structures in the OT safeguard man's headship. The same is true in all NT structures. Leadership among men is by men.

[722] Cf. 2 Kgs 22:14; 2 Chr 34:22. This was also the custom in the Church for the first four centuries, showing the strong Hebrew influence on the Church's worship services and offices. Philip's four daughters would have prophesied at home (Acts 21:9) in accordance with 1 Cor 14:34-35 and OT precedent.

[723] It should be noted that the head of woman under the Old Covenant was man, but that man's direct head was God, not Christ, from the time of Adam until the coming of the Lord Jesus, when God handed over His headship of man to His Son (cf. Jn 17:2), but the headship of man over woman was not changed. Paul noted this and embedded it in his cosmological statement in 1 Cor 11:3 which he draws on to resolve the disorder of 11:2-16.

[724] Paul is clearly using "praying or prophesying" as short-hand for the spiritual sphere. The opposite of this, the physical or earthly sphere, we could designate as "playing and profitising," in other words activities which belong to this world. "Praying" may be viewed as the Christian communicating in the Spirit to God and "prophesying" as God communicating through His Spirit in the Christian to the Church. In this two-way communication, one is vertical and the other horizontal. The two terms are best understood as package terms for

public meeting, otherwise there would be a contradiction with 14:34 and, more significantly, a break with God's theologically-based tradition from the time of Adam. These activities must, in the case of women, have taken place in their homes or in a non-church context, as this was the case under the Old Covenant period. Thus there can be no doubt that Paul has the community (not the church meeting) in mind when he goes on to set out the attire the men and women are to wear (or not wear, in the case of the men) whenever they "pray or prophesy."

Men are permitted to pray or prophesy audibly inside and outside the church. Women were permitted to pray or prophesy audibly only outside the church meeting and, given the place of women in society at that time, in a seemly context usually meant at home.

Whenever the men pray or prophesy they must ensure that they do so with an uncovered head, out of respect for their new Head, the Lord Jesus Christ. The women, on the other hand, must ensure that they cover their heads out of respect for their position among the "powers and authorities" that exist in the universe. Their power (or authority, 11:10) differs from the power that men have been given through their headship, and also from the power that angels have, who, looking on, know this.[725]

Consequently, there is no contradiction because if Chapter 14 is **explicitly** stated to take place in a church meeting, and no place is explicitly stated in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16, then 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 must be set in a general or unspecified context. The reason why Paul did not place 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 in a specific context is because he is appealing to universal principles which apply both inside and outside the church meeting, as we shall see.

THE THEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF GENDER IN GOD'S WORSHIP

The universal setting of 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 can be inferred from Paul's argument that men should not cover their heads because all males are created in "the image and glory of God" (11:7). It is a theological, not a cultural argument. The question arises: When does man cease to be in "the image and glory of God" (so that he can cover his head when praying or prophesying)? The answer is: at no time. He bears the "image and glory" of God until he dies. Whether he conducts worship at home or in the public meeting he remains the same person. It follows from this that a man can never formally "pray" or "prophesy" with a covered head. So the issue whether 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 is set inside or outside the church does not arise.[726] Paul is stating a general principle that does not depend on *place* but on the *nature* of man.

The next issue relating to men is: Does God make a distinction between praying to Him in public and praying to Him in private? The answer is No, because man is "the image and glory of God" at all times. Consequently, whenever a male formally enters the presence of God to pray to Him, he must come in the manner prescribed for his sex. Nothing in Paul's inspired reply has been conditioned by contemporary culture. The tradition he received and passed on to the Corinthians is permanent and universal because it is based on two things: (1)

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the sake of Paul's argument. Rather than listing all the spiritual activities that Christians are engaged in, he sums them all up in just two terms "praying or prophesying." They should not be taken in their narrowest meaning (12:10; 13:2; 14:6) but in their broadest application (14:3, 26 "edification", 31 "learn and be encouraged"). "Prophesying" in 1 Cor 14:3 covers any Spirit-inspired contribution. As for "praying," "we do not know what we should pray for as we ought, but the Spirit himself makes intercession for us" (Rom 8:26; cf. Heb 5:7). However, other commentators see a range from the most private (or secret) to the most public of spiritual activities. Either way, all see the two terms as intended to cover all Spirit-activity in the believer.

[725] Of Man's authority and position in the hierarchy of powers and authorities it is said: "You [God] have made him a little lower than the angels" (Heb 2:7). But Man will judge the fallen angels on the Judgment Day (1 Cor 6:3).

[726] See also 4.3. for further comment.

the permanent nature of man, and (2) the transfer of God's headship over Man to Christ (1 Cor 15:27-28; Jn 17:2).[727]

The corollary with the woman brings out the following theological insights. We know from 1 Corinthians 14:34 that no woman can "prophesy" in church, let alone speak. This is not in dispute by any major denomination: it is the natural reading of the text. It was how the Early Church Fathers read the text.[728] It was how the Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Reformation Churches read it. It was how it was understood for 2000 years. The question arises: When does woman cease to be "the glory of man" (so that she can pray or prophesy with an uncovered head)? The answer is: at no time. She is the "glory of man" this side of eternity. She cannot change her Eve-image. It follows from this that a woman can never formally "pray" or "prophesy" with an uncovered head. Now the place a woman can freely and appropriately "prophesy" is at home[729] or among other women or in a non-church setting, and when she does so she must do so in the manner prescribed for her sex. The tradition is permanent because it is based on the permanent nature of woman and the revelation that she is "the glory of man." It is her divinely-created gender, not local custom, that determines her dress-code. *The female's dress-code does not depend on whether men are present or not, but whether God is present or not.*

The next issue relating to women is: Does God make a distinction between praying to Him in public and praying to Him in private? The answer is No. Consequently, whenever a female formally enters the presence of God to pray to Him, she must come in the manner prescribed for her sex. The tradition is permanent because it is theologically based, not culturally conditioned. *The message Paul conveys here is that dress-codes are gender-specific, theological, and as permanent as their genders. The call to all is to remain in the gender in which you were created, and remain in the calling in which you were called.*[730]

Outside the times she is praying or prophesying, Christian women can go bare-headed like any other women, unless the culture she lives in demands that she cover her head, in which case she should conform to the culture in the interests of not giving offense, "Give no offense either to the Jews or to the Greeks or to the church of God" (1 Cor 10:32); "Render therefore to all their due: taxes to whom taxes are due, customs to whom customs, reverence to whom reverence, honour to whom honour is due" (Rom 13:7). Care, however, should be taken not to confuse the Christian woman's theological dress-code with her native costumes which might coincide with it. Costumes and customs may change; her theological dress-code will never. Unfortunately, in the West headcoverings went out of fashion and with it went out the theological dress-code because they were not kept distinct.

The setting for 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 cannot be the church meeting **in the woman's case,** otherwise the Spirit of Jesus **condones** in 11:5 what He **condemns** in 14:34. *An*

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[727] When God was the direct head of Man before the coming of His Son, all men (i.e., the priests) came into His presence with a covered head. When God handed over the headship of Man to His Son, He ordained that all men should come into His and His Son's presence with an uncovered head in acknowledgement of this handover of Headship. Thus the uncovered head has a profound, theological significance that can bring shame to the Lord Jesus if not followed. In effect a man with a covered head approaches God as if He never gave His Son the headship of him. If it is done as a deliberate act to deny this handover (as the unbelieving Jews in Paul's day continued to do in covering their heads in worship?) it becomes a deeply offensive action. That is what Paul means when he says, "Every man praying or prophesying having his head covered, dishonours his head," that is, he dishonours Christ by not recognising His exalted status by the Father to be the Head of all men (1 Cor 11:4). It is imperative, therefore, that all Christian men perform spiritual exercises in private and in public with an uncovered head. Angels observe the private as well as the public acts of devotion (Heb 1:14; 1 Cor 11:10).

[728] See the Early Church evidence under 5 below.

[729] In Acts 18:26, Aquila and his wife, Priscilla, took Apollos aside "and explained to him the way of God more accurately." It is doubtful if Priscilla would have taught him on her own given the Spirit's ruling in 1 Tim 2:12.

[730] God created them male and female. What God has joined together, man has separated; and what God has separated, liberal-conservatives have merged.

interpretation which puts Jesus in contradiction with Himself cannot be the right interpretation. He commands His female followers in 1 Corinthians 14:34 to be silent (14:37b). They are not on the same level as men nor do they approach God on the same terms as men. They dress differently because their genders are taken into account by God, their Maker, and their God-ordained functions within the worshipping community are different as a result. *They are not equal in God's sight with respect to their assigned place in His worship.* This is how it was during the 1,500 years of Temple worship. God gave the primary role in His public worship to the male members. The women were active but silent participators during all that time. *That is how it was then and that is how it is to continue to the end of time ("as the Law says/teaches").* It is as permanent as the Law (i.e., as God's Word). Jesus, the Head of the Church, continues to say to His twenty-first century Church through Paul, "I have not permitted them to participate audibly on the same terms as men in My Church." Who are we to overthrow this directive? He says to His Church, "If you love me you will obey my commandments." His expressed will is that He wants the theologically-established, New Covenant traditions to be adhered to, to the end of time.

CONCLUSION

It should be remembered that Paul stayed in Corinth for 18 months (Acts 18:11) and so the pattern of church life would have been well-established by the time he left. It is hard to envisage Christian women deliberately attempting to "prophesy" or speaking (i.e., asking questions) in the church meeting knowing it was not the custom.[731]

We can conclude from this study that Paul is dealing in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 with a situation where women are "praying or prophesying" *outside* the church context, which they are permitted to do. So spiritual activity, *per se,* is not the problem. The problem is not even *where* they may exercise this spiritual activity. So location is not the problem. So we can rule out content and location.

The problem being addressed in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 is connected with a relaxation of the tradition[732] that women should pray or prophesy *with their heads covered.* Some women were refusing to abide by their theological dress-code, maybe with the best intentions for evangelistic purposes—to put the best spiritual construction on the innovation, though others view it in a more sinister, feminist light. Although this breach was taking place outside the church meetings—in the community—nevertheless it could have implications for their conduct in church, because there should be *consistency* in their respective dress-codes when it comes to "praying or prophesying." Men, it would appear, were abiding by their dress-code inside and outside the church meetings, hence the brief reference to them.[733] The longer focus on the women's proper dress-code suggests that the problem lay with them.

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[731] In 1 Cor 7:1—11:16 Paul replies to out-of-church problems conveyed by letter from the Corinthian church. We can assume that had women introduced a new custom of speaking in church, the church could have handled this without having to refer it back to Paul, because the pattern he left them would have been sufficient, and the problem may even have been encountered and dealt with in Paul's long stay among them. But if a small trend was developing of women speaking in out-of-church situations with uncovered heads (for evangelistic purposes?) then one could envisage the church asking for clarification on this innovation from Paul. Paul deals with it by going back to Genesis 1-3 and extracting the foundational principles governing male-female-God relations.

[732] A tradition is a practice arising from a doctrine. Not all customs are traditions, but all traditions become customs.

[733] The reference to the men takes up one verse and is incidental to the problem. By contrast twelve verses are taken up contrasting and setting out the position of the women in relation to them.

The crucial point is: In 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 the issue is about *headcovering outside the church meeting* and not about praying or prophesying in church. In chapter 14 the issue is about *praying or prophesying in the church meeting* and not about headcovering.

Once the issues are clearly identified it can be seen why 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 appears at the end of 7:1—11:1 (which deals with the Christian in his relations with his secular environment, i.e., out-of-church issues) and before 11:17 (the start of the list of internal church disorders which begins with 11:17, "For first of all, when you come together . . . . [v. 18]" and ends at 15:58). 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 lies at the interface between these two distinct blocks of material. It is a Christian community issue, not a church meeting issue, although Paul may have had in mind the possibility that men could be tempted to neglect their own theologically-based tradition. In which case it would become a church meeting issue. But there is no suggestion that the men were the disturbers of the good order.[734] This analysis now explains why 14:34-35 is placed where it is; it is an *internal* church matter.

If both chapters are the Word of God then there can be no contradiction between 1 Corinthians 11:5 and 14:34.[735] The contradiction is avoided if in 11:5 Paul is addressing the issue of women "praying or prophesying" *in the wrong manner outside the church meeting.* They should have been doing so with their heads covered because they are not males. *Nature, not nurture; cultus, not culture; genes, not generations, underlies Paul's argument in 1 Corinthians 11 and 14.*

The Early Church Fathers bear witness to the Apostolic tradition that women did not speak, preach, or prophesy, or have any leadership role in the Church. Women prayed *silently* while in the church meeting.[736] The Fathers held to the revelation that women were created to be a helpmeet to man, not to take the lead in any aspect of his life. She is a true helpmeet when she remains silent and compliant when accompanying him in the church meeting—her beauty being her gentle and quiet spirit which is very precious in the sight of God (1 Pet 3:4). From the beginning God gave her a personal and private, one-to-one role in His world, to serve her husband in a love-headship relationship, not to preach to, or lead in prayer, some other woman's husband, or other single men. Her role in God's good order is single-minded devotion to one man—her husband—her head. She is called to excel in this calling. If she fails there she fails everywhere.

At home she can enquire about her religion (1 Cor 14:35).

At home she can speak in tongues and prophesy (1 Cor 11:5).

At home she can pray with her family (1 Pet 3:7).

At home she can teach the younger women to be submissive to their husbands so that Christianity will not be brought into disrepute or laughed at (Tit 2:4).

At home she can be a teacher of good things (Tit 2:3).

At home she can bring her children up to know the Lord, as Timothy was by his mother and grandmother (1 Tim 1:5).

So highly valued was the wife's role in the home that she was likened to the great altar on which the nation's sacrifices were offered to God because she sat still (like the immovable great altar) in her house and was not wandering about in the houses of the faithful, dissipating her energies in tittle-tattle.[737] The wife in Proverbs 31 is still the model of

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[734] For a fuller treatment of this point see 4.3.6. "1 Corinthians 11 and its out-of-church context," and the full outline of 1 Corinthians given there.

[735] See Excursus 3, The Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy. Article V. "We deny that later revelation, which may fulfil earlier revelation, ever corrects or contradicts it;" and Article XVIII, "We affirm that the text of Scripture is to be interpreted by grammatico-historical exegesis, taking account of its literary forms and devices, and that Scripture is to interpret Scripture" (both are abstracts from longer statements).

[736] See the chapter entitled: "The Early Church."

[737] See 1 Tim 5:13 and under 5 "The Early Church" (particularly under the quotations from Polycarp and the *Didascalia Apostolorum*).

industry in the home for women today and Sarah is still the model of a submissive, loving wife (1 Pet 3:6). Both models lived approximately 1000 and 2000 years respectively before Peter's day which suggests that these are permanent models in the man-woman relationship which we ought to imitate today to achieve our God-ordained goals to His glory.

4.10.4. BEHIND MANY INTERPRETATIONS IS THE UNSTATED NEED TO JUSTIFY THE WESTERN PRACTICE OF WOMEN PREACHERS/TEACHERS AND FEMALE HOUSE-GROUP LEADERS.

The command not to teach is violated when a woman is made a teacher of mature men in a house-group or a house-church. No man should put himself in the position of having to ask a woman to teach him his religion.

The advocates for permitting women to teach smaller mixed groups argue that functionally there is no difference between a woman teaching in the formal Church service and teaching in a housegroup, because in neither place is she the ultimate teacher. So why not permit her to exercise her gift in both places?

In reply it can be said that the distinction over place is, in reality, a distinction without substance. The reality is she has authority over the men she teaches (or she should, if she is a true teacher) whether she teaches them in a brick building called a "house" or one which is called a "church." The place cannot make the difference.

The compromise on Paul's clear prohibition on women teaching men reflects the *fait accompli* that has gradually come about in the Church through neglect. Because of this *fait accompli* few today are going to go against it, otherwise they would lose their "moderate" image. The wall has tilted over too far to be straightened up again, so its tilt has to presented as something normal.

On the one hand these evangelicals think they have carved out a theology that prevents the ordination of women to the Christian ministry, and on the other a theology that will justify the unofficial ordination of women to the Christian ministry. There is no difference in substance because the ordained and the unordained woman do exactly the same things in church. Those in favour of unordained women leading men in their worship have had to play down Paul's revelation on the headship of Man and how he understood—by divine revelation—the silence of women in Church with a covered head as an indispensable manifestation of her true submission to her head, Man, and through him to the Lord Jesus.

There is just no way that evangelical ministers today are going to examine Paul's position in an objective manner and straighten the tilted wall to bring it into line with Scripture. Too much is at stake, especially their own self-image and popularity. It is generally conceded that the Western Church will never return to the position that obtained in all the churches of the New Testament period. That can be taken as a "given." The Western Church is probably too distant from Paul's teaching on headship to entertain going back to his view for one moment. Its future history (to go by the recent past) will be one of discovering a New Hermeneutic in which every stage of its downward decline will find theological justification.

Because evangelical ministers have now a vested interest in keeping the new *status quo* of ordained women they are not going to investigate Paul's theology too closely in case they discover they have put themselves in an untenable position theologically. Most of them just want a quiet life. Some seek to get away from the issue by immersing themselves in a furious crusade of preaching the Gospel, or re-doubling their efforts in some other direction hoping thereby to absolve themselves from their cowardly retreat in the face of a "democratic decision" by the laity to go against the clear teaching of Scripture. Others put their head in the sand and hope no one will notice that Jesus' commands are being flouted, while others try to put a brave face on it and declare that nothing has happened! If a change has been made it

is dismissed as "secondary" and certainly not central to the Gospel. The last thing these compromisers will do is stand up in the pulpit and warn their congregations that the ordination of women is unbiblical. Oh, no, that would be a step too far and could cost them their carefully cultivated popularity, their carefully groomed "self-image," and their much sought after image of being a Mr Nice Guy, someone who is "balanced in his approach," not a "hard-liner" or a "hawk." The thought of being classed as a "hard-liner" or "traditionalist" sends a shiver up their spine.

On the other hand there is pressure on evangelical churches (those against the ordination of women) to give women a public role in the mistaken belief (1) that this must be the right direction to be moving in because "everybody else" is doing it, and it would "look bad" for them to be "behind the times;" or (2) that this will mollify those clamouring for women to be given a public voice in the church service. *Appeasement is never satisfied with tidbits.* While (3) others are swayed by the "general climate" to make a token gesture on the strength of some slanted theological argument, or the misapplication of Galatians 3:28, or some idea about bringing "liberty" to downtrodden women, and breach Church tradition at the local level by allowing a woman's voice to be heard in some minor capacity in the hope that this will take the pressure off them. It is hoped that by compromising at the edges they can secure the citadel of the ordained ministry for men only.

It is not difficult to tell what state a church is in. If women are praying with uncovered heads, house-groups are conducted by women, and women take part in the public worship, there you have an untaught church. These are symptoms of poor leadership. They immediately tell you that the doctrine of headships has never been taught in that place. It will generally be found that the rate of divorce among its members will be little better than in the secular sphere because the doctrine of headship is not in operation. It will generally be found that such a congregation that has been fed on milk for many years and is immature in the faith, and unable to refute wrong teaching, let alone recognise it. It will generally be found that the worship service has been turned into an evangelistic service to mask the leader's inability to lead the people into the presence of God where all the male members can contribute something to express their relationship to the Lord. It will generally be found that the lack of teaching the "meat of the Word" will be compensated for in different ways to hold the congregation together. Some go in for entertainment, drama, loud, modern music, noise, noise, noise, activity, activity, activity, all in an attempt to compensate for, or mask their inability to worship the Lord in a meaningful experience. Its services will please the eye and satisfy the ear, while the spiritual faculties are neglected through disuse and eventually die.

Doctrinally-based Traditions are permanent. No one can change them. They are set in concrete for all time. An elite minority group does not have the right to gag all the other male members of the church from freely contributing to the worship service without prior arrangement (as set out in 1 Cor 14, "you can all prophesy" but only two or three at one meeting). It is the birthright of every male to contribute freely to the worship service. This right has been taken away by an elite group (who ought to be servants not dictators and) who often happen to be paid by the Congregation. This right should be restored immediately as an integral part of every worship service. Let there be long silences of meditation between contributions if necessary, in the belief that where "two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them."

If we kept that belief in focus and in sustained meditation throughout the period that we devote to worship, then the presence of Christ in our midst will bring its own benefits. We have been starved of this kind of worship for the past generation and the Lord has been robbed of our undivided and undistracted devotion. If the Head of the Church is with us in spirit this should result in a serious and mature manifestation of adoration and praise. This experience has escaped most men every Sunday except fleetingly on some Communion days.

Let us return to the old tradition and focus on Him and Him alone for the total period of our worship and leave the task of evangelising to another time. There is a time and place

for the exercise of each spiritual gift and evangelism should not intrude into our worship service. *It is a House of Prayer, not a House of Evangelism.* It is a time to focus on the face of our Lord and keep the focus there without distraction or interruption that should be the aim of every member at every worship service. If our inherited Liturgy and the recitation of our Creeds aids in this focus then bring back our spiritual traditions and the singing of the Psalms again.

By limiting the number of those contributing to the same two or three paid members of the body each week, the congregation is in danger of not rising above their level of understanding. The beauty and wisdom of the Spirit's ruling allows the full range of spiritual gifts to be exercised to the benefit of all. We are the poorer by the gagging of the Spirit's gift to other members. In His wisdom He has seen to it that one member does not constitute the whole body, else where would be the eye or the ear, etc.? Marginalising or gagging members is as unhealthy as putting a tourniquet on a limb of the body.

All males can "speak edification and exhortation and comfort to men" (1 Cor 14:3). By continual suppression this ability or gift has all but disappeared and most men would not be able to speak publicly in church. "For though by this time you ought to be teachers, you need someone to teach you again the first principles of the oracles of God; and you have come to need milk and not solid food. For everyone who partakes only of milk is unskilled in the word of righteousness, for he is a babe. But solid food belongs to those who are of full age, that is, those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil" (Heb 5:12-14).

When men take their rightful place in any church it will soon manifest itself in good order in that church. And that good order should be a replica of the churches that Paul founded. Men alone will conduct the worship and men alone will speak in the church. These are the marks of a biblical church and good leadership. There will no divorces where headship is acknowledged by all the church members. There will be a maturity in the church's worship services where the oldest Christians lead it. Younger men will have mature role models in front of them to emulate and honour. There will a good teaching ministry exploring the "whole counsel of God."

4.10.5. A RED HERRING: MEN NOT WEARING A HEAD COVERING

Because Corinth was a Roman city it is conjectured that the most senior civic persons would have presided over the Roman pagan religious ceremonies with their heads covered.

> Both statues and coins from Corinth . . . depict the emperor Augustus performing religious sacrifices with his head covered. What is noteworthy is that other, secondary, priestly figures at sacrifices do not have their heads covered. The use of head covering, thus, denoted status and seniority at a public function. In Paul's view, with this cultural background, it is inappropriate for men to have their heads covered, because the chief official of their community and at their community functions is Christ. If a man were to wear head covering it would be a statement that he viewed himself as the chief official. The suggestion is that there were those in the community whose positions of importance within broader Corinthian society were in this way being paraded also in the church. They were covering their heads in order to demonstrate their own importance—an action which was deeply divisive and of which Paul strongly disapproved.[738]

[738] Andrew D. Clarke, *Serve the Community of the Church: Christians as Leaders and Ministers* (Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans, 2000), p. 184.

Can it be shown that only the Emperor wore a covering on his head? Did only the most senior male (when the emperor was not present in Corinth) cover his head? Where are the coins and statues *found in Corinth* showing males covered in Roman worship? The novel suggestion ignores the fact that all Christian men are to worship with uncovered heads, be they senior or junior males, on theological grounds, because they bear the image and glory of God, their Creator. All Christian men are equal which was not so in Roman worship even if it is granted that only the Roman emperor dressed differently to the other male officiants (which has not been proved). The suggestion gives the emperor's head covering a social and religious significance that has not been proved to exist in reality. Roman men went about in public with a covering on their heads or not, depending on personal preference, and carried out many functions both covered and uncovered, again on the whim of their fancy. The covering appears to have been purely optional and reflected personal preference. There is no law (Roman or Greek) demanding that senior men be required out of respect for the gods to approach them with a covered head.

The suggestion ignores the fact that Paul uses the head covering to distinguish *males* from *females* when they approach God in worship. In its context it has nothing to do with distinguishing males from males. The suggestion also ignores the theological background of headship that dominates the whole passage. Jesus Christ is not the "chief official" at Christian functions, Rather, He is the object of Christian worship. The Lord Jesus does not take the place of the Roman emperor.

The statement: "If a man were to wear head covering it would be a statement that he viewed himself as the chief official," does not make sense in the context of Paul's thought, because he urges all the women to wear a head covering! This novel interpretation of Paul's teaching has not been adequately tested in its biblical setting: it has been imposed on the passage.

4.10.6. STRATEGIES TO CONFUSE "THE ENEMY"

"The Enemy" in C. S. Lewis' parables, as seen by the Devil, is the Lord Jesus Christ. The Devil is continually scheming to disrupt the Kingdom of God and to create disorder among Christians. His strategies are numerous. Here are some of them.

"Cloud the theological issue at stake"

Suggest that 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 is about "loose-haired feminists versus a conservative group concerned about hairstyles."[739] In this suggestion we can hear the Devil telling his juniors to divert the Church's attention away from the real issue because if the issue can be switched into a low-grade dispute over hairstyles this will play right into his hands, because he knows that he can then dupe the Church into dismissing 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 as of antiquarian interest only, and we can sit back and smile to ourselves at the nit-picking mentality of the early Christians (compared to our more spiritual, mature, and highly developed sense of values approach).

"Paul was confused and contradicts himself"

[739] See Yeo Khiok-khng, "Differentiation and Mutuality of Male-Female Relations in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16," Biblical Research 43 (1998) 7-21. He sees the audience in terms of proto-gnosticism and mystery religions, ibid, *Rhetorical Interaction in 1 Corinthians 8 and 10* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), Chaps. VII and VIII.

Galatians 3:28 contradicts the three central texts.[740] Here the Devil encourages his minions to pit Galatians 3:28 against all other statements of Paul that appear to undermine it, and to make sure that Galatians 3:28 comes out on top as expressing the deepest insight that Paul had. He encourages his scholars to try to trace a *development* (my favourite word next after "redaction," he tells them) in Paul's thinking that puts the central texts at the bottom and Galatians 3:28 at the top. In this way the Church can dismiss anything below Galatians 3:28 as "secondary" and not expressing the best in Paul's egalitarian theology.

One writer, referring to Paul's logic in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16, can put him in his place: "This is, surely, a classic instance of Paul's ability to use both hierarchical and egalitarian models of the male/female relationship, apparently unaware that these are mutually exclusive."[741] Here is a classic instance where Paul's teaching is misrepresented and then the misrepresentation rightly condemned!

"Notorious exegetical difficulties: it cannot be unravelled: it is an enigma"

Paul's confused theological inconsistency can be compounded by noting the complex history of research. Scholars have noted difficulties in "its uncertain logic, its imprecise terminology, its underlying customs, and its literary unity."[742] It is important, we can hear the Devil say to his junior devils, to sow confusion in the mind of the Church. The Devil has on his side the innate rebellious nature of the Christian not to do something he finds difficult or demanding if he can find a way out of doing it. So keep suggesting, he urges his supporters, that since the "scholars" do not understand the chapter, the Church is at liberty to ignore what it appears to be teaching, and let the die-hard, conservative-evangelical Christians go their own schismatic way. So long as the majority of the Church listens to us we can cause tremendous disorder in our Enemy's Kingdom. He urges his cronies to illustrate the confusion among scholars by the way they disagree over the meaning of "head." They must avoid the natural meaning of "authority and supremacy over" at all costs, and water it down to some "caring leadership" idea, or simply "source." That is a good functionless term.

"Castigate Paul"

Paul was an Apostle of the Lord Jesus, and directly commissioned by Him. He was among the witnesses who met Jesus in the flesh after His resurrection. He was the mouthpiece of the Lord. His teaching carried tremendous authority and he was highly respected among his fellow-apostles. The Devil's strategy is to demean him and show that by modern standards he compares very badly. One scholar put Paul in his place by pointing out that 1 Corinthians 11 "is hardly one of Paul's happier compositions. The logic is obscure at best and contradictory at worst. The word choice is peculiar, the tone, peevish."[743] Another states, "Paul's arguments are here . . . remarkably incoherent and awkward."[744] Another

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[740] For the details, see O. Walker, "I Corinthians 11:2-16 and Paul's Views Regarding Women," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 94 (1975): 94-110; idem, "The Vocabulary of 1 Corinthians 11:3-16, Pauline or Non-Pauline? *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 35 (1989) 75-88.

[741] Francis Watson, "The Authority of the Voice: A Theological Reading of 1 Cor 11.2-16," *New Testament Studies* 46.4 (2000) 520-536, esp. p. 522. She states: "Paul's view of what constitutes decency and order may have been as questionable to the Corinthians as it is to us" (p. 526); "These last statements [1 Cor 11:7-9] appear blatantly to contradict the interpretation of Gen 2 presented in v. 12" (p. 528); "The next step is to show that, in spite of Paul's misleading language, the concept of hierarchy is marginal to this passage [1 Cor 11:2-16]" (p. 528); "Like most assertions about propriety and decorum in matters of dress, Paul's claims are open to question in their own cultural context and are virtually meaningless elsewhere" (p. 530).

[742] For details, see Gordon Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 492.

[743] For the details, see Robin Scroggs, "Paul and the Eschatological Woman," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 40 (1972) 297.

[744] For the details, see Lone Fatum, "Image of God and Glory of Man: Women in the Pauline Congregations," *Image*

states that Paul's rhetoric here is so convoluted that "it can no longer be unravelled completely."[745]

"1 Corinthians 11:2-16 is an interpolation. Paul did not write it"

Rather than castigate Paul and his "beneath us" rhetoric, some have tried another tactic—dismiss the pericope as not genuine—Paul did not write it, on the grounds that it "so obviously breaks the context of the letter at this point."[746] This will then, apparently, leave Galatians 3:28 without contradiction—as the only thing Paul wrote on the subject of male-female relations. The beauty (and cunning!) about this approach, the Devil gleefully points out, is that on the one hand, it appears to remove the contradiction between what Paul said in Gal 3:28 and what he says in the central texts, but on the other, we can have 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 removed/deleted entirely from the Enemy's Handbook, as not a genuine writing of Paul! The important thing, he reminds his saboteurs, is to make sure Galatians 3:28 is not deleted from the Handbook.

"Discrimination not distinction"

The Devil tells his cohorts to deliberately reverse the teaching of Paul who stressed that 1 Corinthians 11:3-4 is concerned with distinction not discrimination. By reversing the terms this will fuel the pride of humans to the point that they will feel they are being discriminated by Paul in making women appear to be second-class Christians. By talking of empowering women to develop their potential to the full, this will ensure there is disharmony leading to divorce among the Enemy's families. "Appeal," urges the Devil, "to the natural instincts to be free of any hierarchy of authority/responsibility, and your "Gospel" will be welcomed as a "liberating manifesto.""

4.10.7. LEGALISTS AND HYPOCRITES

It is sometimes said that Paul's insistence on head-covering was a carry-over from his Pharisaical upbringing because of his reliance on "the Law" (cf. 1 Cor 14:34). In any case, it is argued, head-covering comes under the category of the less "weightier" things of the new, Christian religion. Jesus castigated the scribes and Pharisees as "Hypocrites," because "you pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, and have neglected the weightier *matters* of the law: justice, and mercy and faith" (Mt 23:23). It is claimed that Christians keep the whole spiritual law of God when they love one another and do good to all they meet and are deeply involved in humanitarian needs all over the world. In a world crying out for food and clean water, medicine and schooling, talk of head-covering is minor in comparison, and a distraction from the "weightier" things that really matter. Indeed, to focus on, debate, and insist on head-covering is to neglect the "weightier" things of the Christian religion.

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of God and Gender Models in Judaeo-Christian Tradition (ed. K. E. Børresen; Oslo: Solum Forlag, 1991), 56-137.

[745] For the details, see E. S. Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1983), 228.

[746] For the details, see O. Walker, "I Corinthians 11:2-16 and Paul's Views Regarding Women," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 94 (1975): 94-110, esp. p. 99. See the reply by J. Murphy-O'Connor, "The Non-Pauline Character of 1 Corinthians 11:2-16?" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 95 (1976), 615-617; also J. P. Meier, "On the Veiling of Hermeneutics (1 Cor 11:2-16)," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 40 (1978) 212-222. For Walker's response see "The Vocabulary of 1 Corinthians 11:3-16, Pauline or Non-Pauline? *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 35 (1989) 75-88.

There are two points here, (1) Love of God and (2) an Either/Or attitude. The first and great command, according to Jesus, is to love God. The second, is to love your neighbour. The above argument puts love of one's neighbour before love of God. It is because we love God that we can love our neighbour. It is not so in reverse. Jesus pointed out that love of God and obedience to all He commands are inseparable. To neglect any law of His is to neglect Him and show disrespect (to put it no higher) to Him. Humanitarian deeds done outside the context of faith is a system of works. Love of one's neighbour must not be put above love of one's God, or a false "either/or" situation presented as the only choice. It is "both/and," would be Jesus' reply. The priority at all times is, "We must obey God rather than man" (Acts 5:29).

On the issue of head-covering and who is to speak in church, Paul stated that what he handed on them were "the commandments of the Lord" (1 Cor 14:37). If we love the Lord we will obey Him. The mark of the genuine Christian is total devotion to everything that the Lord has commanded us. "If you love Me, you will keep my commandments," Jesus was continually saying to His disciples. He did not categorise His commandments into "weightier" and "less weightier," or divide them into "optional" and "compulsory." He drew no such distinctions between any of His commandments, so neither should we to avoid unpalatable commands.

It is clear that a minority in Corinth thought that they could dispense with the "lighter" command to observe the correct dress-code in the greater interests of parading their new "liberation" or demonstrating the new "equality" that men and women now enjoy "in Christ," compared to contemporary faiths. These might have been good marketing ploys to attract more Greeks, Romans and Jews into the "new religion," but they were mistaken. Trimming away the less attractive features (from a worldly point of view) of the Gospel in order to make it attractive to the world to join the Church is to falsify the Gospel, and to replace it with a different Gospel—one that appeals to the fleshly mind. A Gospel that is attractive to the unregenerate mind is not the genuine article: it is of man.

So the first issue is to reinstate "love of God" to the prime position and that involves total obedience to everything He has commanded.

The second issue is one of hypocrisy. In Greek plays the cast came on stage wearing masks in order to take on the character portrayed by that mask. They appeared to be someone they were not. They acted out the part of another person. This is what being a hypocrite means. Therefore, when Jesus castigated the scribes and Pharisees as "Hypocrites," He was in effect saying that they were acting out a part. Their deception was located in their reputation for strict obedience to every command of God. They were reputed to tithe the smallest seeds that came into their possession such was the height and depth of their care and devotion to obey every Word of God. It is significant that Jesus did not condemn them for observing the law on tithing, but on giving the impression that in tithing the smallest things they also observed all His other laws. But this they were not doing. They gained a reputation which was false: it was a mask. This is where the hypocrisy is located.

Those who give the impression of keeping the "weightier" things of the Gospel but neglect the "less weightier" things (as they would categorise headcovering) are no less hypocrites than the scribes and Pharisees in Jesus' day, and He would so label such Christians today. It is not a case of "either/or", but "both/and." There is to be no trade-off between dispensing with head-covering and the command to love (i.e., obey) the Lord and the Father. To avoid the judgment of being hypocritical one must obey every command of the Lord without distinction. This is where the scribes and Pharisees went wrong. Jesus did not set up a false dichotomy by telling them to forget about the minutiae and give their attention to the "weightier" things of the Law. No, He warmly commends them for keeping the minutiae but condemns them for neglecting the other laws. They used their faithful obedience in keeping the minutiae of the Law to give the impression that they were equally scrupulous in keeping all the other laws. Likewise, Christians who give the impression that

they are keeping the "weightier" things of the Gospel but neglecting the minutiae (as they would regard head-covering) are no less hypocritical than the scribes and Pharisees in Jesus' day. Both are wearing masks—pretending to be obedient, when in fact they are both being selective in what to obey. Jesus says to both types of hypocrites—Jewish and Christian—"These you ought to have done [the minutiae] without leaving the others undone" (Mt 23:23). Jesus did not condemn the scribes and Pharisees for their scrupulous tithing of the smallest herbs (as some think, and portray them), but for not applying the same scrupulousness to every other command of God. He wants and expects scrupulous attention to everything He has commanded His people. For the Church, this means a scrupulous adherence to every word that proceeded out of the mouth of God.

But scrupulousness and Pharisaism are now synonymous terms for legalism. Yet Jesus did not condemn the keeping of the Law that His Father gave the Old Covenant Church. He instructed His disciples, "The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat. Therefore whatever they tell you to observe, that observe and do [because it is my Father speaking], but do not do according to their works; for they say, and do not do" (Mt 23:3). Nowhere does Jesus condemn scrupulous observance of His Father's commands in His day. Paul demands a scrupulous keeping of the *whole* Law from those Jews and God-fearers who have chosen this as their way of salvation. So scrupulousness is not a sin. It is law-keeping for law-keeping's sake that constitutes legalism, but all such scrupulous law-keeping done with an eye to please God is righteousness, as in the case of Jesus' own father, Joseph, and John the Baptist's parents, who are commended for their righteousness evidenced through keeping "all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless" (cf. Mt 1:19; Lk 1:6). A hypocrite is someone who obeys only some of God's laws—who is selective—and yet gives the appearance of obeying all of God's commands. A legalist is someone who obeys laws for the sake of obeying laws—an end in itself—who has no joy in giving pleasure to a Person—God—through warm-hearted obedience. "... (for) without faith it is impossible to please Him" (Heb 11:6). Legalistic head-covering brings no joy to either God, woman or man. Head-covering done to please Christ, and Him alone, will stay the course for life, and never be abandoned despite the jeers and sneers of fellow-Christians who are "liberated" from such "light matters." "Therefore, whether you eat or drink [or abide by the Lord's compulsory dress-codes], or whatever you do, do all to the glory of God" (1 Cor 10:31). "But when the king came in to see the guests, he saw a man there who did not have on a wedding garment. So he said to him, 'Friend, how did you come in here without a wedding garment?' And he was speechless. Then the king said to his servants, 'Bind him hand and foot, take him away, and cast him into outer darkness; there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.'" (Mt 22:11-13). The gnashing of teeth, no doubt refers to regret, regret that he did not abide by the strict rules of etiquette. He showed neglect. He showed contempt. He showed arrogance. The punishment meted out to this man is out of all proportion as a human event. It has reference, therefore, to one's attitude to Christ's etiquette—to Christ's standards. The punishment is a severe warning to all so-called Christians who treat Him and His words lightly. This man deliberately flouted the known convention, as Western Christians today deliberately flout the known convention of the Early Church. Neither is without excuse. Both get and will get their just and everlasting punishment. This man might have claimed that he did not want to appear to be legalistic and that is why he disdained to wear the wedding garment. The same argument has been used for abandoning the head-covering. Neither excuse will alter the *eternity* of the punishment. The gnashing of teeth will be of the *same intensity* for both. It is a risk not worth taking. The attitude of the Psalmist and the Christian is, "I *delight* to do you will, O God." If it is a chore and a bore, then it is legalism to continue in it. Such a spirit reveals an unspiritual state of mind and heart, and while in that state, and going through the motions of being a Christian, such a one is a hypocrite.

OVERALL REPLY AND CONCLUSION

The New Testament writers were clear about certain "traditions" or "deliverances" that they were required to "hand down" to the next generation of Jesus' followers. We have focused on two of these in this work. First, the responsibility of the male members to gather together in local gatherings and give true worship to the Head of the Church and to exercise their spiritual gifts in edification, exhortation and comfort (1 Cor 14:3). This responsibility is not to be passed over to their families. It is a duty that each man must not shirk. It should be conducted with the utmost gravity such as mature men—under a deep sense that they are in the very presence of the Lord Jesus Himself, His angels and His Father—can give to their Head.[747] This weekly service will be characterised by gravity, decorum, and the awareness that they are presenting to God, as representatives of their families, the service due to God the Father and God the Son, aided by God the Holy Spirit.

Second, as a sign that the men accept the position that God has given to His Son to be Head over His Church the men are to acknowledge this transfer to Christ by worshipping God with an uncovered head; the women are to acknowledge the position God has given them vis-à-vis men by covering their head in the presence of God.

Both signs are given a theological (not a cultural) meaning and significance and are consequently never to be dropped or neglected without severe consequences. If laws under the Old Covenant were punished severely by God because of the arrogance or high-handedness that they manifested how much more will those who profess to worship the Lord Jesus, who high-handedly throw off the "traditions" and "deliverances" that He instructed His apostles to hand on to His Church. While the Master is away (as some think) church leaders have taken it upon themselves (out of fear of public opinion, no doubt) to allow Christ's Church order to be changed. Since the time of the Apostles the ministry had been conducted by men, and women covered their heads in the presence of God, now the fashion of the world has swamped His Church to such an extent that to follow Christ's teaching is an embarrassment. But the Church must keep a constant eye on the Master's teaching and buck the trend in the desire to remain faithful at all times in all ages. The present fashion of breaking with apostolic tradition in the Church will pass away. Feminist values may be the flavour of the month today and have a devastating impact on the Church in the twenty-first century, but while there is an open Bible there will always be those who will call the Church back to Christ's teaching. The Lord Jesus has stated that as the Son of the living God He will build His church "and the gates of hell will not overpower it" (Mt 16:18). The present Church can not plead ignorance of the Master's will. Nor can it expect leniency or exemption for its wilful defiance of Christ's commandments (1 Cor 14:37). A instructive illustration is provided in Numbers 15:30-41 (LB).

> But anyone who deliberately makes the "mistake," whether he is a native Israeli or a foreigner, is blaspheming Jehovah, shall be cut off from among his people. For he has despised the commandment of the Lord and deliberately failed to obey his law; he must be executed, and die in his sin.

To show that this was no idle threat Moses immediately records the following breach.

> One day while the people of Israel were in the wilderness, one of them was caught gathering wood on the Sabbath day. He was arrested and taken before Moses and Aaron and the other judges. They jailed him until they could find out the Lord's mind concerning him. Then the Lord said to Moses, "The man must die—all the people shall stone him to death outside the camp." So they took him outside the camp and killed him as the Lord had commanded.

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[747] The attitude of God's people is crucial to every moment of living: "When you offer the Lord a sacrifice . . . you must do it in the right way" (Lev 22:29); also: "You must not treat Me as common and ordinary" (Lev 22:32).

The Lord did not take this man's life from him in a callous or dictatorial manner. He was deeply moved at having to order the man's execution because He expected this man (and consequently every man) to respect what He had to say more highly than what anyone else had to say to him. If each man was to follow this man's high-handed disregard for God's commandments then He would cease to be in control of His people: democracy would replace His rule. This man's life had to be taken in order to instil reverence for His commands and in order to maintain a dominant headship control over His redeemed people, and also as an expression of His own regret at having to take this man's life. God later gave them another law which would prevent this breach occurring again. Immediately after the man's execution—

> The Lord said to Moses, "Tell the people of Israel to make tassels for the hems of their clothes (this is a permanent regulation from generation to generation) and to attach the tassels to their clothes with a blue cord. The purpose of this regulation is to remind you, whenever you notice the tassels, of the commandments of the Lord, and that you are to obey his laws instead of following your own desires and going your own ways, as you used to do in serving other gods. It will remind you to be holy to your God. For I am Jehovah your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt; yes, I am the Lord, your God."

It is clear from this provision that God does not delight in the death of any sinner, but it is equally clear that when we take it upon ourselves to disregard His commands and especially His Son's commands we can expect the same severe punishment of being put out of His Son's Church and inheriting eternal damnation. The challenge today is as great as it has always been. Many are following another Christ—a feminist Christ, a twenty-first century Christ—who is vehemently opposed to the Apostolic teaching of the New Testament.[748] Many are carried along in the current, not as willing participators, but simply because it is fashionable to follow the trend. The trend is growing stronger as the Church seeks to distance itself from Christ's teaching which gave it its distinctiveness among all the nations and religions of the world. Moses pleaded with God:

> If you don't go with us, who will ever know that I and my people have found favour with you, and that we are different from any other people upon the face of the earth? (Exod 33:16 LB).

The Church took over the role of being God's distinctive people. But the call to be "different" is too embarrassing today, hence the trend to conform to norms set by others. Because others conformed to trends not set by God they were condemned not to enter the Promised Land, "But my servant Caleb is a different kind of man—he has obeyed me fully. I will bring him into the land he entered as a spy, and his descendants shall have a full share in it" (Num 14:24 LB).

God's people do have a distinctive culture which sets them apart from all other religions and cultures. This is nothing to be ashamed of but to glory in. But the history of God's people, especially in the Old Testament, is the story of the blurring of that distinctiveness, and even to abandoning their allegiance to the God of their Fathers. Today the same innate forces are at work to entice Christ's Church to lose or tone down its distinctive practices and beliefs in the interests of ecumenical dialogue. The Christian who is deeply concerned at the present fashions and trends that are swamping Christ's Church can rest assured that the Church will never drown. It will be on the earth when Christ comes again. In the meantime it may be buffeted and blown off course but always, because Christ is at the helm, it will rediscover its distinctiveness and return to full fellowship with Him and

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[748] Jesus warned His disciples that there would arise many false Christs and many competing voices for their allegiance, some of which would be so persuasive as to lead even the elect astray (Mt 24:24).

with those who walk in the light of His Word. In every age there will be men, like Caleb, of whom Christ will say, "he is a different kind of man—he has fully obeyed Me." The challenge is on not to be caught out of synchronisation with the mind of Christ on any issue or doctrine.

Until the twentieth century the Church universally accepted the Scripture's teaching on male headship. But then the rise of the feminist movement about 1906 caught the church unawares with the rational, plausible, humanist argument that men and women were equal at every level except for gender differences. Galatians 3:28 became its proof text with its misrepresentation of "neither male nor female" to force through political and religious reforms. The failure to "Watch and pray" over the centuries left the Church weak doctrinally, so that it became embarrassed over the Spirit's record on a whole range of issues to do with the relation between man and woman, and between how men and women were to approach God.

Waltke noted that many evangelical churches overthrew the Spirit's record and its rich heritage on the superficial basis that scholars were divided on the issue of ordaining women to the ministry. The truth is, he retorted, that scholars are divided on most theological issues, including the Bible's trustworthiness. On that basis no doctrine is safe, and the more liberal perspective and practice must prevail.[749]

[749] Bruce K. Waltke, "The Role of Women in the Bible," *Crux* 31 (no. 3, 1995) 29-40.

PART THREE: THE EARLY CHURCH

For the past 2000 years the unanimous conclusion of all those who have seriously investigated the practice of the Christian Church from New Testament times until today is that women were never given positions of leadership over men. "From the beginnings of Christianity . . . . There is no evidence . . . that they exercised leadership roles in the community."[750]

5.1 THE ATTITUDE OF JESUS

Jesus did not call any woman to leave her home or occupation and follow Him or to become one of the Twelve or the Seventy disciples.

Jesus did not always follow Jewish customs with regard to women. His disciples marvelled that He talked to a Samaritan woman, and one who was on her own. He ignored Jewish impurity laws when the woman who suffered from haemorrhages touched him. This should have made Him unclean for the rest of that day. No one could make Him unclean. Again, He allowed a sinful (probably a prostitute) woman to wash his feet in the house of Simon the Pharisee much to the latter's consternation. He refused to wash his hands ritually before meals. He pardoned the woman caught in the act of adultery who ought to have been stoned according to Jewish law. He does not hesitate to depart from the Torah in order to affirm the equality of the rights and duties of men and women with regard to the marriage bond.

Jesus' attitude towards women was in stark contrast to that of His age, but in conformity with His creation of men and women and the roles they were to fulfil. He comes across as a man who deliberately carried on with His own agenda for changing the whole life of the Jewish nation. He lived in a Jewish environment but He was not of it, any more than His Kingdom was.[751] He knew His relationship vis-à-vis the nation: He was the Prophet foretold by Moses and the nation was to listen to him, its new Leader. As Leader He had all power and authority from His Father to change anything and inaugurate a new Kingdom on earth which would eventually cover it as the waters cover the seas. The Kingdom He set up was founded on the headship of His Father, His own headship, and the headship of man. Nothing He said or did undermined these three headships. He always worked within these God-ordained headships. This would at once explain why the Lord did not appoint His own mother to be one of the Twelve, and also why Judas was replaced by a man who never appears by name in the Gospel records, when there were so many women candidates to choose from.

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750 Roger Gryson, *The Ministry of Women in the Early Church* (ET Jean Laporte and Mary Louise Hall; Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1976), p. 109. See also Kenneth Brownell, "Gender in the history of the church," in *Men, Women and Authority*, ed. Brian Edwards (Bromley. Kent: Day One publications, 1996), pp. 21-47.

751 Jesus' disregard on occasions toward the major division of everything into clean/unclean, permitted/not-permitted categories made him suspect in the eyes of the general public as well as in the eyes of the Pharisees, despite his good works. He was a non-conformist, and this, no doubt, contributed to his rejection and early death. For the way in which Jesus stood 'out of place' within his cultural environment see Jerome H. Neyrey, "Clean/Unclean, Pure/Polluted, and Holy/Profane: The Idea and System of Purity," in *The Social Sciences and New Testament Interpretation* (ed. Richard Rohrbaugh; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996), pp. 80-106. Such was his non-conformist nature that making his inner Apostolic circle consist of women only would not have been beyond his vision if he so desired it. He had total control over all his choices and decisions.

The explanation for this apparent discrimination is that Jesus, as Head of the Church, would not undermine His own endorsement of the headship of man. Behind all Jesus did (and His Apostles) stood the duties and responsibilities of man's headship. That principle is paramount and accounts for all their actions and decisions. Despite the fact that His mother was so closely associated with the mystery of His incarnation, and therefore, was a prime witness to who He was, she was never invested with the apostolic ministry. This fact, no doubt, led the Apostles and the Church Fathers to present her as the example of Christ's will as regards elevation to positions of authority in His Church. If He would not advance His own mother to any position of prominence we must look to the headship of man for the explanation.

Never once did Jesus place a woman in authority over a man. Never once did He call upon His Apostles or disciples to submit to His mother's superior knowledge about Him, and learn from her, or accord her some special honour or place in the Church—present or future. No king or Roman emperor would put his mother at such a distance from himself as Jesus did with His mother. While He honoured His mother He did not treat her as a man: she was a woman, and as such was in a love-headship relation to man at all times. In this He was true to His own principles. He made no exceptions. He showed no weakness in carrying forward His plans for His Church's authority structures. He showed no special favours to important women in His life. The unknown Matthias is given Judas' vacant place and more capable women are passed over.

Jesus shows by example that men must lead men. Nothing in His government of His Church, as expressed through the New Testament writings, violates that principle. Wherever women join in the work of the Great Commission they do so in the role that He assigned to them on the day He created woman—to be a suitable helper to man. When we approach the writings of the New Testament from this perspective there is no confusion about the Lord's will regarding how He intends His Church to be governed.

When Jesus upbraided His disciples for their unbelief and hardness of heart for not believing the witnesses to His resurrection, He deliberately excluded the witness of the many women who saw Him, preferring, in keeping with the gift of leadership and the headship of Man, to refer to the three male witnesses—the two on the road to Emmaus and Peter.[752] When God set up the Law only male witnesses (two or three) could take the life of another male. Women were not included as witnesses. This explains why in Paul's list of witnesses to the resurrection of Jesus he, too, deliberately excluded the women, because according to God's arrangement, they were not valid witnesses. Paul does not mention the two Emmaus witnesses, but mentions Peter who was the first male to see Jesus after His resurrection, then the Eleven, then James, then 500 brothers, and lastly Paul himself. All the witnesses are males. This selection of witnesses is in conformity to God's revealed will and shows up the ignorance of those who translated the New Revised Standard Version who translated the "500 brothers" in 1 Corinthians 15:5 as, "500 brothers and sisters," thereby halving the number of males witnesses.

On the cross Jesus transferred His responsibility for His mother (as the firstborn following the death of His father, Joseph) to John the Apostle. His mother was not head of the family. In this Jesus was consistent in His acknowledgement of the headship of man.

Jesus' understanding of the headship which He (as co-Creator) gave to Man, and man's role as leader of his family, comes out in His challenge to all men to put His claims on their lives before any other relationship they might have. Jesus is to come before a man's family relationships. He is challenged to give up the closest relationship he has to another

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752 Mark 16:14, "And he reproached their unbelief and stiffness of heart, because they believed not the *ones* having seen him having been raised." Note, "the *ones*" is masculine plural, as is the aorist middle participle, which is a reference to the two on the road to Emmaus and Peter. These were Jesus' three male witnesses. The apostles might have been excused if all the witnesses had been women. So even in the minutiae of Jesus' life we see a consistency at the headship level.

human being, namely, his wife,[753] if that comes before obeying Christ's will in everything. That is how dominant His claim to the full attention of all men is put. Jesus never tells the wife to give up her husband, because her headship relationship, if fully implemented (i.e., if she obeys her husband's will in everything), is not in competition with her relationship to the Lord Jesus, whereas in the case of men, anything that interferes with his total obedience to obey the will of the Lord Jesus is detrimental to Christ's headship. Man's first allegiance is to obey God by obeying Christ. Woman's first allegiance is to obey God by obeying Christ, by obeying her husband. It is through obedience to her husband's will that she pleases her Lord and God. Because the husband is the head of his wife he cannot put himself under a life-long obligation to obey his wife in everything. That would be a denial of his biological birthright. He would cease to reflect "the image and glory of God" in such an obligation/arrangement. If he submits to the authority of his wife he becomes a disgrace to his gender and a failure in the task set for him by his Creator.

We have shown that the principles Jesus followed have governed God's relationship with man from the creation of the world. Throughout the entire history of the world God has made man the head of the family, and He has laid on him the responsibility to govern the human family and to bring its worship to Him. That responsibility has never been lifted from his shoulders. The Covenant which God made with Abraham had as its outward sign the circumcision of all males. The woman, by virtue of her unity with man, was included in the Covenant, and through the worship of her head (her husband) she honoured God in her life. Sarah was not given any special part to play in the worship service. In the way the whole sacrificial system was set up in the Tabernacle (under God's close supervision) and later in the Temple, women were never allowed to lead the worship service. Indeed, they were given no special part to play in the whole system. They were, like Sarah and all the godly women going back to Eve, participants in worship through their husbands.

When the synagogue system was introduced it mirrored the system that prevailed in the Temple service; women did not have an active part to play at any stage of the service. When we come to the churches set up by the Apostles we find a similar situation; women are commanded to be silent. There is a consistency in all of God's dealings with mankind from the creation to the establishment of Christ's Church; men alone are to be the vocal, active worshippers, and women and daughters are to share in that worship through their head and male relatives. The consistency in God's dealings with His people can be explained only on the basis of headship relationships which govern the entire universe. So whatever the Church does it must never violate any individual man's right to be the sole representative of his family's worship. He is to lead that worship at all times and in all places. Geography or climate or culture must never impede the implementation of this principle either in a so-called Christian country or when the Gospel is taken out into all the world; this principle must dominate all authority structures and worship.

God's dealings with mankind from the creation of the world show another aspect of His relationship with His people. While the formal worship mankind owes as a duty toward Him is to be conducted solely by men, with the women as active, but silent, participants, He has given both men and women spiritual gifts to be used in His service outside the context of formal worship. Although we have mention of only four prophetesses in the entire history of God's people from Adam to Ezra, it is sufficient to indicate God's desire to build up His people's relationship through the ministry of fathers and mothers, sons and daughters. However, even here, He acknowledges His own gift of headship to man by requiring the women to wear a covering on their heads when praying or prophesying to Him. That physical distinction must not be lightly removed or replaced by some other symbol. What water is to Baptism, and bread and wine to Communion, so the head-covering is *the* symbol

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[753] Mt 19:29=Mk 10:29=Lk 18:29. In Mt and Mk the Egyptian text omits the reference to the wife, but retains it in Lk. It may have made the omission so as not to compromise the Church's teaching that the Lord forbade divorce on any grounds. In Lk 14:26 the wife must not come before a husband's love for Christ. The reverse is not stated.

of woman's authority. Since Christians have no authority to change the symbols used in Baptism and Communion, so neither do they have authority from Christ to exchange the head-covering on women for some other symbol. If a king gives a messenger a letter to deliver to his people, and the messenger opens it and does not like what he reads, and decides to alter the text to suit the mood of the people, what will the king think of that audacity? Christians are messengers of the Gospel of Christ and it is incumbent on them not to alter the text to suit their congregations or the fallen world outside, or to make the Gospel more palatable for them to receive. The Church only undermines its authority if it interferes with its contents because God's fallen creatures will be lured in by an attractive package which presents a false claim on their lives. Conforming to the expectations of the world is no way to uphold the headship of man, never mind the headship of Christ. Fidelity to the truth must not be sacrificed on the altar of expediency or pragmatism. There will always be a Church of Christ on the earth, so Christians can be faithful to the will of the Head of the Church, knowing that He is building it out of unlikely material.

Given the totality of God's relationship with His people down through the ages it is patently clear what His expressed will is on the matter of positions of leadership and participation in the formal worship service, namely, *men alone are to lead and men alone are to participate; the women are to be led, and the women are to be silent in the churches. That is what being submissive is all about.*

Throughout the writings of the Apostles we see this principle in operation, and in the writings of the Church Fathers we see this principle being kept sight of in all their rulings.

5.2 THE ATTITUDE OF THE EARLY CHURCH FATHERS

The Roman Catholic Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith made a declaration entitled, "On the Question of the Admission of Women to the Ministerial Priesthood" in which it states:

> The Catholic Church has never felt that priestly or episcopal ordination can be validly conferred on women. A few heretical sects in the first century, especially Gnostic ones, entrusted the exercise of the priestly ministry to women: this innovation was immediately noted and condemned by the Fathers, who considered it as unacceptable in the Church.[754]. . . But over and above considerations inspired by the spirit of the times, one finds expressed—especially in the canonical documents of the Antiochian and Egyptian traditions—this essential reason, namely, that by calling only men to the priestly Order and ministry in its true sense, the Church intends to remain faithful to the type of ministry willed by the Lord Jesus Christ and carefully maintained by the Apostles.[755]
>
> The same conviction animates mediaeval theology,[756]. . . Since that period

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[754] Saint Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses,* I, 13, 2: *PG* 7, 580-581; ed. Harvey, I, 114-122; Tertullian, *De Praescrip. Haeretic.* 41, 5: *CCL* 1, p. 221; Firmilian of Caesarea, in Saint Cyprian, *Epist.,* 75: *CSEL* 3, pp. 817-818; Origen, see Claude Jenkins, "Origen on 1 Corinthians" *Journal of Theological Studies* 10 (1909), pp. 41-42 [Fragment no. 74 for 14:34-35. Greek text only]; Saint Epiphanius, *Panarion* 49, 2-3; 78, 23; 79, 2-4: vol. 2, *GCS* 31, pp. 243-244; vol. e, *GCS* 37, pp. 473, 477-479.

[755] *Didascalia Apostolorum,* ch. 15, ed. R. H. Connolly, pp. 133 and 142; *Constitutiones Apostolicae,* bk. 3, ch. 6, nos. 1-2; ch. 9, nos. 3-4: ed. F. H. Funk, pp. 191, 201; Saint John Chrysostom, *De Sacerdotio* 2, 2: *PG* 48, 633. See also under 4.3.2. "Christian Synagogues."

[756] Saint Bonaventure, *In IV Sent.,* Dist. 25, art. 2, q. 1, ed. Quaracchi, vol. 4, p. 649; Richard of Middleton, *In IV Sent.,* Dist. 25, art. 4, n. 1 ed. Venice, 1499, f° 177r; John Duns Scotus, *In IV Sent.,* Dist. 25: *Opus Oxoniense,* ed. Vives, vol.

> and up to our own time, it can be said that the question has not been raised again, for the practice has enjoyed peaceful and universal acceptance.
>
> The Church's tradition in the matter has thus been so firm in the course of the centuries that the Magisterium has not felt the need to intervene in order to formulate a principle which was not attacked, or to defend a law which was not challenged. . . .
>
> The same tradition has been faithfully safeguarded by the Churches of the East.

The statements of this Declaration can be substantiated by actual quotations from the Church Fathers themselves. The Declaration records the statements of Irenaeus (AD 202),[757] Tertullian (AD 220),[758] Firmilian of Caesarea,[759] Origen (AD 254)[760] and Epiphanius (AD 403).[761]

Irenaeus describes part of the Gnostic liturgy of the Marcosians in which women offer the cup at the altar; Marcus is depicted as a charlatan and the women in question as deranged.

Tertullian satirizes the lightness and lack of seriousness of heretical groups by mocking their lack of structure. Another proof of their lack of genuineness is the arrogance of their women who dare to teach, refute, exorcise, promise healing, and perhaps even baptize.

The letter of Firmilian recounts the tale of a woman of the generation before him who exercised prophetic powers and performed baptism and Eucharist in the accepted way and with the correct formulae, apparently not in a heretical church but in a situation well known to the bishop. He, of course, considered such liturgical actions invalid. This occasion may be considered exceptional.

Origen's remarks on 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 concern the right to prophesy or teach in the church meeting. They are directed against the Montanists' women prophets.

Epiphanius' account of the prophecy and leadership of Priscilla and Quintilla speaks of the Montanists' practice of admitting women "into the clergy" as presbyters and bishops but does not specify what the offices entailed. His description of the Collyridians is more detailed. In this case the women assemble and perform priestly functions in honour of the Virgin Mary.

Of these seven references cited by the Declaration, three concern the exercise of a eucharistic function, two that of baptising, and four that of the authority to preach or teach. There are other texts by some and the same authors, as well as passages in Church Order collections such as the *Apostolic Constitutions*, which condemn women for teaching and administering the sacraments.[762]

19, p. 140; *Reportata Parisiensia,* vol. 24, pp. 369-371; Durandus of Saint-Pourçain, *In IV Sent.,* Dist. 25, q. 2, ed. Venice, 1571, f° 364v.

757 *Adversus Haereses*, I, 13, 2. PG 7, col. 580-581 (Harvey edition, 1, 114-122; Foerster, *Gnosis,* I, pp. 200-201).

758 *De Praescrip. Haeretic.* 41, 5. CCL 1, p. 221 (Ante-Nicene Fathers III, p. 263).

759 In Saint Cyprian, *Epist.,* 75. CSEL 3, pp. 817-18 (Ante-Nicene Fathers V, p. 393).

760 Claude Jenkins, "Origen on 1 Corinthians" *Journal of Theological Studies* 10 (1909), pp. 41-42 [Fragment no. 74 for 14:34-35. Greek text only.]. Cf. R. Gryson, *The Ministry of Women in the Early Church* (ET Jean Laporte and Mary Louise Hall. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1976), pp. 28-29.

761 *Panarion* 49, 2-3. GCS 31, pp. 243-44 (on the Quintillians or Montanists); 78, 23 and 79, 2-4. GCS 37, pp. 473-79 (on the Collyridians).

762 Tertullian, *de Baptismo.* 17. 4-5 on teaching and baptising (ANF III, p. 677); *de Virg. Vel.* 9.1 on teaching, and administering the two sacraments (ANF IV, p. 33); *Contra Marcionem* 5.8.11 on teaching. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 42.4 on baptising. *Didascalia Apostolorum* and parallel texts in *Apostolic Constitutions* 3.9 on baptising (ANF VII, p. 429) and 3.6.1-2 on teaching (ANF VII, pp. 427-8).

Official ministry for women was always considered unacceptable with the exception of the limited role of deaconess admitted by Epiphanius for the baptism and visiting of women—the same role assigned to them by the contemporary *Apostolic Constitutions*.[763]

The only reason ever given by the Church Fathers for rejecting women ministers was Scripture. Their arguments are based on four texts: Genesis 3:16, 1 Corinthians 11:3, 8; 14:34-35 and 1 Timothy 2:11-15 which base submissive behaviour of women on the argument from the order of creation and the Fall. Origen's commentary on 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 precludes women from prophesying in church, allowing them to prophesy (as in 1 Cor 11:5) only outside the assembly. He also uses 1 Timothy 2:12; Titus 2:3 and Genesis 3:16.

Tertullian in *de Baptismo* 17. 4-5 invokes the authority of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35, as he does in *Contra Marcionem* 5.8.11, where he forbids women to speak in the assembly even in order to learn. Again in *de Virginibus Velandis* 9.1, he rules out any priestly function for women on the basis of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 and 1 Timothy 2:12.

The *Apostolic Constitutions* 3.6 quotes 1 Corinthians 14:34 and 11:3 against women teaching in the church, and 3.9 cites 1 Corinthians 11:3 and Genesis 3:16 against women having any part in the priesthood or baptising.

Epiphanius writes against the Montanists who justified having women bishops and presbyters on the authority of Galatians 3:28, and he quotes against them all four texts to refute this misuse of Galatians 3:28 (*Panarion* 49.2-3).

The Church Fathers in pondering these four texts constantly appeal to a hierarchy of authority between man and woman—the headship of man. Always they argue from this fixed creation principle: woman cannot be a priest because she is subordinate to man; priesthood is therefore seen in terms of authority, and women are not to rule over men. We find no other primary grounds on which they condemned the practice of heretical sects. Sometimes they added to this primary reason others to do with the constitution of women or their inferior status, or some other such secondary reasons, but always their primary reason is based on Scripture and the fact that Jesus did not accept any women into his inner circle of Apostles when there was no moral barrier to Him doing so, if He had so desired. Both example and teaching guided them in their rock-solid refusal to admit women into any positions of authority over men in Christ's Church.

Thomas Aquinas (1226-1274) uses the same four texts for his exclusion of women from the priesthood.[764]

The Vatican Declaration is correct in stating that the Churches of the East have also never ordained women as bishops or presbyters.[765] Some in the third or fourth century, in the Eastern part of the Church (but not Egypt), permitted women deacons to do women's work, but the office died out in the twelfth century. But deaconesses were not accepted in the West until centuries later and not in great numbers. This would fit the interpretation that in 1 Timothy 3, it is the wives of male deacons that is in view there. But this is not the place to go into that issue here (see 4.5). Suffice to say that office-bearers in the Old Testament Church had to have wives that reflected the priest's privileged position. He could not marry certain categories of women that the ordinary male Israelite worshipper was allowed to marry. There may be a parallel between these two sets of offices.

The following influential Church Fathers had no doubt that women should remain silent throughout the formal gathering of the Church to worship God, and it was the only

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[763] Cf. Tertullian's *Panarion* 79.3 and the *Apostolic Constitutions* 3.15 (ANF VII, p. 431); 8.20 (p. 492).

[764] For a criticism of his view see, "Aquinas on Persons' Representation in Sacraments," and the views of 13-18th century theologians in L. & A. Swidler (eds.),*Women Priests: A Catholic Commentary on the Vatican Declaration* (New York: Paulist Press, 1977), pp. 253-257; 322 n. 12; 323.

[765] The term 'Churches of the East' includes the Orthodox Churches and the non-Chalcedonian Churches such as the Nestorians, Jacobites, Armenians and Copts, which separated from Rome at the councils of Ephesus (AD 431) and Chalcedon (451). These churches, like those in the West, had their share of heretics trying to find creative solutions to 'new' issues.

known practice since the time of the Apostles: Irenaeus (AD 202), Tertullian (AD 145-220), Origen (AD 254), Ambrosiaster (4th cent.), Didymus (AD 398), Epiphanius (AD 403), Chrysostom (AD 347-407), and Jerome (AD 345-420). Besides these witnesses to the Apostolic tradition there are the written canons of how the Church should structure itself, and in all of them the silence and covering of the head is taught. They are dated from the 3rd to 5th century: *Apostolic Church Order, Apostolic Constitutions, Didascalia Apostolorum,* and *Testamentum Domini.*[766]

Can the Church decide to alter the teaching and example of Jesus, the Apostles, and the Church Fathers—an unbroken tradition of 2000 years—and ignore the principle of Man's headship so as to permit women to speak in the Church and exercise authority over men? Some argue that Jesus was a prisoner of His own culture and could not entrust positions of leadership to women at that time. The Gospels, however, show that He broke with the prejudices of his time, by openly contravening the discriminations practised with regard to women. You cannot get a more serious breach than ignoring the purity laws governing women's lives. We have also to explain the Apostles' refusal to appoint women to positions of leadership in the Greek milieu. Clement of Alexandria (AD 215) says that the wives of the Apostles, whom he calls "fellow-ministers," ministered to their own sex and not to men.[767]

In what follows we shall look at the practice and teaching of the early Church Fathers. Since they form a direct link with the Apostolic Church they are an important witness to how the text was understood. If their understanding of Paul's tradition and teaching is unanimous then it cannot be easily dismissed. In the quotations that follow I have collected evidence that relates to the two universal Church practices of (1) covering the head, and (2) keeping silent in Church.

1 CLEMENT: THE LETTER OF THE ROMANS TO THE CORINTHIANS

The date of this letter (known as 1 Clement) cannot be later than AD 95-97 because 44:3-5 refers to leaders appointed by the Apostles still in position in the church. It was written by Clement, who was in all probability the leader of the church in Rome. The occasion was a revolt (στάσις, referred to nine times in the letter) by the younger men who ousted their older leaders (presbyters, 47.6; 51.1; 57:1) in the Corinthian church. Clement of Alexandria (AD 153-217) regarded the letter as Scripture, such was the high regard with which it was held in the post-Apostolic age. It was even made part of some copies of the New Testament (e.g., Codex Alexandrinus). It is listed in the fourth century *Apostolic Canons* as part of the New Testament. In Alexandria, Didymus the Blind counted it as part of the canon.

In content it is an appeal for peace and concord, because the same kinds of problems that Paul encountered in Corinth in the 50s, a generation previously, have sprung up again. I shall be selective in quoting extracts from 1 Clement as they relate to the topic of this work.[768] Throughout, the work is addressed to the "brothers" (62.3, "to men who . . . have diligently studied the oracles and teaching of God") just as all the NT writings are.[769]

"You instructed the young to think temperate and proper thoughts; you charged the women to perform all their duties with a blameless, reverent, and pure conscience, cherishing their own husbands, as is right; and you taught them to abide by the rule of obedience, and to manage the affairs of their household with dignity and all discretion" (1)."

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[766] For the statements from each of these Church Orders and Early Church Fathers see R. Gryson, *The Ministry of Women in the Early Church* (ET Jean Laporte and Mary Louise Hall. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1976).

[767] *Stromateis* iii.6.

[768] The quotations are from, Michael W. Holmes (edited and revised), *The Apostolic Fathers. Greek Texts and English Translation* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book, 1999).

[769] See 4.3.3. and Chart 19. Title: "Paul and the New Testament writers addressed their letters to men."

"Let us guide our women toward that which is good: let them reveal a disposition to purity worthy of admiration; let them exhibit a sincere desire to be gentle; let them demonstrate by their silence (διὰ τῆς σιγῆς)[770] the moderation[771] of their tongue; let them show their love, without partiality and in holiness, equally toward all those who fear God" (21.6-7).

In order to impress on the younger men that they should re-submit to the older men/leaders, Clement draws on the analogy of an army.

"Let us consider the soldiers who serve under commanders, how precisely, how readily, how obediently they execute orders. Not all are prefects or tribunes or centurions or captains of fifty and so forth, but each in his own rank executes the orders given by the emperor and the commanders. The great cannot exist without the small, nor the small without the great. There is a certain blending of everything, and therein lies the advantage. Let us take our body as an example. The head without the feet is nothing; likewise the feet without the head are nothing. Even the smallest parts of our body are necessary and useful to the whole body, yet all the members work together and unite in mutual subjection, that the whole body may be saved. And so in our case let the whole body be saved in Christ Jesus, and let each man be subject to his neighbor, to the degree determined by his spiritual gift" (37-38.1).

Clement urges the rebellious young men, "You, therefore, who laid the foundation of the revolt, must submit (ὑποτάγητε) to the presbyters and accept discipline leading to repentance, bending the knee of your heart. Learn how to subordinate (ὑποτάσσεσθαι) yourselves, laying aside the arrogant and proud stubbornness of your tongue. For it is better for you to be found small but included in the flock of Christ than to have a pre-eminent reputation and yet be excluded from his hope" (57.2; cf. 63.1, "submit [προσκλιθῆναι, to join one's self to, follow as an adherent, cleave closely to] to those who are the leaders of our souls"). Clement sends three "trustworthy and prudent men" with the letter to Corinth in the hope that they and his letter will bring order back into the Corinthian church (63.3).

IGNATIUS bishop of Antioch (*ca.* AD 98—117; or, 117-138)

Arrested in Antioch to be taken to Rome to be thrown to the lions in the Coliseum, Ignatius wrote to churches along his death route. One of his letters was to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, who had personally known John the Apostle. To Ignatius, the false teachers within the churches posed a greater threat than the pagan society without, and this concern dominates his seven letters.

To Polycarp he writes, "Tell my sisters to love the Lord and to be content with their husbands physically and spiritually. In the same way command my brothers in the name of Jesus Christ to love their wives, as the Lord loves the church (cf. Eph 5:25, 29)" (5).[772]

POLYCARP bishop of Smyrna (died at 86 years *ca.* AD 155-160)

He was a contemporary of Ignatius of Antioch. In his only surviving letter to the Philippians he wrote,

> Then instruct your wives to continue in the faith delivered to them and in love and purity, cherishing their own husbands in all fidelity and loving all others equally in all chastity, and to instruct the children with instruction that leads to the fear of God. The widows must think soberly about the faith of the Lord and pray unceasingly for everyone and stay far away from all malicious talk, slander, false testimony, love of money, and any kind of evil, knowing that they are God's

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770 At 35:9 Clement quotes Ps 50 [LXX 49]:21, "these things you have done and I kept silent (ἐσίγησα)."

771 Or 'gentleness' or subservient nature. The same word occurs of the humble disposition of Jesus in 2 Cor 10:2.

772 The quotation is from Michael W. Holmes (edited and revised), *The Apostolic Fathers. Greek Texts and English Translation* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book, 1999), p. 197.

altar,[773] and that all sacrifices are carefully inspected and nothing escapes him, whether thoughts or intentions or 'secrets of the heart' (4.2-3).[774]

CLEMENT of Alexandria (AD 153-217) wrote in *The Instructor* that the woman should be veiled when she goes to church, "since it is becoming for her to pray veiled."

TERTULLIAN of Carthage (AD 145-213)

Referring to Paul's teaching wrote: ". . . . when prescribing on women silence in the church, that they speak not the mere purpose of learning [teaching, *discendi*] (though he [Paul] has already shown that even they have the right to prophesy, when he insists that the woman who prophesies must be covered with a veil), it is from the law that he draws his sanction that women should be under obedience."[775]

"It is not permitted to a woman to speak in church. Neither may she teach, baptize, offer, nor claim for herself any function proper to a man, least of all the sacerdotal office."[776]

Tertullian in his *Homily on Baptism* refers to "a certain female viper from the Cainite sect" who recently won converts to her anti-baptism teaching. He describes her as a woman "who had no right to teach even correctly." This is a direct allusion to 1 Timothy 2:12. In chapter 17 he again refers to this woman teacher:

> But the impudence of that woman who assumed the right to teach is evidently not going to arrogate to her[self] the right to baptize as well—unless perhaps some new serpent appears, like the original one, so that as that woman abolished baptism, some other should of her own authority confer it. But if certain Acts of Paul, which are falsely so named, claim the example of Thecla for allowing woman to teach and to baptize, let men know that in Asia the presbyter who compiled that document, thinking to add of his own to Paul's reputation, was found out, and though he professed he had done it for love of Paul, was deposed from his position. How could we believe that Paul should give a female power to teach and to baptize, when he did not allow a woman even to learn by her own right? *Let them keep silence,* he says, *and ask their husbands at home.*[777]

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[773] The image of woman staying at home probably led to the metaphor of her as the Temple altar which stayed in one place. The metaphor was incorporated into the *Didascalia Apostolorum* (see below).

[774] The quotation is from Michael W. Holmes (edited and revised), *The Apostolic Fathers. Greek Texts and English Translation* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book, 1999), p. 211; cf. *1 Clem.* 1.3.

[775] Tertullian *Adversus Marcion* 5. 8. 11, ed. and trans. Ernest Evans, *Oxford Early Christian Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 560. An alternative translation is: "In precisely the same manner, when enjoining on women silence in the church, that they speak not for the mere sake (*duntaxat gratia*) of learning (although that even they have the right of prophesying, he has already shown when he covers the woman that prophesies with a veil) he goes to the law for his sanction that women should be under obedience" (Peter Holmes (trans.) *The Five Books of Quintus Sept. Flor. Tertullianus against Marcion* [Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1878] pp. 410-11 [Bk V. ch. VIII]). Another translation reads: " . . . [Paul], when enjoining on women silence in the church, that they speak not for the sake of mere learning (although that even they have the same right of prophesying, he has already shown when he covers the woman that prophesies with a veil), . . . goes to the law for his sanction that woman should be under obedience. Now this law, let me say once for all, he ought to have made no other acquaintance with, than to destroy it" (*The Ante-Nicene Fathers,* Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, eds., 25 vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1867-97). Tertullian means that Paul should not have bothered to use the Jewish Law to support his argument. Tertullian is not saying that Paul's command was wrong but that he should not have referred to it in such a positive manner. But Paul elsewhere can make a positive appeal to the Law, see 1 Cor 7:19; Gal 3:24; 4:21).

[776] *De Virginibus velandis* 9, 1 (CCL 2, 1218, 4-1219, 6).

[777] *De baptismo* 1, 17, 4 (CCL 1, 291, 20-292, 31); tr. E. Evans, *Tertullian's Homily on Baptism* (London: SPCK, 1964), p. 37. For "The Acts of Paul and Thecla" see *New Testament Apocrypha,* Vol. 2, ed. by E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964).

The reference to the "Acts of Paul" is interesting because here was a work by a presbyter purporting to give further information on Paul's teaching in which Paul commissions a woman called Thecla (who tried to attach herself to him) to go and preach, baptize and teach in Seleucia. The presbyter was deposed for misrepresenting Paul's teaching. It is thought that the "Acts of Paul" were composed in the mid-second century which shows that Paul's teaching was under continuous attack well after he wrote 1 Corinthians. It is also clear from Tertullian's writings that he understood Paul to say that no female may speak in the Church because it was the universal tradition since the time of the Apostles.

Tertullian makes it plain that the supreme right to administer baptism belongs to the bishop, and after him the presbyters and deacons, and in emergencies laymen have the right, "for that which is received on equal terms can be given on equal terms." Baptism can be administered by all men but not by a woman.

One thing which galled the Church Fathers about the Montanist movement was that women were allowed leadership roles. Maximilla became the *de facto* leader after the death of Montanus (who began to prophecy either in AD 172 or 156-57, with two women, Prisca and Maximilla, as his assistants).

If the Corinthian women prophesied without covering their heads this could have been a misguided action rather than a show of early feminist reaction to Paul's teaching on Man's headship.[778]

Tertullian in his treatise, *De Cultu feminarum,* comes out very strongly against any ministerial function for women:

> Knowest thou not that thou art Eve?—thou art the gate of the devil. Thou didst break the seal of that famous tree, thou didst beguile him whom the devil had not power to approach; thou with fatal ease didst dash in pieces the image of God. Your wage, that is death, was the cause that the Son of God must die.[779]

HIPPOLYTUS (AD 235) speaks of "victims of error . . . captivated by wretched women named Priscilla and Maximilla whom they supposed to be priestesses."[780]

ORIGEN (AD 185-254) was a student of Clement and probably his successor as head of the catechetical school in Alexandria. "He [Paul] does not allow women to teach or lord it over man. He does desire women to be adept at teaching, so as to urge chastity upon young women, not upon young men. It is indeed unbecoming for a woman to be a teacher of men. But women should urge young women to be chaste and to love their husbands and children."[781]

Origen was scathing about the Montanist prophetesses:

> Although all speak and are allowed to speak when they are granted a revelation, "the women," he says, "should keep silence in the churches." They in no way fulfil this command, those disciples of women, who chose as their master Priscilla and Maximilla, not Christ, the Spouse of the Bride. But, let us be good-natured players, and cope with the arguments which they judge convincing. The Evangelist Philip,

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[778] They could be viewed like Asenath (Joseph's wife) and Thecla. The former was told in a night vision by an angel, 'Remove the veil from your head, . . . For you are a chaste virgin today, and your head is like that of a young man.'[778] Thecla 'sewed her mantle into a cloak after the fashion of men, and went off to Myra, and found Paul speaking the word of God. . . . And Thecla arose and said to Paul: 'I am going to Iconium.' But Paul said: 'Go and teach the word of God!' See "The Acts of Paul and Thecla" 40-41, in *New Testament Apocrypha,* Vol. 2, ed. by E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964).

[779] As quoted by J. R. Wilkinson, "Women and the Priesthood," *Modern Churchman* 13 (1923/24) 388.

[780] *Refutation of all Heresies* 12, 1.4-6.

[781] Origen *Homilies on Isaiah* 6, 3 (GCS 33, 273, 9-19). Cited by H. Wayne House, "The Ministry of Women in the Apostolic and Postpostolic Periods," *BibSac* 145 (1988) 387-99, esp. p. 393.

they say, had four daughters, and all prophesied. If they prophesied, what is strange, they ask, if our prophetesses—as they are called—also prophesy? Let us then resolve this difficulty. First, since you say: "Our women prophesied," show in them the sign of prophesy. Second, if the daughters of Philip prophesied, at least they did not speak in the assemblies; for we do not find this fact in the Acts of the Apostles. Much less in the Old Testament. It is said that Deborah was a prophetess. Mary [Miriam], the sister of Aaron, tambourine in hand, led the choir of women. There is no evidence that Deborah delivered speeches to the people, as did Jeremias and Isaias. Hulda, who was a prophetess, did not speak to the people, but only to a man, who consulted her at home. The Gospel itself mentions a prophetess, Anna, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser [Asher]; but she did not speak publicly. Even if it is granted to a woman to prophesy and show the sign of prophecy, she is nevertheless not permitted to speak in an assembly. When Mary [Miriam], the prophetess, spoke, she was leading a choir of women. For: "It is improper for a woman to raise her voice at meetings," and : "I am not giving permission for a woman to teach" and even less "to tell a man what to do." Although those given the above say more categorically that a woman does not have the right by her word to guide a man, I shall further prove this position from another text. "Bid the old women to behave themselves as befits holy women, teaching what is good, in order to form young women in wisdom," and not simply "Let them teach." Certainly, women should also "teach what is good," but men should not sit and listen to a woman, as if there were no men capable of communicating the word of God. "If they have any question to ask, they should ask their husbands at home: it does not seem right for a woman to raise her voice at meetings." It seems to me that the expression "their husbands" does not refer only to husbands; for if that were the case, either virgins would speak in the assembly, or they would have nobody to teach them, and the same is true for widows. But could "their husbands" not also mean a brother, a relative, or a son? In short, let a woman learn from the man who is her own, taking "man" in its generic sense, as the counterpart of "woman." "For it is improper for a woman to speak in an assembly," no matter what she says, even if she says admirable things, or even saintly things, that is of little consequence, since they come from the mouth of a woman. "A woman in an assembly": clearly this abuse is denounced as improper—an abuse for which the entire assembly is responsible."[782]

Origen also objected to any public role for females. He insisted that their women prophets only speak in private, not in the assemblies.[783]

On Origen's use of "man" in a generic sense A. C. Wire noted:

> As to which women are speaking, Paul's regulation refers to women generally. The Greek term with which the sentence begins, "the women," could mean "wives" in a conjugal context, but there is no indication of that here. In a separate sentence six clauses later he does refer to "their own men" of whom they should ask questions, and this is often read "husbands." Yet the phrase is appropriate not only for wives, since daughters, widows, and women slaves are just as subordinate to the man of the house. Nor can we assume that Paul excludes from his restrictions the exceptional woman who lives alone or with other women just because he concedes that women may ask men questions at home.
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> His reference to women is a good indication that it is not a select few who

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[782] Origen, *Fragments on 1 Corinthians 14* (*JTS* 19 (1918), 41-42). Cf. C. H. Turner, "Notes on the Text of Origen's commentary on 1 Corinthians," *JTS* 10 (1909) 270-76.

[783] Cf. Tertullian, *De anima* 9.

speak in the church but women in general, or at least women of various stations.[784]

DIDYMUS THE BLIND (AD 313—398)

"The Apostle says in First Timothy: 'I do not permit women to teach,' and again in First Corinthians: 'Every woman who prays or prophesies with uncovered head dishonours her head.' He means that he does not permit a woman to write books impudently, on her own authority, nor to teach in the churches,[785] because by doing so, she does violence to her own source, man: for 'the head of woman is man, and the head of man is Christ.' The reason for this silence imposed on women is obvious: woman's teaching in the beginning caused considerable havoc to the human race; for the Apostle writes, 'It was not the man who was deceived, but the woman.'"[786]

AMBROSIASTER (*ca.* AD 375)

"Women know, indeed, that in the house of God men have the first place and that women there ought to pray, keeping their tongues quiet, but opening their ears to learn how the mercy of God has triumphed through Christ over death, which established its reign through Eve. Since they are veiled to manifest this subjection, if they dare to speak in church it would be a shame, for in this action they would show their lack of humility. Since in the arrogance of women their husbands are also exposed to blame, this situation would be equally a cause of criticism for them."[787]

AMBROSE (*ca.* AD 338-385)

Women are commanded to be subject to men by the law of nature, because that man is the author or beginner of the woman; for as Christ is head of the church, so is man of the woman, From Christ the church took beginning, and therefore it is subject unto him; even so did woman take beginning from man that she should be subject.[788]

In his First Epistle to Timothy he wrote: Woman ought not only to have simple arrayment, but all authority is to be denied unto her, for she must be in subjection to man, of whom she hath taken her original, as well in habit as in service. . . . Because that death did enter into the world by her, there is no boldness that ought to be permitted unto her, but she ought to be in humility.[789]

It is not permitted to woman to speak, but to be in silence, as the law saith. What saith the law? 'Unto thy husband shall thy conversion be, and he shall bear dominion over thee.' This is a special law, whose sentence, lest it should be violated, infirmed, or made weak, woman are commanded to be in silence. . . . It is shame for them to presume to speak of the law in the house of the Lord who hath commanded them to be subject to their men.[790]

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[784] Antoinette Clark Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress Press, 1990), p. 156.

[785] Kroeger (1992:112 and 231 n 36) alters 'in the churches' to 'a false doctrine' to fit in with his theory that Didymus was referring to the false Gnostic doctrine that Eve was created first, then Adam.

[786] Didymus the Blind, *On the Trinity* 3, 41, 3 (PG 39, 988C-989A). He reports that women taught and prophesied in the congregational assemblies of the Montanists. He had to battle against women prophetesses assuming important roles in the church *(On the Trinity* 3.41.3).

[787] Ambrosiaster, *Commentary on 1 Corinthians,* on 1 Cor. 14:34-35 (CSEL 81-2, 163, 3—164). He noted that the custom of ordaining women to the clergy started as a Montanist error. Montanus began to 'prophesy' either in AD 172 or 156-157. He acknowledged that though women have done many deeds for Christ's gospel, including martyrdom, the Christian church historically has not ordained women to the ministry.

[788] Ambrose *Of the Christian Faith* iv.28.32; *Paradise* iv.24, x.28, and in his First Epistle to Timothy, as quoted by Marvin A. Breslow, *The Political Writings of John Knox* (Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library/ London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1996), p. 51.

[789] Ambrose *Paradise* 10.28.

[790] Ambrose *De Helia Ieiunio* 18.16.

'Salute Rufus and his mother." For this cause did the Apostle place Rufus before his mother, for the election of the administration of the grace of God, in which a woman hath no place. For he was chosen and promoted by the Lord to take care over his business, that is, over the church, to which office could not his mother be appointed, albeit she was a woman so holy that the apostle called her his mother.[791]

IV COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE, AD 398.

The North African bishops directed: "Let not a woman (*mulier*) presume to teach men in the assembly, even though she be learned and holy."[792]

EPIPHANIUS of Cyprus (AD 403)

"Scripture does not allow women to speak in church or to have authority over men."[793] Epiphanius, when attacking the practices and doctrines of the Montanist sect which promoted women to all church offices, wrote:

> They who teach this, what are they but women? And women are by nature slippery, unreliable, and poor in understanding. And so the devil thought well to belch this heresy forth from women. Wherefore the Divine Word allows a woman neither to teach nor to have authority over a man . . . .

Again, writing of deaconesses, who were still in existence in his part of the world, he denies to them the right of exercising any priestly function, for "from the beginning no woman has ever acted as priest before God."[794]

CHRYSOSTOM (AD 347-407)

> How, then, can he [Paul] afterwards say, when he writes to Timothy: 'I do not permit a woman to teach or to have authority over men'? This posture refers to the case of a man who is pious, professes the same faith, practices the same wisdom; but, when the man is not a believer and the plaything of error, Paul does not exclude a woman's superiority, even when it involves teaching. Writing to the Corinthians, he says, 'If any woman has a husband who is an unbeliever, she should not divorce him. Wife, do you not know that you might save your husband?' But how can the believing woman save her unbelieving husband? By instructing, obviously, by teaching, by trying to lead him to the faith, as Priscilla did with Apollos.
>
> The matter is not the same when he [Paul] says: 'I permit no woman to teach." This declaration concerns teaching from the pulpit and giving speeches in public, which belongs to priestly duties. But he does not forbid exhorting and advising in private. Indeed, if that were forbidden, he would not have eulogized this woman [Priscilla] who had conducted herself in this way."[795] And yet you [Paul] forbid a woman to teach; how do you command it here, when elsewhere you say, 'I suffer not a woman to teach'? But mark what he has added:

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[791] Ambrose *Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans* (under 16:13), as quoted by Marvin A. Breslow, *The Political Writings of John Knox* (Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library/ London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1996), p. 52.

[792] *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua §99.* Quoted in Jerome D. Quinn & William C. Wacker, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy* (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 2000), p. 224.

[793] Epiphanius *Panarion* 79, 3, 6-4, 1 (GCS 37, 478, 16-31); cf. *Anchoratus* 21, 10 (GCS 37, 522, 18-20).

[794] As quoted by J. R. Wilkinson, "Women and the Priesthood," *Modern Churchman* 13 (1923/24) 388.

[795] *First Homily on "Salute Priscilla et Aquila,"* 3 (PG 51, 191 D—192 C). Cited by Roger Gryson, *The Ministry of Women in the Early Church* (ET Jean Laporte and Mary Louise Hall. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1976), pp. 81-82. In his *De Sacrerdotio* (2, 2; PG 48, 633) he made the point about Jesus' choice of leaders that 'even the majority of men have been excluded by Jesus from this immense task.'

> 'nor to usurp authority over the man.' For at the beginning it was permitted to men to teach both men and women. But to women it is allowed to instruct by discourse at home. But they are nowhere permitted to preside, nor to extend their speech to great length, wherefore he adds: 'nor to usurp authority over the man.'[796]

John Chrysostom recognised an authority difference between male and female. He wrote:

> The "image" has rather to do with authority, and this only the man has; the woman has it no longer. For he is subjected to no one, while she is subjected to him. . . . Therefore the man is in the "image of God" since he had no one above him, just as God has no superior but rules over everything. The woman, however, is "the glory of man," since she is subjected to him.[797]

I do not agree with Chrysostom over "woman has it [authority] no longer." She never did have the same authority as Adam in her own right, so she could not lose it. After they fell she, through her union with man, partakes of whatever authority he has over the beasts of the field, etc. But apart from this authority that she has as *"adam"* (Gen 6:1), she also has her own authority *as a female* (1 Cor 11:10; see 4.4.4). Also, against Chrysostom, we should point out that Man did have someone over him before the Fall because he was subject to God through the prohibition not to eat from one particular Tree, because headship involves loving obedience.

Chrysostom is the odd man out when it comes to abolishing the separation of the sexes when they met in Church for worship. He described the gathering in the "upper room" as an ideal assembly, because of the absence of sex distinction (Acts 1:14). Alluding to the separation of the sexes in the churches of his time, he says this was a regrettable necessity.[798]

Chrysostom limits headship to the issue of authority.

> For this cause was woman put under they power and thou wast pronounced lord over her that she should obey thee and that the head should not follow the feet. But often it is that we see the contrary; that he who is [*sic.* in] his order ought to be the head, doth not keep the order of the feet (that is, doth not rule the feet) and she, that is in place of the foot, is constitute to be the head. . . . Nevertheless, it is the part of the man with diligent care to repel the woman that giveth him wicked counsel; and woman which gave that pestilent counsel to man ought at all times to have the punishment which was given to Eve sounding in her ears.[799]

He also sees the woman's femininity as a just cause why she should not rule over men. "Womankind is impudent and soft or flexible. Impudent because she cannot consider with wisdom and reason the things which she heareth and seeth; and soft she is because she is easily bowed."[800]

Chrysostom thought that this was the reason why Eve, and women in general, are more easily deceived by false prophets. They are easily persuaded to any opinion because they lack prudence and reason to judge what is against God. He wrote.

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[796] *Homilies on Titus* 4, 1 (PG 62, 683 B); tr. LNPF, 1st series, XIII, p. 532. Cited by Roger Gryson, *The Ministry of Women in the Early Church* (ET Jean Laporte and Mary Louise Hall. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1976), p. 83.

[797] *Discourse 2 on Genesis 2,* quoted in Elizabeth A. Clark, *Woman in the Early Church,* vol. 13, Message of the Fathers of the Church (Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier, 1983), pp. 35-36. This was also Augustine's view in *De Trinitate* xii.7.10.

[798] *In Evang. Matt. Homil.* lxxiii.3.

[799] As quoted by Marvin A. Breslow, *The Political Writings of John Knox* (Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library/ London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1996), pp. 52-53.

[800] Chrysostom *Homilies on Genesis 15.*

Women have in themselves a tickling and study of vainglory, and that they have common with men . . . . But virtues in which they excel they have not n common with man, and therefore hath the Apostle removed them from the office of teaching, which is an evident proof that in virtue they differ from man.

He lamented the effeminate manners of men who were so far degenerate to the weakness of women that it was suggested that some women should teach them. But he rejects this on principle.

These things do not I speak to extol them (that is, women) but to the confusion and shame of ourselves, and to admonish us to take again the dominion that is meet and convenient for us, not only that power which is according to providence and according to help and virtue. For then is the body in best proportion when it hath the best governor.[801]

BASIL, THE GREAT (AD 379)

Basil regarded woman to be a tender being, flexible, soft, and pitiful, which nature God gave her so that she would be apt to nourish children. This weaker nature Satan took advantage of and caused her downfall. It is for this reason that she is not permitted to rule men. [802]

Besides these witnesses to the Apostolic tradition we have written codes of how the Church should structure itself, and in all of them the silence and covering of the head is taught. They all come from the 3rd or 4th century:

Apostolic Church Order *(= The Ecclesiastical Canons of the Apostles)* (Beginning of 4th cent. in Egypt). These Canons excluded women from exercising a ministry in the celebration of the Eucharist.

In one of the Apostolic Canons the apostles are represented as deliberating whether any public function should be assigned to women.

> "John said, 'Ye remember, brethren that, when the Master asked for the bread and the cup and blessed them, saying: "This is my Body and my Blood," He allowed not these women to stand with us.' Martha said: 'Because of Mary, for He saw her smiling.' Mary said: 'Not because I laughed, for He had told us before in His teaching that the weak shall be saved by the strong.'"
>
> Again: "It is not proper for a woman to pray standing, but sitting on the ground . . . How can we then, concerning women, order them services unless perhaps that of coming to the help of necessitous women?"[803]

Apostolic Constitutions (dated AD 380):

"We do not permit our women to teach in the Church, but only to pray [silently] and hear those that teach; for our Master and Lord, Jesus Himself, when He sent us, the Twelve, to make disciples of the people and of the nations, did nowhere send out women to preach, although He did not lack them. For there were with us the mother of our Lord and His sisters: also Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Martha and Mary the sisters of Lazarus, Salome, and certain others. For had it been necessary for women to teach, He Himself would have commanded these to instruct the people with us. For "if the head of

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801 Chrysostom *Homilies on Ephesians* 13.

802 Basil *The Morals* 73.6 [1 Tim. 1.].

803 As quoted by J. R. Wilkinson, "Women and the Priesthood," *Modern Churchman* 13 (1923/24) 389.

the woman is the man," it is not reasonable that the rest of the body should govern the head."[804]

"Now as to women baptizing, we let you know that there is no small peril to those that undertake it. Therefore we do not advise you to it; for it is dangerous, or rather wicked and impious. For if the "man be the head of the woman," and he be originally ordained for the priesthood, it is not just to abrogate the order of creation, and leave the principal part to come to the extreme of the body. For the woman is the body of the man, taken from his side, and subject to him, from whom she was separated for the procreation of children. For he says, "He shall rule over you." For the principal part of a woman is the man, as being her head. But if in the foregoing constitutions we have not permitted them to teach, how will anyone allow them, contrary to nature, to perform the office of priest? For this is one of the ignorant practices of Gentile atheism—to ordain women to the female deities—not one of the constitutions of Christ. For if baptism were to be administered by women, certainly our Lord would have been baptized by His own mother, and not by John, or when He sent us to baptize, He would have sent along with us women also for this purpose. But now He has nowhere, either by constitution or by writing, delivered to us any such thing; as knowing the order of nature, and the decency of the action; as being the Creator of nature, and the Legislator of the constitution."[805]

Didascalia Apostolorum[806] : This book of Church order is probably more valuable seeing that it expresses the general fixed teaching of the Church rather than the views of individual Church Fathers, invaluable though they are. This Church manual influenced the form of other such works. It is very emphatic in its opposition to the public activity of women. Women must not teach (a) because the risen Lord commissioned no woman to preach or baptize; and (b) lest the heathen should despise the doctrine of Christ's suffering because it is given by a woman. The text reads as follows:

"(For when the Gentiles . . . hear) the word of God [neither] as it [ought to be] no[r unto the] building up of [eternal] life, [and especial]ly because by a woman is spoken [that] touching [Christ] incarnate and subject to suffering, in derision they will scoff [rather than] give glory [at the wo]rds of the woman elder; [but she] will be guilty of sin [and] shall [know] that much is [the judgement] in store. [For] the Lord [said], Owing to much [speaking] thou shalt not escape sins(s).

"[It is] not, [then, right] either that women be teachers, [especial]ly touching the name of the Lord and [His redemp]tive passion. For ye have not been appointed, O women, [in order] to teach, and [especial]ly widows, [but only to importune] God. [For the Teacher himself (when)] He sent us [the Twelve] to disciple the Peo[ple and] the Gentiles, having along with [us chosen out] also [female] dis[ciples]—Mary [Magdal]ene and M[ary of James and Salo[me]—He did not send them forth with [us] to disciple or (save) the world. [For if it

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804 *Apos. Const.* 3, 6, 1-2 (Funk, 191, 8-18; 121), tr. ANF, VII, p. 427. The Coptic, Ethiopic, and Arabic versions of the *Synodos* were translated by G. Horner, *The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici* (Oxford: University Press, 1915).

805 *Apos. Const.* 3, 9, 1-4 (Funk, 199, 21-201, 17), tr. ANF, VII, p. 429. *Apostolic Constitutions* 2.57 (ET: James Donaldson. ANF 7; Buffalo, 1886, p. 421). The *Apostolic Constitutions* are a recasting of the *Didascalia Apostolorum,* and includes the *Canons of the Apostles.* The *Constitutions* and the *Canons* go back to the 4th cent.

806 The following sigla are used: ()=not extant but can be assumed, []=filling a gap where the wording is certain. This was written in Syria *c.* AD 230. The original Greek text is lost, except for a short fragment, in poor condition, of Book III, but a Syriac version from the beginning of the 4th cent. and important fragments of a Latin version from the end of the 4th cent. are extant. The *Didascalia* was used as a source in the first six books of the *Apostolic Constitutions.* Therefore, in the sections where the *Constitutions* agree with the versions of the *Didascalia,* one may presume that the original Greek of the *Didascalia* is preserved. The text was edited by F. X. Funk, *Didascalia et constitutiones Apostolorum,* 2 vols. (Paderborn, 1905; reprint, Turin, 1964), and cf. R. H. Connolly, *Didascalia Apostolorum. The Syriac Version Translated and Accompanied by the Verona Latin Fragments. With an Introduction and Notes* (Oxford, 1929), pp. 133, 142. The Greek fragment (*Didasc.,* 3, 5, 6-6, 4) was edited by J. V. Bartlet, "Fragments of the Didascalia Apostolorum in Greek," *JTS* 18 (1917) 301-309.

were] needful that women should [teach], our Teacher [himself] would have bidden these along with us to teach.

Let the [widow], then, [recognize] that she is God's altar, and let her [sit still] in her house; let her not with [any pretext] wander about in the houses of the faithful, in order to receive: for neither does God's altar[807] ever wander about anywhere, but is settled in one spot. The widow, then, ought not to wander about among houses: for they who wander about and are shameless, keep not still in their houses because they are not widows but wallets (and care for nothing but to be *om.* AC)] ready to [receive], (and because they are talkative and *om.* AC) [tattlers], slanderers . . . counsellors of strife, [shameless], immodest: [and they that are such] are not [found] worthy [of Him who] called them."

"But let a woman rather be devoted to the ministry of women, and a male deacon to the ministry of men."[808]

Testamentum Domini (*c.* 475)

The contents indicate that deaconesses were to help the bishop. She anointed the women being baptized, and spread a veil hiding their nudity from the bishop. They were also door keepers. Deacons oversaw men and women and saw that good order was maintained among the women in the assembly.[809]

Christian heretical sects honoured women in the way priestesses and vestal virgins were honoured in Greece and Rome. Nearly every founder of a sect had a woman to assist him (e.g., Simon Magnus had Helene, and Montanus had Maximilla). One Montanist sect actually praised Eve for eating the fruit first, and applauded Miriam and the daughters of Philip who publicly expressed the right of women to prophesy. They allowed women to hold the offices of bishops, elders, and deacons, appealing to Paul's word in Galatians 3:28 for support. It was perhaps because of this group that Tertullian spoke with such zeal against women.[810]

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807 The metaphor goes back to Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, who died about 155-160. For the source see the quotation from him given above.

808 *Didasc.* 3, 12, 1-13, 1 (Funk, 208, 8-214, 3; Connolly, 146, 1-148, 22.

809 *Testamentum Domini* 1.19, 23; cf. also 1.41, 43; 2.4, 8 (ET: James Cooper and Arthur Maclean. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1902, pp. 64, 76, 108, 111, 120, 127). Cf. also Roger Gryson, *The Ministry of Women in the Early Church* (ET Jean Laporte and Mary Louise Hall. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1976), pp. 64-69.

810 See H. Wayne House, "The Ministry of Women in the Apostolic and Postpostolic Periods," *BibSac* 145 (1988) 387-99, esp. p. 394.

PART FOUR: TWO RECOMMENDATIONS

Much in this work may be new to the reader and will on that account need to be thought through rigorously before it can be acted upon. I simply ask that the reader follow the example of the noble Bereans of old and search the Scriptures to see whether these things are so (Acts 17:11).

This work is not good news for ministers, pastors, elders and all those in positions of leadership because it opens up the need for a thorough reformation of how these should conduct themselves in the House of God. And this reformation will not be welcomed by the vast majority of their congregations because the reformation will have the appearance of going back to empty, obsolete traditions. As a means to bringing about the needed reformation there must first be a policy of education, education, education and more education if the reformation is to become a complete way of living. Everyone must know the spiritual meaning behind the traditions, ethics and doctrines that they are taught. With knowledge comes a more accountable conscience.

Ignorance has been the enemy of good order in the Church. God complains, "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge" (Hos 4:6). Paul's prayer was that the Church's love "would abound still more and more in knowledge" (Phil 1:9), and that they "would be filled with the knowledge of His will" (Col 1:9).

This work contains knowledge that most paid leaders would prefer that they did not know because the reformation required by this knowledge will leave them in poverty and unpopular with their congregations who will desert them for a "more modern" church down the road. Neither the leaders nor the congregations will accept that they could be wrong. This will be their initial reaction. In any case they can always take refuge behind the plethora of competing interpretations and choose the one that best suits their circumstances (i.e., which will allow them to continue with the *status quo*) and feminist leanings.

Implicit behind every objection to the teaching of the New Testament on the headship of man is the belief that "there are no conclusive theological objections to the ordination of women to the priesthood."[811] This work has sought to answer this objection. This work was written in the full knowledge that God has not given faith to every man, maybe even the vast majority of men, and many do not have the knowledge of God (1 Cor 15:34) and in some cases God has taken away the key to knowledge and given it to those who are genuinely seeking to do His will. This work will find a home in the hearts of the Elect and bring glory to the Lord Jesus Christ and the Father.

Two Christ-honouring implications flow from this paper.

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[811] G. W. H. Lampe, "Women and Holy Orders," *Modern Churchman* N.S. 10 (1966/67) 226-30. This paper was delivered at the Church Assembly on February 15th, 1967 and the extracted quotation became very influential in paving the way for women's ordination. The arguments used in this paper were never put to Lampe, judging by the sample he gives in his paper. He is disparaging about Paul's 'headship' argument calling it 'obscure' and asserts that in 1 Cor 11:3-16, "St. Paul is tying himself into knots in a desperate attempt to find *a priori* theological objections to something he doesn't like: the Corinthian women discarding their veils. In the end he is reduced to saying, 'If anyone wants to be tiresome (*philoneikos*), we have no such custom'." It is not hard to detect the disdain that this man has for the Spirit-inspired teaching of the Apostle Paul. 'If anybody thinks he is a prophet or spiritually gifted, let him acknowledge that what I am writing to you is the Lord's command. If he ignores this, he himself will be ignored' (1 Cor 14:37-38, NIV), would have been Paul's reply to Lampe. Another who attributes confusion to Paul is N. Baumert who, on 1 Cor 11:3-16 says, "Paul himself is not sure of his argumentation. Thus in verse 13 he appears simply to dismiss all earlier biblical observations, invokes 'nature' in an unusual way, and finally concludes in verse 16 with a somewhat gruff authoritarian defense."

God was concerned in the Old Testament Church that his priests appeared in the right clothes before Him, and laws were given to prevent their nakedness being seen while performing their duties in the open air and in the sight of all His people. Yahweh is a God who delights in good order and seemliness. He even instructs His womenfolk, "A woman must not wear men's clothing, nor a man wear women's clothing, for the Lord your God detests anyone who does this" (Deut 22:5). No doubt this detestation is still in force.[812]

God has also laid down how men and women are to appear before Him in the New Testament Church, and we should not ignore His command. In the case of male members an uncovered head has *spiritual* significance in His sight. In the case of female members a covered head has *spiritual* significance in God's sight. Once this truth has been grasped by the mind it gives every member a settled sense of relationship with the spiritual world and with God.

Those who see nothing wrong with a woman having an uncovered head in church should logically see nothing wrong with a man having his head covered in church. If it was only a custom for women to be covered it is only a custom for men to be uncovered. If some brave woman had to be the first to break the custom why may not some brave man be the first to break his custom? Why are men still bound by custom today but women are free—and free to have her head covered or uncovered as *she pleases?* There really can be no objection to men wearing their hats (or any head-gear) in church if there is no spiritual significance in an uncovered head. Indeed, it might be a good thing for men to wear some head-gear in church just to remove any superstitious, or misdirected, reverence that may have attached itself to the custom.

It must be admitted that many people would think it irreverent if a man came into church without taking his hat off. Irreverent? In whose eyes? It is only a human custom that must change eventually, so why not begin now? Jewish men and Moslems pray to God with their heads covered, so why may not Christian men? It would only appear strange for a few weeks, then people would get used to it, and wonder what all the initial fuss was about. Then men and women would be equal in having the choice either to keep their head gear on or take it off, when they come into church.

On what grounds could the Elders come to a man in the congregation and request him to remove his headgear/hat? Because it is the custom? If they appeal to custom they are on shaky ground because the man's wife sitting next to him has managed to break free of her custom, and no one attempts to reimpose it upon her, particularly now that the Catholic church has ruled: "These prescriptions [on head-coverings] are no longer obligatory."[813] The only grounds on which Elders can make their request for men to remove their covering is theological, namely, that, "Every man who prays and prophesies with his head covered dishonours his head" that is, he dishonours the Lord Jesus before God and the angels. And, similarly, in the case of an uncovered woman's head "who prays and prophesies with her head uncovered dishonours her head," that is, she dishonours Man in general, and her husband in particular (if she is married), in the presence of God, Christ, and the angels. In both cases the grounds for covering or not covering the head are spiritual, not cultural.

If a Christian bishop deliberately ignores the Scripture which says, "Every man who prays or prophesies with his head covered dishonours his head," and prays to God with a covered head, he dishonours Christ. It is possible that such a man has a reputation for

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[812] Even non-Christian writers could write: 'We ought to preserve the signs which God has given, and not throw them away; as far as possible we ought not to confuse the sexes' (Epictetus, 1. xvi. 14. See W. A. Oldfather, *The Dissertations reported by Arrian* [Loeb. 1925-]). Epictetus lived in the late 1st cent. AD. He was a freed slave from Phrygia, and a Stoic with Cynic leanings.

[813] Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *CBQ* 40 (1978) 212-226, esp. p. 215.

godliness and sincerity, and he may find some circumstance that will justify his practice, nevertheless he brings dishonour on Christ his head. Could such a man really be sensitive to the presence of God in his prayers when every time he prays he causes grief to the one he professes to love? Would not the Lord turn away in disgust from such a man as soon as he sees him bending his knees? Is it not ironical that every act of prayer becomes for Jesus an act of dishonour before the Father and the angels? How can such prayers bring joy to Jesus' heart? How can such a man expect to have his prayers answered?

The same thing applies to the sisters in Christ. To her who knows what she ought to do, but does not do it, to her it is sin (Jas 4:17). Where is the first love that promised Jesus it would do anything for him, or go anywhere for him? How can such love refuse to obey Jesus' explicit command that they cover their heads in his presence?

As the Lord views his congregations today how sad and disappointed he must be to find so few who take his Word seriously, or show any deep concern for good order in *his* Church. Every man and woman seems to be doing that which is right in their own eyes. It seems that what is unacceptable in Christianity can be ignored, especially when every one else is ignoring it. We are prepared to accept beliefs, but not always the way of life Scripture demands, especially when this clashes with our non-Christian cultural conditioning. It is not difficult to find some excuse for rejecting any doctrine or practice in the New Testament once we have lost our love for Christ.

One of the commonest excuses as far as women are concerned is that the custom of wearing a covering belongs to Eastern culture, we are told, and is, consequently, foreign to our Western culture. We have shown above (at 1.3 & cf. 4.4.9) that whatever pagan or cultural significance this custom had before Christ was born, it received a *new* significance under the New Covenant. Whatever cultural significance circumcision had before Abraham was born, it received a *new* significance under the Abrahamic Covenant. We do not go back to the pre-Abrahamic significance of circumcision to understand the significance of Abraham's circumcision, so neither should we go back to the pre-Christian significance of covering the head to understand 1 Corinthians 11:7-10. In both cases these ancient customs were given a new *spiritual* meaning by God, and surely it is this *new meaning* that we must keep our eyes on, and not the old, social significance which no longer applies to Christian women, whether they live in East or West.

Before Noah was born the rainbow could be seen in the clouds and the mists. But after the Flood it received a *spiritual* significance, which it has to this day.

Before the last Passover the bread and the wine on the table did not have the significance that Jesus gave them in the night in which he was betrayed. Yet these four signs, or symbols, are meaningless until they are accompanied by a word of explanation. To most people today the rainbow is merely a rainbow—a scientific phenomenon. But to the Christian it speaks of God's covenant with Noah never to destroy the world again with a flood (Gen 9:14-16). Circumcision is given its new meaning in Genesis 17; and the bread and wine are given their new meaning in 1 Corinthians 11:23-26. The new meaning of the head covering, in the case of women, and the uncovered head, in the case of men, is given in 1 Corinthians 11:3-16. Christian baptism is different from Jewish baptism and even John the Baptist's baptism.

It is the duty of teachers and preachers to explain the spiritual meaning that attaches to each of these five symbols: the rainbow, circumcision, bread and wine, baptism, and head covering, otherwise they are meaningless. Yet when we examine the commentaries on 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 in very few of them is there a clear distinction made between *the new spiritual meaning* given to the covering (or uncovering) of the head and its previous social or *secular meaning.* Following each other, they omit the *spiritual meaning* with disastrous consequences. Sometimes they give only the social significance of veiling in the Middle East and draw out its cultural implications, and then think they have expounded the text as far as they can. When this happens Christian men and women rightly reject the cultural meaning as not having any relevance today, and consequently, the practice associated with it. And who

can blame them? If you set up a false teaching, parading it as the biblical one, and then "expose" its falseness, who can be blamed for rejecting the "biblical truth"?

Nevertheless, the blame for the present disorder in Christ's Church, and the perpetual dishonour shown to Christ in its services, rests with the Elders, Ministers, Pastors, etc. It is their responsibility to teach the spiritual significance of these things. Yet in their desire to be all things to all men, they have neglected their duty to Christ, their Chief Shepherd. They permit, and in some cases actively encourage, young women to leave the station that God appointed for them and go against the teaching of the New Testament, such is their contempt for the Head of the Church. Bishops and Archbishops think it nothing to pray with their heads covered like women. They can no longer say with Paul: "Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ;" at least not to the men, though they may be an example to Christian women.

Another excuse put forward for not covering one's head in public is that one would have to be consistent and wear a covering every time one prayed to God. This means that a woman would always have to carry a scarf with her in case she wanted to pray. But would this really be a difficulty for the spiritual woman? Where there's a will there's a way.

We showed earlier (1.3 & 4.4) that the criterion for being uncovered or covered rests on the distinction God made between man and woman in the beginning: "male and female created he them" (Gen 1:27). It is because man "is the image and glory of God" that—

> he ought not to cover his head; but the woman is the glory of man. For man did not come from woman, but woman from man; neither was man created for woman, but woman for man. For this reason and because of the angels, the woman ought to have authority on her head.

It is on this solid, theological foundation, which reaches right down into the fundamental distinction between men and women, that they either cover or uncover their heads. It does not matter whether they are rich or poor, Jew or Greek, slave or free, married or single, since the distinction is between male and female worshippers. We may be all one in Christ as regards the means of salvation (faith and baptism, Gal 3:28), but we must also retain the God-ordained distinction between male and female worshippers. To use one text, taken out of context, to destroy either of these two truths, becomes a pretext to destroying both.

On the practical side, if a man covers his head, either in public or private prayer, and approaches his Creator in this manner, is he not denying the fact that he is "the glory of God"? And similarly, if a woman approaches her Creator with an uncovered head, is she not renouncing the fact that she is "the glory of man"?

Are we to make a distinction between public and private prayer? Surely man is still "the image and glory of God" whether he prays in public or in private. Would this not lead to some form of spiritual schizophrenia, and to a theology marked by believing one thing but doing another?

Can we tell new Jewish and Moslem converts to Christianity that they ought not to cover their heads in public prayer (which both religions do), and then encourage them to conduct family worship with their heads covered? What kind of theology would led to this inconsistent practice?

Of course there is *always* the danger of legalism creeping in. For example, it might be argued that a miner who has to wear a safety helmet *must* not pray to God during his working hours; and likewise, that a woman *must* not pray to God spontaneously in the course of her work unless she covers her head. But since God sees the heart and knows the mind and attitude of all His saints, He can discern the genuineness of each case whether the opportunity to conform to His will existed or not, or was impracticable. Are we to say that a

trapped miner cannot call out to God for help just because he is unable to remove his safety helmet? That is sheer legalism.

But perhaps there is another practical approach to the problem of what to do during one's private prayer times, and that would be for men and women to obey God in the public assembly of His people, and come before Him as He has prescribed. In this way, and reminding oneself *why* one is conforming to Scripture, and the *significance* behind the covering or uncovering, the incongruity of praying to God, in the case of men, bare-headed in church, but covered at home, will become apparent, and men will allow the church practice to spill over into the home. Eventually a consistent practice will emerge, and there will be no dichotomy between church and home practice, between public and private prayer.

The incongruity in the case of the women would likewise be resolved, and a consistent practice would pervade the whole of their prayer life. Perhaps, then, the truth will be found *through obedience* to what we already know of the Lord's mind on this matter.

Naaman was indignant when the prophet told him to wash in the Jordan seven times. He retorted: "Are not Arbanah and Pharpar, the rivers of Damascus, better than all the rivers of Israel?" It was below his dignity to wash in the Jordan—to obey God's word—simple and clear though it was. His pride, his dignity, stood in the way of his being healed. Eventually he did obey God's word and was healed. It may well be that there are some men and women who feel it beneath them, and an affront to their dignity to obey the Lord Jesus in the matter of how they approach Him in worship. Women, particularly in the Western world, having once got used to being bare-headed will find it virtually impossible to conform to God's express will for them. Those who do will have undergone a deep, spiritual recommitment of their lives to Christ. And those who wilfully and deliberately throw off the covering, and the teaching that goes with it, as too humiliating for them to accept will lie under God's displeasure.

> What we have to contend with is the pride that rejects obedience and the acknowledgment of headship in all relations. The obedience a wife owes to her husband is rejected, perhaps as frequently by men as by women, because it is obedience itself that is rejected, above all the obedience that man owes to God. . . . Christ is indeed Master and the Church looks up to him; but what kind of Master? He "gave himself for it" on the Cross; so must the human husband be willing to give himself for his wife, as she in turn looks up to him.[814]

Lastly, while many are taken up with the theory that sexist language contributes to keeping women in a position inferior to that of men, it should be noted that it is God who has created the distinction among mankind of male and female beings. He has also determined that this distinction be maintained in the worship due to His Son.

It would seem that man has an innate tendency to do the opposite to what God requires of him. Of marriage God said, "And they shall be one flesh," but man regularly puts asunder what God has joined together. He does the exact opposite in the case of creation, for we read: "male and female created he them," but man now joins together what God made distinct, and he substitutes "human persons," or "human beings" instead. Yet it would seem that it was expressly in order to maintain the creation distinction between male and female that God requires males to be bare-headed in His presence, and females to be covered in His presence. In this instance I would prefer to obey God rather than man.

Our appearance before God is indicative of our attitude toward Him. If He has commanded us through the Holy Spirit to come before Him in a certain way, and we ignore that commandment, then we are in a situation of open rebellion against Him. Coming

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[814] Michael Bruce, "Heresy, Equality and the Rights of Women," *The Churchman* 85 (1971), p. 280.

together in church in a defiant mood not to conform to His declared standards of dress deserves nothing but His contempt for us and our so-called worship.

Jesus said, "How hard it is for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of God." The corollary for the woman is, "How hard it is for the feminist woman to enter the Kingdom of God." Where does "rich" and "feminist" begin? How rich[815] or how feminist do you have to be to be disqualified from entering heaven? Isn't it the mind-set that is the barrier; the sense of being independent of God's control that is the issue?

The Western Christian woman feels this barrier when she contemplates taking a headscarf, putting it on her head and appearing in Church with it on for the first time. She won't. She rebels at the thought. And at that point she comes up against Jesus' "rich barrier." She now knows what He means because she experiences indignation and rebellion. She feels demeaned, humiliated, insulted at the thought of appearing in public covered. At that point she realises she is too proud, too independent, to accept the position that God has appointed for her, *as a female,* in this life. She feels it is beneath her dignity to accept the headcovering as a sign of her total surrender, *as a female,* to God's will. What will others think of me when they see me praying in public with a headcovering on? They will feel that I have let the feminist cause down; that I have given in to male domination.

Until she can accept that the covering is an acceptance symbol of her place in God's world and this produces a truly submissive spirit in her she will never get close to God, because He says this is how you get close to Me (either in private or public prayer). The acceptance-submission is not only to God's will but to her husband's will. She is bound to do his will as he is bound to do Christ's will. This is the essence of headship. She is to set the example for him and he is to set the example for her in their respective headship relationships. A relationship with these goals can never break up.

His uncovered head is an acceptance-submission symbol in relation to Christ, his Head. He is to be as fully committed to doing the will of Christ as his wife is committed to doing his will. For both of them following Christ is to be a complete way of life, not something tagged onto their lives. It should completely dominate all their waking moments. "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, soul, mind and strength" does not leave any room for anyone or anything else to get a look in. Meet such a person and you will meet the nearest thing to a clone of the Lord Jesus walking again on the earth. But this is the goal for every man. Without His prayer life; without His holiness, man will not enter the Kingdom of Heaven. "Your will be done," must be a complete way of thinking put into practice. Get started, it is a marvellous journey and experience, with a marvellous outcome both in this life and the next. The sacrifices, the jeers and the sneers, will be worth the ages of joy in Heaven with your Lord and Saviour. Stick to the ancient, straight paths and let the feminists and compromisers go down their own crooked by-paths and by-passes to the motorway leading to destruction and Hell. There is nothing you can do for them. They were destined for that end as you will conclude when you encounter them thrusting headlong in a headstrong manner away from Christ's clear teaching blinded by their own brilliant insight into a new, feminist interpretation of Christ's Gospel. They promise the 'water of life,' but are clouds without water. They promise 'Christian fruit,' but are trees without fruit. They promise 'life,' but are twice dead themselves, foaming up their own shame, wandering stars for whom is reserved the blackness of darkness forever (Jude 12-13). Keep away from such, lest your pure, white garment of Truth becomes soiled with their corrupting doctrines and practices. "You have a few names . . . [in your local church] . . . who have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with Me in white [says Jesus], for they are worthy" (Rev 3:4). Feminism in any shape or form is a defiled garment. ***Recognise it by its distinctive creed of "sexual equality," accompanied by its distinctive practice of an uncovered, female head when***

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[815] Let the rich brother glory in his lowliness because as a flower of the field his riches will pass away (paraphrase of Jas 1:10; cf. 2:5-7).

praying to her god. Flee from both innovations as you would flee the plague and mark carefully the middlemen of the Serpent.[816] These middlemen, using very moderate, smooth, scholarly talk, first challenge the Truth, "Did God say to women, cover your head?" in their scholarly commentaries and monographs. Next, they substitute a different interpretation, and the end result of their smooth talking is an opposite practice: "Do not cover your head." By their fruit (practice) you will recognise them, not by their "evangelical" label, reputation or denomination.

The Serpent's agents (apologists) are found in all walks of life and professions, but the critical density is greatest within the leadership class of the main denominations. Two out of every three Bishops of the Church of England are middlemen, to go by the 1994 vote in the House of Bishops for women's ordination. Virtually 100% of all evangelical ministers, of all denominations, are middlemen, either through ignorance (the default position) or they have been deceived by the agents' arguments. Virtually every evangelical minister **has** to be a middleman today to make a living out of the Gospel. The irony is that this is legitimate if he preaches the true Gospel. They are making a living at the expense of the true Gospel which is robbery. These ministers and lecturers are thieves—temple robbers. The Lord's monies are financing the Serpent's agents inside His own Church!

You can easily recognise the churches of these middlemen. They have two very unmistakable and distinctive marks: (a) women speak in the public worship services, and (b) the women in the congregation pray to God (or should it be "to a god"?) with an uncovered head. These are the marks of disobedient, feminist churches where, not unexpectedly, a sense of worshipping God is often absent, and the 'show' is kept going by a strong appeal to the physical senses of pleasure, entertainment, and variety (and a lot of noise which drowns out the still, small voice that yearns for the quiet silences of meditation allowing faith to sense the presence of God in the midst of His people). Fellowship is more horizontal than vertical. In this lies its mesmerising attractiveness.

If you are a member of such a church, contribute nothing toward the salary of the staff. *Do not allow God to be robbed of His money.* Instead, give it to those on the mission field who are preaching the true Gospel, and go on quietly challenging feminism wherever you encounter it in the church. Remain faithful to the Traditions of the Early Church and the Reformation Churches no matter what the personal cost may be to you. Today's feminist trend will pass but not without taking the majority of Western Christianity with it. Seven thousand out of an estimated two to three million Hebrews, or 1 in every 300 (0.35%) members of the Old Covenant Church refused to bow the knee to Baalism. This means that 299 out of every 300 *did* bow the knee. Be that one person in every 300 who will not bow the knee to feminism—the modern form of Baalism.

6.2 OUR DEMEANOUR IN THE PRESENCE OF GOD IS IMPORTANT

Here we are concerned with the place men and women occupy in the worship service of the church. The teaching is clear enough, "As in all the congregations of the saints, women should remain silent in the churches" (1 Cor 14:34); and, "I do not permit a woman to teach or to have authority over a man; she must be quiet. For Adam was formed first, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived; it was the woman who was deceived and became a sinner" (1 Tim 2:12-14). The custom of silence was as universal as the custom of covering the head. These were the two distinctive marks that characterised the place of women in Christ's new society. One's reactions to them is indicative of one's relationship to Him. Hatred of one, is hatred of the other.

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[816] The Serpent's guile manifests itself in (1) suspicion; (2) substitution; and then (3) outright opposition.

Behind the New Testament practice of silence lies a solid, theological foundation, the principle statement being: "the head of the woman is man."[817] In sections 2.1 to 2.4 we showed that the New Testament teaching on submission rests on:

1.	The Order of Creation—	The Priority of Man
2.	The Origin of Woman—	Created for Man
3.	The Original Sin—	The Priority of Woman in Sin
4.	The Order of the New Creation—	The Headship of Man

Now, only by rejecting this solid, theological basis is it possible to reject the New Testament practice. Can we reject the practice but hold on to the theology? If there is a change of practice, there *must,* of necessity, be a change of theology to undergird it (Heb 7:12). Christians are entitled to examine the new theology before accepting the new practice which amounts to a new Gospel—the Gospel according to the Feminists.

It is interesting that the inspired writer uses the same word to describe the shame that a bald woman feels, and the shame he felt when a woman spoke in church. Perhaps the nearest parallel to Paul's sense of shame is to be found in the Orthodox Jewish synagogue. Having attended such a synagogue for about one year, I can appreciate the sense of acute embarrassment it would cause to everyone there—men and women—if a woman began speaking in public: it is unthinkable. Yet all the women join in the communal aspects of the worship and join with the men in reciting the long prayers and in singing the Psalms. The "silence" enjoined on women by the Lord Jesus would, then, only refer to the *individual* woman speaking in the church, and not to her participation *with the men* in the communal singing of psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, as well as the prayers.[818] If so, this would agree well with the statement that Christian women "must be in submission, as the Law says," and, "if they want to inquire about something, they should ask their own husbands at home; for it is disgraceful for a woman to speak in the church" (1 Cor 14:34-35).

The conclusion is that the New Testament Church had two universal customs. First, men uncovered their heads, and women covered theirs, when they were praying or prophesying.

Second, women were not permitted to speak in the church, or to teach, or to have authority over men.[819]

These two theological customs (to mention but two) were firmly grounded in theological statements, as we have shown conclusively, and not in prevailing, man-made customs.

In essence, the issue boils down to this: Do we accept the spiritual significance given to these two universal customs, as clearly taught in the Bible, or are we to search for their original, pagan, or cultural significance, to explain the practice throughout all the New Testament churches from Jerusalem to Rome, in every place where Paul established churches and ordained Elders?

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817 See 1.3 above.

818 It is worth pointing out that singing is a way of speaking. The verb used in 1 Cor 14:34 (λαλεω) is the same one used in Eph 5:19, '*speaking* to one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs.' I take it that this would rule out women singing solos *in church.* There were no female singers permitted by God in His worship services in the OT. There is a consistency in His expectation under both Covenants that men, and men only, should carry the full responsibility for the entire worship He expects from man. In all aspects of the worship service the women are to be silent and learn *in quietness* as the service is carried through by their menfolk.

819 Even some *individual* men in the church, *under very special circumstances,* are to remain silent for brief periods (see 1 Cor 14:28, 31). It is the very same verb (σιγαω) that is used to command the women to be silent. But the silence commanded of them is the same that a listener exercises when listening to someone speaking to him.

A parallel situation would be: Do we accept the spiritual significance given to Abraham's circumcision as set out in Genesis 17, or do we ignore that chapter and search for the significance of Abraham's circumcision in its pagan, or cultural significance?

I think that most Christians would agree that we must make the new spiritual meaning our starting-point in any discussion of these customs, and their relevance for today. It is a red-herring, and an irrelevancy, to resurrect the old pagan or cultural idea about these customs in order to explain the New Testament practice. Our understanding of the New Testament practice must be based solely and entirely on the theological statements of the New Testament itself. We do not require to understand the original significance of head covering before New Testament times, any more than we require to understand the original significance of circumcision before Abraham's day. The Scriptures *alone* are sufficient to explain both practices and how they should be understood.

Our demeanour before God is indicative of our attitude toward Him. If He has commanded His women worshippers to be silent before Him in Church, and they refuse to be quiet, then they are in open rebellion against Him, however spiritual their verbal contribution may be regarded by others. Underlying their preaching, and threaded through it, is a note of defiance not to be silent. Such defiance is sinful and will justly be met with contempt by God and all righteous men and women who know what God's standards are.

The covering of her head, and her acceptance not to speak in church, is the mark of a woman who acknowledges her feminine role in God's created order, and is determined to remain in it to the glory of God.

Likewise the uncovering of the head, and the full involvement and participation in the worship service is the mark of a man who acknowledges the responsibility that God has placed upon him in the created order, and is determined to remain in it to the glory of God.

6.3 THE WAY FORWARD: WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

A comparatively recent innovation has been forced on the Church—the ordination of women—and other innovations have silently enveloped the Western Church, for example, the uncovered head and the promotion of women to leadership in the worship service. In the light of this there can be no stranger proceeding than to pray to the Holy Spirit to guide us into all truth, while we ignore the guidance which the Holy Spirit has given persistently and consistently in the 2,000 year-long experience and practice of the Christian Church.

John Calvin made the point well in his exposition of John 5:23,

> let us learn how dangerous it is, in the things of God, to neglect His word, and to contrive anything of our own opinion, for there is nothing which the foolish subtlety of our understanding does not corrupt. And what avails the pretense of zeal, when by our disorderly worship we offer a greater insult to God than if a person were expressly and deliberately to make an attack on his glory?

The Western Church has neglected His Word and it has brought in innovations that are contrary to Scripture and the tradition of the Church. I am persuaded that though the doctrine of Headship has been all but extinguished from private conversation and from the pulpit of the vast majority of evangelical churches, through conformity to the ways of the world, that some day this all-embracing doctrine will be resurrected by the Head of the Church to the shame of the present generation of feminist preachers. No doctrine of Christ can be lost completely while the Lord Jesus is still Head of His Church. In each generation, Satan will deceive the Church into trading off one doctrine against another, or neglecting one doctrine to the detriment of the whole body of teaching, or focusing on one doctrine to the exclusion of another. What he will continue to reveal to those who have ears to hear, is that

all the doctrines need each other and none can be dropped without distorting the whole Truth. Satan's tactic in this age is to blind the eyes of the Church to the doctrine of Headship because not to do so would make women ministers, women bishops and women archbishops, impossible, because how can you have women leaders in the Church who are commanded to remain silent and to learn their doctrines at home through their menfolk?

It is the firm conviction that no doctrine of Scripture can be successfully suppressed by evangelicals for more than a generation or two that fills my soul with joy and expectation each day as I contemplate the beauty and necessity of this comprehensive doctrine alongside all the other truths of Scripture. The day will come round again when the truth contained in this work will be the focus of the Church's attention once again and implemented to the praise and glory of God and His Son and result in good order being once again restored in the Church and in the family.

I recognise that the Western Church is shallow in doctrine. It has been fed on milk not meat for the past century. It is satisfied to preach a half-Gospel—a child's ABC version—and treat all other doctrines as secondary, particularly the doctrine of headships because this has financial consequences if implemented. But paid ministers cut their doctrines to suit their congregations' pocket. Calvin's point that "to contrive anything of our own opinion " is dangerous, is an understatement. To replace God's teaching on Headship with a feminist version is the height of arrogance, and I personally know a man who quietly for seven years withstood his own vicar for his arrogance in this regard, but to no avail. He refused to look into the subject. This vicar prefers the praise of men rather than the "Well done!" of the Lord Jesus. It seems that Jesus must decrease while he increases in popularity and pocket.

The Western Church is a schismatic church. Authority to change world-wide customs does not lie in the national portion of any Church. A national, or local church, cannot lawfully override or contradict the universal, of which it is but a part. This is the lesson from the Corinthian church—the arrogant church.

This work will have one of two effects. Some will search diligently to see whether these things are in agreement with the letter and the spirit of the Word, while others will refuse to look through this work, like those who refused to look through Galileo's telescope, lest they see with their own eyes what they have become convinced is not there or does not exist. But there is something liberating about Truth and the way it prompts the searcher "this is the way, walk in it." To know for certain what is the will of God in any given situation or doctrine brings a unique peace and assurance into the soul. No wonder Paul's desire was that his converts would be filled with the *knowledge* of the Lord Jesus (cf. Col 1:9-10; 2 Cor 4:6), and come to a *full knowledge* of the truth (cf. 1 Tim 2:4).

There is a widespread theological naivety in the West which results in a desire to avoid any dispute in the church believing that "love covers all." It arises from a shallow ministry that coasts alone on the assumption that doctrine is not important so long as one has some kind of "spiritual experience." Where once simple Scottish crofters were reading Puritan works such as Boston's, *Human Nature in it Fourfold State,* and other meaty, theological works alongside their Bibles, it is now rare to find the Bible being read to the family on a daily or weekly basis. Is it any wonder that the Western Church was an easy push-over by Satan's middlemen in the last few decades? But in his wisdom, the Holy Spirit has provided us with a ready answer to any attack of the Devil. There is nothing new under the sun. The same errors just reappear in a new disguise.

It is a little ironic that if we did not have the deviations from the Truth in the early churches of the New Testament we would be in greater confusion today than we are. As a result of combating wrong theology and correcting wrong practices the Holy Spirit guided the Apostles into all Truth. If we did not have their written works then we would be without objective knowledge or evidence to combat error. It would have been a case of "the absence of evidence is not evidence of absence" over the introduction of every false doctrine and practice into the heart of the Christian religion. But we have a sufficient defence of the

Apostolic order in the New Testament writings to enable us to extract the principles they used to combat any deviant behaviour or doctrine and it is these principles (as regards the specific issue under scrutiny here) that have been set forth in the theological section of this work.

How can the conclusions of this work be put into practice? It is my understanding that once a church has departed from the universal practice of the New Testament Church it seldom returns to it. I would not attempt to reform such "dead" churches, i.e., the mainline churches. The situation will soon be reached where whole denominations will be in a 50-50 situation as regards the ratio of male and female vicars, ministers, and pastors. But in these denominations there is often a two-thirds majority voting system before a change can be introduced. Now if in the future 50% (or more) of the clergy are women and, as Demetrius candidly stated, "by this business we have our income" (Acts 19:25), they are unlikely to vote themselves out of their living. Therefore, there is no possibility, short of a wholesale reformation of the Church, that any denomination with a 50-50 gender split will ever return to Christ's practice of appointing men to teach men. That denomination is dead to His voice. It has lost its distinctive identity by ceasing to abide in the Vine. It may have a name that it is "alive," and produce bright services and be pleasant and welcoming, but this all masks the fact that it is dead in the eyes of the Lord, because it has become detached from its Head.

The Old Testament Church was so distinct in its system of worship and laws that Yahweh predicted they would be the marvel and envy of the nations around them, if they would obey Him (Deut 4:6-8). Great stress is put on Israel being different from all other nations in their beliefs and practices (Ex 33:16; Lev 18:1; 20:23, 26; Deut 14:1-2). But that is the one thing Israel did not want to be. They were embarrassed to be so different, and the trend was always to become like their neighbours after each restoration. They fraternised with other religions which led to friendships, which led to mixed marriages, the very thing God warned them not to do (Ex 34:2, 16; Deut 7:3). Yahweh frequently appealed to them to read His laws carefully and follow every detail of them (Lev 22:29; Deut 5:32; 6:17) and blessing would follow (Deut 6:25; Josh 1:8).

It is unlikely that the present major denominations are ever likely to return to New Testament principles again, or to the meaningful universal practices that arose from them. The present structures are probably too dead, and inflexible to contemplate, or undergo, a return to the theological foundation of the Early Church and its practices. If new wine requires new skins to contain it, then maybe these new skins could come in the form of house churches, or house fellowships, led by men who know the Scriptures, the Creeds of the Church, and the biblical languages.

These fellowships, while remaining within their parent denominations, could enable their members to make a fresh start and apply New Testament theology and practice to their lives. In this way, Christians within the major denominations will be able to by-pass the present trend of encouraging Christian women to take up positions of authority over men in God's flock.

These fellowships could be semi-autonomous and provide a means of being faithful to God's Word even though the denomination to which they belong is steadily moving further away from Scriptural principles. As the situation within the denomination becomes more and more intolerable, disaffected Christians may look to these house-churches for fellowship, instead of leaving the denomination altogether to join some other Protestant denomination.

If in time the major denominations begin appointing women bishops, archbishops, pastors, ministers, clergy, or moderators, these house-churches may wish to become completely independent, and become the new, fresh growth of the Vine whose husbandman is the Father. Every branch that does not bear fruit He takes away, and casts into the fire. "This is my Father's glory," said Jesus, "that you bear much fruit, showing yourselves to be

my disciples . . . . If you obey my commands, you will remain in my love . . . . You are my friends if you do what I command . . . . This is my command: Love each other" (Jn 15).

The nucleus of the house-churches must be the family. The stability of these house-churches will largely depend on the stability of the family unit. Each family unit should recognise the leadership of the father/husband, and each wife the headship of her husband. If that can be achieved then there will be fewer problems with the appointment of Elders from among those heads of families who lead their own houses well and fewer divorces.

If the family is a micro-form of the church, and the building-block of the macro-form, then it is essential that its head knows how to lead his own house well.

In these house-churches one man will not dictate how the service should be conducted. The one-man ministry will be a thing of the past. It has had its day. It is a bottleneck ministry—a debilitating ministry—a demeaning ministry—a patronising ministry—because it is a paid ministry—an entertainment ministry—a feel-good ministry. Money, and preaching sound doctrine do not go together. If it is unlikely that a rich man will enter the Kingdom of Heaven, it is unlikely that a rich, popular church will lead to the Gate of Heaven. Lavishness and lasciviousness go hand in hand as does popularity and pocket. Beware of a "welcoming church" because such are designed to appeal to the flesh, to the senses of the worldly person. If they are attractive to such there is something wrong with the "bait." Men love darkness rather than light. They naturally shun the Light. If the "light" is "darkness" how will they ever met the Lord Jesus—the Light of the World—and the only true Light that has been given whereby mankind can live a life pleasing to God?

In the future house-churches, all men will be free to preach, teach, pray, or contribute as and when they are moved to do so in the meeting. All men will be equal and leadership will arise spontaneously through the gift of the Holy Spirit. Elders will arise by virtue of their gifts. No office should be filled by paid officials because of the abuse that this has led to in the past: all men will do the disciplining (as was the case in Corinth, 1 Cor 5:4) and decide on the ordering of their services (1 Cor 14), making due allowance for those whom God has clearly gifted with teaching His word. The days are over when young men can buy their way into the ministry of the church by doing a three-year course of academic theological training and then take over the care of an assembly of God's people. This is an unnatural route into the ministry and must be avoided in future. After such theological training,[820] young men should work alongside those older in the faith in their local church setting (compare the relationship between Paul and Timothy) before being set aside for a work that they show evidence of having the gift for. Pastoral work should be the work of *all* the men in these house-churches, and not left to one paid individual. Only evangelists should be paid members of any house-church, apart from funding 'faithful men' (2 Tim 2:2) who have shown an aptitude for teaching God's Word in order to keep alive the biblical languages in the Church. All others should give their time at their own expense and out of love for Christ (not love of money).

Although the immediate practical consequences of this book will be seen and felt in the weekly gathering of God's people to worship Him through Jesus Christ in a visible distinction between men and women as regards the head-covering and in the silent participation of women in the service, it is the long-term effect on the family unit that will benefit most by the recovery of the biblical doctrine of headship.

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820 The institution must clearly teach the biblical doctrine of headships in a positive manner and its doctrines must agree with Reformation (Calvinistic and paedo-baptist) Theology and its handling of Scripture must conform to "The Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy" (for which see Norman L. Geisler, *Inerrancy* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1979], pp. 493-502). This Statement arose out of an International Conference on Biblical Inerrancy (ICBI) in October, 1978, attended by 300 evangelical leaders.

When men adopt a totally submissive attitude toward Christ, their head, then we will see a new man emerge who will be capable of loving his wife and family as Christ did, and one who will have an evangelical zeal to transform the rest of mankind.

When women adopt a totally submissive attitude toward their heads, their husbands, then we will see a new woman emerge who will devote her life to the one she loves. In giving she will enjoy the trust and honour that such devotion brings and deserves.

Both new man and new woman have the new Adam as their model of what is involved in true, loving submission. The natural man and the natural woman cannot understand this model, because it is spiritually discerned, but only by being in harmony with God's good headship order will men and women experience peace and happiness in the human family.

6.4 OVERVIEW AND EPILOGUE

A more accurate title for this section would be: "A Concise Defence of the Traditional Doctrine of Headship and its Theological Practices."

God, in His wisdom, has attached spiritual truths and doctrines to physical objects. He attached to circumcision the Promise of Salvation to all nations through Abraham's descendants. He has attached to the water of baptism the Promise of Salvation through Christ's death and resurrection.[821] It would be missing the point to demand that circumcision be stopped because of the cruelty involved to the male baby, or complaining that the water of the sea or river where baptism is taking place is too cold, or that head-covering is old-fashioned. We must look beyond any physical embarrassment that is connected to the symbol or sign and focus on what they convey.

God has attached spiritual significance to the presence or absence of the head-covering. It would be short-sighted to dispense with the symbol, or seek another, because there is wisdom in all that God does and His ways of teaching are the best. He knows the frailty of our memories and the ease with which we slip back into our unregenerate ways. Hence it would be unwise to dispense with or alter the outward symbols of spiritual truths that God has given.

The doctrine of Headship is essential in all our relations and without it installed in our memories it is impossible to please God. It is impossible to live a godly life without it. And it is virtually impossible to live a successful Christian marriage without it. It is foundational for every doctrine and all doctrines lead back to it and are built on it.

In its essence, headship informs us that God is head over all His creation. Nothing has been exempted from His control. The headship of Christ tells us that everything is under the delegated-control of the Lord Jesus. Nothing has been exempted from his delegated-control, except God Himself. The headship of Man informs us that all created things on the earth have been put under Man's delegated-control. Nothing has been exempted from his limited, delegated-control, not even Woman.

Thus, headship introduces us to the idea of a hierarchy of powers and authorities. God the Father is head over all things, followed by the Lord Jesus Christ (during the present

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[821] 1 Peter 3:20, "who formerly were disobedient, when once the Divine longsuffering waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was being prepared, in which a few, that is, eight souls, were saved through water. There is also an antitype which now saves us—baptism . . . ." Not that water baptism *per se* saves but rather what is signifies saves the one baptised.

age), followed by the Holy Spirit, followed by Archangels, then angels, then Man, then Woman. To each level there has been given authority from God in a delegated manner. The level of authority decreases in a descending order.

God created the male in His own image to be His helpmeet,[822] and He created the female to be Man's helpmeet. He gave to each gender a different measure of authority. To distinguish the authority He gave to Man from the lesser authority He gave to Woman, He established an outward and visible sign of their respective authorities. He made a distinction between the two genders when they pray or prophesy. The male must not cover his head and the female must cover her head. He stipulated that only the males, because of their headship gift of authority and because they were made to relate *directly* to Him, should speak in the *ecclesia.* He also stipulated that only males should be in leadership roles toward other males because they are in the same ranking of headship-authority. A female must never rule, lead or control a male either in the marriage-home or in Church structures. To attempt to do so would be to reach for headship-authority which has not been given to her. Men and women must live up to, but not exceed or fall short of, the level of authority that the Creator has delegated to each of them. Both genders must live within the bounds set for them. This is the Creator's design for each of them. From the Creator's point of view men and women were created to fulfil specific roles in *His* world ("but all things are from God" [1 Cor 11:12]). This is why it is so essential to understand the doctrine of Headship or delegated authority. It has a bearing on every aspect of their respective callings, irrespective of whether they are Christians are not. The Creator has revealed who is to be submissive to whom in order that His overall purposes and will are not frustrated.

We might sum up the position in the couplet, "Equal in worth; unequal from birth." "Equal in worth," refers to the price God paid to redeem women as well as men. They both need His Son's blood to redeem them. "Unequal from birth," refers to the fact that God made male and female, and made one subject to the other's love, care and authority. Their roles cannot be reversed. The roles are gender-specific, fixed and set in theological concrete[823] for all time. Only God can change them.

Feminists (male and female) strongly object to this arrangement by God and detest it. Paul's answer would be, "But O man [or woman] who are you to reply to God? Will the thing formed say to Him who formed it, 'Why have you made me thus [i.e., male or female]?' Has not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel for honour and another for dishonour [or, made one female and the other male]?" (Rom 8:20-21). What God has joined together, man perversely separates; and what God separates, feminists perversely join together as equal in all respects, thus obliterating God's design and separate purposes for each sex.

In view of the fact that all males were created as God's helpers, and all females were created as Man's helpers, both in the Old Covenant and in the New Covenant, God gave the prime place in His worship to the God-helpers. And what if God has decreed that *only men* (the God-helpers) should speak in the ecclesia, and *only men* should pray to Him with an uncovered head, and *only men* should rule over or lead other men in His Son's Church? Is it not His prerogative to order such things for His own purposes? Who will challenge Him and change His created arrangement? "If any man does not have the spirit of Christ, he is none of

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[822] Gen 2:4, "For the Lord God had not caused it to rain on the earth, and there was no man to till the earth." The next verses show these two needs being met in the (a) provision of water (v.6), and (b) the creation of a male human being (v.7). "And the Lord God took the man and put him in the garden of Eden to tend and keep it" (2:15). Thus Adam became God's helper.

[823] Note the three *theological* arguments (Gk γὰρ) that Paul uses from creation (or God's Law) in 1 Cor 11:8-9, "For (Gk γὰρ) man is not from woman, but woman is out of man. And also, man was not created on account of the woman, but woman on account of man." 1 Cor 14:33b, "For (Gk γὰρ) it has not been permitted to them [females] to speak [in the ecclesia], but to subject themselves, as also the Law says." 1 Tim 2:13, "For (Gk γὰρ) Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman, having been thoroughly deceived, into transgression came." He bases nothing on local culture. His arguments are timeless and changeless.

His" (Rom 8:9). This is the kind of person who *will* seek to overturn God's good order in the Church and he is found in every leadership position in the Church.

Given this brief introduction to the big picture, let us see how this should work itself out in practice in the context of the Church and Christian marriage.

The traditional practice of the universal Church in the apostolic period was for men to conduct the public worship of God's people. The same tradition was preserved in the post-apostolic period. The same tradition was confirmed in the Reformation Churches and was practised until the beginning of the twentieth century. Wherever missionary churches were set up in all the continents of the world the practice was retained.

Throughout the twentieth century this foundation-tradition came under attack with the rise of the feminist movement due primarily, it must be said, to the non-Christian's abuse of his headship position. By the end of the twentieth century the tradition was all but lost in the rich, affluent, western denominations. This change in Church order was then gradually exported to the missionary denominations throughout the world.

Is this world-wide trend of God or of man? The conclusion of this paper is that it is of man. We are in a period of deception. The analysis of this work is that in the apostolic period the doctrine and the practice were understood. Through time, these became separated and just the practice continued without a clear knowledge of the theological reasons behind them.

This state of affairs might be likened to a car whose engine became clogged up and stopped working, but because the car had sufficient momentum this was not noticed for a long time until eventually it came to a halt. Only then did the occupants discover that they were sitting in a vehicle that they knew had come from the apostolic period but why it was not still moving forward they had no idea. The shell of the car is the Church itself. The engine was the Gospel and its inseparable theological traditions that had once moved the Church forward. The car having come to a halt, a hitch-hiker, Ms Sexual Equality, got on board and she is presently sitting comfortably in the front driving seat holding the wheel of a church that is going nowhere. It is stuck in a vast, barren, godless desert where its hope is slowly ebbing away mesmerised by the mirage of sexual equality.

Paul taught "sexual quality," that is, male and female, not "sexual equality," which would be unisex beings. Both genders share a common humanity which includes the moral image of God. Both genders share a common God-given authority over His creation, but in different measures. To the male was given headship over the female. They are not equal in the authority that they have been given by God.

The purpose of this work is to restore the original powerhouse doctrine of God's Sovereignty, that He is Head over all things; that God the Father handed over the headship of everything in heaven and on earth to Christ, His Son; that Christ is Head of the Church; that Christ is the Head of every man. This is the powerhouse doctrine—the institution of Christ's sovereignty over all men everywhere—that gave the apostolic Church its life, vision and strength to turn its world upside down. In recognition of Christ's sovereignty every man must appear before Him with an uncovered head and every woman with a covered head to acknowledge their relative authority positions under His governance.

Once the engine is repaired it is up to the rightful occupants of the car to take over the wheel again and get moving forward in its task of taking the original, unadulterated, undiluted Gospel with its inseparable theological traditions into all the world. *A little feminist leaven has completely altered the shape of the Gospel.* The twentieth-century should be looked upon as a roadside breakdown—a temporary hiatus—and nothing more. A reformed Church should get the car going again and continue on its Christ-honouring journey of freedom and love and happiness toward the day when the original Gospel will cover the earth as the waters cover the seas, and harmony and good order will once again characterise the lives of God's people.

1. REPAIRING THE DAMAGED DOCTRINE OF LOVE-HEADSHIPS

Throughout this work reference will be made to a work which I have put on my web-site entitled, "Good Order in the Church: the Head of Man is Christ—the Head of Woman is Man" (hereafter GOITC) where a fuller treatment and sources will be found under section (§) marks.

The web-site is: http://www.lmf12.wordpress.com/

Such was the universality of the practice for men to conduct the public worship of God's people that the Roman Catholic commission on Women's Ordination noted :

> The Catholic Church has never felt that priestly or Episcopal ordination can be validly conferred on women. A few heretical sects in the first century, especially Gnostic ones, entrusted the exercise of the priestly ministry to women: this innovation was immediately noted and condemned by the Fathers, who considered it as unacceptable in the Church. . . . But over and above considerations inspired by the spirit of the times, one finds expressed—especially in the canonical documents of the Antiochian and Egyptian traditions—this essential reason, namely, that by calling only men to the priestly Order and ministry in its true sense, the Church intends to remain faithful to the type of ministry willed by the Lord Jesus Christ and carefully maintained by the Apostles.
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> The same conviction animates mediaeval theology, . . . Since that period and up to our own time, it can be said that the question has not been raised again, for the practice has enjoyed peaceful and universal acceptance. The Church's tradition in the matter has thus been so firm in the course of the centuries that the Magisterium has not felt the need to intervene in order to formulate a principle which was not attacked, or to defend a law which was not challenged. . . .
>
> The same tradition has been faithfully safeguarded by the Churches of the East. (See also under §5.2)

2. DEFINITION OF HEADSHIP

Headship can be defined as a relationship between two persons in which one person voluntarily submits to do the will of the other *in a full-time capacity.*

Only three known headships of this kind are explicitly revealed in Scripture, they are between God and Christ, Christ and Man, and Man and Woman (1 Cor 11:3). Each is a mirror image of the other pairs. Each pair throws light on the others and shows what is involved in such a relationship.

All headship relationships are obedience relationships, but not all obedience relationships are headship relationships, in the same way that all virgins are girls, but not all girls are virgins, or all apples are fruits but not all fruits are apples (web-site GOITC, Chart 1).

The relationship of a son to his father is an obedience, reverent, deferential relationship but the head of the son is not his father, but Jesus Christ because the head of every man is Christ, not his earthly father. Jesus obeyed his parents. He was submissive to them (Lk 2:51). As he grew up he was aware that God was his head not his earthly father.

Under the old Adamic and Abrahamic covenants, and especially the Mosaic Covenant, all men everywhere had God as their direct head, not the Lord Jesus (web-site GOITC, Chart 3). All male Israelites approached God through the levitical priesthood *with their heads covered* (cf. Lev 10:6). God's headship operated from Adam until Christ so that all men related directly to God. Then something new happened: God handed over His headship to His Son, the Lord Jesus Christ. He now became the mediator between God and Man. From

now on God revealed that all men should approach Him *through His Son.* This was a completely new way into the presence of God and from now on the *only* way. From now on the head of every man would be Christ, not God.

In recognition of this handover of headship and the transfer of total power to the Lord Jesus for the duration of mankind's time on earth, all men were to come before God with an *uncovered* head. This was a completely new tradition for Israel to adopt and the majority could not accept it because of unbelief and went on coming before God with a covered head. This was an insult to the new Head of humanity. "Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonours his head [i.e., Christ]" (1 Cor 11:3).

But the Incarnation also elevated mankind. From now on Christ was in Man, and Man was in Christ (Jn 17:2). Christ, the express image of God (Heb 1:3) and man, "the image and glory of God," shared one thing in common, they both had God's image of headship. It was now inappropriate to cover the image of God in Christ and in man. This was the second reason for man appearing before God with an uncovered head and differentiating him from woman.

The change of man's head-covering heralded a new era in the relation between God and Man. Jesus, not God, would be the One who would judge all men on the final Judgment Day. When Jesus has completed the task of redemption and judgment he will hand back the headship to his Father (1 Cor 15:28).[824]

When man formally appears before God in prayer or in God's name preaches the Gospel, he must do so in the manner prescribed for his sex. He must be careful to pray and preach (prophesy) with an uncovered head. This apostolic tradition was based on theology not local custom. It rests on two permanent, universal facts, namely, that Man is "the image and glory of God," and that the Lord Jesus Christ is the head of all men everywhere and in all ages. This tradition cannot be changed by any decree of the Church in any age. It is set in concrete for all time, in all continents, in all cultures. It is distinctively Christian both in concept and symbol.

3. DEFINITION OF "IMAGE OF GOD"

It is generally assumed that men and women are both made in "the image and likeness of God."[825] This is never said of Woman in Genesis or elsewhere.[826] She is made in the *moral* image of God because she was derived from Man's body. Only Man was made in the "image and likeness" of God. Where God, Christ and Man differ from Woman is that Woman does not have headship, the rest do, so that Man is closer to being like God, than Woman, in this respect. Augustine asks: "How can woman be the image of God, seeing she is subject to man and hath none authority, neither to teach, neither to be witness, neither to judge, much less to rule or bear empire?"[827] Augustine's own answer is:

> Woman compared to other creatures is the image of God, for she beareth dominion over them; but compared unto man, she may not be called the image of

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[824] For the origin of Christ's headship see Excursus 6.5-7.

[825] So, for example, Brian Edwards, "Leadership in the Bible," in *Men, Women and Authority* (edited by Brian Edwards; Bromley, Kent: Day One Publications, 1996), pp. 50-67, esp. p. 65, and Werner Neuer, *Man and Woman in Christian Perspective* (ET by Gordon Wenham. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1990), pp. 59, 63-64, 67. See Excursus 6.3 for a critique of Neuer as a typical example.

[826] See the further notes under Excursus 6.3. Feminist Terminology and Woman's "image of God."

[827] Augustine *De Trinitate* xii.7.10, as quoted by Marvin A. Breslow, *The Political Writings of John Knox* (Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library/ London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1996), p. 50.

> God, for she beareth not rule and lordship over man, but to obey him. . . . The woman shall be subject to man as unto Christ.[828]

John Chrysostom also recognised there was a fundamental difference between the two genders.

> The "image" has rather to do with authority, and this only the man has; the woman has it no longer. For he is subjected to no one, while she is subjected to him. . . . Therefore the man is in the "image of God" since he had no one above him, just as God has no superior but rules over everything. The woman, however, is "the glory of man," since she is subjected to him.[829]

4. WORSHIP IS CONDUCTED THROUGH AN ALL-MALE PRIESTHOOD

When God set up His worship through the laws given to Moses on Mount Sinai, He deliberately focused the attention of every male on Himself, to serve Him with all their heart and soul and mind and strength. When He worded the Ten Commandments He has only males in view. (The principle that if it applies to men then it will also apply to the women and children under his care is taken for granted in Scripture.) When He directed who should bring the nation's offerings into His presence, He restricted it to a male priesthood. When He directed who should sing in His choirs, He restricted this to males.[830] When He gave instructions who should prepare the different layers of skins, cloths and curtains to construct the Tabernacle, He gave the work to males only. The preparation of the perfumes was given to males. Everything to do with the construction and service of the Tabernacle and Temple was the work of His servants, the males. They also carried it and reassembled it throughout the forty years of wandering in the wilderness. The total burden of God's worship fell squarely on the shoulders of the men.

What special part did His female worshippers have in all this worship (cultus)? None. They were silent and adopted a supporting role to their menfolk, knowing that God had placed the full responsibility on the shoulders of their menfolk. It was not a shared responsibility with a distinctive female input. There was no division of functions. All was the work of their husbands, brothers and sons. They accepted this as God's will for them. It was how God wanted it and planned it. It was also done with an eye to His Son's Church worship. Men could not pass their responsibility on to their womenfolk.

The Spirit sanctioned and safeguarded this God-ordained arrangement with the universal injunction, "Let your women keep silent in the churches, for they are not permitted to speak; but they are to be submissive, as the Law also says" (1 Cor 14:34). The plural reference to "all the churches" in v. 33 and "in the churches" in v. 34 suggests that Paul is quoting a well-known, universal directive of the Lord, because Corinth had only one church. This would tie up with his reference to "the churches of God" in 11:16. All three contexts point away from Corinth itself to the uniform practices in other churches scattered throughout "the world."

The Spirit points out two things. First and negatively, permission has not been given to the women to take an individual, vocal part in the worship of God in any of the scores (or

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828 Augustine *De Continentia* 9.23.

829 *Discourse 2 on Genesis 2,* quoted in Elizabeth A. Clark, *Woman in the Early Church,* vol. 13, Message of the Fathers of the Church (Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier, 1983), pp. 35-36. This was also Augustine's view in *De Trinitate* xii.7.10.

830 Psalm 68:25 mentions virgins playing timbrels in the context of a victorious military procession (vv. 7, 17) and the female population (v. 11) welcoming them back and singing about God's deliverance of His army (v. 20) and giving the women much booty (v. 12). This has nothing to do with the Temple choirs. The women welcomed David back with their own compositions/songs much to the annoyance of Saul (1 Sam 18:7).

hundreds?) of churches established under the New Covenant. *They worship through their menfolk as the Law says.* A universal, uniform pattern had been established throughout the world because there had been no positive directive overruling or reversing her past position "in the Law." Consequently, her position had/has not been changed.

Second and positively, the Spirit points out that she is to adopt the same posture and position as she had in relation to God's worship under the Mosaic Covenant, "but they are to be submissive, as the Law also says" (1 Cor 14:34). She is to have no direct, vocal input into the New Covenant services any more than she had under the Mosaic Covenant. She is not left in any doubt what her relationship to the menfolk is under the New Covenant. God, once again, puts the focus and responsibility fully on His male servants. They, and they alone, have been given permission to speak in the churches, to teach and edify one another, and to evangelise the nations. The sisters are to be silent *in church.*

The Spirit's ruling shows that the Law continues in force unless it is specifically changed.[831] The Spirit reveals that nothing has changed as regards the position men and women are to play in God's worship services. Their responsibilities are the same under both Covenants. There is continuity of male-only directed worship in this regard. Discontinuity would require a directive from the Lord. Has He given it yet? If not, then women have no authority to speak in His churches. They are being disobedient if they do so. (This will be looked at in greater depth below.)

Man was made directly to serve God. Woman was made directly to serve Man. This difference in their creation explains why God focuses on Man to worship and serve Him, because He has given Woman to serve Man, and through her service she fulfils the purpose of her special creation. If she fails to serve Man as God intended, then she has failed to serve Him. She is a disgrace to Him. Her service to God is indirect, in that it comes through fulfilling the chief design of her creation, "Man was not created for the Woman, but Woman for the Man" (1 Cor 11:9).

In working out her headship relation to Man, she should focus on the Lord Jesus' example and His words, "Not my will but yours be done," and say this in her heart to her husband daily and hourly until it becomes a deep-seated attitude of total, joyful, complete, submissiveness, governed by a deep desire to do the will of her husband *in everything,* "wives, submit to your own husbands, as to the Lord" (Eph 5:22). "Therefore, just as the church is subject to Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in everything" (Eph 5:24). "Wives, likewise, be submissive to your own husbands . . . for in this manner, in former times, the holy women who trusted in God also adorned themselves, being submissive to their own husbands, as Sarah obeyed Abraham, calling him lord, whose daughters you are . . . ." (1 Pet 3:1-6).[832]

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[831] Dt 22:30, "A man shall not take his father's wife," but the Corinthians seemed to think that this Mosaic law no longer applied in the Church (on the basis of the present tenses in Lk 20:34-36?). "It is actually reported that there is sexual immorality among you, and such sexual immorality as is not even named among the Gentiles—that a man has his father's wife!" (1 Cor 5:1). This particular sin was cursed on Mount Ebal (Dt 27:20) where twelve sins were specifically condemned in the strongest terms.

[832] The Danvers Statement (The Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood) has well stated the state in its rationale, "We have been moved in our purpose by the following contemporary developments which we observe with deep concern: . . . 3. The increasing promotion given to feminist egalitarianism with accompanying distortions or neglect of the glad harmony portrayed in Scripture between the loving, humble leadership of redeemed husbands and the intelligent, willing support of that leadership by redeemed wives. . . . 7. The emergence of roles for men and women in church leadership that do not conform to Biblical teaching but backfire in the crippling of Biblically faithful witness. . . . 10. And behind all this the apparent accommodation of some within the church to the spirit of the age at the expense of winsome, radical Biblical authenticity which in the power of the Holy Spirit may reform rather than reflect our ailing culture." The Danvers Statement was first published by the Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood (Wheaton, ILL.,) in November 1988 (web-site www.cbmw.org).

Through these statements the Spirit teaches the apostolic Church that the headship relation that obtained under the Old Covenants has not been changed: Man is still the head of Woman.

Thus the Spirit teaches two fundamental truths. First, under the Old and New Covenants nothing has changed in regard to God's worship: men, and men only, are given permission to speak in the congregations of God's people. No permission has been given to women to speak in the church. It is not relevant whether women played a direct part in Greek or Roman religions in Corinth. The Spirit is following his own agenda which is based on God's specific positioning of women 1500 years previously.

Second, the headship relation between Man and Woman has not been changed.[833] Consequently, the Hebrew Scriptures can be a great source of teaching on both topics. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be complete, thoroughly equipped for every good work" (2 Tim 3:16-17).

If Man fails to serve God directly, he is a rebel and a disgrace to His Creator, because he has failed in the chief design of his creation. What was said of the wife, vis-à-vis her headship relation to her husband, applies to man's relation to Christ, namely, his service to God is direct (hers was indirect), in that it comes through fulfilling the chief design of his creation, "Man was not created for the Woman, but Woman for the Man." The corollary is that Man was created for God, not for Woman (cf. 1 Cor 8:6; Gen 2:5).

In working out his headship relation to Christ, he should focus on the Lord Jesus' example and his words, "Not my will but yours be done," and say this in his heart to Him daily and hourly until it becomes a deep-seated attitude of total, joyful, complete, submissiveness, governed by a deep desire to do the will of Christ in everything, "Serve the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul, with all your mind, and with all your strength." This service is expressed well by David, "Behold, as the eyes of servants look to the hand of their masters, as the eyes of a maid to the hand of her mistress, so our eyes look to the Lord our God" (Ps 123:2). The young bride is encouraged to, "Listen, O daughter, Consider and incline your ear; Forget your own people also, and your father's house: So the King will greatly desire your beauty; Because he *is* your Lord, worship Him" (Ps 45:10-11).[834] And Peter implores the new Christian to live the rest of his time on earth doing "the will of God," "For we have spent enough of our past lifetime doing the will of the Gentiles" (1 Pet 4:2; cf. 1:17). Coming under Christ's headship marks a watershed in every man's orientation to the next world, without which he will not see God.

5. HEADSHIP IS AT THE HEART OF MARRIAGE

Doing the will of another person is what headship is all about. It is a very special relationship and applies only to three pairs of persons. We know about them only through special revelation, consequently, the natural man and woman do not have the key by which to regulate their marriages resulting in predictable break-downs because two selfish wills are competing all the time and eventually one stubborn issue will result in separation and divorce.

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[833] Yahweh safeguarded man's authority-headship over females in his house. If a daughter or a wife made a vow to God these were subject to the husband's or the father's approval. If the male overrules her, then the Lord will accept the male's ruling. But all vows made by males could not be overruled by wives or fathers (Num 30). This law is still valid in all Christian families because it comes under man's headship, which has not been changed under the terms of the New Covenant (cf. the guiding principle, "as the Law says," in 1 Cor 14:34).

[834] J. P. Hallett has shown that women, especially elite women in Roman society, clung closer to their fathers and male kin that to their husbands, in *Fathers and Daughters in Roman Society: Women and the Elite Family* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 219-43.

In Christianity, the Christian marriage cannot break up unless the doctrine of headship is set aside. Where it is not set aside then the wife will see in the model of Christ's obedience to the Father's will, how she ought to obey her husband's will. She will also see in the example of her husband's total obedience to Christ's will, how she ought to respond to his will. Likewise the husband will see in his wife's voluntary submissiveness to him a living example of how submissive he should be to his Lord in everything. The husband will also see in Christ's submissiveness to His Head a model for him to emulate, and he will see in Christ's love for his bride, the Church, how he ought to love his wife.

How can such a marriage relationship ever break up? It cannot. Sin would have to enter and destroy the doctrine of headship first before it could destroy such a love-headship relationship. The threat to every Christian marriage comes through a hairline crack. In the case of the wife it will come when she starts to disobey her husband in small, insignificant (in her opinion) ways. In the case of the husband it comes when he starts not to love her in small, insignificant ('minor,' in his opinion) ways. Then the cracks get wider and wider, and feed off each other.

Christian marriage counsellors have the key to understanding why any marriage (Christian or non-Christian) breaks up, and they have in the doctrine of love-headships the key to their restoration. There is no other key to lock-in the love between two complementary genders in this beautiful of all human relationships. Marriage is used as the model of Christ's relationship to his Bride, the Church, because love is as strong as death and a man will lay down his life for his betrothed one.

In the Anglican Solemnization of Matrimony the minister asks the husband-to-be:

"Wilt thou have this Woman to thy wedded wife, to live together after God's ordinance in the holy estate of Matrimony? Wilt thou love her, **comfort her,** honour, and keep her, in sickness and in health; and, forsaking all other, keep thee only unto her, so long as ye both shall live?"

¶ The Man shall answer,

"I will."

(He then asks the wife-to-be:)

"Wilt thou have this Man to thy wedded husband, to live together after God's ordinance in the holy estate of Matrimony? Wilt thou **obey him, and serve him,** love, honour, and keep him, in sickness and in health; and, forsaking all other, keep thee only unto him, so long as ye both shall live?"

¶ The Woman shall answer,

"I will."

(Note how the only differences between the two vows [in bold] capture the terms of a headship relationship.)

¶ Then they shall give their troth to each other . . . .

¶ The Man will say after the minister:

"I *M.* take thee *N.* to my wedded wife, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love and to cherish, till death us do part, according to God's holy ordinance; and thereto I **plight** thee my troth."

¶ The Woman will say after the minister:

"I *N.* take thee *M.* to be my wedded husband, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love, cherish **and to obey,** till death us do part, according to God's holy ordinance; and thereto I **give** thee my troth."

Note again how the difference between the two pledges [in bold] captures and reflects the terms of headship as it relates to the Man-Woman relationship. Those who formulated these vows and pledges had an excellent grasp of the doctrine of love-headship. The wording of the Book of Common Prayer goes back to the First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI and has remained unchanged into modern times.

6. LOVE-HEADSHIPS AND FORCE-HEADSHIPS

There are two sides to headship: a love side and a force side. God will be God. He will be head of His world including Christ's world. Christ will be head of his world including Man's world. Man will be head of his world including Woman. Thus there is a hierarchy of headships, with God head over all (1 Cor 15:28).

Before the Incarnation, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit were in an obedience, deferential relationship to God the Father. They were not in a headship relationship. They were not created beings. They were three distinct Persons sharing the same nature. Before the Incarnation they were equal in nature but not in function. The Father could send the Son and the Holy Spirit, but not vice versa, but this should be set in the context of planning Man's redemption before the foundation of the world.

All other angelic beings were created to do God's will. There was no need for force. God's love-headship reigned in heaven until one powerful archangel rebelled and sought to de-throne God. God retained control of His world through force and Satan and a third of the angelic beings were "put in prison" until the Judgment Day. This rebellion brought out an aspect of God's nature that had not been seen up to that point. Only His love-headship side had been seen. Now His force-headship side was seen for the first time in order to retain control of His world. This is a reserve power in the three headships.

For God the Son to change his relationship to God the Father and come under God's headship, like all His created males, like Adam, was quite a come-down from his deferential relationship to his Father. But he accepted this new relationship in order to come under the same relationship that all men bore to God, namely, that of coming under God's headship which was a new experience for him. He is the second Adam, thus he *had* to come under God's headship to become fully man. He could not have been a substitute for Man while he remained in a Father-Son obedience relationship. He had to move into a Christ-God headship relationship in order to carry out the Salvation of Man. Yet the Father always refers to him as "my Son" when He speaks to him in the Gospels. He never calls him "Christ" in personal address.

While Jesus' new headship experience might be seen as an exaltation in his status, it was in fact a humbling one in the eyes of all the angels in heaven, because Jesus was made a little lower than the angels in heaven (Heb 2:9) but it was a humiliation that Jesus took on voluntarily in order to put himself ***in the place of man*** and, as a man, bear man's sins in his own human body on the cross to satisfy the Father's justice. As a man, he obeyed the Law of Moses so that he could obtain the righteousness of God to give to every man who asks it of him in faith. Salvation would henceforth be by faith alone followed by acts of faith, not by works of the Law. Jesus accepted the headship of Man in order to accomplish Man's redemption. (The principal that the greater includes the lesser means that the salvation of women and children are included in the offer to Man. Only males were circumcised on behalf of their families, and only males had to appear three times a year before God in Jerusalem on behalf of their families. Only men were in Yahweh's army.)

Jesus' new, headship relationship to his Father involved three things. First, it meant that Jesus came under the same relationship that Adam had to God, namely, God had *direct* control of his life and goals. Second, he took on the experience of being one of His Father's created beings. This was new for Jesus who was an uncreated being. He had to learn

obedience as Adam had to learn it (Heb 5:8). This was new for him as a man. Third, he had to do the Father's will as all men born of women have to. This was new for him who was equal to the Father in all things. He and the Father were always one (Jn 10:30). Now Jesus subordinated his will to do the Father's will. "Your will be done on earth as it is in heaven" was the goal that dominated all he said and did on earth.

It is from Jesus' headship relation to God that we get not only our definition of headship but its practical outworking in someone's life. We see headship in its full, earthy expression in the life and work of the *man* Christ Jesus. He becomes the model, the only paradigm, for all men to follow. Every man has been born to do the will of the Lord Jesus Christ. If he does not pray the prayer, "Your will be done in my life," he is in a state of rebellion against his head and we need look no further than God's reaction to see "the prison" that awaits all who do their own will.

The love-headship of God can be seen in the love, care and blessings He showered on Adam and on Israel. His force-headship can be seen in His anger toward Adam and Israel. He expelled Adam from the Garden of Eden and He expelled Israel from the Promised Land, a land flowing with milk and honey, because both showed a rebellious spirit. This He can do because of His headship relationship over them. He will remain in control of His world either through his love-headship or His force-headship, the latter being a means to regain the former, preferred relationship.

Just as there is a love-headship side to the Lord Jesus, there is also a force-headship side to him that is awesome and terrifying. For the moment this is not revealed, but the Book of Revelation speaks of the wrath of the Lamb as well as of his graciousness. It shows him prepared to shut down churches that will not return to their first love.

Earth is presently in a hiatus state. A day of grace has been declared in which mankind is given an opportunity to avail itself of the free offer of forgiveness through the Son's sacrificial giving of himself on behalf of all men. The day of grace will pass and the opportunity to submit to the headship of Christ will be removed forever.

7. HAS THE SPIRIT GIVEN PERMISSION FOR WOMEN TO SPEAK IN CHURCH?

Liberal evangelicals and feminists have pointed to 1 Corinthians 11:5 and 14:26 as proof that apostolic permission has been given *in practice* (if not in word, Gal 3:28) for women to have a direct, individual input into the worship service. There are serious objections to this possibility apart from the discontinuity this would involve with her role in the past, arising as it did out of her headship relation to man.

(1) It sets up a contradiction over *teaching men* between 1 Corinthians 11:5 and 1 Timothy 2:12; 1 Corinthians 14:26. Scripture is set against Scripture if 1 Corinthians 11:5 *condones* what 1 Timothy 2:12 *condemns* because according to Paul's own definition of prophecy in 1 Corinthians 14:3 this involves teaching, commanding and counselling *men* in the church meeting. Paul also says, "whenever you come together, each of you has a psalm, **has a teaching,** has a tongue, has a revelation, has an interpretation" (1 Cor 14:26).
(2) It assumes that 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 took place *in a church meeting.*
(3) It sets up a contradiction over *speaking in church* between 1 Corinthians 11:5 and 14:34-35.
(4) Even if a woman could pray in public she must do so with her head covered. *The dress-codes are gender-specific, theological, and as permanent as their natures.*

Regarding the first point, there are two assumptions here.

In 1 Corinthians 14:26 the feminist assumption is that Paul is talking about men *and women* making these contributions. They have overlooked the very simple, contextual fact that Paul is specifically addressing the male members only, not only here but in all his church

epistles (§4.3.3.). This removes the alleged contradiction in Paul. In 1 Timothy 2:12 women are not to teach their husbands and, by extension, men in general, and in 1 Corinthians 14:26 only males bring "a teaching."

The second assumption is that 1 Corinthians 11:5 took place in a church meeting. If so, this would contradict 1 Corinthians 14:34-35. In the view of some, in 11:5 Paul tells the women how they are to dress in church whenever they are about to prophesy and then, when he gets to 14:34, he drops the bombshell that he knew all along, *when he was writing 11:5,* that they were never permitted to prophesy in the first place. This seems a very odd scenario.

But there is no contradiction if 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 is dealing with an out-of-church situation where women can pray or prophesy (provided they are covered) in their own homes. We know from Acts 2:17-18 that all of God's people—male and female—could prophesy. This was a universal gift that accompanied the gift of the Spirit. When we examine 1 Corinthians 14:31 we see that the same outpouring of the Spirit is still a common feature in the Christian community. But in this context the gift of "prophesying" is said to be on all the men in the church. Paul, addressing the "brethren," says, "For you can all prophesy one by one." Having said this, the Spirit then explicitly excludes the sisters from speaking in the public worship service with the words, "Let your women keep silent in the churches, for they are not permitted to speak, but they are to be submissive as the law also says."

The ban on women speaking (Greek *lalein,* which is the general word for any kind of verbal communication, including prophesying) in church is anchored in God's wisdom when He set up His worship under the Old Covenant. The worship service of the New Testament Church was not set up in a cultural vacuum.[835] Hundreds of synagogues existed all over the Roman Empire. Wherever Jews lived there were synagogues and the evangelising policy of "to the Jew first" meant that whole synagogues could become instant churches. The only visible adjustment being that the men now uncovered their heads in recognition of Jesus as their new Head. The first congregation in Corinth consisted largely of ex-synagogue members. Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, became a Christian with all his family.

The synagogue was modelled on the Temple in Jerusalem in that men and women sat apart from each other, replicating the Court of the Men and the Court of the Women in the Temple. All its functioning office-bearers were male. Women were not permitted to speak in any public meeting. God never asked any of His prophetesses to go to the Temple to deliver a message to His people as He did with Jeremiah and the other male prophets, including the twelve Apostles (Acts 5:20). Prophetesses, like Huldah, prophesied in their own homes to whoever came to visit them (§4.1).

Now, since all women (whose direct head is Man, not Christ) are explicitly excluded from speaking any kind of individual contribution in the New Covenant church, the reference to women "praying or prophesying" in 11:5 could not have taken place in the public meeting, otherwise there would be a contradiction with 14:34. Also, given the very high standard of modesty both in the synagogue and in the secular world where men and women did not mix indiscriminately, the introduction of such a new practice, with its

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[835] "The Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy" on this point is helpful, "In inspiration, God utilized the culture and conventions of his penmen's milieu, a milieu that God controls in His sovereign providence; it is misinterpretation to imagine otherwise. . . . Although Holy Scripture is nowhere culture-bound in the sense that its teaching lacks universal validity, it is sometimes culturally conditioned by the customs and conventional view of a particular period, so that the application of its principles today calls for a different sort of action." Thus flush toilets were not envisaged when Deut 23:13 was written but the principle and practice of hygiene is maintained using an alternative mode. (See Norman L. Geisler, *Inerrancy* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1979], pp. 500-501). In the "Chicago Statement on Biblical Hermeneutics (1982)," article VIII reads, "We affirm that the Bible contains teachings and mandates which apply to all cultural and situational contexts and other mandates which the Bible itself shows apply only to particular situations.

"We deny that the distinction between the universal and particular mandates of Scripture can be determined by cultural and situational factors. We further deny that universal mandates may ever be treated as culturally or situationally relative." Thus all theological traditions, such as men-only participation in the *ecclesia* and men-only with uncovered heads, which were universal in Paul's day, are as valid today as they were in his day.

overtones of laxity and promiscuity (kissing one another[836]), would have been a barrier—an "offence"—to the synagogue and the world, and given rise to gossip. But, more significantly, such a new tradition would constitute a major break with God's theologically-based tradition from the time of Moses at least. These activities would have taken place, in the case of women, in their homes or in a non-church context, as this was the case under the Old Covenant period. So unless Paul has contradicted himself or is confused—which is not possible if he is writing under inspiration—he has the community (not the church meeting) in mind when he goes on to set out the attire the men and women are to wear (or not wear, in the case of the men) whenever they "pray or prophesy."

Men are permitted to pray or prophesy audibly inside and outside the church. Women were permitted to pray or prophesy audibly only outside the church meeting and, given the place of women in society at that time, in a seemly context usually meant at home.

Consequently, there is no contradiction because if Chapter 14 is explicitly stated to take place in a church meeting, and no place is explicitly stated in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16, then 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 must be set in a general or unspecified context. The reason why Paul did not place 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 in a specific context is because he is appealing to universal, permanent gender differences which exist both inside and outside the church meeting, as we shall see below.

On the fourth point it should be noted that even if 1 Corinthians 11:5 permitted women to pray and preach in the public meeting, whenever the men pray or prophesy they must ensure that they do so with an uncovered head, out of respect for their new Head, the Lord Jesus Christ. The women, on the other hand, must ensure that they cover their heads out of respect for their position among the "powers and authorities" that exist in the universe. Their power (or authority, 11:10) differs from the power that men have been given over them through their headship, and also from the power that angels have, who, looking on, know this.

8. THE THEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF GENDER IN GOD'S WORSHIP

Liberal evangelicals and feminists regard the head-covering as an optional extra. Paul gives a sound theological explanation why women should, indeed, *must* cover their heads when engaged in spiritual exercises (§4.10.3).

Question: When can the woman's artificial covering be discarded?

Paul's answer: When women can discard their natural covering of hair.

Another way of putting it would be: When it becomes natural for all Christian women to appear before God completely bald-headed, then it is appropriate for them to throw away the artificial covering (1 Cor 11:5-6). *In Paul's theology the two stay together or are thrown away together.*

At the design stage, hair on a woman was given a different function to that on a man. In the case of woman her hair not only covered her shame (baldness) but God designed it to be "her glory" (1 Cor 11:15). It is not so with men who do not dread baldness in the same way that women do, nor does he regard his hair as "his glory." In contrast to her baldness, baldness in a man may even be attractive. These two gender-specific orientations belong to nature not nurture. They are written into their respective DNA codes. They are permanent.

God, the wise Designer, planted a dread in every woman to avoid appearing in public without her covering of hair, and this instinct goes back to the drawingboard stage of her design. Paul notes that just as God has covered her physical baldness (i.e., her shame) with a physical covering of hair to hide it, and this covering makes her acceptable and

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[836] Paul addressed his letters to men (§4.3.3.). He was not inculcating the indiscriminate cross-gender kissing that we see today. Same genders kissed or greeted one another in Paul's day, see §4.8.7.

"normal" in the physical world, so the artificial covering has a mirror function in the spiritual world and makes her acceptable and "normal" in the eyes of the multitude of onlooking and ministering angels. *What her natural covering of hair does for her in the physical world of men, the artificial cover does for her in the spiritual world of the angels.* She needs both types of coverings to be "normal" in these two different spheres. Both men and angels are repulsed (from different perspectives) at the sight of an "uncovered" woman. The angels, because she appears before her Maker in the dress-code of a male; and the man, because without her hair she is ugly and repulsive. She is not "the glory of man" at that visual moment in time, and distinctly not something he would be proud to think was made from his rib. If the Christian woman was aware of the analogy between her repulsive baldness and her uncovered head she would be as vigilant over the one as over the other, in order to please both God and man.

God purposely used the woman's instinctive dread of baldness to ensure that the dress-code of 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 was anchored in His design, in nature (and not, as most seen to think, in local culture). The link cannot be broken because the instinct is located in the woman's femininity, in Eve's genes, where it cannot be altered. That is how secure the doctrine and the practice of headcovering is for all time.

The Designer's focus on female baldness also ensures that there is no substitute for the headcovering. Baldness in females is always a state of shame in civilised cultures; this is what makes it impossible to find an alternative physical-spiritual parallel analogy. In such a parallel analogy there would have to be a glory-shame possibility, where an item of dress would be seemly on a woman but not on a man and at the same time have a parallel polarisation in the spirit world.

Some have suggested that the headcovering could be substituted by a wedding ring to show that the woman recognised the headship of her husband. This overlooks the fact that the headcovering represents the relationship between God and Woman, and not between Man and Woman. Any symbol that recognises Man's headship (such as wedding rings) is inappropriate to represent Woman's relationship to God. The issue to keep in focus here is that she is a *female* (virgin, single or married) coming before her Maker. Displaying her marital status is no substitute for her headcovering. They are not equivalent symbols otherwise what will virgins, unmarried mothers and widows wear when they pray to God? Also, where is the glory-shame possibility in nature for the wedding ring? There is none, because there is nothing in nature that corresponds to a wedding ring, whereas her artificial covering corresponds to her natural covering of hair which constitutes a life-long glory-shame possibility which is never far away.

If the artificial covering had been coupled to something changeable, such as the local custom in Corinth, then there might have been a case for changing the symbols down through the centuries. But God, in His wisdom, has coupled the head-covering with her purposely designed orientation of dread to ensure that her natural covering of hair and her artificial headcovering would remain permanently locked together for all time to differentiate the sexes when they appeared before Him. This designer-truth goes back to Eden not to Corinth. It goes back to Eve from whom all women are descended in Paul's concept of gender solidarity.

Consequently, for Paul, the artificial covering is not an optional extra: it is absolutely essential if a woman wants to be accepted in the spiritual sphere (i.e., when praying or prophesying). It is as essential as the uncovered head is for males. They are both theologically-laden practices. They are not empty, culturally conditioned, fashions.

To ignore the new, theological significance given to men with uncovered heads and to women wearing a head-covering (when in the presence of God), and to revert to giving hers, in particular, a secular/cultural meaning and then throwing that out because it is deemed local and transient is mischievous. It would be on a par with a Jew throwing out the rite of circumcision (which was given to Abraham with a new, theological meaning) on the

grounds that it had previously been a secular rite whose significance was now deemed to be local and transient!

The rainbow had no theological significance until one was attached to it by God. There were many types of baptisms in Jesus' day but the water of Christian baptism had no theological significance until it received it from Christ Himself. Similarly, the bread and wine have no inherent spiritual significance. In none of these Christian symbols, or those of the Old Testament Covenants, is the spiritual or theological significance obvious. The meaning is brought to the symbol by revelation and has to be constantly brought to it otherwise the symbol takes over and becomes an end in itself.

When men remove their head-covering on entering the presence of God they should constantly remind themselves why the Spirit of Jesus has commanded them to appear in this manner. In this way the symbol of an uncovered head will have an abiding influence on his life and remind him of his creation responsibilities before God. It is not without good, sound spiritual reasons that Jesus, the Head of the Church, has given *different* symbols to men and women to remind them of their *different* status and *different* powers for the upbuilding of the Church and to maintain good order in His Kingdom.

Paul is so adamant about the essential, spiritual nature of the symbols that he tells the women who will not cover themselves while praying or prophesying that they should shave off their hair so that the physical and the spiritual spheres will mirror each other exactly. Shame in both worlds, or glory in both worlds; but not a mixture, as we have it today. Shame is experienced in heaven and in the minds of godly men and women when a woman formally appears before God in the same dress-code as a man. It is a violation of the Law that the sexes are not to be confused.

Because shame is felt by the godly husband and among the ministering angels when a wife appears without an artificial headcovering in open defiance of Christ's specific directive, and shame is similarly felt on earth when a woman appears in public without hair, God has linked these two shaming experiences permanently through the dread of losing "her glory." He has provided her with a natural covering of hair for the one, and an artificial covering for the other.

This is a very powerful argument from creation/nature and it takes the feet from under the argument that the gender dress-codes are based on local culture. It is interesting to note that if angels do not die, then their sense of decorum will remain the same over the millennia. So if a woman's uncovered head was not "natural" to them in Corinth 2000 years ago, it is still not "natural" today. They know what happens to those who usurp headship powers having witnessed Satan's overthrow in their own lifetime. Women should not usurp Man's headship or take over his distinctively male functions in public worship. God's priests were warned, "When you offer a sacrifice . . . to the Lord, follow the rules so that you will be accepted" (Lev 22:29). The death penalty followed if unauthorised persons ignored this rule. He is also told, "Offer no unauthorised incense, burnt offerings, meal offerings or drink offerings" (Exod 30:9, *The Living Bible*). There is no free-for-all in Christ's worship.

Paul does not often get angry, so that when he does there must be something important at stake. Here, in 11:16, he will not give way. The theological dress-codes are not up for discussion. They are universal customs, cutting across all cultures. They borrow from none and they give way to none. *They are set in theological concrete for all time, in Paul's theology.*

In Near and Far Eastern societies newly converted women find it less of a culture shock to cover their heads in religious worship, so that 11:5 would present less difficulty to them. This also applies to their standards of modesty in dress when compared to the West. It is becoming fashionable for young women (in particular) to appear in skimpy holiday clothing at church services to the applause and encouragement of happy-clappy vicars and ministers who preach that God looks on the heart and not on the clothes, little realising the end that such a trend leads to. "You must not treat me as common or ordinary" (Lev 22:32,

The Living Bible). Casual clothes usually go with casual worship and reflect a lack of faith that Jesus is present in their midst. Dress as you would dress to meet a King, which He is.

So much for the culture shock that obedience brings for the Western woman who is too closely identified with the decadent fashion of the West, whose dress fashion is obsessed with how little a woman can wear and get away with it.

The choice facing Christian women in the West is image or homage. Homage to her Lord should rate more highly in her walk of faith than her self-image, and if homage means being appropriately covered, then this should be gasped with both hands ("My yoke is easy and My burden light."). On the other hand, if the public image of herself appropriately covered fills her with revulsion then this tells her more about herself and her relationship to her Lord than almost anything else. To expect the Head of the Church, her Saviour, to change His tradition for her benefit because she is embarrassed to be seen with anything on her head shows that such a woman is a Christian in name only. She has not yet submitted to the Lordship of Christ over the *whole* of her life.

Paul's argument is that men must not cover their heads because all males are created in "the image and likeness of God" (Gen 1:26; cf. 11:7). Males represent God finest achievement—His "glory," because they are more like Him in having headship authority over beings (females) having the same moral nature as himself. It is a theological, not a cultural argument.

The question arises: When does man cease to constitute "the image and glory of God" (so that he can cover his head when praying or prophesying)? The answer is: at no time. He is the "image and glory" of God until he dies. Whether he conducts worship at home or in the public meeting he remains the same person. It follows from this that a man can never formally pray or preach (prophesy) with a covered head. So the issue whether 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 is set inside or outside the church does not arise. Paul is stating a general principle that does not depend on *place* but on the *nature* of man.

The next issue relating to men is: Does God make a distinction between praying to Him in public and praying to Him in private? The answer is No, because man is "the image and glory of God" *at all times.* Consequently, whenever a male formally enters the presence of God to pray to Him, he must come in the manner prescribed for his sex. He must not come in the dress-code of a female as this would be abhorrent in God's eyes (Deut 22:5).

The corollary with the woman brings out the following theological insights. We know from 1 Corinthians 14:34 that no woman can "prophesy" in church, let alone speak. This is not in dispute by any major denomination: it is the natural reading of the text. It was how the Early Church Fathers read the text (§5.2). It was how the Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Reformation Churches read it. It was how it was understood for 2000 years.

The question arises: When does woman cease to be "the glory of man" (so that she can pray or prophesy with an uncovered head)? The answer is: at no time. She is the "glory of man" this side of eternity. She cannot change her Eve-image. It follows from this that a woman can never formally pray or "prophesy" with an uncovered head.

Now the place a woman can freely and appropriately "prophesy" is at home or among other women or in a non-church setting, and when she does so she must do so in the manner prescribed for her sex. She must not adopt the dress-code of the male, which would be repulsive in God's eyes, "A woman shall not wear anything that belongs to a man, nor shall a man put on a woman's garment, for all who do so are an abomination to the Lord your God" (Deut 22:5). God has reserved the uncovered head for males, therefore she should be careful never to come into His presence looking like a male. Her distinctive dress-code is permanent because it is based on the permanent nature of woman and the revelation that she is "the glory of man." So the issue whether 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 is set inside or outside the church does not arise. Paul is stating a general principle that does not depend on *place* but on the *nature* of woman.

It is her divinely-created gender, not local custom, that determines her dress-code whether she is a virgin, single or married. *The female's dress-code does not depend on whether men are present or not, but on whether God is present or not.*

The next issue relating to women is: Does God make a distinction between praying to Him in public and praying to Him in private? The answer is No. Consequently, whenever a female formally enters the presence of God to pray to Him, she must come in the manner prescribed for her sex. The tradition is permanent because it is theologically based, not culturally conditioned. The message Paul conveys here is that *dress-codes are gender-specific, theological, and as permanent as their genders.*

Outside the times she is praying or prophesying, Christian women can go bare-headed like any other women,[837] unless the culture she lives in demands that she cover her head, in which case she should conform to the culture in the interests of not giving offense, "Give no offense either to the Jews or to the Greeks or to the church of God" (1 Cor 10:32); "Render therefore to all their due: taxes to whom taxes are due, customs to whom customs, reverence to whom reverence, honour to whom honour is due" (Rom 13:7). Care, however, should be taken not to confuse the Christian woman's theological dress-code with her native costumes which might coincide with it. Costumes and customs may change; *her theological dress-code will never.* Unfortunately, in the West headcoverings went out of fashion and with it went out the theological dress-code because they were not kept distinct.

The setting for 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 cannot be the church meeting in the woman's case, otherwise the Spirit of Jesus *condones* in 11:5 what He *condemns* in 14:34. An interpretation which puts Jesus in contradiction with Himself cannot be the right interpretation. He commands His female followers in 1 Corinthians 14:34 to be silent (14:37b). *They are not on the same level as men (who have headship) nor do they approach God on the same terms as men (who are to appear uncovered).* They dress differently because their genders are taken into account by God, their Maker, and their God-ordained functions within the worshipping community are different as a result. *They are not equal in God's sight with respect to their assigned place in His worship.* This is how it was during the 1500 years of Temple worship. God gave the primary role in His public worship to the male members. The women were active but silent participators during all that time. That is how it was then and that is how it is to continue to the end of time ("as the Law says/teaches"). It is as permanent as the Law (i.e., as God's Word). Jesus, the Head of the Church, continues to say to His twenty-first century Church through Paul, "I have not permitted them to participate audibly on the same terms as men in My Church." Who are we to overthrow this directive? He says to His Church, "If you love me you will obey my commandments." His expressed will is that He wants the theologically-established, New Covenant traditions to be adhered to, to the end of time.

It should be remembered that Paul stayed in Corinth for 18 months (Acts 18:11) and so the pattern of church life would have been well-established by the time he left. It is hard to envisage Christian women deliberately attempting to "prophesy," pray, give reports, ask questions, give their conversion experiences, or in any manner speak as an individual in the church meeting knowing it was not the custom either in the New Covenant or the Old Covenant Churches. *The function of speaking in an assembly in the Old and New Churches was an exclusively male function.* Consequently, for a woman to have taken on a male function was a shameful deed. She would have overstepped the line of female decency and created disorder in Christ's Church. Her every act of homage (like King Saul's expensive, Amalekite bulls) becomes a disdainful act in the Lord's eyes.

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[837] Respectable women used their hair to wipe Jesus' feet, which might suggest they went about bare-headed, otherwise uncovering her head in public would have been frowned on (cf. Lk 7:44; Jn 12:3, but note these two instances took place indoors).

We can conclude from this study that Paul is dealing in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 (due to its placement within his epistle) with a situation where women are "praying or prophesying" *outside* the church context, which they are permitted to do. So spiritual activity, *per se,* is not the problem. The problem is not even *where* they may exercise this spiritual activity, because a church context is not explicit or implicit. So location is not the problem. So we can rule out function and location.

The problem being addressed in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 is connected with a relaxation of the universal, apostolic custom that women should pray or prophesy *with their heads covered.* Some women were refusing to abide by their theological dress-code. Men, it would appear, were abiding by their dress-code inside and outside the church meetings, hence the brief reference to them. The longer focus on the women's proper dress-code suggests that the problem lay with them.

The use of the term "custom" (συνήθειαν[838]) at 11:16 in, "we have no such custom," may imply that a non-Christian custom did exist in secular, Corinthian society where it was accepted practice for women to speak in public with an uncovered head (much as Western women do today), but, as far as Paul was concerned, this ancient custom was never authorised in any Christian community in any part of the world. Some in the Corinthian church were trying to introduce this ancient custom into the Church for the first time. Paul's appeal to the universal rejection of this ancient custom throughout the apostolic churches is an extremely powerful argument against the practice of women speaking in the public church service with an uncovered head. The Church was faced with the feminist argument for equality in the first generation—an argument which we face again today—and the Church firmly rejected it. How modern is the problem! "The introduction of an ancient, non-apostolic custom is not worth discussing," Paul tells the Corinthians. "Forget it. We have our own theological traditions. Don't replace them." Paul's appeal to apostolic tradition justifies an appeal to Early Church tradition where it agrees with Scripture and with apostolic practices.

The crucial point is: In 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 the issue is about *headcovering outside the church meeting* and not about praying or prophesying in church. In chapter 14 the issue is about *praying or prophesying in the church meeting* and not about headcovering.

Once the issues are clearly identified it can be seen why 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 appears at the end of 7:1—11:1 (which deals with the Christian in his relations with his secular environment, i.e., out-of-church issues) and before 11:17 (the start of the list of internal church disorders which begins with 11:17, "For first of all, when you come together . . . . [v. 18]" and ends at 15:58)(for the full outline of 1 Corinthians, see §4.3.6.). 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 lies at the interface between these two distinct blocks of material. This analysis now explains why 14:34-35 is placed where it is; it is an *internal* church matter and so could not be dealt with in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 which is concerned with universal gender differences as it affects all Christian activity in the world so linking it with all the topics gone before.

If both chapters are the Word of God (as they are) then there can be no contradiction between 1 Corinthians 11:5 and 14:34. The contradiction is avoided if in 11:5 Paul is addressing the issue of women "praying or prophesying" *in the wrong manner outside the church meeting.* They should have been doing so with their heads covered because they are not males. *Nature, not nurture; cultus, not culture; genes, not generations, underlies Paul's argument in 1 Corinthians 11 and 14.*

The following three theological traditions are distinctive of the apostolic churches and have been lost (in the main) in the major Protestant denominations: (1) leadership by men alone; (2) speaking in church by men alone; and (3) uncovered heads by men alone. All three have become blurred, distorted or discarded so that woman (whose head is man) now leads man (whose head is Christ) in his public worship!

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838 Liddell & Scott give, "habitual, customary, usual," for this term (*A Greek-English Lexicon*). The word occurs only here and in Jn 18:39 where it refers to the custom of releasing a prisoner at the Passover Feast. So it refers to something well-established in the life of a community as a tradition or permanent custom.

The Early Church Fathers bear witness to the Apostolic tradition that women did not speak, preach, or prophesy, or have any leadership role in the Church. Women prayed *silently* while in the church meeting. The Fathers held to the revelation that Woman was created to be a helpmeet to Man, not to take the lead in any aspect of his life. She is a true helpmeet when she remains silent and compliant when accompanying him in the church meeting—her beauty being her gentle and quiet spirit which is very precious in the sight of God (1 Pet 3:4).

From the beginning God gave her a personal, one-to-one role in His world, to serve her husband in a love-headship relationship, not to preach to, or publicly lead in prayer, some other woman's husband, or other single men. Her role in God's good order is single-minded devotion to one man—her husband—her head. She is called to excel in this calling. If she fails there she fails everywhere.

At home she can enquire about her religion (1 Cor 14:35).

At home she can speak in tongues and prophesy (1 Cor 11:5).

At home she can pray with her family (1 Pet 3:7).

At home she can teach the younger women to be submissive to their husbands so that Christianity will not be brought into disrepute or laughed at (Tit 2:4).

At home she can be a teacher of good things (Tit 2:3).

At home she can bring her children up to know the Lord, as Timothy was by his mother and grandmother (1 Tim 1:5).

So highly valued was the wife's role in the home that she was likened to the great altar on which the nation's sacrifices were offered to God because she sat still (like the immovable great altar) in her house and was not wandering about in the houses of the faithful, dissipating her energies in tittle-tattle (so Polycarp and the *Didascalia Apostolorum*). The wife in Proverbs 31 is still the model of industry in the home for women today and Sarah is still the model of a submissive, loving wife (1 Pet 3:6). Both models lived approximately 1000 and 2000 years respectively before Peter's day which suggests that these are permanent models in the man-woman relationship which we ought to imitate today to achieve our God-ordained goals to His glory.

The Church, in evangelising the nations, must not compromise its cardinal doctrines and theological traditions, hence it will require all males, from whatever religions they come from, to bow their head to Christ's lordship and headship of their lives with an *uncovered* head. The Church has no authority to waive this important, theologically-laden act, in order to facilitate the move from one religion to another.[839]

Likewise, in Western cultures, where women worship their different Protestant and Catholic gods with an uncovered head, the Church will require all females from whatever religions they come from to bow their head to Christ's lordship and headship of their lives with a *covered* head. The Church has no authority to waive this important, theologically-laden act, in order to facilitate the move from one religion to another.

These gender-distinct traditions are not optional extras but the outward evidence of a submissive mind and heart bent on pleasing God and the Lord Jesus Christ no matter what the cost. The call to all is to remain in the gender in which you were created, and remain in the calling in which you were called. This will result in good order and maturity in the Church.

To sum up in three couplets:

Man is to **submit** to Christ, his head, in everything;
Woman is to **submit** to Man, her head, in everything.

Man alone is to **speak** in Church;

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[839] Yahweh was aware of converts changing His good order once they joined His people. He shut off this possible threat to His cultus by decreeing that there was to be "one law and one custom for you and for the stranger who dwells with you" (Num 15:14-16; 9:14).

Woman is to bring her worship in **silent** participation.

Man is to **uncover** his head due to his being "the glory of God;"
Woman is to **cover** her head due to her being "the glory of Man."

And all is done to the glory of God in recognition of His sovereign will to order His affairs after the counsel of His own free-will, and in recognition of the dignity and responsibility that He has placed on Man alone to conduct the Church's affairs and to maintain good order in the House of God throughout all ages until the return of the Lord Jesus Christ, His Son.

EXCURSUS 1: Critique of John Stott's position

An evaluation of John Stott's view on the ministry of women in: *Issues Facing Christian Today* (Basingstoke, Hants: Marshall Morgan & Scott, 1984. "13. Women, Men and God," pp. 234-57)[840]

Before presenting the theological background against which John Stott[841] sets his case I shall set out the generally accepted biblical understanding of the relationship between Adam and God, and between Adam and Eve, as held by conservative-evangelicals. Disagreements in this area will have direct consequences for the understanding of the place of men and women in the New Creation and the Church.

There are two crucial questions that need to be answered from Scripture if we are to understand the role of men and women in the Christian Church. The two questions are:

1. What *authority* has God given to women?
2. What *work* has He given women to do?

These two questions cannot be separated into water-tight compartments because the substance of one (her authority) lies within the other (its expression), because woman's work and her authority are interconnected when set over against man, her head. The answers cannot be found in inherited knowledge. When we become new creatures in Christ we receive the Holy Spirit to guide us into all truth, and into a right understanding of the Word of God.

Men need to know why God created them and what authority He has given to him. Women, likewise, need to know why God created them and what authority He has given her, and how these relate to the authority and role He has given to man. This knowledge has to be acquired through revelation. It is not inherited.

Under Part One: Introduction, we noted that Adam had been given his reason for living *before* God created Eve. Consequently his reason for living could not have included Eve in it. He was placed on earth to take control of it under the Creator's delegated authority and headship. He was to serve the Creator in a direct headship relation. God was his head.

God created Eve for Adam. Her origin arose from a "sense of need" that originated in Adam, not in God. The fashioning of Eve's body, mind, and soul was carried out with the sole intention of providing Adam with the most perfect companion he could wish for.

Eve's purpose for living was to be a loving companion, wife and mother. Eve, coming later, entered into a world already committed into Adam's hands. Both Adam and Eve accepted the different relationship that God originated for each of them. The head of Adam was God: the head of Eve was Adam. Common to both headships was love. Without love these two headships would have degenerated into a master-servant, or employer-employee relationship.

If we define love as an outgoing concern for another's good, then Adam's love for the Lord God expressed itself continually in the thought of "not my will but *yours* be done." Likewise Eve's desire was to carry out Adam's will as fully, and to the same degree of commitment, as he carried out God's will. Love, not force or compulsion, motivated all they did for each other. And all was for the glory of God.

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840 See Section 4.8 *Local customs need to be updated,* for an evaluation of John Stott's views on 1 Tim 2:8-11 in his commentary, *The Message of 1 Timothy & Titus* (The Bible Speaks Today. Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1996). This work did not contribute to the 1994 decision to ordain women to the ministry, whereas his *Issues Facing Christians Today* was published ten years before the debate. See also under 4.10.1 *Evangelical Compromises.*

841 I shall use the surname only in the rest of this critique, following normal scholarly convention, without wishing to show any disrespect to a man whom the Church regards highly, both as a scholar and a preacher/evangelist.

There are two elements that characterise these two love-headships. First, the relationship is a love relationship. Second, this love expresses itself continually in the desire of one to do the will of the other. One will is used to see that the other's will is achieved. There are not two wills but one, and one outcome, not two. Therefore there can be no disunity or disharmony in a headship relation. If there is disunity it means there are two competing wills for two outcomes. The headship relation breaks down the moment two competing wills come into existence. A marriage that is built on headship cannot break down. Only when the headship breaks down can a marriage break up.

The sin of Adam and Eve had catastrophic consequences. The entrance of sin brought about irreversible alterations to the whole of creation. Pure, unadulterated love, so essential in the two love-headships died within the Human[842] soul as an inherited characteristic of being *Human*. It was replaced by a fallen human nature which was characterised by every form of self-centredness imaginable, and this fallen nature has been transmitted to all men. Adam "begat a son in his own likeness, in his own image," not in the image in which he had been created. That first perfect "image of God" was permanently lost as an inherited characteristic of what constituted our once perfect Human nature. Although a vestige of that original Human nature is a characteristic of every human being since Adam's time, we are not truly "Human." We are a fallen, incomplete version of the Human nature that left God's hands. In Jesus we see what that original Human nature looked like in all its perfection. He was perfect man.

Also as a perfect man we see in Jesus' headship relation to his Father the perfect obedience that Adam (and all his descendants) should have given to God. Jesus, as the Second Adam, lived a life of perfect obedience to the will of his Father, and as a result his righteous life and death can be offered to all who will accept him as their head. *He used his will to accomplish the Father's will.* This is our working definition of headship.

If the first casualty of sin was the death of pure love, its corollary was the emergence of a loveless creation. Sin penetrated deeply and permanently into the entire creation. Nothing in the present world is as it left the hand of a perfect Creator. Everything has the mark of imperfection about it. Imperfect human beings were born, and in place of a natural love-headship being an inherited characteristic of every human being born into the world we find a force-headship emerging, "he shall rule over you."

This means that force-headship will be the natural inherited condition for the post-Fall world, and will characterise all societies, peoples and nations which do not have Christ as their head. Christ alone can transform and replace force-headships with his love-headship.

Before the Fall the Lord God was the Head of Adam, and Adam, in his turn, was the head of Eve. Here was an hierarchical structure of authority and responsibility in which each knew their place and privileges. Here was perfect order. Eve used her will to do Adam's will, and Adam used his will to do God's will. In this way God was in complete control of His world. His will was being done on earth as it was being done in heaven.

For the purpose of redeeming mankind God *made* Jesus Christ the head of every man, and Jesus took on a new relation to his Father which he never knew before—*the Father became his Head.* The original, pre-Fall headship of Man and Woman was unchanged by this new arrangement because the New Kingdom was to restore the original love-headships between Man and Woman, and between Man and God through Christ as Man's new head.

If we take God's headship, as expressed in His relation to Adam, as our perfect example of "headship" then we see that headship involves God's right to govern Adam's life totally. He was created *for* God. Woman was created *for* Man, therefore Man must likewise be

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[842] In what follows I shall retain 'Human' to refer to the unfallen human nature, and 'human' to refer to the fallen human nature which all men come into the world with. Only the Lord Jesus was born with a Human nature.

fully in control of his delegated sphere of authority and responsibility. He has this God-given status for all time.

The second characteristic we see in God's headship is that He is a loving God. Everything He does for Man is out of love for him.

Third, as a God of love He is also characterised as being a God of order. Disorder is a direct challenge to His headship over everything. Perfect love manifests itself in perfect obedience. In God's world, order and obedience are inseparable. Likewise disorder and disobedience are two sides of the one coin. In all love-headships perfect obedience is at the core of the relationship. Without it disorder takes its place and the headship breaks down.

Women are expressly commanded to obey their husbands *in everything* after the pattern of the Church obeying Christ, and of Jesus obeying his Father. Man is to love after the pattern of the Lord's love for the Church.

Because God is a God of order He has set Man as head over Woman, just as He has set Christ as head over every man. In view of this analogy it would be against good order for man not to obey Christ his head in everything, and for Woman not to obey her husband in everything. The two go together. If perfect love casts out fear, then lack of love results in fear. The former results in a love-headship, the latter in a force-headship. Force-headship was not an original part of Adam's constitution. It could not exist in his pure Human nature because he had perfect love for his wife. It did not exist until sin entered his perfect world and produced fear. And fear became a permanent feature of human relationships. When the Lord God said to the woman, "and he shall rule over you," He was only pointing out the consequences of her action. As long as she remained away from her proper headship relation to her husband she would experience his "force" to remain in control of his own life and the world he was given to rule. Her sin produced a force-headship in Adam, and sin, unfortunately produced a force-headship in God (toward Adam and Israel), and in Jesus (toward disobedient churches). Because force-headship is the final means, the last resort, to counter disobedience and disorder, in itself it cannot be an evil thing. God and Christ both resort to using it to retain and regain control of their worlds. God used it before the Fall of Adam to defeat Satan.

From a study of the character of God's headship and that of the Lord Jesus it is clear that headship involves three things. It involves (1) ***control of one's designated sphere.*** In the case of God He is in control of His world and He had the right to control Adam's world. He exercised this right by laying down restrictions and granting freedoms. Adam was made acutely aware that he was not free to do as he pleased. He was in a loving relationship with his Creator from the moment of his creation.[843] It involves (2) ***love of the one over whom one is set.*** Again, the love of God and Christ is legendary and unquestionable. Love is the engine of the headship relation. And it involves (3) ***the right to use force or discipline for the good of the one over whom one is set.*** We see this demonstrated in God's care and discipline of Israel. This aspect of God's nature we have called force-headship to distinguish it from His love-headship.

There is a right use of force-headship (e.g., discipline) and a wrong use (exploitation). It is as much a part of human nature as it of the God-nature. It is like "power" and "authority" which are likewise open to abuse or right use, but cannot be abolished. Like thorns and thistles, force-headship is here to stay, but the more men and women come closer to being like the Lord Jesus the less likely will they experience force-headship to maintain good order.

When the Lord God gave Adam headship over Eve neither of them could have known what force-headship was. Adam could only experience love-headship because force-headship requires disobedience to manifest itself. So up until Eve sinned she never

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[843] Even when the whole work of redemption is finished the Son will hand back everything to the Father so that God will be supreme head over everything once again, cf. 1 Cor 15:28.

experienced force-headship or knew of its existence. But as soon as she sinned Yahweh was able to inform her that she had brought force-headship, or "rule" into existence for the very first time, and that, like the thorns and thistles and child-birth pains, it would be part of her experience to the end of time. Even as a Christian woman, force-headship can never be completely abolished from her world any more than sin can be completely abolished from her new life in Christ, or birth-pains, or thistles from her physical world. The reason for this is that she remains capable of sin after her conversion to Christ, and in addition to this her Christian husband remains capable of sin after his conversion to Christ. But just as the Christian man should never disobey Christ in anything (and so avoid experiencing the Lord's force-headship over him), so neither should a Christian woman disobey her husband (and so avoid experiencing her husband's force-headship over her). Self-control has to be acquired and exercised for as long as the headship relation exists.

As soon as Adam sinned Yahweh used His force-headship to retain control of him. (Note there is a difference between 'retain' and 'regain' control. God did not regain what He never lost.) Part of that control involved loss of privilege; he was expelled from the Garden lest he commit further acts of disobedience.

Following the Fall the whole worship of God was placed squarely on man's shoulders. *This is in keeping with the headship of Adam over Eve.* This is as you would expect a consistent God of order to act. Adam was "the glory of God"—the finest thing He ever created. Adam was the apple of His eye, the one to whom He could delegate power and authority to rule the earth on His behalf and for His glory. That was his function; that was why he was made.

Eve, on the other hand, was created, not to fulfil Adam's role directly but indirectly, through the specific task of being his helpmeet. She had a different glory. She was created to be "the glory of man"—the finest thing he could possess. She was made specifically *for* him and derived her origin *from* him. So they differed in glory and they differed in function or role. These differences are gender specific. *Gender determines their glory and gender determines their role.* This explains why Yahweh separated His people according to gender when they appeared before Him in worship, both in the period before the sending of His Son and after it. This explains why He absolutely forbids any confusion between the genders. They must not wear each others clothes or look like each other. God separated the genders because of the different authority He gave to each. Man's authority is to act as God's representative and so it is different from that given to women. They do not have the same authority because they do not have the same function or role in God's creation or order. Authority is gender specific. Man is the head of Woman, not vice versa. The Woman is to obey the Man in everything, not vice versa. There are many and different powers and authorities in God's creation, but God has distributed these according to the counsel of His own will, and we should be content with the station He has placed each gender in. He has revealed that *authority is gender specific,* and this was so *from the beginning,* before any culture existed.

The women are to cover their heads when they appear before God in private and in public because they are female, and men are not to cover their heads because they are male. The reason give is based on gender not on prevailing culture, "A man ought not to cover his head, since he is the image and glory of God; but the woman [is to cover her head because she] is the glory of man" (1 Cor 11:7, 10). To remove the visible distinction *put there by God Himself* between the genders is to create confusion in His Kingdom and Church.

God has left us in no doubt what part each gender is to play in His worship service. The women are to be silent and the men are to offer the worship to God acting as heads of their families, or in their own right as males.

This is a brief summary of the biblical background against which every new theory regarding Man's headship must be tested.

INTRODUCTION

Stott has arranged his presentation around four key terms: sexual equality, complementarity, responsibility and ministry. We shall use these divisions in the following critique of his position on the place of women in the Church. But before doing so we shall present a summary of his understanding of the theological background against which he sets his case without making any comment on it at this stage.

Stott appears to have looked on the pre-Fall period as a time of sexual equality, when "men and women were equal beneficiaries both of the divine image and of earthly rule" (237[844]) and where "(neither) sex is more like God than the other, or that either sex is more responsible for the earth than the other. No. Their resemblance to God and their stewardship of his earth . . . were from the beginning shared equally" (237 cf. 239). The equality of the sexes is seen to correspond to something "feminine" and "masculine" in God Himself. Since "feminine" and "masculine" are part of God's own being they cannot be ranked as inferior and superior elements in His one nature. God is both in some sense.

Stott balanced this with an acknowledgement that there was a male headship before the Fall which harmonised with having complementary roles. But sexual equality was distorted by the Fall and in place of equality and complementarity there came in the rule of one over the other (239). Headship degenerated into domination.

Stott found this view of the Fall and of Headship confirmed by the teaching of the OT prophets who looked forward to the New Covenant in which the original equality of the sexes would be reaffirmed (240). On the Day of Pentecost there was no disqualification on the grounds of sex. When Jesus came he terminated the curse of the Fall and restored to women the blessing of sexual equality with man which she had before the Fall. Paul summed up this change in his charter statement of Christian freedom in Galatians 3:28. All who are "in Christ" enjoy a common relationship and sexual distinctions are henceforth to be regarded as irrelevant (241). There can be no question of one sex being superior or inferior to the other "in Christ." In the changed estimation of God and in Christ "there is neither male nor female" in the New Kingdom (or New Covenant). All Christians are equal (241). Stott's conclusion was that sexual equality had been established by Creation but was perverted by the Fall. It was recovered by the redemption that is in Christ. What redemption remedies is the Fall; what it recovers and re-establishes is the Creation. In the pre-Fall headship relationship between Adam and Eve there would not have been any coercion exercised by Adam over his perfect wife, Eve. He would have exercised a gentle, loving partnership with her, and this constitutes the essence of recovered headship in Christ.

On complementarity Stott has sought to show that equality and identity are not to be confused. Equality of *worth* is not *identity* of role (241). He accepted that "although God made male and female *equal*, he also made them *different* (242). Genesis 2 is understood to clarify that equality does not mean identity and that complementarity includes "a certain masculine headship" (243).

On responsibility Scott asks: How can male headship be reconciled with sexual equality (Gen 1) and sexual complementarity (Gen 2)? Some say it cannot if women are "fully human and equal in every way to men" (244). His own reply is that submission does not imply inferiority (245) and that distinct roles are not incompatible with equality of worth.

Stott defended male headship on the grounds that it is based on the Creation, not on the Fall (245). What Creation has established no culture is able to destroy (246). However, he conceded that the first-century cultural expression of male headship can "be replaced by

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[844] The numbers in parentheses are the page numbers in Stott's *Issues Facing Christians Today.*

other symbols more appropriate to the twentieth century" (246). The first-century symbols of submission were head-covering, learning in silence, being silent in Church, not ruling over men or teaching them. He does not suggest what the twentieth-century replacements for these symbols might be. His main point is that "the headship itself is creational, not cultural" (246). He maintains that headship definitely implies some kind of "authority" to which submission is necessary, but he cannot accept that the obedience of a wife and that of a child are identical. He noted that the word "authority" is not used in the NT to describe the husband's role, nor obedience the wife's. Instead he suggested that the word "responsibility" conveys more accurately the kind of "headship" Paul envisaged. "The husband's headship of his wife, therefore, is a headship more of care than of control, more of responsibility than of authority" (247). The masculine "headship" is the God-given means by which femininity is protected and enabled to blossom. "'Equality' and 'partnership' between the sexes are sound biblical concepts, but not if they are pressed into denying a masculine headship of protective care" (248). The biblical ideal of headship is selflessly loving the wife, and may justly be called "Christlike" because of this characteristic.

On ministry, Stott begins with the statement that there is a strong *prima facie* biblical case for active female leadership in the Church, by pointing to the ministry of Huldah, Miriam and Deborah in the OT, and in the NT to the women who proclaimed Jesus' resurrection, the many references in the Acts and the Epistles to women speakers and workers, Philip's four daughters, women who prayed and prophesied in Corinth (1 Cor 11:5), Priscilla, women helpers in the entourages of Jesus and Paul, and to the list of women in Romans 16. He acknowledged he could not find a single example of a woman who held an institutionalised position of authority, such as a female apostle or elder, he nevertheless argued that, "if God saw no impediment against calling women into a teaching role, the burden of proof lies with the church to show why it should not appoint women to similar responsibilities" (251). This arises out of, and is consistent with, his understanding of what it means to be "one in Christ" where there is no longer any male-female distinction at that level.

Stott found support for an "every member ministry" from the Day of Pentecost when the gifts were given to females (as well as males) for the good of the whole Body. Women have a call to exercise their gifts in the Church with no restriction that is not also applicable to men. This, again, is consistent with his understanding of what "equality of the sexes" means and involves.

On 1 Corinthians 14:33-34 Stott takes the widely held view that this command cannot be a ban on *all types of speaking* in church because 11:5 permits her to pray or prophesy. The prohibition on women speaking relates only to disruptive talking by women (251).

Stott's understanding of 1 Timothy 2:11-12 is that it supports female submission to men, but he qualifies this with the observation that first-century ways of expressing this, namely, silence and quietness during the worship service, not teaching or ruling men, and covering the head, are not appropriate today and may/should be replaced by uncovering the head, speaking, teaching and ruling men, because these are culturally acceptable today, provided that in so doing they are not usurping an improper authority over the men (252). In matters of discipline and authority he regarded it as biblically inappropriate for a woman to become a Rector or a Bishop (254).

So the only area in which women differ from men is in the *exercise of authority over men* (in the home and in the Church); otherwise they are equal in all other respects. Stott does not regard the teaching role as one of exercising authority over men, though he is aware that it was so in New Testament times and up until recent times. But since the First World War there has been a change in cultural conventions and today the gift of "teaching" is no longer seen to carry authority, hence the issue of "authority over men" does not arise. In a sense if ministers can be viewed as "Information-Providers," rather than persons who spoke with

authority, then the office of "teacher" can be divorced from the office of those who exercise "authority," that is, male bishops and Elders.

What has been said of a teaching role applies equally today to a leading role. Today "leading" does not imply a position of authority. You can choose not to accept the "suggestions" of others. If leaders can be viewed as "Suggestion-Makers" rather than persons who spoke with authority, then the office of "leader" can be divorced from the office of those who exercise "authority," that is, male bishops and Elders.

DETAILED CRITICISMS OF STOTT's POSITION

Stott's starting-point appears to be the assumption that Adam and Eve were equal in every respect except that Adam was given a "headship" role. This "headship" is defined not as leading or being in authority over, but of "responsibility." It is not clear to me what "responsibility" means if it does not mean exercising authority or being in control of others for the glory of God, as His delegated appointees.

Stott's emphasis throughout his work is on "sexual equality." This is the backbone of his position. He sees the Fall as responsible for producing a "headship" or "domination" of the woman by man which is inherently non-Christian as it belongs to the fallen world of human nature. Christ came to purge men and women of this "domination" which had resulted in women being exploited by headship-men. In Christ "sexual equality" has been, and is being, restored to women and men, so that there is no difference between them as regards freedom to exercise their spiritual gifts in the public arena of the church, and also for women to exercise leadership over mature men (including her husband?) on condition that she herself comes under male headship. This last qualification is a concession to his belief that headship belongs to Creation and not to the Fall. But it is just here that an inconsistency becomes evident. How can a woman be a leader of mature men but not be allowed to lead her own husband due to his position of being her head? Another factor underlying his work is the uncritical acceptance of modern day cultural norms as being on a par if not superior to that experienced by the Early Church which was cemented in theological statements for all time in all places—a world-wide Christian culture. Not until women were drafted into the steel factories and other industries connected with the armaments industry did women wear men's clothes. At the time women strongly objected to having to wear boilersuits and trousers but they were cajoled into it with the argument that it was part of their war effort.

Also women never ventured into a Church service without a headcovering. However, a joint-statement of the King and the Archbishops of Canterbury and York issued a call for a National Day of prayer on the anniversary of the beginning of World War II and women and girls were permitted to enter a near by church bare-headed to pray because the day of prayer was on a week-day and all citizens were encouraged to take time out from work and congregate at the nearest church building for a short service.[845]

PART ONE: EQUALITY

1. EQUALITY OF ROLES

Stott made the assumption that Adam and Eve were "equal beneficiaries . . . of earthly rule" (237). This can only be sustained by looking at Genesis 1:26-28 *in isolation* from Genesis 2:4-25. This approach is typical of feminist writers who are intent on reading "equality of the sexes" into the biblical text. Genesis 1 is played up to the detriment of

[845] Michael Bruce, "Heresy, Equality and the Rights of Women," *The Churchman* 85 (1971) 274-89, esp. p. 289 n. 21.

Genesis 2. If we look at both chapters it is clear that Genesis 2 gives us the actual order in which Adam and Eve were created: Adam was created first and then sometime later, after he had named all the animals and sought for a companion, God created Eve to be a helpmeet for him. This is how Paul read the text (1 Tim 2:13-14 and 1 Cor 11:8-9). Consequently we are to understand Genesis 1:27 "male and female he created them," to mean, "male **then** female he created them." But as Genesis 1:26-28 is a summary of the whole of creation the details are omitted in the interest of fitting the whole of creation into a single week. Indeed, Genesis 1 may have more to do with teaching the need for man to rest one day in seven than for the actual details of when each animal was created. Animals do not fit neatly into three spheres, air, land and sea, so there are amphibians and insects and the unseen world of microbes and bacteria to account for.

Paul confirms the historical order in which male and female were created in 1 Corinthians 11:8 ("but woman is out of man") and 1 Timothy 2:13-14 ("For Adam was first formed, then Eve"). The focus in Genesis 1 is on God as Creator and from that point of view it was sufficient just to enumerate the different things He created without going into the exact order or purpose behind the creation of each animal or thing. God expends energy on His creation and "rests on the seventh day." He then becomes the pattern for Israel to follow in keeping the Sabbath day for rest and recuperation.

Genesis 2, on the other hand, had a different focus. This time it is not on God as Creator, but God as Father. First He created a son (Adam), made in His own image, and before he created a daughter (Eve), He gave the rule of the Garden to him "to work it and take care of it" (2:15, cf. v. 5b). Adam named all the animals before Eve was created and out of that experience came his sense of being alone. At this point Yahweh saw that "it is not good that man should be alone," so He created a daughter, Eve, and, as her Father, He "gave her away" in marriage to His son Adam. It now becomes clear how Eve comes to have rule over the earth: she has it by virtue of being married to the one to whom God gave it originally. But marriage is more than two becoming one flesh: it is the entrance into a love-headship relation in which Adam is the head of Eve. The purpose of her existence was to do his will, as his was to do the will of the Lord God.

I conclude that they were not equal beneficiaries of the earthly rule. They were joint-beneficiaries *through Adam's headship*.[846]

Stott remarked, "There is no suggestion in the text that either sex is more like God than the other, or that either sex is more responsible for the earth than the other. No. Their resemblance to God and their stewardship of his earth . . . were from the beginning shared equally, since both sexes were equally created by God and like God" (237).

There are three confusions here. First, he noted that neither sex is more like God than the other. By narrowing "the text" down solely to Genesis 1:26-28 he effectively shut out Genesis 2 from the discussion. This is not a sound method of biblical exegesis. It is feminist exegesis being applied to an isolated "text." Stott has a methodological problem with his hermeneutical approach to the text of Scripture. We must interpret Scripture by Scripture and adopt a holistic approach to the subject of headship.

Second, Paul clearly saw in the reason for Eve's creation (to be a helpmeet) that she did not have the same function as Adam. While Adam was "the image and glory of God," Eve was the "glory of man" (1 Cor 11:7). The whole of Adam's constitution was created for the specific task of ruling the earth on behalf of God. Everything about him, but especially his headship, being made in his Creator's image, fitted him to fulfil the role he was assigned to, and designed for. On the other hand, everything about Eve, her bodily shape and constitution, being the weaker sex, and the placing over her of Adam as her head, all fitted

[846] See Chart 4. Title: "The Two Accounts of the Creation of Adam."

her to fulfil the role she was assigned to, and designed for, which was not identical to Adam's role.

I conclude, therefore, that they had two distinct roles which their different bodies and constitutions point to, and that their resemblance to God *as regards function* was not the same. Adam was the head of Eve, and consequently he was more responsible for the stewardship of the earth than Eve was, because of the headship he was given by God before Eve was created. She came later and shared in his position by virtue of her "one flesh" relation to him.

Third, he has confused nature with role. Because Adam and Eve are both human and both made by God and so share in the same moral image of God, it does not follow that they both have the same roles, or both serve the same function within the family, or both have the same responsibility for the stewardship of the earth. It is a *non sequitur* to argue that equality in one respect must mean equality in other respects.

2. SEXUAL EQUALITY

Eve's gender marked her out for a specific role that the creation of another man could not have fulfilled alongside Adam. She was not another man. She was not equal in gender, and from the beginning Adam and Eve had different roles. So to talk of "sexual equality" does not make sense. We need only re-phrase it to read "gender equality" to see this. "Gender equality" can only mean "two men" or "two women." But God created them "male and female." You cannot get a greater sexual difference than this.

It would appear that Stott has (unconsciously?) adopted feminist vocabulary without bringing it to the Word of God and testing it there. I conclude there is no such thing as "sexual equality." What God created was sexual quality: perfect male and female qualities.

There is some misinformation in Scott's presentation of the origin of gender (239). He appears to use the term "sexual equality" for equality in the moral image of God. By equating the image of God with gender he has confused the issue. It is generally agreed that the "image of God" is the same in men and women; but likewise all are agreed that they do not have equality of gender. Their genders are different (sorry to have to point out the obvious, but someone seems to have missed the obvious somewhere along the line!).

> Few things are less self-evident than the idea that all men are born equal. In mental and physical capacity, heredity distributes its favours with uncompromising distinctiveness. There is a predetermined inequality in the genetic constitution of man."[847]

Stott claimed that the "prophets looked forward to the days of the New Covenant in which the original equality of the sexes would be reaffirmed" (240). Nowhere do the prophets preach an "original equality of the sexes." This kind of statement is found only in feminist writings.

God poured out His spirit on men and women under the Old Covenant. There was no disqualification on account of sex, status, standing or seniority then. There was equal treatment then as there was under the New Covenant. To insinuate that God practised sex discrimination, that is, He favoured only men when it came to the distribution of prophetic gifts under the Old Covenant is false. The evidence is there that He gave the gift to Deborah, Miriam, Huldah, Hannah(?), and no doubt many others. God, not man, was the giver of the prophetic gift under the Old Covenant so any suggestion that there was inequality in its distribution is an allegation against God not against man. What would distinguish the

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[847] Michael Bruce, 'Heresy, Equality and the Rights of Women,' *The Churchman* 85 (1971) 274-89, esp. p. 280.

outpouring in the New Covenant would be its commonness, not that it would be given to women for the first time, as though God had not given it to women before.

Stott appears to equate sexual inequality (whatever that means) with male domination which came about as a result of the Fall. He believed that males have been irresponsible in the use of their "headship" to suppress and oppress women from being treated as equal (whatever that means) to them.

First, there is no evidence that the genders of Adam and Eve were distorted or changed as a result of the Fall. They remained unchanged—male and female. So we can eliminate this area from the essence of what was distorted in the Fall.

Second, the Fall affected the moral image of God in both of them. But since they both fell they both underwent the same change in their natures. We showed in the Introduction above in what way the love-headship was affected by the Fall and how, as a direct consequence of it, a new characteristic appeared in Adam's life, namely, a force-headship, as a direct consequence of their sins. We also showed above that in itself this is not an intrinsically evil characteristic. Yahweh knew only of a love-headship with His angelic forces until Satan rebelled against Him. The love-headship turned into a force-headship as He imposed His will on Satan and his angels.

Immediately Eve sinned against her head she produced the same force-headship in Adam that Satan produced in God. So force-headship *per se* is not the problem. God, Christ and Man must use force to restore control of their worlds, otherwise they will cease to be masters in their own house.

Stott does not distinguish between love-headship and force-headship. He says: "'headship' degenerated into 'dominion.'" (239) Here the term "headship" is given an intrinsically evil connotation. It is something to be hated. It does not belong to Christ. And the following three illustrations he gives are intended to bear out the evil of man's headship. He nowhere seems to recognise that this evil headship (as he conceives it) is part of the nature of God and the Lord Jesus Christ.

I conclude that men and women are equal in nature (in the moral image of God) but gloriously different in sexual orientation. The concept of "sexual equality" does not exist in God's creation. It is a meaningless phrase if taken at its face value, because as regards actual gender men and women are not equal, if by equal we mean the same. To make sense of Stott's confused vocabulary we need to read "moral image equality" where he has written "sexual equality."

3. SEXUAL EQUALITY : JESUS AND WOMEN

Stott presents Jesus as a liberator of women. "But Jesus broke these [Pharisaical] rules of tradition and convention. . . . Jesus terminated the curse of the Fall, reinvested woman with her partially lost nobility, and claimed for his new Kingdom community the original creation blessing of sexual equality."

I have already shown that "sexual equality" is not a biblical concept. What did Jesus bring for men and women? The Gospel says he brought to *both of them* (not just women) the offer of restoration to the pre-Fall fellowship with God through the offering up of his life for them. Both are saved by faith and both will be restored to their pre-Fall status and roles.

In that pre-Fall world the head of Woman was Man. That headship was a love-headship. *That* is what women will be restored to in Christ. Once again she will find that being Man's true helpmeet is *the* way to glorify Christ. She will re-enter a love-headship with her husband if he is a Christian. If he is not a Christian she can still be a true helpmeet to him by God's grace. Fulfilment cannot be found outside her new headship relation, either a love-headship or a force-headship.

In the pre-Fall world the head of Man was God the Father, now, under the New Covenant, it is Christ Jesus. The presence of the "new man" within the convert will allow him to re-enter the love-headship with God, through Jesus Christ, that Man once knew in the Garden. Fulfilment for man cannot be found outside a headship relation with Christ.

Stott's catalogue of incidents where Jesus encountered women tells us no more than a similar catalogue of incidents where Jesus encountered men. He came to save both equally from their sinful ways. Women were no worse off than men spiritually. Both were equally sinful in their own ways, and both denied each other the rights and duties that belonged to headship. The purpose behind the inclusion of incidents in the Gospels which involved women was not to teach the "equality of the sexes" but to contrast their acceptance of Jesus and his rejection by those who ought to have been the first to recognise him as Israel's Messiah. Neither are they related to show how badly women were treated by men, as Stott has done here,[848] concluding his catalogue with an appeal to Jesus' "great charter statement of Christian freedom: 'There is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus' (Gal. 3.28)." (240-41). See my reply to this misuse of Galatians 3:28 below and under 4.2. above.

I conclude that there is no sexual equality (if this means men and women are equal in headship, or in gender, or in physical strength, or in attributes, etc.) in Christ's new Kingdom, because that would be a distortion of not only the new Kingdom values, but of all God's past dealings with man on the basis of the headship He gave to him at the beginning.

4. GOD AS MALE AND FEMALE

Stott argued, "if both sexes bear the image of God . . . then this seems to include not only our humanity . . . but our plurality . . . our sexuality." He then extrapolated from this: "Is it too much to say that since God, when he made man in his own image, made him male and female, there must be within the being of God himself something which corresponds to the "feminine" as well as the "masculine" in humankind?" (237-38). On this line of argument we might enquire: Has God got anything corresponding to the penis in man? Or does He have breasts and menstruate every month? *God is a Spirit. He is sexless.*

Stott does not appear to realise that in God, as in Christ, there is neither male nor female in the "image of God" (Gal 3:28). God is not a Jew or a non-Jew. Note the mistranslation "male nor female" on page 241 which is typical of those who exploit Paul's words to suit their own agenda. The Greek reads, "male-and-female" indicating that Paul is viewing gender as a single entity like all the others in the list which are preceded by the negative particle. Paul did not say, ". . . there is not male, and there is not female . . . ." Rather the full statement reads, "There is not Jew and not Greek; there is not slave and not freeman; there is not male and female." There are five, not six, negatives. Paul is denying that in the "new man" there is "male and female," just as in the spirit world there is not "male and female." At the disembodied spirit level we will not be able to distinguish a "Jew" spirit from a "non-Jew" spirit. Nor will we be able to detect a "male" spirit from a "female" spirit, because at that level all such earthly distinctions will fall away and we will be like the angels in heaven—sexless, stateless and classless (apart from rewards?) (Mt 22:30).

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[848] Stott has not been careful with the rabbinic material he is using to blacken the reputation of the Jews in Jesus' time. The Talmud was composed 500 years after Christ and it reflects many traditions that may not go back to the time of Jesus. But some have sought out the worst in rabbinic tradition and anachronistically applied it to Jesus' contemporaries. Scholars have pointed out this misuse of later rabbinic materials to interpret the New Testament, see S. Sandmel, "Parallelomania," *JBL* 81 (1962) 1-13; P. S. Alexander, "Rabbinic Judaism and the New Testament," *ZNW* 74 (1983) 237-46. We cannot have uncritical recourse to the Mishnah to reconstruct Jewish doctrines, practices, and institutions, including the synagogue, as they existed prior to AD 70.

Instead of arguing from the biblical text that God is a Spirit, and so sexless, Stott followed the feminist argument that God may be both male and female—an androgynous God! God does not have a body: He is a Spirit. He is genderless. Gender is not an eternal attribute. It was something that God created for the purposes of reproducing animals and humankind. The moral image of God is neither "male" nor "female," nor it is "male-and-female."

When God created Adam he was not created male and female—an androgynous being. This idea belongs to Jewish fables and myths and old wives' tales. It does not belong to revelation. Adam was not created defectively "in the image of God" because he was not also female. He had two distinct parts. God created his body from the dust. (At this stage did that include his sexual organs?) The second part was the life force, the spirit, that God breathed into his nostrils. This spirit was neither male nor female; it was neither a Jewish spirit or a non-Jewish spirit. It was sexless, stateless and classless because it came from God Himself.

What Stott failed to appreciate was that not only did God create *homo sapiens* (i.e. *adam*) male and female, He also made Man the head of Woman from the beginning, in their perfect state. We have shown above how fundamental to good order this is. Without it there is disorder. Men and women are not equal in headship. Consequently, when God is dealing with His people He works through His own created structures and honours Man with the privilege of bringing his household's worship to Him. Therefore when He addresses something to Man, or requires something from Man, we are not to assume that Woman is necessarily included in that communication. It all depends on whether God is addressing Man in his role as head of Woman, or whether it applies only to men, or whether it is something that applies to both of them. The context will decide not an Inclusive Language Lectionary. Stott approves of inclusive language, "They were right, therefore," he says, referring to a book published by the National Council of Churches of Christ (USA) called *An Inclusive Language Lectionary,* "to translate 'brethren' as 'sisters and brothers,' and the generic 'man' as 'human being' or 'humankind,' for in so doing they simply clarified what these words have always meant" (238). This is sloppy, wishful thinking. He should have taken care to examine carefully who is being addressed.

It is interesting that the apostolic writers were addressing *men* when they said, "Greet one another with a holy kiss" (Rom 16:16; 1 Cor 16:20; 2 Cor 13:12; 1 Thess 5:26; 1 Pet 5:14). Given the separation of the male and female worshippers that God introduced into His OT Church and which was continued into New Testament times, and considering both the Greco-Roman and Jewish cultures regarding the place of women *at that time,* it would have been against proper decorum for men to start a new custom of kissing women disciples. It would not only have been revolutionary, it would have been offensive both to Jew and Greek. Yet Paul admonishes the Corinthians that they were not to give offence to Jews and Greeks or to the Church of God (1 Cor 10:32). This is an instance where proper attention to the culture of the time, and the context in which it was given (spoken to men only), would have led Christian girls and young men not to apply it to themselves today. "Flee all appearance of evil," we are commanded.

The fact that the apostolic writers have clearly only men in mind when they are writing to the churches should not surprise us. The same concern dominates and characterises all OT law and communication between God and men, because it is directed at the circumcised, Covenant community, who are responsible for carrying out the terms of the Covenant. Even the wording of the Ten Commandments shows that men are being addressed (see Ex 20:8, 12, 17; cf. 23:26). The purpose behind the laws is stated in Deuteronomy 6:2; 14:23. Fathers, not mothers, were responsible for teaching the Law to their sons (Deut 6:7). Priests were given the responsibility to teach God's Torah to the entire nation (Lev 10:10).[849]

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[849] For a comprehensive survey of women's contribution to OT worship see Clarence J. Vos, *Woman in Old Testament Worship.* (Delft: N. V. Verenigde Drukkerijen Judels & Brinkman, 1968). Roger Gryson advised that this work 'should be used cautiously because more than once the author interpreted the Old Testament references in a way

Column A gives the total occurrences of the word ἀδελφος "brother" (in sg. and pl. forms). Column B gives the total times the congregation is addressed as "brothers" or, "my brothers" (plural only)(following the Majority Greek Text).

EPISTLE	A	B	REFERENCES
Romans	20	11	1:13; 7:1,4; 8:12; 10:1; 11:25; 12:1; 15:14, 15, 30; 16:17
1 Corinthians	38	20	1:10, 11, 26; 2:1; 3:1; 4:6; 7:24, 29; 10:1; 11:2, 33; 12:1; 14:6, 20, 26, 39; 15:1, (31 UBS), 50, 58; 16:15
2 Corinthians	12	3	1:8; 8:1; 13:11
Galatians	11	8	1:11; 3:15; 4:12, 28, 31; 5:11, 13; 6:1
Ephesians	3	2	6:10, 23
Philippians	9	6	1:12; 3:1, 13, 17; 4:1, 8
Colossians	5	-	
1 Thessalonians	19	14	1:4; 2:1, 9, 14, 17; 3:7; 4:1, 10, 13; 5:1, 4, 12, 14, 25
2 Thessalonians	9	7	1:3; 2:1, 13, 15; 3:1, 6, 13
Hebrews	10	4	3:1, 12; 10:19; 13:22
James	19	15	1:2, 9, 16, 19; 2:1, 5, 14; 3:1, 10, 12; 4:11; 5:7, 9, 10, 12, 19
1 Peter	1	-	
2 Peter	2	1	1:10
1 John	17	2	2:7; 3:13
Jude	1	-	
TOTALS:	176	93	

From the manner in which the Apostles addressed their congregations it is clear that the synagogue model is in view throughout. In the speeches in Acts men are addressed throughout. Throughout Paul's nine epistles he constantly addresses the members as "brothers." Not once in the whole New Testament is a congregation addressed as "brothers and sisters," as we might do today, despite the fact that the NRSV translates 1 Corinthians 15:1, "Now I would remind you, brothers and sisters, ..." There is no word for "sisters" in the Greek here![850] So conscious is Paul at times that he is addressing men that he does not speak directly to the women/wives who are clearly there in the congregation. Rather, he speaks to the women *through their menfolk,* "Let **your** women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted to **them** to speak, but let **them** be in subjection . . . . And if **they** . . . let **them** ask **their** husbands at home" (1 Cor 14:34-35; translation and emphasis mine). We might have expected him to break off addressing the men to speak directly to the women, but he does not.

The insistence on mechanically turning "brothers" into "brothers and sisters" can lead to real blunders. Thus the number of male witnesses to the resurrected Lord is reduced by half in 1 Corinthians 15:6 in the NRSV! This version reads: "Then he appeared to more than five hundred brothers and sisters at one time, most of whom are still alive, though some have died." The reason for stating that 500 males saw Jesus was that under the Old Covenant, according to rabbinic tradition (based on Deut 17:6; 19:15; Num 35:30) women did not constitute valid witnesses.[851] Paul lived with this biblical ruling, and so, when he came to

that is more favourable to women than the letter of the text allows' (*The Ministry of Women in the Early Church.* ET Jean Laporte and Mary Louise Hall. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1976, p. 126 n. 1).

[850] The NRSV is not to be trusted as it has a policy of deliberately mis-translating the Greek in the interests of inclusive language. Other instances where 'brothers' has been deliberately replaced by 'brothers and sisters' are Rom 1:13; 1 Cor 1:10; 11, 26; 15:31, 50; 16:15, 20; and many other instances; or replaced by 'friends', see 1 Cor 14:39; or replaced by 'beloved', see 1 Cor 15:58.

[851] See Josephus, *Antiquities,* IV 219. See Moshe Meiselman, *Jewish Women in Jewish Law* (New York: KTAV, 1978),

list the witnesses to Jesus' resurrection in 1 Corinthians 15 (and remember he is addressing his letter to men) his list does not include a single woman, and yet everyone knew from the Gospels that Mary Magdalene was the first to see him and many other women as well, before He was seen by the apostles.[852] According to Jewish law, Peter was the first witness to see Jesus after his resurrection, hence Paul begins his list with Peter/Cephas (1 Cor 15:5). Even Jesus Himself ignores the women who bore witness to his resurrection and refers only to the male witnesses. Mark 16:14, "And he reproached their unbelief and stiffness of heart, because they believed not the *ones* having seen him having been raised." Here "the *ones*" is masculine plural, as is the aorist middle participle "having seen him," which is a reference to the two on the road to Emmaus and Peter. These were Jesus' three male witnesses. The apostles might have been excused if all the witnesses had been women. So even in the minutiae of Jesus' life we see a consistency in his respect for his Father's laws right to the end of his life.

The NRSV shows inexcusable ignorance of the background against which Paul composed this list of male witnesses. It also reveals that this version is not to be trusted because the reason for listing only male witnesses is well-known and appreciated in biblical scholarship, but here feminist ideology has dictated the translation. The imposition of ideologically-manipulated vocabulary is not the way to produce a "faithful" translation, but it receives the blessing of John Stott. Awareness of the times in which the epistles were written is absolutely crucial to a correct hermeneutic.

After this necessary digression to show that Stott has been more under the influence of feminist writings than Paul's we can return to his understanding of Galatians 3:28.

Stott genuinely appears to believe that God is both male and female. "It is a remarkable statement that he [God] is simultaneously Israel's Father and Mother" (238). In reply it should be noted that it is not to be wondered at that God should compare Himself to anything in the physical world. It is not surprising that He should pick out characteristics or attributes in His creation to convey what He is like at any one point of likeness. Animal characteristics and behaviour are attributed to God. He is said to be a lion and at the same time to be a lamb! He is said to bellow, roar and fly, but He is not an animal! He is said to have horns, wings and feathers. It would be poor exegesis which would take these figures literally and speculate that God is "in some sense" all these animals. He is often likened to inanimate objects such as stone, rock, hiding-place, fortress, tower of strength, corner-stone, and temple. If He is not these literally why, then, when anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms are attributed to Him do these suddenly become of the essence of God? If the characteristic of a rock is its immovability and Yahweh wants to transfer that concept to Himself then we do not make the rock the essence of God. God is said to have a soul, face, eyes, ears, nose, mouth, lips and tongue, voice, arms, hands, heart, stomach, chest, feet. Human affections and emotions and weaknesses are attributed to Him. He repents,[853] sorrows, rejoices, hates, is zealous, is jealous, shows displeasure, shows pity, etc. Human affections and feelings are attributed to God, not that He has such feelings, but, in infinite condescension, He is thus spoken of to enable us to comprehend Him. Human actions are attributed to God, for example, He acquires knowledge in the same way as humans do by coming down from heaven, as if He were ignorant of what is going on (Tower of Babel, etc.), He displays ignorance, doubt, He even forgets, He remembers, thinks, laughs, cries, breathes

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pp. 73-80. Women and kings were not accepted as witnesses, as well as damaged human beings. He warns of the fallacy that 'like results implies like causes.' No one, he concluded, knows why kings and women were excluded. It was just accepted by Jews that this was the law and that was the end of the matter.

[852] The NRSV, predictably, translates 1 Cor 15:6 as, 'Then he [Jesus] appeared to more than five hundred brothers and sisters at one time.' The Greek has only 500 brothers. The translators of the NRSV, in their mechanical translating of 'brothers' into 'brothers and sisters' missed the cultural and legal background that determined the composition of Paul's list.

[853] Ex 32:12, 14; 2 Sam 24:16; Ps 106:45; Jer 198:8; 26:3; Hos 11:8; Amos 7:3, 6; Joel 2:13, 14.

and speaks. Man's five senses are attributed to Him, He sees, hears, smells, touches and tastes. Human activities are attributed to Him; He walks, rides, rises up, passes through, begets, hides, washes, wipes, builds, opens doors, shoots arrows, writes and anoints people. He experiences human occupations; He is a builder, warrior, counsellor, physician, shepherd, witness, king, father, spouse. Human time limitations are attributed to Him, He has years and days. We have to accept Yahweh's word when He says, "I am God, and not man" (Hos 11:9). The creation story reveals that God has hands (8 references; "He makes" [3x], "divides" [2x], "creates" [2x], and "places" [1x]), He has a voice (15 references; "He blesses" [2x], "calls" [3x], and "speaks" [10x]) and He has eyes (6 references; He sees [6x]).[854] For all we know it may well be that God does not have any hands, eyes or voice! We, and the biblical writers, find it hard to conceive of God without human attributes and so *we* are in constant danger of creating a god in our own image and after our own likeness. It is one thing for God to convey something of Himself by using human terms such as "father" and "mother," or "ox" or "hen;" but quite another thing to present Himself as He really is.

Once we realise that the Hebrews were not gifted at abstract conceptions but tended to use the physical world to convey their abstract conceptions then we are not likely to take the anthropomorphic language of the Bible literally any more than we would accept that God *repented,* or *grieved,* or *changed His mind.* Behind the use of these anthropomorphisms is a reality no doubt but the point being made here is that we must not turn the anthropomorphisms into the essence of Yahweh. They are very, very poor instruments to convey the reality but they are all we have got.

I conclude that God is neither male nor female. He is a Spirit. Male and female characteristics, animal characteristics, inanimate characteristics, may all be utilised to convey individual characteristics or attributes in Yahweh, in particular situations, and under certain circumstances, but it would be theologically indefensible to take these figures literally, not even the human ones.

In the light of the foregoing study why should it be remarkable "that he [God] is simultaneously Israel's Father and Mother"? asks Stott. In reply it can be said that if Stott is going to take these figures literally then God is also a lion and a lamb simultaneously! His failure to understand the difference between metaphor, figure, analogy, etc. on the one hand, and the reality of God on the other (He is neither male nor female) leads him to a false conclusion, namely that Genesis 1 affirms "the fundamental equality of the sexes" (239) because God is both male and female in His essence.

It should be remembered that after death Christians will cease to be male and female. Christians will be like the angels—sexless. Gender is something that belongs only to the physical creation. It falls away completely at death. God cannot be male and female. He is neither. Consequently when Scripture says that man is "the image and glory of God," this image does not lie in his male genes but in the spirit that God breathed into his body. This can be proved as follows. Should Adam never have expressed a desire for a helpmeet and lived alone on the earth he would still have been the same image—the same person— and still have been the same "glory of God," i.e., the thing that God was most proud of in the whole of His creation—His pride and joy, because God said this of Adam *before* he was given a helpmeet. Therefore, giving him a helpmeet could not have added anything to this image or increased God's glory. Adam was perfect before his body became a "male" body. Was he created sexless, like his Creator, since he was perfect when he left the hands of God? His maleness may only have come about later, at the time when God created a female counterpart to him. This has to be so unless God created Adam as a male from the beginning. And if Adam was male from the beginning then his sex organs were redundant, unnecessary and functionless, which seems odd. Adam had seed but it was useless. Does God design obsolete

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854 E. W. Bullinger, *Figures of Speech used in the Bible explained and illustrated* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, [1898] 1979), pp. 871-97. This work catalogues 217 different figures of speech in the Bible.

organs, or did He create Adam as a male in anticipation that Adam would seek a mate? If so, then this means Adam was a male without a love-headship relation.

Stott's idea that God was somehow both male and female was a mistake, because gender is not an eternal feature of God's nature or His creation. It is a created thing. It is finite. It is not an eternal attribute of God. It is destined to be terminated. Stott's inability to see the temporary nature of gender led him to create a god with male and female attributes. He is confused in his handling of anthropomorphic language in the Bible as they are applied to God.

Stott went astray with his strange concept of "sexual equality," not realising that gender was a temporary creation and is not of the essence of the "image of God" that Man and Woman were created in, because God is sexless; He is a Spirit. But the final image that Man was created in, differs from the image that Woman was created in, because she lacks the headship element. Both God and Man have headship.

Headship, as we have defined it above,[855] is a relational term (person-to-person). There is, however, another kind of headship, the kind where God delegates control of the Garden of Eden to Adam, "to tend and keep it" (Gen 1:15). In this non-relational sense (person-to-object) Adam is given delegated control over God's creation, but this is shared by Woman, so that it is a joint-dominion (Gen 1:28), therefore it cannot be the kind of headship spoken of in 1 Corinthians 11:3 which Man has in relation to Woman. This confirms our definition that headship is a relational term (person-to-person) and not a creational term (person-to-object).

But we might ask: Was Man created in God's image with headship before God created a sexual partner for him? Not if headship involved one person doing the will of another. If Woman did not exist when God made Man then Man did not have a headship relation. He could only acquire his headship once Woman came on the scene, prior to that he was as one of the angels who are also called "sons of God." Consequently, maleness and headship are inseparable, and Man's headship did not exist until Woman was created. *The position Woman now occupies is the same as Adam occupied before she was created.* She is as much in the image of God as he was before she was created for him. Headship comes with his gender. Because she is female she cannot have headship in this life. But because men and women will be as the angels after this life, man's headship disappears in the next life. It has relevance only in this life, not in the next.

That headship is not of the essence of the Godhead can be seen in Jesus' headship. He was given it by the Father for the purpose of redeeming Mankind and He will have it only while the earth exists. There was a time when He did not have it (Jn 17:2) and there will come a time when He will not have it (1 Cor 15:24), but nevertheless He is still God the Son, of the same essence and image as the Father from all eternity. Similarly, in the case of Adam. He did not have a love-headship relationship until Eve was created, and he will cease to have it in the next life. He has it only for the duration of life on earth. In the next life he will be as the angels: sexless (neither male nor female), stateless (neither Jew nor Gentile) and classless (neither a slave or a master),[856] but he will still be "the image and glory of God" albeit fully transformed into such through incorporation into Christ. Consequently, neither headship nor masculine gender is of the essence of this image. They are additions to it; Earth-specific additions that God gave to Man but not to Woman. Woman was not give headship, therefore there could be no "sexual equality" (however it is defined) between Adam and Eve, or between Man and Woman. One is subordinate to the other in function. The female delights to do the will of the male; the man delights to do the will of Christ, and Christ delights to do the will of His Father, so that God is head over all things through this chain of headships.

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855 See Part One: The Theological Case for Headship.

856 Cf. Mt 22:30; Mk 12:25; and Lk 20:36.

5. GALATIANS 3:28 AND EQUALITY

Stott supports the feminists in declaring Galatians 3:28 to be Paul's "great charter statement of Christian freedom" (240). This is not a charter statement of Christian freedom. On a superficial reading the text seems to say that all distinctions between men and women have been abolished in Christ and both are equal in every respect. Reading the text from a feminist point of view the idea of "freedom" may seem to dominate. But which idea was in the mind of Paul? Was it "freedom" or "unity" or "equality"?

It is argued that Galatians 3:28 implies that Christian men and women are equal (241),[857] and that it entitles them to serve in the ministry as if they were men, or on a par with men. Paul's reply to this may well have been, "It is written, 'the head of every man is Christ, and the head of woman is man . . . . For man did not come from woman, but woman from man; neither was man created for woman, but woman for man'" (1 Cor 11:3, 8-9). Just as man is not equal to Christ as regards authority, so neither is woman equal to man as regards authority; she is to be subject to man as man should be to Christ.

Consequently, this text is not a license for men and women to indulge in interchangeable roles as though gender had no theological significance.

Paul tells the Ephesian Christians (3:4-6):

> In reading this, then, you will be able to understand my insight into the mystery of Christ, which was not made known to men in other generations as it has now been revealed by the Spirit to God's holy apostles and prophets. This mystery is that through the gospel the Gentiles are joint-heirs [with Israel], joint-body [with Israel], and joint-sharers [with Israel] in the promise in Christ Jesus.

These verses throw light on Galatians 3:28. Here Paul makes it plain that there is no Jew or Gentile in Christ. *Both* are heirs, *both* are members and *both* are sharers in the same promise of reconciliation through Christ Jesus. The key expression is "joint- [with Israel]," and that is precisely what Paul says again, but only negatively this time, in Galatians 3:28, "For you are all sons of God through faith in Christ Jesus, for as many as to Christ were baptized did put on Christ; there is not here [i.e., when you put on the image of Christ] Jew or Greek, there is not here servant or freeman, there is not here male and female, for all you are one [body] in Christ Jesus." Note the emphasis on the oneness in Christ, not on their equality with one another.

Another text that throws light on Galatians 3:28 is Colossians 3:9-11, "Lie not one to another, having put off the old man with his practices, and having put on the new [man] which is renewed in regard to knowledge, after the image of the one creating him [i.e., the new man]; where there is not Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave, freeman—but the all and in all—Christ." Here Paul points out the oneness of the image of God in which all partake in Christ. This "image" is not "Greek" or "Jewish"; this "image" is not "male" or "female"—it is Christ's image—the New Man—the Second Adam, that all are baptized into. The renewed image is uniquely Christ's image and we are all (male

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[857] After rejecting 1 Cor 11:2-16; 14:33b-36; 1 Tim 2:8-15; Titus 2:3-5; Eph 5:22-33 and Col 3:18-19, as non-Pauline, Walker suddenly discovers that the only *direct(!)* Pauline statement on the subject of female subordination is Galatians 3:28 ("1 Corinthians 11:2-16 and Paul's Views Regarding Women," *JBL* 94 (1975) 94-110, esp. p. 109). C. Craston (*Evangelicals and the Ordination of Women* [Grove Booklet on Ministry and Worship No. 17. Bramcote, England: Grove Books, 1973], p. 30) latches on to the idea of 'barrier-breaking' which he thinks is latent in the text, and considers that admitting women is such a barrier therefore it ought to be broken just because it is a barrier! J. J. Davies has produced the clearest exposition on this verse in relation to the topic of this paper. He deals with the many false conclusions that this text is made to support including 'the fallacious premise that equality in *some* respects entails equality in *all* respects' ("Some Reflections on Galatians 3:28, Sexual Roles, and Biblical Hermeneutics,' *"JETS* 19/3 [1976] 201-08, esp. p. 204).

and female, Jew and non-Jew) being renewed in that *one image* in true knowledge, righteousness and holiness (Eph 4:24) if we are in Christ.

This single image is referred to again in Ephesians 4:22-24:

> You are to put off concerning the former behaviour the old man, that is corrupt according to the deceitful desires, and to be renewed in the spirit of your mind, and to put on the new man, which, according to God['s creation], was created in righteousness and true holiness. Wherefore, putting away the lying, speak truth each with his neighbour, because we are members one of another.

Once again note the idea of unity, not equality, here. We all constitute one body, and we all share one "new man" image—Christ's image and Christ's body. The concept of equality is absent from all these texts. The emphasis is on oneness, unity, Christ's one image, Christ's one body.

That each of the national, social and gender distinctions remain in force after we have put on the one image that we all share *in common,* is stated in Colossians 3:11, "Christ is in all things," i.e., in the list he has just enumerated: Jew, Gentile, foreigner, Scythian, slave, freeman, and he could have added, male and female. So the oneness works both ways, we are in Christ, and he is in us, whether we are male or female, Jew or non-Jew. John 14:20, "I *am* in my Father, and you *are* in me, and I *am* in you."

Not by isolating one text (Gal 3:28) from its context, but by comparing Scripture with Scripture, as has been done above, does it become clear that Paul is concerned to emphasize the *oneness of the image—the oneness of the body* into which all sorts and conditions of humankind are baptized. Whether we are black or white, Israeli or Arab, when we are baptized into Christ we all partake of the one image—Christ's. As an indispensable part of becoming a Christian we are not baptized into a Jewish image, or a male image; we are baptized into Christ's image. This was a shocking idea for a Jew to accept. In Christ Jew and Gentile were one. This was unheard of. All his life a Jew thought his was a special race of humans, and as such he despised the Lawless, pork-eating Gentiles. Now he is told that Gentile and Jew enter into the Kingdom of God on the same terms—faith. This line of thought takes us deep into the message of Galatians than misappropriating it to fight the battle over women's ordination.[858]

Now just because we all partake of the one baptism and partake of the one Christ does not mean that God has done away with His establishment of the headship of Man. Oneness has been confused with equality by many who exploit the words of Galatians 3:28. If this text is made to teach *equality* of the sexes, or that it is a charter to overthrow Man's headship of Woman, then, beware, exploitation is going on.

Stott claimed that, "It [Gal 3:28] means rather that *as regards our standing before God,* because we are 'in Christ'. . . sexual distinctions are irrelevant" (241). If by "standing before God" he means our claim to be His sons and daughters in Christ, then there is no problem. However, he goes on to confuse this "standing before God" with a claim that men and women have identical *roles.* His claim reads, "So, whatever needs later to be said about sexual roles, there can be no question of one sex being superior or inferior to the other. Before God and in Christ 'there is neither male nor female.' We are equal." (241) This is a *non sequitur*. He has switched the terms from 'status' to 'role,' in the argument. What applies to the former does not apply to the latter.

This claim shows that Stott has not taken into account Adam's headship before the Fall. Nor has he understood the theological significance that God placed on gender

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858 See 5.2. "The Early Church" where Gal 3:28 was the key text of all the heretical sects which introduced women priests. Epiphanius of Cyprus (AD 403) writes against the Montanists who justified having women bishops and presbyters on the authority of Galatians 3:28, and he quotes against them all four texts (Gen 3:16; 1 Cor 11:1-16; 14:33-38; 1 Tim 2:8-12) to refute this misuse of Galatians 3:28 (*Panarion* 49.2-3).

distinction which He introduced into His worship. It cannot be said that just because we are "in Christ" gender distinctions are irrelevant.

He has confused "standing" with "roles." He has assumed that because we have the same standing before God (which is true, as defined above) we must also have the same roles before God. It is a fault he has in common with the feminists.

SECTION CONCLUSION

The greatest area of confusion in Stott's section on sexual equality is his inability to define what he means by "sexual equality." At times he appears to think in terms of the moral image of God which all men and women have equally. I do not know of a single Christian in history who has ever challenged that truth. This is something every feminist, liberal and conservative Christian holds in common. If this was how he consistently defined "sexual equality" there would be no problem.[859] In which case he ought to have changed the term to "image equality," to avoid confusion.

But at other times he appears to be thinking of "roles." In which case he seems to have a picture in his mind of Adam and Eve getting along without the need for a headship relation. That seems to be his idea of "sexual equality." What then happened to this relationship was that it was perverted by sin. God cursed her and told her that from now on her husband would rule her. This he views as an evil, and because of this "rule" women have been exploited by men. With the coming of Christ woman is released from this "rule" and she is restored to "a certain headship" state she enjoyed before the Fall.

If this is Stott's definition of "sexual equality" then he has completely misunderstood the Genesis 2 account of the origin of Adam and Eve as interpreted by Paul in 1 Corinthians 11:3, "the head of woman is man." "For man is not of woman, but woman is out of man. And also, man was not created on account of the woman, but woman on account of the man" (11:8-9); and 1 Timothy 2:13-14, "For Adam was formed first, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman, having been thoroughly deceived, into transgression came." Paul is quite clear that the headships of God, Christ and Man, are an intrinsic part of God's ordering of the entire universe from the beginning. Stott has nothing to say about the distinction between headship and obedience.[860]

The only "sexual equality" of a sort that Paul teaches is in 1 Corinthians 7:3-5:

> because of the fornication let each man have his own wife, and let each woman have her proper husband; to the wife let the husband render the due benevolence, and in like manner also the wife to the husband; for the wife over her own body does not have authority, but the husband; and in like manner also, the husband over his own body does not have authority, but the wife. Do not rob one another, except by consent for a time . . . that the Adversary may not tempt you because of your incontinence.

But this kind of equality would be better termed "mutual access."

Stott's work is significant for its failure to take the teaching on Man's headship seriously. He views it as an evil consequence of the Fall in line with feminist thinking.

Stott also adopted a "tunnel vision" approach to the material. The only text he examined under the topic of "sexual equality" was Genesis 1:26-28. This is also the feminist's

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[859] On p. 242 he has: 'What is revealed in this second story of creation is that, although God made male and female *equal,* he also made them *different.*' But this is ambiguous because while all would agree that they are equal in *nature,* i.e., in the 'moral image of God', they are not equal in *gender.* On p. 243 he writes, 'Because men and women are equal (by creation and in Christ), there can be no question of the inferiority of either to the other.' It is not a question of inferiority but of the different powers that God has given to each. This statement ignores the headship of Man as constituting that difference.

[860] See Chart 1. Title: "The difference between 'Obedience' and 'Headship' relationships."

proof text. Genesis 2 was not consulted here nor, indeed, the other creation-theology texts (1 Cor 11:8-9; 14:34; 1 Tim 2:13-14) because these would have established a headship relation between Adam and Eve in the pre-Fall period, and this was, and is, completely unacceptable to feminists.

The lesson from Stott's two related mistakes is that this topic requires a holistic approach and an openness to *all* of God's word. The subject is greater than a single "proof" text can convey. Stott's conclusions reveal a Christian writer who is more in touch with the thought world of feminists than with the thought world of Paul and the Lord Jesus.

PART TWO: COMPLEMENTARITY

Stott sympathises with feminist thinking, "It is the expectation that women must fit into a predetermined role against which feminists are understandably rebelling. For who fixed the mould but men?" (241-42) He quotes Betty Friedan with approval, "Our culture does not permit women to accept or gratify their basic need to grow and fulfil their potentialities as human beings" (242). He accepts the feminist description of women's contemporary role in the home, family and church as a restriction on her freedom. He agrees to the extent of declaring it "an example of blatant male chauvinism" (242). On the role between men and women he believes that "Scripture is silent about this division of labour."

On this last point one wonders what Stott would make of Paul's statements in 1 Timothy 5:9-10, where, referring to the expected life-long occupation of women, he says, "she is well-known for her good deeds, such as bringing up children, showing hospitality, washing the feet of the saints, helping those in trouble and devoting herself to all kinds of good deeds." To young widows his advice is, "So I counsel younger widows to marry, to have children, to manage their homes and to give the enemy no opportunity for slander" (1 Tim 5:14). What role does Paul envisage for women? He instructs the older women to teach (by example, guidance and experience) the younger women how "to love their husbands and children, to be self-controlled and pure, to be busy at home, to be kind, and to be subject to their husbands, so that no one will malign the word of God" (Tit 2:4-5). It cannot be made much plainer that the way a woman can fulfil her creation purpose is to accept the love-headship of her husband and be content with her calling to manage the home well. *She fulfils her creation role when she obeys her husband in everything.* If she cannot lovingly accept that then she will fail to fulfil her creation purpose. "Wives, submit to your husbands as to the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church, his body, . . . Now as the church submits to Christ, so also wives should submit themselves to their husbands in everything" (Eph 5:22).

So Scripture is *not* silent about the different roles husbands and wives are to fulfil. They have been spelled out *very clearly* by the Holy Spirit for our guidance.

Stott writes, "Genesis 1 declares the equality of the sexes; Genesis 2 clarifies that 'equality' means not 'identity' but 'complementarity' (including . . . a certain masculine headship). It is this 'equal but different' which we find hard to preserve" (242-43). They are not hard to preserve; they are equal in their moral image but different in their roles. Nothing could be simpler.

Genesis 1 does not teach the equality of the sexes, as we have pointed out, if by that he means they have equal powers, authority and responsibilities. Stott has accepted uncritically the feminist creed that there is no difference between men and women except in their bodies. (A rather large exception and one that determines their different powers and authorities, because these are gender-specific, and where they—as male and female—fit into God's good ordering of His creation.)

To some extent Stott's concept of complementarity is off-centre because although he is using the right terms these are not coming out of the positive, biblical teaching of headship, but from a feminist perspective.

PART THREE: RESPONSIBILITY

"All students of Genesis agree that chapter 1 teaches sexual equality and chapter 2 sexual complementarity" (244). This is false teaching. Genesis 1 does not teach sexual equality. It teaches that men and women were both made in "moral the image of God." The image itself is neither male nor female, since it is God's image and He is neither male nor female, nor both.

Genesis 2 teaches more than just complementarity, it teaches headship. But Stott failed to see this. Instead he wrote, "To these, however, the apostle adds masculine 'headship'" (244).

Stott was on the right track when he wrote, "submission does not imply inferiority" (245) and later on when he argued that Paul based—

> his teaching about masculine headship on the biblical doctrine of creation. He drew his readers' attention to the *priority* of creation ("Adam was formed first, then Eve," 1 Tim 2.13), the *mode* of creation ("man did not come from woman, but woman from man," 1 Cor. 11.8) and the *purpose* of creation ("neither was man created for woman, but woman for man," 1 Cor. 11.9).

Unfortunately, Stott accepted Hurley's idea that by right of primogeniture the firstborn inherited the command of resources and the responsibility of leadership. This is not how Genesis 1-2 presents headship. There responsibility is the act of God in handing over the control of the earth to Adam to subdue it and to rule over every creature on it (Gen 1:26; 2:15; 9:2). This rule is given to all males, not just to Adam, God's first human son (Lk 3:38). Woman, because of her "one flesh" relation to man, likewise shares in this rule through her husband, because they are no longer two but one flesh. The right of primogeniture would deprive the vast majority of males their inheritance to control and govern the earth.

Stott was again right to note that Paul's three reasons for man's headship are taken from Creation and not from the Fall (245), and that they are not affected by the fashions of passing culture. The headship itself is creational, not cultural (246). Unfortunately he is not consistent in his understanding of what "headship" involves before and after the Fall.

Stott was also on the right lines when he wrote, "'Headship' definitely implies some kind of 'authority,' to which submission is necessary, as when 'God placed all things under his feet and appointed him to be head over everything for the church'" (Eph. 1.22). (246). He noted that submission is required between wives and husbands, children and parents, slaves and masters, but he draws back from accepting that a wife's submission to her husband is on the same level as that between children and parents. Here he has not understood the difference between headship and obedience relationships. On the analogy that all virgins are girls, but not all girls are virgins, so there are many obedience relationships which are not headship relationships, but all headship relationships are obedience relationships.

But Stott fails to say at what level a wife is to submit or what form it should take because he has not understood the difference between headship and obedience relationships. He thought he found support for avoiding the concept of "obedience" between husband and wife in that "the word 'authority' is not used in the New Testament to describe the husband's role, nor 'obedience' the wife's duty" (246), to the approval of feminists. In reply it can be pointed out that the word "authority" is not used to describe Christ's headship of, or relationship to, the Church, nor "obedience" the Church's expected response. But does that mean Christ has no claim on the Church to obey Him out of love *in everything?*

Stott was right to detect that the obedience expected from a child and that expected from a wife are different. They are different because there is no headship relation between child and mother, but there is one between husband and wife. In the former, obedience is due to the teacher-child model, but in the latter there is a gender love-headship that was established before the Fall whereby Eve was specifically created to form an intimate union with Adam to whom had been given control of all things before she was created. By virtue of her union with him she inherited his inheritance; but hers is a derived inheritance, whereas it is the inheritance of every man by right of gender. The head of every man was God, not his earthly father, so that every man stands in the same position before God as Adam, and every woman stands in the same position as Eve.

Because Stott was unaware of the meaning and concept of the love-headship that was established before the Fall, he fell back on creating his own, namely, "care and responsibility." These are good Christian-sounding virtues and no one could deny they are desirable in a man. "The husband's headship of his wife, therefore, is a headship more of care than of control, more of responsibility than of authority" (247). Omitted from this definition is obedience—voluntary, loving obedience, given by his wife. Without obedience the love-headship relation cannot be sustained. Given the wife's voluntary choice to obey, then her husband's "care" and "responsibility" will be a joy to give, and not a yoke. Her voluntary choice to obey is based on her knowledge that God created her to be a helpmeet to man; to obey him in everything, and to do it as unto the Lord himself, even when her husband is not worthy of her obedience. At the heart of the love-headship relation is Christian love. "Husbands love your wives;" "Wives obey your husbands." These are two sides of the love-headship coin. On the one side is love-headship, and on the other is force-headship.

When either partner fails to live up to their headship calling then it will revert to a force-headship, the default headship that characterises every man born into the world. In itself this headship is not evil. God pointed this out to Eve, "he shall rule over you." This "ruling over someone" or dominion, or force-headship, never existed until Eve sinned against Adam by leading him to disobey his Head. But from that point onwards it became an instrument whereby man would always retain control of his world by force if necessary.

In itself this force-headship is not intrinsically evil because God Himself resorted to it, and Jesus will do the same with Satan in the Last Days. Satan was once under God's control, but when he rebelled the other side of God's love-headship emerged, namely His force-headship. And by means of force He restored His perfect rule. So the use of force *per se* is not intrinsically evil. It can be used for good or evil. God's will is that the love-headship should be the normal way for His people to live, but if it is challenged, then force or discipline is permissible to retain/regain control of the normal order of rule.

Stott's reduction of male headship to "protective care" is only a half-truth. The other half is that the correct female response to male headship is to choose freely to obey her husband in everything. In every marriage the man's headship has two sides. There is a love-headship which responds to loving obedience, and there is a force-headship which responds to disobedience. The Lord God informed Eve, "he will rule over you," and man will, either through one headship or the other rule over her. To a large extent it is up to the woman which headship will "rule her." If she chooses the path of obedience and submission to her husband's will then she can expect a love-headship response; but if she chooses to challenge her husband's God-given headship, then she can expect to be ruled by brute force, and forfeit the joys of a happy marriage. No man could divorce a woman who chose the path of obedience, or reject the woman God loves who is defined as a woman with a gentle and quiet spirit (1 Pet 3:4).

One of the duties laid on older Christian women was to teach[861] the younger women how "to love their husbands and children, to be self-controlled and pure, to be busy at home,

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[861] The Greek word is not διδασκω but σωφρονιζω which means "to be chastened, teach self-control, encourage, to

to be kind, and to be subject to their husbands, so that no one will malign the word of God" (Tit 2:4-5). With the increasing prevalence of divorce among Christian women, have the older women failed in their duty to God to teach younger women "to be subject to their husbands," in everything? The fact that these older women are to *teach* suggests that females are not born with an innate sense of how a marriage will "work." It has to be taught; *knowledge* has to be imparted. And at the core of this transmitted knowledge will be the biblical teaching on the headship of Man, Christ and God. This is implicit in the words "to love their husbands," and "to be subject to their husbands."

HEAD-COVERING

Stott does not accept (or understand?) Paul's theological case, based on creation and nature, that women should be covered before God, and men not covered. He makes the assumption that, "The wearing of a veil or of a particular hair style was indeed a cultural expression of submission to masculine headship, and may be replaced by other symbols more appropriate to the twentieth century, . . ." (246).

There is a certain ambivalence shown here toward the Word of God. He starts with twentieth-century culture and seeks to bring God's Word into line with it. It does not seem to occur to him to consider whether twentieth-century culture is an arrogant flouting of God's good order. Its culture certainly does not arise from God's Word. Twentieth-century culture is anti-God and expresses the mind of the "god of this world" (Acts 26:18; Eph 2:2; 6:12; Col 1:13; 2:15). In fashion it degrades women and exploits them at every level, in adverts, on TV, in literature, art, music, and clothes. As regards modesty, near nudity is seen on every beach and cat-walk. Free condoms are handed to our children. Filth, bad manners, bad language, crudity of all kinds bombard us daily and this is held up as "culture." It is unrighteous living.

Stott again shows more awareness of anti-biblical literature than he does of Scripture itself if he assumes that the argument put forward by Paul for head-covering is based on local custom and not on gender.

It is surprising that Scott accepted Hurley's unsubstantiated theory that the "covering" and "uncovering" in 1 Corinthians 11 is the same as "putting up" and "putting down" hair. Such a theory will not stand up to a close study of the text.[862]

I find Stott's dismissal of Paul's argument as though it was based on local culture very disturbing. He is constantly looking for compromise with feminist-sounding words such as "equality" and "partnership" between the sexes (248). These are sound biblical concepts, but the only "equality" that is a biblical concept is the "moral image of God" in which He created male and female. The only "partnership" that is a biblical concept is the love-headship between men and women, where the wife is to obey her husband in all things and he is to love his wife at all times.

PART FOUR: MINISTRY

Some Christians have argued that the ordination of women is inadmissible because all the authority offices (apostles and elders) were gender specific and it was incompatible with male headship for women to rule or teach men. But Stott brushes aside the Pauline arguments against women ministers with the remark, "That is only one side of the argument,

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restore to a right mind, to make sober-minded, to steady [by exhortation and guidance]." It seems that in this context 'guidance' is the correct nuance, or more exactly, 'guidance through passing on their knowledge and experience.'

[862] See under 4.4.2.2.

however. On the other side, a strong *prima facie* biblical case can be made for active female leadership in the Church, including a teaching ministry [to men]" (250).

Scott's "biblical case" consists of the gift of prophesy given to women, like Huldah and Miriam. Deborah was more because she judged Israel and settled their disputes and led Israel into battle.[863]

God is sovereign over all His works and hence He may, and often does, use extraordinary means to accomplish His purposes—extraordinary from our point of view. For example, He opened the mouth of an ass to rebuke a prophet (Num 22:28). When Saul told his servants to, "Find me a woman who is a medium, so that I may go and enquire of her," because, "the Lord did not answer him by dreams or Urim or prophets" (God's usual means), God used a means that Saul ought to have "cut off" (1 Sam 28:9) in order to condemn him. He had commanded His people to cut off all such mediums (Deut 18:9-12; Lev 19:31; 20:6, 27).

Thus we see that God can use agencies to convey His will which He has proscribed in His Word. We should not, therefore, conclude from the witch of Endor's account that it is permissible for the Church to institute and ordain witches to the ministry because they have been instrumental in conveying God's will in the past! Though *we* are bound to God's written and revealed will for us, *He* is not bound by His own laws as we have just shown.

When God threatened to chastise Jerusalem and Judah we read (Isaiah 3:1-5, 12):

> See now . . . the Lord Almighty is about to take from Jerusalem and Judah . . . hero and warrior, the judge and prophet, the soothsayer and elder . . . . I will make boys their officials; mere children will govern them. . . . The young will rise up against the old. . . . Youths oppress my people, women rule over them.[864]

It was a shame in Hebrew culture to be ruled by a woman or a child, or to die by the hand of a woman. God knows how to shame the male members of the Old Testament Church.

When a nation, people or congregation turn away from God they very soon turn aside His authority structures. Things are turned upside down, and the men and women who rule have power only in name, not in reality. For old Israel, the outward sign of spiritual decline—of God's judgment—was when women ruled over them. When they saw women in authority they could conclude that all was not well with the nation's worship. The remedy was not to oust the women from positions of authority, but to repent and return to the Lord who would reset the nation on its feet again, and restore the judge and prophet to lead them.

Another paraded example of Stott's is, "And the children of Israel again did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord . . . . Now Deborah, a prophetess, the wife of Lappidoth, she judged Israel at that time" (Jud 4:1, 4). But here we have a clear example of a woman ruling Israel in a time of apostasy.

Of the more favourable references to women in the OT we read of Miriam, the sister of Moses, leading in singing. But when we look a little closer at the text it reads (Exod 15:20): "Then Miriam the prophetess, Aaron's sister, took a tambourine in her hand, and all the women followed her, with tambourines and dancing." This is a good example of a woman ministering to women. She did not lead the men in singing Yahweh's praises. Later on, Miriam and Aaron (she is named first, Num 12:1ff.) spoke against Moses and challenged his authority. God was content simply to rebuke Aaron, but we are told, "The anger of the Lord

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863 These have been dealt with more fully under 4.1.1.

864 When Yahweh undermined the powerful Babylonian army 'they became women' (p. 308] Men become like women (see Jer 50:35, 37; 51:29, 30) in spirit, no doubt. The physical strength was still there but Yahweh put timidness and fear into their minds and spirits, making them an easy pushover in battle. The constitutional weakness of women is recognised by Peter who described them as 'the weaker vessel' (1 Pet 3:7) without any disrespectful overtones. He teaching takes into account a *fact* of nature (as does Paul's with respect to the function of hair on a woman's head [1 Cor 11:14-15]). Their teaching goes *with* the grain of nature, not *against* it. God made man the stronger vessel and the leader and protector of his family.

burned against them, and he left them. When the cloud lifted from above the Tent, there stood Miriam—leprous, like snow" (12:9-10). When Moses and Aaron pleaded with God to heal her, the Lord replied, "If her father had spat in her face, would she not have been in disgrace for seven days? Confine her outside the camp for seven days" (12:14). God's punishment was the equivalent of spitting in her face for challenging the authority of Moses; she was condemned to remain outside the company of God's people for seven days like an unclean thing in His sight.

In the OT Hilkiah the priest and four other men went to the home of Huldah the prophetess and received Yahweh's prophetic word through her (2 Kgs 22:14). Since God has poured out His Spirit on old and young, male and female, it follows that if men could exercise their prophetic gift outside the context of the formal *ecclesia*, then the women and girls could also do the same, provided they covered their head. What is forbidden to the women, but granted to the men, is to exercise their prophetic gift in the church meeting itself. A woman cannot use the excuse that she could not help speaking a prophetic word in church because she was overcome by the Spirit to speak, because we are told that "the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets, for God is not a God of disorder, but of peace" (1 Cor 14:32), or as one paraphrase puts it, "Remember that a person who has a message from God has the power to stop himself or to wait his turn" (The Living Bible).[865]

Noadiah was a prophetess in the time of Nehemiah, but she strongly opposed Nehemiah's attempt to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem (see Neh 6:1; probably by giving out some "word of prophecy" she had "received" from Yahweh) and along with other male prophets tried to intimidate him. Self-proclaimed prophetesses and prophets give false advice or false messages from God. The testing procedure is set out in Deuteronomy 13:1. Such false prophetesses and prophets were to be stoned even if they were one's parents or relatives (Deut 13:6; 33:9). No doubt Noadiah prophesied in public.

In the NT we read of Anna, a prophetess of eighty-four years of age, who "spoke about the child to all who were looking forward to the redemption of Jerusalem" (Lk 2:38). As there were no public assemblages in the Temple precincts on such occasions, the speaking of this holy woman took place on a personal or private level. Nevertheless, she did speak to all, including Simeon, who was present, therefore women did deliver their prophecies to men in a private or personal capacity.

Prophetesses in public roles seem to be the exception in the Old Testament, but in the New Testament prophetesses were more common. In Acts 21:9 we read: "He [Philip] had four unmarried daughters who had the gift of prophecy." The text does not tell us when, how, or where they exercised their gift. The verse as it stands, however, says nothing about these four daughters prophesying *in the church*. Like Huldah they probably prophesied in their own home, but we have no evidence that they prophesied *in the church.* It is a sign of desperation when Acts 21:9 is used as "proof" that women prophesied *in the church.*

The only reference to a prophetess *teaching* in a New Testament church is in Revelation 2:20, where she is roundly condemned by him "whose eyes are like blazing fire" as follows:

> To the angel of the church in Thyatira write: . . . I know your deeds, your love and faith . . . . Nevertheless, I have this against you: You tolerate that woman Jezebel, who calls herself a prophetess. By her teaching she misleads my servants into sexual immorality and the eating of food sacrificed to idols.

Note that Jesus says she calls herself a prophetess, which suggests *he* did not regard her as such.

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[865] *The Jerusalem Bible* reads: 'Prophets can always control their prophetic spirits, since God is not a God of disorder but of peace.'

Lastly, we have a further example of God's sovereignty over His own means of communicating His prophecies to His people in using the impious high-priest Caiaphas to convey a prophecy about Jesus' death for the nation (Jn 11:50ff.).

It is clear, then, that God may, in His sovereignty, bring good out of evil, and use pious and impious persons to convey His will. Pragmatic arguments and arguments from results are not convincing arguments. Pragmatic arguments if they fly in the face of God's revealed truth are dangerous, and if put into practice are sinful, "Anyone, then, who knows the good he ought to do and doesn't do it, sins" (Jas 4:17).

Much is made of the fact that Apollos was taken into the home of Aquila and Priscilla[866] where *they* explained the Word of God to him more fully. Note that this activity did not happen *in church,* but that does not stop many from applying it to the *ecclesia.* Neither did Priscilla explain the Gospel on her own. We have no example where a woman taught a man on her own in her own home. Would this have been possible or seemly? It cannot be inherently immoral for a husband and wife to invite someone into their home and talk to them about spiritual things, surely? So what's the problem with Priscilla discussing spiritual matters with male guests? You would think to read some commentators that she was involved in some extraordinary feat, unheard of in the annals of human relationships! If women are told to educate themselves by asking their own husbands at home concerning what he learned in the weekly services, surely she could learn from other male friends and guests, and there will arise occasions when she knows more than some of her male guests or younger friends in the faith. It would be quite natural for her to impart this knowledge to them, surely, in the privacy of her own home. But we are not at liberty to extrapolate a principle from what happened in her home to what she can do in church, especially if she specifically forbidden to teach in church.

There are two distinct approaches to the biblical material. On the one hand there are those who work from principles that are either stated or implied in Scripture. These principles, together with an understanding of the integrity of God's Word as a consistent and reliable guide to the mind of the Trinity, are their guide to understanding the practices of the Early Church as reflected in the pages of the New Testament writings.[867] Thus Phoebe would be understood to be operating within those principles and not in opposition to them, and so her work for the Lord would be seen within a theological context and not as the result of an

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[866] Priscilla's name occurs three times in conjunction with her husband, Aquila (Acts 18:2, 18, 26). In Acts 18:2, 18 Aquila's name occurs first in the Majority Greek Text (but second in UBS[4] in 18:26, probably by assimilation to 18:18). The name Prisca (in Rom 16:3; 1 Cor 16:19; 2 Tim 4:19) belongs to a man since he is called Paul's fellow-workman (τοὺς συνεργούς μου). Always his name is coupled with Aquila. In 1 Cor 16:19 his name is replaced by 'Priscilla' in the Majority Greek Text (probably by similarity with his wife's name) but not in UBS[4]. 2 Tim 4:19 is quoted in *Actis Pauli* where Aquila's wife is called Lectra (see A. Souter, *Novum Testamentum Graece* [8th ed. 1950] *sub loc.*). The complete list of Paul's fellow-workmen (συνεργοί) comes to 14 men, but no women. The men are Timothy (1 Thess 3:2; Rom 16:21), Apollos (1 Cor 3:9), Philemon (Phlm 1), Aristarcus, Mark, Demas, Luke, and Jesus Justus (Phlm 23-24; Col 4:10-14), Epaphroditus (Phil 2:25), Clement 'and others' (Phil 4:2-3), Titus (2 Cor 8:23), Prisca and Aquila (Rom 16:3), Urbanus (Rom 16:9). Others who were fellow-workmen but who are not specifically called such are Stephanus, Fortunatus, Achaicus (1 Cor 16:15-18). It is sometimes argued that Prisca is another name for Priscilla, if so 'he' would be the only woman called a 'workman'! Sometimes Euodia and Syntyche are also found listed in feminist works as 'workmen', but the syntax of Phil 4:3 is against this (see for example, Florence M. Gillman, *Women Who Knew Paul* [Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1992] who devotes 94 pages (!) to the women listed in Paul's epistles, the majority of which is fanciful speculation about their great standing in the churches). There is not a single, unambiguous example of a woman in the NT writings who might have been in the front line of taking the Gospel to men; see N. Baumert, *Woman and Man in Paul: Overcoming a Misunderstanding* (Collegeville, MI.: The Liturgical Press, 1996), pp. 199-209. Jesus had a number of women who followed him around in a supporting capacity (Mt 27:55; just as Paul had on occasions no doubt), but he chose none of these loyal women when he chose 70 men to be front-line workers for Him in the last year of His ministry. Why not?

[867] I take it as an essential prerequisite to an evangelical approach that no Scripture may be interpreted so as to contradict or nullify another. If that prerequisite is absent then we have no foundation on which to build a true understanding of the Scriptures either on this topic or any other.

ad hoc arrangement. Given the consistent teaching of the Apostles and the culture she lived in there is just no way that she could have spoken in the Christian Church (or Christian synagogue). A good understanding of the culture she lived in, Paul's teaching on the place of women in all his churches, the history of the next nineteen centuries which never saw a woman permitted to preach in church, give a consistent picture. What was preventing the Church from permitting women to speak in the church was theology or principle. They clearly allowed principle to come before pragmatic considerations.

On the other hand, others approach the same biblical material, but start, not with isolating theological principles, but with practices: with what people actually did; how Jesus treated men and women; the large number of female friends that Paul greets, *etcetera,* and out of these incidents or descriptions draw some general observations. These observations, plus a different understanding of the integrity of God's Word, including the idea that the Scriptures give contradictory teaching and that those who wrote them were not always consistent in what they said and did, often present a picture that appeals to today's sense of what is fair and right. On this approach greater attention is paid to the practices of the Apostolic Church, without a deeper understanding of the underlying principles that produced those practices. The practices then become the basis for extensions. For example it is argued that if Phoebe could be a deacon why could she not be an Elder? If Priscilla taught Apollos in her home why could she not do the same in church? If a man can preach why can't a woman? The argument from extension must be carefully weighed in case it violates the principle that produced the original practice which is now being extended.

If the Lord has given the gift of prophesy to male and female but He specifically lays it down that females are not to exercise this gift *in His church* that should be the end of the matter. If they are not permitted to exercise the gift in His Church then they are permitted to exercise it *outside the Church,* and thus there is no contradiction between 1 Corinthians 11:5 and 14:34. If we find women exercising their gift of prophecy then we can infer that they did so either in their own home, or in the company of friends, or even in public (with their heads covered). The one place we can infer they did not exercise it was in the Church. If we find men exercising their gift of prophecy then we can infer that they did so either in their own home, or in the company of friends, or even in public. The one place we can also infer they exercised it was in the Church, because we know that they were permitted to do so there.

It might appear that God is being arbitrary in debarring women from exercising His gift in one place but not in another, but He has His reasons. I have set these out in the theological section of this work. It is not profitable to set up disagreements between Jesus and Paul, or between Jesus and the apostolic church, or between Paul and the Early Church, and use these supposed disagreements to do away with the principles on which God has ordained we should come before Him in worship.[868] To use Scripture to destroy Scripture puts the destroyer in the place of Scripture.

The universal principle is: Remain in your present calling. If one is female, let her remain female, and accept this from God and the calling that goes with it, namely to subordinate all her talents and knowledge to serve Man as his helpmeet, knowing that this is *exactly* what God wants her to do with her life. The statement of what she is expected to do with her life must give her life tremendous focus. It is a very practical calling. She can see the man before her whom she is to help achieve the purpose he has been made for.

On the other hand, if one is male, let him remain male, and accept this from God and the calling that goes with it, namely, to subordinate all his mind, and soul and strength to serve God through Christ, and Him alone. This is slightly more difficult for him because he does not have God right before him in a physical manner to whom he can talk, as a wife might do to her husband. But nevertheless man is obliged to find out what is God's will for

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[868] This approach dominates works opposed to Paul's teaching on the headship of man. See e.g. E. Carroll, 'Women and Ministry,' *Theological Studies* 36 (1975) 660-87.

him and get on with it *by faith.* It must be comforting to him to have someone by his side who truly loves him and is desirous that he fulfil his own personal calling. She is so united with him in body and soul that his goal becomes hers; they both can subdue the earth if they work together in harmony with God's laws.

We have scratched about to find a clear example that would contradict the rule that women should keep silent in the churches, but there is none. At best we have found instances where God poured out His Holy Spirit on women, as well as on men, in the OT Church, but He never raised up women of the stature of Isaiah, Jeremiah or Ezekiel, with a ministry to the whole nation. Why did He choose only men to reach men?

Stott acknowledges that he has no example where a woman had an office ministry in the NT, that is, a woman apostle (not even a special place for Jesus' mother, or the wife of an apostle who went around carrying out a public ministry alongside her husband). There is not a single woman Elder ordained in any church anywhere. Wherever women appear they always do so in a helpmeet role, often as married couples (see Rom 16), but never in a leadership role over men in their own right. In any case that would have been impossible given the culture of the time which was set up by Yahweh Himself.

Theologically a woman could never be head of her husband. That would be against revealed truth. So if she has to be subject to her own husband how could she be head over another woman's husband? The idea is preposterous. Each man has only Christ as his head. If his own Elder or Bishop is not his head; and his own father is not his head, much less can a woman be his head. It is against revealed truth for a woman to teach a man because that is an authority role.

Nowhere in the entire history of God's people did a woman have a legitimate teaching role. All the positive biblical examples are of women's ministries which were either charismatic, i.e., prophetesses (Deborah, Miriam, Huldah, Philip's four daughters), or informal and private (e.g., Priscilla and Aquila in their own home). This is in keeping with the headship of man in both testaments.

Despite this, Stott argued that "if God saw no impediment against calling women into a teaching role, the burden of proof lies with the church to show why it should not appoint women to similar responsibilities" (251).

If Stott can show any evidence where, as the normal practice, God "ordained" or "anointed" any women anywhere in the Old or New Testaments to the priesthood, where the teaching ministry was located, or to a position of leadership such as the monarchy, or even to have the main responsibility to teach her own sons God's Law, then he might begin to have a case. The burden of proof lies with the one who wants to change the *status quo.*

Standing in the way of any leadership role by women over their own husbands, or over other husbands, is the headship of Man. The spirit of the prophets are subject to the prophets' control, which means that any gifts God has given to women they have control over their use of them in the sphere in which she can use them, without violating her headship relation to her husband or any other man. If God gives some women the gift of teaching then she must use that to teach women, not men, in the church, because that is specifically forbidden in 1 Timothy 2:11-12. But Stott overturns this prohibition because he assumes that 1 Corinthians 11:5 permits women to prophesy *in church,* (251) and so the command to keep silent in 1 Corinthians 14:34 must refer to "talkative women."

I have shown above that 1 Corinthians 11:5 does not explicitly say that women can prophesy in church, whereas 1 Corinthians 14:34 explicitly says she is not to prophesy in church. This means that if she is to exercise her gift of prophecy she can do so outside the church service, and hence there is no contradiction between 11:5 and 14:34.[869]

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[869] This has been fully investigated under 4.10.3.

Another important detail that Stott has overlooked is that the whole epistle of 1 Corinthians was addressed specifically to men, and consequently 1 Corinthians 14 does not envisage any woman making any verbal contribution in church. Throughout it is talking about men contributing a hymn, or a word of instruction, a revelation, a tongue or an interpretation, so these activities are limited to men. He did not note the context of 1 Corinthians 14 when he claimed that "everyone" is allowed to make these contributions, "without limiting these to men" (251).

Stott is puzzled why commentators have not viewed Paul's statements in 1 Corinthians 14:34 and 1 Timothy 2:11-12 as two antitheses as set out below.

THESIS	ANTITHESIS
LEARN IN QUIETNESS/SILENT	TEACH
FULL SUBMISSION	AUTHORITY

The definition of antithesis in the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* reads:

> An opposition or contrast of ideas, expressed by using in contiguous sentences or clauses, words which are strongly contrasted with each other; as "*thou* shalt *wax,* and *he* shall *dwindle.*" By extension: direct opposition (between two things); contrast. The opposite.

The first thing we should note is that the pairing thesis:antithesis is part of rhetoric or the art of using language so as to persuade or influence others (OED). Paul is not arguing a case here, he is laying down the law of Christ: "I do not permit . . . .," and: "let them be silent . . . as the Law says."

Paul is not setting up theses and antitheses in abstraction, but right courses of action and their incompatible opposites *within a headship relation.* It is this last observation that is central to Paul's whole position. It is missing from Stott's presentation.

It is because Paul is very conscious of the headship principle that governs the whole of God's universe and which he stated clearly in 1 Corinthians 11:3 ("of every man the head is the Christ; the head of woman—man; the head of Christ—God") that all his statements in 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 and 1 Timothy 2:11-14 and 1 Corinthians 11:3-16 find their origin and permanency. This principle governs all human relations, all divine relations, and even all Trinitarian relations. There are different powers and authorities among the divine (deity) beings. God as head over all things has given to His Son all authority in heaven and on earth, but He Himself does not come under the Son's authority (1 Cor 15:28). There are different powers and authorities among the angelic beings (angels and archangels). There are different powers and authorities among human beings (heads and non-heads which are specific to gender).

POWERS AND AUTHORITIES

SAME NATURE	DIFFERENT AUTHORITIES	
DEITY	FATHER	SON | HOLY SPIRIT
SPIRIT	ARCHANGELS	ANGELS
IMAGE OF GOD	MALE (HEAD)	FEMALE (NON-HEAD)

That Man should have an authority different from women, based on gender, is not permissible in feminist theology. Stott has accepted their theology and diluted or restricted "headship" to cover only "care and responsibility," in other words the nice side of headship. He ignores the fact that headship entails *authority over* one who, because of a certain prior

relationship, owes loving obedience to that head. If that loving obedience is flagrantly withdrawn then the head has the authority to correct the disobedient person. We have shown above that headship has two sides, a love-headship and a force-headship. Both are seen supremely in God in the one case toward His Son (love-headship) and in the other toward Satan (force-headship) where in a cosmic battle God *enforced* His headship over a disobedient angel. God will be supreme either through submission to His love-headship or through submission to His force-headship. Headship implies that the one who is head must be in control of his world. If he is not, then in the case of God He ceases to be God, and the one who successfully resists His rule is either equal to Him or greater than Him. In the case of Adam, Eve exploited her love-headship to Adam to misuse her free-will to disobey his command not to eat from the Tree. God's reaction to this independent or anti-headship act was to give Man the power to re-establish control of his world by means of imposition, "he shall rule over you," in other words a force-headship, on the analogy of His own experience with Satan. But the love-headship is the normal headship that should prevail in every Christian marriage, but if and when there is the withdrawal of co-operation with the head (whether justified or not) "he will rule over you" will come into operation.

So love, authority and control are key concepts in the idea of headship and lie at the core of it. As part of love will come "care and responsibility;" as part of authority will come many reasoned pleas and requests; as part of control will come correction and ultimately discipline. The whole spectrum from love to punishment is included in the concept of headship. It is seen in God, in Christ as the head of the Church, and in Man. There are only three heads in the whole of God's world. This headship authority He has not given to Woman. Therefore there is no "sexual equality" when it comes to Man's headship. Stott flatly denies this, "The husband's headship of his wife, therefore, is a headship more of care than of control, more of responsibility than of authority" (247). This drastically reduced concept of headship is an attempt to appease feminist objections to the biblical doctrine of male headship. If ignores what happened when Satan rebelled against God's headship. Headship has two sides, but Stott can only see one side—the nice guy side.

The table above shows that while God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, have *equality in nature,* they have different authorities and roles (cf. 1 Cor 15:24, 27-28). The same goes for the angels and archangels. They have *equality in nature,* but not in authority. Lastly, men and women have *equality in nature:* both are made in the "moral image of God," but they have different authorities. Paul's doctrine of headships is in harmony with equality of nature and inequality of authority—*equal in nature: unequal in authority.* "When all things are made submissive to him then the Son himself will be submissive to him who made all things submissive to him, so that God may be all in all" (1 Cor 15:28; three times ὑποτάσσω is used here; Jesus is now seated at the right hand of God, the position of highest honour, cf. Acts 2:33-34; Rom 8:34; Col 3:1; Heb 3:1, 13; 8:1).[870]

Because Stott, on the one hand, has a deeply compromised concept of Man's headship in order to accommodate feminist objections to male headship, and on the other hand, is attempting to find a further compromise with feminist objections over women's participation in all aspects of Christian ministry, he reduces Paul's teaching in 1 Timothy 2:11-12 to a principle and its cultural expression. He accepts the principle of male headship (but only in its drastically reduced form of "care and responsibility," with maybe an "element" [but not too much] of "authority" and "leadership") and assumes that its first-century cultural expression was silence, which need not be expressed in the same way today. He argues his new idea as follows:

> The apostle's instruction sounds quite general: "A woman should learn in quietness and full submission. I do not permit a woman to teach or to have

[870] For a helpful article on subordination within the Trinity see John V. Dahms, "The Subordination of the Son," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 37 (1994) 351-64.

> authority over a man; she must be silent." What strikes me about these sentences (and about 1 Cor. 14.34), and has not been adequately considered by commentators, is that Paul expresses two antitheses, the first between to "learn in quietness" or "be silent" and "to teach," and the second between "full submission" and "authority." The latter is the substantial point, ... But the other instruction (the requirement of silence and the prohibition of teaching), . . . seems to be an expression of the authority-submission syndrome, rather than an addition to it. There does not appear to be anything inherent in our distinctive sexualities which makes it universally inappropriate for women to teach men. So is it possible, I want to ask, whether, although the requirement of "submission" is of permanent and universal validity, because grounded in Creation, the requirement of "silence," like that of head-covering in 1 Corinthians 11, was a first-century cultural application of it? (252)

There are a number of misunderstandings of Paul's doctrine of headship here. First, Paul did not base his doctrine of head-covering on local culture. Stott has made a surprising error here and shows a lack of understanding of Paul's argument in 1 Corinthians 11. I have set out in full above the theological basis on which Paul argued for head-covering. The main argument being the headship of man. Man has been given a headship authority directly from his Creator, and because he has it, he must not cover his head before God. The woman, on the other hand, does not have the same headship authority, but another authority distinct to her gender (1 Cor 11:10), and because she has it, she must cover her head before God. The status of the physical head (covered or uncovered) reflects the God-given authority each has been given. Because a woman does not have a headship authority she cannot go uncovered, otherwise she is claiming headship authority for herself, which she cannot do in God's presence. It is against good order in the Church.

Second, because Stott has misunderstood Paul's teaching on head-covering in 1 Corinthians 11, he brings that misunderstanding forward as an argument against the silence of women in church in 1 Corinthians 14:34 and 1 Timothy 2:11-12. If he had paid closer attention to 1 Corinthians 11:3-15 he would have noted that there, too, Paul based his argument for head-covering/uncovering on creation theology, and not on first-century culture as he mistakenly thought.

Third, we have noted that the first-century cultural analogy Stott drew between head-covering and keeping silence is flawed (because both universal practices are grounded in creation theology, not in local culture), but that does not prevent Stott from claiming that, "The wearing of a veil . . . was indeed a cultural expression of submission to masculine headship, and may be replaced by other symbols more appropriate to the twentieth century, but the headship itself is creational, not cultural" (246).

Note the false analogy drawn between Paul's call for a "covering" and Stott's use of veil. Paul nowhere calls for women to wear veils. Veils belong to culture and so are man-made conventions which have no spiritual meaning. *They are a cultural expression of modesty.* The "covering" advocated by Paul, on the other hand, has a spiritual function which is based on the creation authority God gave to Woman. It is not a cultural expression of submission to Man. I have argued elsewhere that in its context 1 Corinthians 11:10 refers to the unique authority that God gave to Woman. Commentators and translators fall over themselves to make the "veil" a symbol of man's authority. On that analogy then the uncovered head of a man must be the symbol of Christ's authority; but it is no such thing. Man is told not to cover his head because he is the image and glory of God, not because Christ is his head. The Lord Jesus *is* his head but there is no symbol to denote it, so neither is there a symbol to denote Man's headship over Woman.

Fourth, he sets up a false equation with the object of cancelling out or replacing the first-century cultural expression while attempting to holding on to the principle.

THESIS	ANTITHESIS
FULL SUBMISSION	NOT TO HAVE AUTHORITY

CULTURAL EXPRESSION	
TO LEARN IN QUIETNESS/BE SILENT	NOT TO TEACH

Paul is not setting up theses and antitheses but incompatibilities.

FEMALE STATUS	MALE STATUS
NO HEADSHIP	HEADSHIP

LEARN IN SILENCE	TEACH
BE COMPLETELY SUBMISSIVE	RULE OVER WOMEN

The reason why women are not to teach or rule men (in any shape or form) is not because they do not have the capability (the Holy Spirit does not distribute the gifts according to gender) but because it is incompatible with her status. Headship was given by God through creation to Man only. Paul picks out "teaching" and "ruling" as the pre-eminent marks of authority and control. These are the core attributes of headship when expressed in a loving manner. Teaching and ruling are incompatible with female status—her non-headship status. She can teach those to whom it would not be incompatible with her female status to teach, for example any other female or her own or other people's children, because this activity is not a headship activity.

Jesus was submissive (ὑποτασσόμενος) to his own parents at twelve years of age (Lk 2:51). This is the same word that is used in 1 Timothy 2:11 to describe the submissive attitude that Woman is to show toward Man. In other words the submissiveness shown by Jesus is based on the parent-child obedience expected of him in the fifth commandment, "Honour your father and mother," and not on any headship that his parents had over him. In contrast to Jesus' submissiveness the submissiveness shown by Woman to Man in 1 Timothy 2:11 is based on the headship principle, "the head of Woman is Man." We have shown above that all males have Christ, never their earthly father, as their head. So, while sons obey Christ *and* their father, the latter obedience is based on the father-son relationship, whereas the former is based on Christ's headship of all men. In the latter relationship Christ should have the total concentration of every male to do His will, and not their own. In the father-son relationship, however, the son is not expected to concentrate solely on his father's goal in life to the total exclusion of doing his own will, because his will is claimed by Christ.

We have noted Stott's statement above, "There does not appear to be anything inherent in our distinctive sexualities which makes it universally inappropriate for women to teach men." This ignores the fact that headship is gender-specific and is rooted in creation. It is because Man is the head that Woman is to learn in quietness (disposition). It is because Man is the head that Woman is to be silent (vocal) in Church. It is because Man is the head that Woman is not to teach men. It is because Man is the head that Woman is not to rule a man. It is because Man is the head that Woman is to cover her head in the presence of God.

While Stott permits women to disregard these incompatibilities on the grounds that they are expressions of first-century cultural conditioning, Paul will not permit them because they are incompatible with Man's headship and the Woman's creation status. Because they are based on Creation they were the universal expressions of that theology throughout the universal Church. There was no concession made to any local customs throughout the world. Wherever the Gospel was preached and received the disciples received these universal expressions of doctrine—the Apostles' teaching—without question. It is an irony that the Apostles' traditions were challenged otherwise we might never have understood the

theological reasons that lay behind them. The challenge brought out the theological basis on which all the Apostles commanded the women to be covered before God and to be silent in the Church.

SUMMARY OF CRITICISMS

1. HERMENEUTICAL PROBLEM. Stott has failed to take into account that the silence required of all women is a silence that ***all churches were required to observe,*** and not just Corinth or Ephesus. He has localised the problem in order to dismiss it as a first-century cultural expression of submission that is not relevant to the Church today.

2. HEADSHIP PROBLEM. Stott has failed to recognise that the headship of Man places a huge distance between the authority that God has given to Man and that given to Woman. He also devalues its significance. He has downgraded/reduced its powers from control and authority over the entire family to the weaker "care and responsibility" for it, but definitely no clear statement of authority over his family involving discipline where necessary because this is unacceptable to feminists.

3. EXEGETICAL PROBLEM. Paul's position is founded on creation theology, not on cultural considerations. Stott has repeatedly weakened Paul's theological basis by describing head-covering as a local custom that no longer applies today.

4. THEOLOGICAL CONFUSION. Stott has been more influenced by feminist texts than the biblical texts. This is seen in his keynote phrase "sexual equality." There is no such thing because God made them *different* not equal; He made them male and female. His doctrine of God is highly suspect. God is a Spirit and sexless. He does not have male and female attributes. This again betrays the strong influence of feminist theology on his thinking.

In what follows I shall expand on each of the above points.

The one weakness that accounts for all the others in Stott's presentation is his failure to do justice to Man's headship. If he had recognised that the cosmological order before the Fall was: "The head of Man is God and the head of Woman is Man," he would never have stressed the unbiblical concept of "the equality of the sexes." He appears to have taken over this concept from feminist theology and assumed that it was taught in Genesis 1.

DEFECTIVE PRINCIPLE OF INTERPRETATION

The reason why Stott assumed "sexual equality" was taught in Genesis 1 can be traced to a weakness in his principles of interpretation. In this case he adopted an atomistic approach to Scripture. He examined Genesis 1 in isolation from Genesis 2. This key-hole approach seemingly supported his key concept of the "equality of the sexes." If he had taken a holistic view of all the texts dealing with the headship of man he would never have arrived at such an unbiblical concept.

This unbiblical concept led to another: God was not genderless. The idea of God being in some way both male and female is preposterous—a theological blunder. In God there is neither male nor female, Jew or non-Jew, because *God is a spirit.* Spirits do not have gender nor do they marry. In Christ there is neither male nor female, by this is meant that when we are "in Christ" we are not in a "male Christ" or a "female Christ" or a "Jewish Christ" or a "non-Jewish" Christ, we are simply "in Christ"—in the risen, glorified Christ—in a sexless, stateless and classless Christ, where none of the earthly distinctions of gender, genes or gentry exist as a permanent characteristic of his risen nature.

Human beings are not generally born sexless, stateless, or classless. As a man Jesus took on these earthly distinctions, but his pre-incarnation status had none of these distinctions, and now that he has ascended with a new spiritual body (the "first-fruits" from the dead) he no longer has these earthly distinctions. He has returned to his pre-incarnation state. To be "in Christ" means that the earthly "accidents" of gender, state and class have no spiritual advantage when we die and go to be with Christ. When we leave this earth we leave behind our gender, race and class status and are clothed with a new body. "It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body" (1 Cor 15:44). We are born with a sex (gender), in a state/nation (genes, Jew or non-Jew), and a class (slave or free), whether we like it or not. These earthly distinctions matter now for living out our allotted place in God's creation. It is for this reason that Paul can encourage the slave to accept his master and serve him as he would serve the Lord *for this is well-pleasing in God's eyes.* It is for this reason that Woman is to accept Man as her head and be submissive to him. It is for this reason that Man is to accept Christ as his head and be submissive to him. Depending on how well we fulfil our allotted station we can expect to hear the "Well done!" from the Lord Jesus.

Stott's failure to understand the use of anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms to describe God led him into the ridiculous suggestion that a spirit could have gender. This suggestion arose out of his failure to adopt correct principles of interpretation of Scripture.

HERMENEUTICAL PROBLEMS

Another weakness concerns his hermeneutical approach to Scripture. He accepted that because Paul grounded submission in creation theology then it was alright for this to be expressed in silence and quietness, covering the head, not teaching and not ruling a man, *in the first-century,* but because this is the twentieth-century (as he writes) it is not appropriate to continue these universal Church traditions. Why is it not appropriate?

What appears to be going on here is that he is unconsciously recognising that it not appropriate *in the eyes of the world* to continue these out-dated, old-fashioned theological traditions. The pressure for change is coming from *outside* the Church, not from any spiritual desire to keep the principles. The principle of submission is unacceptable to the world. Consequently the symbols were abolished. Living in a world that does not recognise the principle means there is no need of a symbol to denote it! This accounts for Stott's silence over the twentieth-century replacement symbols. He advocates keeping the principle of submission but carefully avoids any discussion of its twentieth-century symbols.

Indeed, he does away with all the first-century distinctions between men and women except that he reserves any ministry that has a "flavour of authority and discipline about it" (254) for men only. He particularly objects to a woman becoming a Rector or Bishop. One suspects that the only reason why this is reserved for men is because he, personally, would not like to come under the authority of a woman. But if it is good enough for mature men to come under the authority of an ordained woman minister, then it is good enough for the whole church to come under the authority of a woman archbishop. Given his theology there is no principle at stake.

Following on from his "cultural transformation" principle he conveniently ignores the fact that the two traditions Paul taught (silence and covering) were already universal in practice and based on creation theology, not local culture, which is his working assumption throughout his treatment of the subject.

Stott's failure to listen to Paul in 1 Corinthians 11:3-16; 14:33-38; and 1 Timothy 2:11-15, is a surprising lapse, as is also his failure to examine Paul's theological arguments closely. His dismissal of headcovering, in particular, as a first-century cultural expression that need not be followed today shows appalling ignorance of Paul's thought and of his theologically-based explanation why it is to be retained for all time and in all places. His working

assumption is that headcovering *must* be cultural, and this explains why his treatment of 1 Corinthians 11:3-16 is dismissed in two sentences (see 246, 252).

THEOLOGICAL WEAKNESS

Stott's treatment of male headship is neither clear nor comprehensive. While acknowledging that male headship existed before the Fall, he is careful not to offend his feminist protagonists by avoiding any suggestion that headship indicates real authority. In place of authority he puts "care and responsibility." He clearly has not understood what headship entails from a study of Yahweh's headship of Israel, or Jesus' headship of the Church which involves harsh discipline (Revelation 2-3) as well as heavenly love.

Scott has not noted the two sides to headship, the love and the discipline. For him "headship" is always the pre-Fall experience, the nice cosy feeling of someone looking after you while you have a good time "creatively using to the full your intellect and talents." However, in the real world, Man's headship consists of a love-headship *and* a force-headship, and the latter is not inherently evil as he has assumed throughout. It can be abused but it is something that even God and the Lord Jesus have as a side to their headships.

Only by playing down the significance of Man's headship can he play up his key theme of "sexual equality." Once headship is introduced one cannot have equality of roles or functions. The essence of headship is that Woman will live only to do the will of her husband; Man will live only to do the will of his head, Christ; and Christ will live only to do the will of his Father, which he did perfectly, so that we have in his example the model or paradigm for Woman and Man to follow. The essence of headship is when one says to the other, "not my will but yours be done."

In conclusion, John Stott had done a great disservice to the Lord Jesus in encouraging His Church not to follow the historic Traditions of the Church. He has compromised the Lord's teaching and introduced a new Gospel which is in keeping with feminist theology and new traditions which the Church has never witnessed in its 2000-year old history.

Faithful ministers of the Gospel are under pressure to compromise the theological traditions and doctrines of the Lord once they achieve popularity. The pressure is to downplay any teaching that is not acceptable to a backsliding denomination. For example, it would be suicidal to preach that men and women should abide by their theological dress-codes and their allotted places in public worship. To retain one's popularity there is pressure to keep saying the things that please the majority otherwise one's popularity and finances may begin to tail off, and one ends up as a voice in the wilderness. Maybe this is the age in which we should listen to those who have been marginalised and not those who have a popular following. God's prophets have always been pushed out into the wilderness *by the Church.*

EXCURSUS 2 : CRITIQUE OF KROEGERS' BOOK

BOOK REVIEWED: Richard Clark Kroeger & Catherine Clark Kroeger, *Rethinking 1 Timothy 2:11-15 in Light of Ancient Evidence* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992).[871]

INTRODUCTION

If the reader was expecting to find a full and unbiased exegetical treatment of 1 Timothy 2:11-15 showing why the traditional understanding is invalid he is going to be sadly disappointed. Very little is said about 1 Timothy 2:11 *within the context of 2:11-15.* The work is heavily weighted on background information in that it deliberately sets out to find "another interpretation" (i.e., another background scenario) in the belief that Paul permitted women to rule over men.[872]

The authors find another way to exegete 1 Timothy 2:12 by discovering two new meanings for two words. In place of "to rule" they discovered a new meaning using a late Renaissance work which gives the meaning "to represent oneself as the author, originator, or source of something" (102). And in place of "quietness" they discovered a new meaning "conformity [to a standard]" (103).

Armed with these two new meanings they produce a new translation of 1 Timothy 2:12 which reads: "I do not permit woman to teach nor to represent herself as originator of man but she is to be in conformity [with the Scriptures][or that she keeps it a secret.] For Adam was created first, then Eve" (103). The rest of the book is an attempt to provide a background that will support this new reading of the text.

There are a number of serious objections to their methods and conclusion.

LINGUISTIC CHANGES

On the semantic issue there are two problems they need to overcome, because if the two new meanings are deemed to be forced on the text then the considerable labour expended in providing a new background is an irrelevance.

First, how firm is the evidence for these new meanings? And, second, if these two new meanings are found in Greek literature does any of it go back to the time of Paul?

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Even if the two linguistic questions could be answered satisfactorily there are a further four serious objections to the new historical background that they have constructed

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871 Page references to this work are placed in parentheses in the following critique.

872 Kroeger claimed to have found texts (see p. 103) which he believed *clearly* supported women having authority over men, consequently since these "more than a hundred" examples cannot be refuted, the single exception, 1 Timothy 2:12, must have another interpretation which does not contradict the majority texts. This is a wrong premise, therefore a wrong conclusion will follow. One of the motives for writing the book was: 'We suggest that the writer of the Pastorals was opposing a doctrine which acclaimed motherhood as the ultimate reality' (p. 110). This guesswork often replaces solid research. He acknowledges that he cannot trace later Gnostic myths back to Paul's time but he *thinks* (guess work again) the Gnostic myths originated then (p. 119).

because the scenario that the Kroegers have constructed envisages a Gnostic-like sect which taught that Eve was created first and Adam second. It is conjectured that this false teaching was being taught by women.

First, why should this false teaching be taught only by women? Were there no men who taught this idea? This theory needs to blame only the women for propagating this false teaching because only women are commanded to keep silent in 1 Timothy 2:11.

Second, even if it could be proved that there was a false Gnostic doctrine that taught that Eve was created before Adam, and that it was taught only by women, is there any evidence that this doctrine goes back to Paul's day? This the Kroegers acknowledge they cannot prove.

Third, even if it could be proved that there was such a false Gnostic doctrine around in Paul's day (as they have reconstructed it) can it be proved that in the *present* context Paul was specifically condemning *this particular false teaching.* In other words, it is one thing to prove that a particular heresy was contemporary with 1 Timothy but quite another to say that *it* is explicitly condemned in 1 Timothy 2:12.

Fourth, can it be proved that the traditional method of exegeting Scripture according to normal lexicographical studies does not give a coherent explanation for 2:13-14 when it is set alongside the other creation-theology texts, such as 1 Corinthians 11:7-8 and 14:34-35?

Another major defect in Kroeger's presentation is the treatment of 1 Timothy 2:11-14 in isolation from Paul's other creation theology texts and his teaching on the headship of Man. When the three creation-theology texts are examined *together* then a different theological background emerges to that presented in Kroeger's work.

OVERSTATEMENT AND UNDERSTATEMENT

Apart from these two major areas of concern (linguistic and background) there is also the tendency to overstate their case by understating the facts that would weaken their thesis, leading to many half-truths. These are dealt with in part 3 below. To mention just one example here as typical of their approach, when Priscilla is mentioned by the Kroegers she is never mentioned alongside her husband who is kept out of sight, giving a misleading impression.

We shall look in detail at the three areas that are said to support this new theory.

1. LINGUISTIC CHANGES

1.1. NEW MEANINGS

Central to Kroeger's thesis is the need to find new meanings for the terms "quietness" and "to rule" in 1 Timothy 2:12. While these two words remain unchanged they are an obstacle, because his object is to find a new meaning of the text which would fit in with his belief that Paul sanctioned women speaking in the church and taking positions of leadership, on a par with men, in the Church. As the text stands it does not permit this to happen. Indeed, it flatly denies woman any place of leadership of men. The object of Kroegers' changes is to obtain a translation which will permit women the exact same status as men. To achieve this 1 Timothy 2:12 is translated in such a way as would make the text give the *content of the forbidden teaching,* namely, that woman was responsible for the creation of man. To achieve this two pivotal words must be given new meanings.

But how firm is the evidence for these new meanings? Changing the meaning of two words, however, would alone not be sufficient to give Kroeger the desired "new interpretation" that he is seeking because of the presence of a second negative. Consequently a new application of a syntactical feature is "discovered" to remove an unwanted negative.

1.1.1. REDUNDANT NEGATIVE

At first Kroeger tentatively suggests that, "First Timothy 2:12 can perhaps be construed as an indirect statement with a redundant negative so that the emphasis is upon the content that women are forbidden to teach rather than upon their teaching or administrative function" (37). But by the time he has concluded his thesis his "can perhaps" has become a certainty.

Comment: Kroeger's discussion on οὐδε is confused (83). He first of all argued that it is a "redundant negative" (37) and, apparently, almost convinced a classicist to become a Christian as a result! But in his definitive translation he includes it (see 103).

If we are to delete negatives as high-handedly as Kroeger does here then Scripture can be made to say the opposite. Paul said, "I do not permit a woman to teach," Kroeger arbitrarily deletes the negative and in effect permits the text to say by implication, "I do permit a woman to teach"! Note, on page 38 he identifies himself with "evangelical scholarship." He says he is prepared to examine the work of other scholars but, significantly, he avoided any contrary view to his own such as George Knight's thorough study of the verb *authentein* (see 1.1.3 and Appx G below).

If we examine the text of 1 Timothy 2:11-15 the Greek text reads as follows:

2·11 γυνὴ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ μανθανέτω ἐν πάσῃ ὑποταγῇ· 2·12 διδάσκειν δὲ γυναικὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω, οὐδὲ αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' εἶναι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ. 2·13 Ἀδὰμ γὰρ πρῶτος ἐπλάσθη, εἶτα Ευα· 2·14 καὶ Ἀδὰμ οὐκ ἠπατήθη, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἐξαπατηθεῖσα ἐν παραβάσει γέγονεν. 2·15 σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας, ἐὰν μείνωσιν ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ καὶ ἁγιασμῷ μετὰ σωφροσύνης.

2.11 "A woman in quietness[873] let her learn in all submissiveness, for I do not permit a woman to teach or [οὐδέ] to exert authority over a man,[874] but to be quiet."

Comment: According to Kroeger we are to regard οὐδέ as "a redundant negative" (37). The parallels he gives on p. 239 n. 1, namely, Lk 23:53; Mk 5:3 and 14:25, demonstrate the opposite point he is making, because not one of the triple negatives is redundant. He as much as admits this when he acknowledges, "This is impossible English but perfectly respectable Greek. These so-called redundant negatives often occur after verbs of prohibition, hindering, and denying." The reader is left confused by this acknowledgement. On the one hand, the unsuspecting or ill-informed reader (and this book is aimed at the ordinary Christian) is being offered the idea that a second or third negative is redundant and this permits Kroeger to delete *oude* in 1 Timothy 2:12. But on the other hand, he is being told that the second or third negative is not redundant but "respectable Greek." In that case it is not a redundant negative. Which is it? On p. 189 the reader is told that, "When the second negative is a compound (such as *oude*) it serves to strengthen the first (*ou* or *ouk*). Examples occur at Luke 4:2; 20:40; and Romans 13:8." In fact Luke 4:2 and 20:40 do not have two negatives because οὐδεν is an accusative noun, singular neuter. Likewise in Rom 13:8 Μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὀφείλετε means, "To no one [noun dat. sg. masc. neut.] nothing [noun acc. sg. neut.] we owe." Here the two so-called negatives are in fact nouns. These three examples were put forward as parallels

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873 In 1 Cor 14:34 she is told to be silent in the church which is the chief form that submissiveness would take in that context. 'Quiet' here refers to a disposition which, in a church context, would be manifested in keeping silent and unobtrusive both in noise and presence.

874 The object of 'to rule' is man which is put in the genitive case with verbs of ruling (cf. F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* [ET Robert W. Funk] (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1969), §177.

to 1 Timothy 2:12 where the second negative was said to strengthen the first one. These three examples fail to do that. He has failed to produce a single example which has the same syntax as 1 Timothy 2:12 where the second negative strengthens the first one.

Greek scholars are familiar with the construction οὐ(κ) . . . οὐδὲ "not . . . or," where two distinct activities are denied/prohibited and the main verb accompanies both prohibitions. Examples which parallel the construction in 1 Timothy 2:12 are: 1 Maccabees 15:14, "and he permitted no one to leave or (οὐδὲ) to enter it;" Isaiah 42:24, "and they would not walk in his ways or (οὐδὲ) listen to his law;" and Sirach 18:6, "it is not possible to diminish or (οὐδὲ) to increase them."

Where two infinitives are negated in this way they normally *follow* the main verb. In the case of 1 Timothy 2:12, however, the prohibited activity ("to teach") is placed *before* the main verb ("I do not permit") followed by the second negated infinitive ("or to rule a man"). If the two infinitives had followed the main verb then the text would read: 2·12 γυναικὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω διδάσκειν οὐδὲ αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός, ἀλλ᾽ εἶναι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ.

If the Greek syntax was in this order it would read, "I do not permit a woman to teach or to rule a man, but to be submissive." This might have allowed Kroeger to interpret οὐδὲ according to the second function on p. 83, i.e., οὐδὲ would be used here, "To specify with greater clarity the meaning of one word or phrase by conjoining it with another word or phrase. Romans 3:10 reads, "There is no one righteous, not even *(oude)* one." *Oude* emphasizes the total absence of a righteous human being . . . ."

But unfortunately for Kroeger's case the two infinitives do not come together in the way his theory would require them. Indeed, he uses an illustration which couples two infinitives together (which 1 Tim 2:12 does not) to clinch his argument (as he thought). The illustration he uses is, "For instance, if we should say, 'I forbid a woman to teach or to discuss differential calculus with a man,' it becomes clear that the subject in which she should not give instruction is higher mathematics."

First, he has changed "differential calculus" to "higher mathematics" in the second half of what is intended to be a logical statement. If we substitute "differential calculus" for "higher mathematics" we will restore the logical test, thus: "For instance, if we should say, 'I forbid a woman to teach or to discuss differential calculus with a man,' it becomes clear that the subject in which she should not give instruction is differential calculus."

I may be wrong but the logic of the "not . . . or" is that she is not to teach a man, *and also, or in particular,* she is not to discuss differential calculus with a man. "Teach" is a broader activity than "to discuss differential calculus." It is possible not to discuss differential calculus with a man and yet to teach him other things.

We have given three examples which have a syntax close to 1 Timothy 2:12 and in each case the two infinitive actions are negated (i.e., "and he permitted no one to leave or enter it" (1 Macc 15:14); "It is not possible to diminish or increase them" (Sir 18:6). "For there is no unrighteousness with the Lord our God, nor [is there with him] respect of persons, nor [is there with him] to take bribes"). In each instance the *oude* indicates that the main verb should be repeated before the second infinitive. 1 Macc 15:14 reads, "and he permitted no one to leave nor [did he permit any one] to enter it;" and Sir 18:6 would read, "It is not possible to diminish nor [is it possible] to increase them." Apart from the fact that in 1 Timothy 2:12 the first infinitive comes before the main verb these two examples are good parallels to 1 Timothy 2:12, "I do not permit a woman to teach nor [do I permit her] to rule a man." The *oude* indicates that the main verb is implied before the second infinitive. An instance of two positive infinitives dependent on the same main verb is, "And the [king] permitted him both to serve as High Priest and [he permitted him] to rule the nation" (4 Macc 4:17).

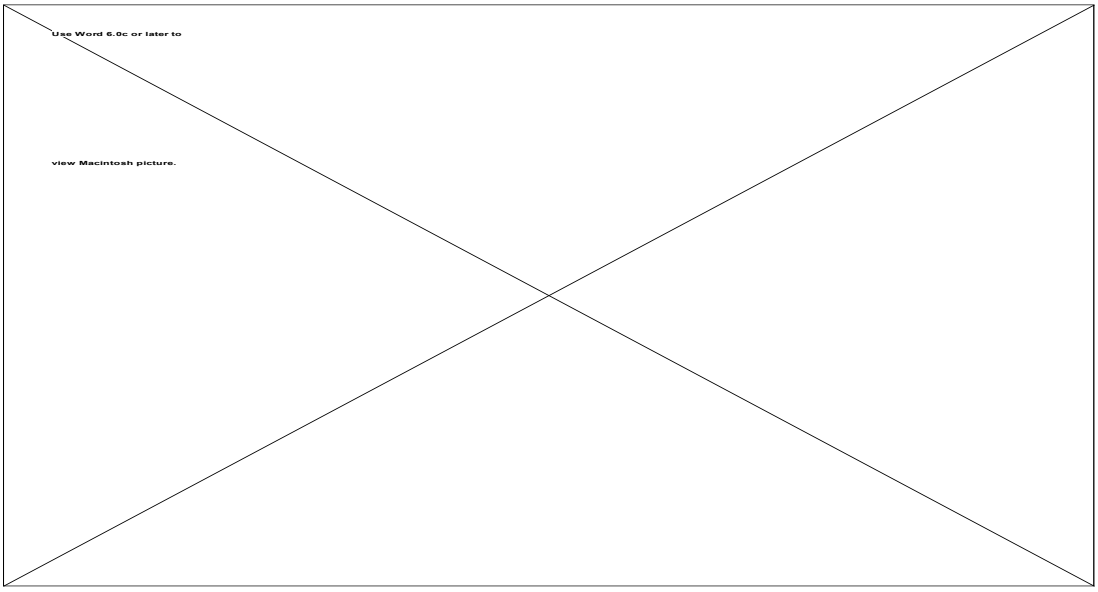
Kroeger's prime example, Luke 18:13, does not support his thesis, because the text reads, "But the tax-collector standing afar off had no desire, not even [he desired] to lift up his eyes to heaven." The tax-collector is a picture of total dejection which is brought out by the double negated action.

What Kroeger has conveniently overlooked is that—

> "οὐ negates the indicative, μή the remaining moods including the infinitive and participle. Individual words or phrases are always negated by οὐ . . . connected with this is the preference for οὐ in contrasting statements (e.g., . . . 1 Pet 3:3 . . .)." Also, "Negatives with the infinitive. Μή is used throughout . . . .[875]

The result of this rule is that if Kroeger wanted to negate the infinitive and read "not to rule over man" as the *content* of what she is not to teach, then he would need to alter the second negative ουδε to μή. There is no textual evidence for this alteration. The form of the second negative shows that the main verb is to be repeated after it.

If we were to write out what Paul says in vv. 11-12 *in full* then it would read as follows:



Comment: Kroeger wants the Greek to read:

> Let a woman learn in silence with all submission [p. 75]. I do not permit a woman to teach that she is the originator of man but she is to be in conformity [with the Scriptures][or that she keeps it a secret]. For Adam was created first, then Eve [pp. 189, 191].

The omission of the second negative in his translation is a violation of Greek syntax. The reason for this forced translation is his premise that, "1 Timothy 2:11-15 is not a decree of timeless and universal restriction and punishment but a corrective: a specific direction as to what women should not teach and why" (p. 23). Note the use of "punishment" to describe the "good order" that is required in the Church.

Kroeger gives five translations of 1 Timothy 2:12 (pp. 79, 103, 189, 191, 192).

The first translation reads (79):

"To teach, on the contrary, to a woman I do not grant permission, and not *authentein* but to be in silence." Note the omission of "man" in this translation, but also the retention of the second "not" which he had argued was "redundant."

The second translation (103):

"I do not allow a woman to teach nor to proclaim herself as originator of man but she is to be in conformity [with the Scriptures] [or that she keeps it a secret.] For Adam was created first, then Eve." Two activities are prohibited here (she is not to teach and she is not to

875 F. Blass and A. Brunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament.* ET Robert W. Funk (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1969), §426.

proclaim herself the originator of man) which Kroeger claims is in accordance with Greek syntax, but this is not the final translation that Kroeger is moving toward. His method is to change only one element in the sentence at a time because to introduce three changes all at once would raise suspicions and defeat his object. Here he lets the second negative stand in the translation *for the moment,* but he has introduced the idea of the *content* of her teaching, namely, "to proclaim herself the originator of man." That is the main purpose of his half-way translation.

The third translation (189):

"I do not allow a woman to teach nor to proclaim herself author of man" (cf. p. 103).

The fourth translation (191):

"I do not permit a woman to teach that she is the originator of man but she is to be in conformity [with the Scriptures][or that she keeps it a secret]. For Adam was created first, then Eve." Here he has arrived at the translation he requires in order to remove Paul's command as it appears in all other translations. He justifies this translation on the grounds that "*oude* can introduce an infinitive of indirect discourse and that the subject need not be repeated." He gives no illustrations of this grammatical rule. See p. 192, where another version reads: "I absolutely do not allow a woman to teach [someone] to maintain that she is the author of a man."

The fifth translation (203):

"I forbid a woman to slay[876] a man."

Comment: There is confusion here. It is not clear whether his translation on p. 103 or on p. 189 is his final "correct" translation. If we take the wording on page 103 as his definitive translation it reads, "I do not allow a woman to teach nor **to proclaim herself as originator** of man but she is to be in **conformity [with the Scriptures] [or that she keeps it a secret.]** For Adam was created first, then Eve" (emphasis mine).

Here he does not omit the "redundant negative," but instead introduces a paraphrase in place of the word *authentein*, namely: "**to proclaim herself as originator**." He provides no known context (apart from here) in Greek literature of Paul's time where *authentein* has this meaning. The word has been carefully examined in Greek literature by George W. Knight and this meaning is not listed anywhere in his work.[877]

1.1.2. QUIETNESS

Kroeger claims, "The Greek word for silence has at least five different meanings in the New Testament in particular and in the Greek religion as a whole" (37).

Comment: But when Kroeger has the opportunity to set out the evidence at a crucial juncture he fails to do so, as here, and expects the unsuspecting reader who is unfamiliar with the grammatical issues involved to accept his statements as Gospel just because he says so.

A second peculiarity is the use of "conformity [with the Scriptures] [or that she keeps it a secret.]" to translate "quietness." Again there is no known context in which the meaning "conformity" occurs in biblical or classical literature. The word occurs four times in the NT and is translated either by "silence" (Acts 22:2; 1 Tim 2:11, 12) or "quietness" (2 Thess 3:12). If we substitute "conformity" in 2 Thessalonians 3:12 we get: "and such we command and

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876 This meaning has now been seriously questioned by David K. Huttar, as it rests on a reconstructed Greek text, "ΑΥΘΕΝΤΕΙΝ in the Aeschylus Scholium," *JETS* 44 (2001) 615-625.

877 See Leland E. Wilshire, "The TLG Computer and Further Reference to ΑΥθΕΝΤΕΩ in 1 Timothy 2.12," *NTS* 34 (1988) 120-34; and George W. Knight III, "ΑΥθΕΝΤΕΩ in reference to Women in 1 Timothy 2:12," *NTS* 30 (1984) 143-57. This title is mentioned (inaccurately) on p. 229 n 1, but appears to have been dismissed with the remark: "For views not supportive of women's full participation in ministry see George W. Knight . . . ."

exhort through our Lord Jesus Christ, that with **conformity [or in secret]** working, their own bread they may eat."

Acts 22:2, "and they having heard that in the Hebrew dialect he was speaking to them, gave the more **conformity [or, secret],** and he says . . . ." In neither context does Kroeger's proposed new meaning make sense.

There is an oddity in translating "quietness" by "keeps it a secret" in 1 Timothy 2:12, because the substance of the "secret" is heretical, hence it is extremely doubtful if Paul would tell women to keep it a secret.

On page 103 Kroeger indulges in a semantic sleight-of-hand. He claims:

> The word *hesuchia,* however, can also mean "peace" or "harmony" (see also 1 Thess 4:11; 2 Thess 3:12; 1 Tim 2:2). This, we believe, is the preferred translation here for the term. Just as the writer asked that women learn in conformity to the Word of God, he now asks that they express their views in harmony with the revelation of the Scriptures: in this case, that women did not create man nor did Eve bring spiritual illumination to Adam.

Comment: First, the standard Greek dictionaries and lexicons do not give "conformity" as a meaning for *hesuchia.* The word occurs seven times in the canonical books of the OT and a further five times in the pseudepigrapha literature of the LXX. The *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Lust, 1992) gives *"rest, quiet"* in 1 Chr 4:40 ["the land before them was vast and there was peace [εἰρήνη] and *quietness*"]; 22:9 ["his name shall be Solomon, and I will give peace [εἰρήνη] and *quietness* to Israel in his days"]; Ezk 38:11 ["I will come upon them that are at ease and *in tranquillity* [ἐν τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ], and dwelling in peace [ἐπ' εἰρήνης]; Jb 34:29 ["And he (God) will give *quietness,* and who will condemn?"]; *"silence, stillness"* in Prv 7:9 ["when there happens to be the *stillness* of the night"]; *"to be at rest, to keep quiet, to be inactive"* in Jos 5:8 ["when they had been circumcised *they rested"*]; *"to keep quiet"* in Prv 11:12 ["A man lacking understanding sneers at citizens: but a sensible man is *quiet*"].

Note that "peace" [εἰρήνη] and "quietness" [ἡσυχία] are not the same thing as they translate שָׁלוֹם and שֶׁקֶט respectively in 1 Chr 22:9 and 4:40.

The five apocryphal texts are: Esdras 4:17; Sirach 28:16; 1 Macc 9:25; 2 Macc 12:2; 2 Macc 14:4 (see Appendix D).

Note again the use of "we believe" which is an admission that the research has not been done. Here Kroeger selects an unattested, non-lexicon meaning, namely "conformity," in place of the common meaning "quietness."

The sleight-of-hand comes in when Kroeger changes the meaning of the noun *hesuchia* from "quietness" to "peace, harmony" in contexts away from 1 Timothy 2:12, but by the time he uses it in 1 Timothy 2:12, it has undergone a subtle change to *conformity* (which is a different concept) and he then applies it to 2:12.

If we apply his new meaning of *conformity* to 2:11 it would read, "Let a woman learn in conformity in all submission." Which does not make sense. In conformity to what? Liddell & Scott lists the meanings of ἡσυχιος as follows: (1) *still, quiet, at rest,* opposite to moving, talking, labouring, etc. (2) *quiet, gentle,* of character. There is no listing of *conformity* as a lexical meaning for this word. Again the meaning *conformity* has been plucked out of the air in order to arrive at "another interpretation," which is the goal of Kroeger's thesis.

1.1.3. AUTHENTEIN "TO RULE"

The meaning of αὐθεντεῖν must come from the verbal category not from the noun category. This was the fundamental error in Kroeger's approach (see pp. 97-98). For the possible meaning of this word see Appendix G.

Kroeger gives many unusual meanings for the noun forms but many of these are not listed in other reputable studies of the word using the TLG database. On wonders why the evidence for each of the rare meanings is suppressed when it is so crucial to the heart of his thesis. The following are some of the meanings he finds for the noun form.

"usurpation of power"

On pages 88-90 he gives the meaning "usurpation of power" (i.e., to seize possession of something unlawfully) from two sixth century AD legal documents. This is all to no avail since we require a synchronic study of the word set in the first century AD, not the sixth century.

On p. 90 Kroeger uses the terms "vulgar" and "polite" as if they meant "crude/rude" as opposed to "polite." This is mischievous. The term "vulgar" refers to the Koine Greek, the commonly used Greek of the Hellenistic era (323 BC—AD 500). It was this Greek in which the New Testament was written, as opposed to the Greek used by classical Attic writers which was deemed to be more "correct" by the purists of the "Atticist Movement" which arose at the end of the first century BC.[878] Jerome's Latin version was called the Vulgar Version, not that it used vulgar language but that it was the "common" language of the people.

"domination"

After noting that the concept of "domination" could apply to 1 Timothy 2:12 he dismisses it on the grounds that it stands in direct variance to other Pauline material (91). The material is not stated.

On his suggestion that Phoebe was ordained by Paul himself to the post of deaconess (91) see section 4.5.2. Likewise for his suggestion that Junia was a woman apostle, see section 4.5.3.

Another reason for rejecting "domination" is, "The Scriptures themselves, as well as the vigorous leadership provided by the women of Asia Minor in the first few centuries of the church, cause us to question the traditional interpretation" (92). The claim of "vigorous leadership" has not been proved so it cannot be used as an argument here.

Another reason is, "A prohibition against women assuming positions of authority is inconsistent with the strong evidence demonstrating that in the early Christian communities women were most certainly engaged in leadership" (92). Here again the "strong evidence" is lacking, so the statement cannot be used as an argument here.

Another argument is taken from the secular world where it is argued that women took leadership roles (92). This is irrelevant if Paul's teaching on headship precludes women taking any position of authority over man. In any case he acknowledges, "Nevertheless there is no evidence that women took an ascendant role over the men in civil life" (92).

"women dominate males, fornicate freely and do men's work"

Kroeger claims to find a meaning for αὐθεντεῖν which implied that women engaged in men's work, fornicate freely without arousing their husbands' jealousy, and dominate males. Again, we lack the evidence. We are expected to accept his word for it. It would appear from the list of authors who are claimed to support this meaning that none of them were contemporaries of Paul.

"ritual castration"

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[878] L. E. Wilshire, *op. cit.,* p. 121.

Actual castration was said to be practised by males who wanted to be thought of as females. Again it would appear that what little evidence there is does not belong to the time of Paul. No actual text is quoted using the verb αὐθεντέω so this meaning cannot be admitted as an argument here.

"sex and murder"

All the examples are of the noun *authenês* which does not tell us what the infinitive means (95).

"mingling sex and death"

Again all the examples are of the noun *authenês* which does not tell us what the infinitive means (95).

What strikes one reading through Kroeger's list of meanings is how few examples he gives. Also the vast majority of these meanings are taken from the noun *authenês.* We have pointed out how precarious it is to determine the meaning of a verb from its noun forms and vice versa. If one wants to know the meaning of an infinitive then one must look up all the examples of infinitives, not nouns.

Another mistake Kroeger makes is that he takes the meaning of the noun form and then gives it a verbal meaning without presenting a single example of the verb having that meaning. Thus he argues, "By the second century B.C.E., *authenês* was being used to denote an originator or instigator" (99) but he gives no verb with this meaning. The verb is given the meaning, "to take something in hand or to take the initiative in a given situation" (101), and "a doer, one that puts [something] in motion" (102). Then comes the crucial information (which he states he took from lexicographers of the late Renaissance era) that the noun or verb (he does not state which) can mean "to declare oneself the author or source of anything" *(praebeo me auctorem)* (102). Now does this mean "to declare oneself the doer," or, "to declare oneself the source of something"? These are two different meanings and it is not clear if these meanings are attached to the noun or the verb form. Once again note the reluctance to lay before the scholarly world the actual quotations from the lexicographers. This ensures that his work cannot be scrutinized to see if it carries the meaning he claims it carries.

In any case to quote a meaning which occurs nowhere in classical literature, if one is to go by the work of others on this verb, does his cause no service. Indeed, to depend on a meaning which occurs over 1300 years after the time 1 Timothy was written is like asking scholars to believe that recently coined English words occurred over 1300 years ago in English even though we have no written evidence for them!

Kroeger projects back 1300 years a meaning found in the late Renaissance era into the text of 1 Timothy 2:12 and translates it as, "nor to proclaim herself author of man" (103). Here he jumps from the noun, meaning "originator, source," to the verbal meaning "to declare oneself author," or "to represent herself as originator of man" (103). Again, the crucial evidence that the *verb itself* carries this meaning is omitted. One suspects that he has taken the verbal idea from the noun. If so, then this invalidates the exercise.

1.1.4. DOES PAUL GIVEN THE CONTENT OF "TO TEACH"?

Kroeger claims:

> We might render the verse literally, "To teach, on the contrary, to a woman I do not grant permission, and not *authentein* but to be in silence." This verse contains three infinitives: to teach, *authentein*, and to be. The separation of "to teach" from

> the other infinitives is most interesting and may indicate that one or both of these two infinitives deal with the content of a woman's teaching. For example, a woman at neighboring Thyatira taught "the deep things of Satan." She instructed Christ's servants "to fornicate and to eat things sacrificed to idols" (Rev 2:20). The two infinitives in this verse are used with *didaskein,* the same word for teaching as in 1 Timothy 2:12. Just as we are told in Revelation 2:20 what the woman was teaching, we may in 1 Timothy 2:12 be afforded a definition of what it is that a woman should not teach." (79-80)

Comment: First, let us examine his parallel example in Revelation 2:20. The text reads, "But I have against you a few things: that you are tolerating the woman Jezebel, who is calling (pres. part. act. sg. nom. fem.) herself a prophetess, and she teaches, and she leads astray my servants to commit fornication, and to eat idol-sacrifices." Jezebel is said to do two things:

1. she teaches (pres, indic. act.)
2. and she leads astray (pres. ind. act.) my servants to commit fornication (aor 1 infin.), and to eat (aor 2 infin. act.) idol-sacrifices.

Note that the two infinitives do not follow the verb "teach" but the verb "leads astray." In other words the two infinitives fill out in what way she leads Christ's servants astray, namely she leads them to commit fornication and to eat sacrifices offered to idols. Therefore Kroeger's statement that "to commit fornication and to eat idol-sacrifices" form the content of Jezebel's teaching is not a true parallel to 1 Timothy 2:12, because the verb *teaching* takes second place to the following verb *leads astray* whose practical consequences are spelled out in the two following infinitives: *she leads them to commit fornication and to eat sacrifices offered to idols.*

No doubt Jezebel led them astray *through* her teaching, but the infinitives go with the verb *she leads them astray* and not directly with the first verb. So we cannot grammatically say that the two infinitives give the *contents* of her teaching, rather they give the *consequences* of her teaching. She teaches falsely and as a result they commit fornication and eat idol-sacrifices. There is no suggestion that the topics she teaches are "commit fornication" and "eat idol-sacrifices" as though these were the contents of her teaching.

Second, when we examine the word order of 1 Timothy 2:12 we do not find the close connection that we observe in Revelation 2:20 between the teaching/leading astray and the following infinitives, because the two infinitives in 1 Timothy 2:12 are separated by the contrastive "but." The word order is, "to teach, now—to a woman—not I am permitting, neither [am I permitting her] to rule a man, but to be in quietness, for Adam first was formed, then Eve."

Kroeger also shows a preference for fringe meanings in order to evade the common meaning. He does this twice in 1 Timothy 2:12. The most glaring example is αὐθεντεῖν which becomes "to proclaim [oneself] as originator." Note that Kroeger, in order to give some semblance of legitimacy to his choice of meaning, puts "to begin something" in no. 1 position on p. 84, whereas Liddell & Scott give only two meaning for the word: (1) *to have full power* or *authority over,* and (2) *to commit a murder;*[879] with no other meanings listed. For the noun form Liddell & Scott lists the main meanings as follows: (1) *one who does* anything *with his own hand, an actual murderer;* (2) *a perpetrator* of any act; (3) *an absolute master, autocrat, commander.* Kroeger's meaning of *originator* is not listed as a possibility (see p. 100 where Kroeger attempts to impose his unique meaning on the text. In all the biblical examples he gives of the infinitive, as distinct from its Classical usage, the meaning is to rule or judge, see bottom of p. 101).

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879 This meaning has now been seriously questioned by David K. Huttar, as it rests on a reconstructed Greek text, "ΑΥΘΕΝΤΕΙΝ in the Aeschylus Scholium," *JETS* 44 (2001) 615-625.

In any case, even if *originator* was a legitimate meaning for the word his translation should read, "I do not allow a woman to teach or **to originate** a man . . ." which does not make sense. Because his preferred meaning made nonsense he was forced to impose a new concept on a simple infinitive, namely, *to proclaim herself as originator* of man.

In conclusion we are forced to ask the question: Why are two words ("quietness" and "to rule") in 1 Timothy 2:12 given meanings which are not recorded as lexical meanings in the standard Greek dictionaries and lexicons? If unattested meanings have to be imposed on the text in order to arrive at "another interpretation" one must question not only the legitimacy of the exercise itself but also its outcome. Why is "another interpretation" being sought for when the practice of the Early Church and the witness of all the Early Church Fathers follows the normal reading of the Greek text? He himself acknowledges as much on p. 90.

1.1.5. "TO TEACH, ON THE CONTRARY, . . ."

The beginning of Kroeger's translation reads: "To teach, on the contrary, . . "

Comment: This translation does not make sense, because Paul is not making any contrast between what precedes and what follows. Greek has the well-known construction μέν . . . δέ: "on the one hand . . . and on the other hand . . . ", but that is not in use here.

Verses 11-12 contain a single thought which begins and ends with the exhortation to the woman to be "in quietness," that is, to learn from her male teachers in a submissive manner (which will include silence, cf. 1 Cor 14:34). The theological reason for this exhortation is then given in vv. 13-14. Consequently the translation "on the contrary" can have no place in this construction, because in v. 11 the submission that Paul commands in v.11a is made total in the statement of 11b, "in all submission." *This is nothing short of a demand for absolute submission.* As if this strong statement were not sufficient or clear in itself, he adds, by the use of δέ two specific activities that she is not permitted to perform: she cannot teach and she cannot rule men. He then, using the contrastive, ἀλλ' "but rather," returns to his opening thought that she is to be "in quietness," i.e., in total submission to man her head. The repetition of the requirement for a submissive attitude to be shown to men (their heads) at the beginning of v. 11 and the end of v. 12 sets the context for what comes in between them. The emphasis throughout the two verses is on total submissiveness expressing itself in (a) silence (cf. 1 Cor 14:34) and (b) a quiet disposition (1 Timothy 2:11-12). In relation to spiritual instruction she is to look to man for it. She is to be careful not to reverse this headship order and seek to teach him or to rule him. The theological basis for this relationship between men and women is nature (gender) not nurture, and Man's headship not "sexual equality."

We can conclude that Kroeger's translation of δέ by "on the contrary" is illogical in this context. Here, in v. 12, it has the force of a mild "for," spelling out (in a negative list) the kinds of activities which are in keeping with a submissive attitude. The two activities of teaching and ruling are ruled by Paul to be incompatible with one who is in total submission to the male teacher and ruler. The counter to teacher is taught; and the counter to ruler is ruled, and women cannot be both teacher *and* taught, or ruler *and* ruled in relation to their husbands.

Just as man is to show a totally submissive attitude to Jesus his Head and Teacher, *in all things;* so likewise, women are to adopt the same submissive attitude toward her head—man—*in all things.*

Also, in his translation he conveniently omitted the word "man" as the object of *authentein*.

The way 1 Timothy 2:11-14 has been translated (see above) is also the way all of the Early Church Fathers without exception (who have commented on the passage) understood it. For almost 2000 years this is how the Church understood the Greek. How is it that it is only at the end of the twentieth century that "an unexpected construction" is discovered which,

coincidentally, yields an interpretation that destroys the biblical teaching on the headship of man?

Kroeger (80) draws on some passages which he claims illustrates the use of another infinitive with the infinitive "to teach." Whether his illustrations are true or false are beside the point. Grammatically the infinitive "to teach" can stand on its own and does not require a further infinitive to accompany it *on every occasion.* To claim, as he appears to do here, that the infinitive "to teach" *must always* be accompanied by a further infinitive is false. If he concedes that "to teach" is not always followed by another infinite then each sentence must be examined in its own right, and therefore it is an irrelevance whether "to teach" is followed by another infinitive or not.[880]

If, on the one hand, Kroeger wanted Paul to say, "I am not permitting a woman to teach to rule a man," (note the omission of the second negative) where the infinitive expression "to rule a man" could conceivably be the content of her teaching, then a different Greek sentence would be necessary to reflect this, such as: 2·12 διδάσκειν δὲ γυναικὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός. This would require omitting οὐδε which is not what Paul has written. *There is no textual evidence for omitting οὐδε and this is fatal both to his translation and his reconstruction of the supposed background to this verse.*

If, on the other hand, Paul wanted to say, "I do not permit a woman to teach, or to rule a man, but rather to be submissive," then the present word order is sufficient. It is interesting that the verb prohibiting the actions of the two infinitives is placed between them, as though to focus attention on each of them separately.

Kroeger argues:

> If we were to understand the use of *didaskein* as a prohibition against all women instructing men in any manner, we would find difficulties with other materials in the Pastorals. First, Titus 2:3 says that older women should be "teachers of what is excellent." While their instruction certainly was to include young women (Titus 2:4-5), it was not necessarily limited only to women. Secondly, Paul writes in 2 Timothy 2:2, "The things which you have heard from me in the presence of many witnesses, these entrust to faithful persons who will be able to teach others also." Here the word for "persons" is *anthropos,* which is used to designate persons of either sex. Far from prohibiting them from teaching, it appears to be a strong exhortation that responsible women should make the proclamation of the truth a very high priority! Those of either sex who are able to teach hereby receive a summons to make known the unsearchable riches of Jesus Christ. (81)

Comment: First, Kroeger is careless in his reading of the context of the texts he uses. In every case (except Tit 2:3, see below) the texts are addressed to men, not to women. That is their original setting and the original setting includes a culture in which women did not speak in public or teach men. He is reading the texts from within his twentieth-century cultural viewpoint. This applies to his quotations from Colossians 3:16; 1 Corinthians 14:3, 26, 31, all of which are addressed to men.

Second, he does not appear to be aware that in advocating women teaching men in the Church that he is thereby destroying the doctrine of Man's headship in 1 Corinthians 11:3.

Third, he appears to be unaware that 1 Corinthians 11:8-9; 14:34; and 1 Timothy 2:13-14 are all based on Paul's creation theology. By concentrating solely on one text—1 Timothy

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[880] If we examine his illustrations we see some carelessness in his reading of the text. The first illustration is 1 Tim 1:3-4, but this should read: ". . . according as I did charge you to remain in Ephesus—I going on to Macedonia—that you might charge certain not to teach any other thing, nor to give heed to fables . . . ." He appears to have overlooked the verb "charge" and the charge contains two negated activities (1) not to teach any other thing, and (2) not to give heed to fables, etc. The two infinitives relate back to the verb "charge" and they are two distinct, though closely related, activities.

2:12 to the exclusion of all other relevant texts—he has failed to understand Paul's holistic view of the love-headship relation between men and women.

With regard to Tit 2:3 there is no problem. Titus and Timothy were to teach the whole church, including the women, who in their turn would teach the young women (σωφρονιζω not διδασκω, Tit 2:4-5). With regard to 2 Timothy 2:2 there is no problem. If *anthropos* includes men and women, then Timothy was to teach both men and women, who in their turn will teach those in the sphere in which God has called them to live out their lives. Women will teach women, and men will teach other men and women (their wives), according to the outworking of the doctrine of man's headship. He does not provide an example where *anthropos* refers to women on their own.

On page 83 Kroeger follows a strange linguistic logic. He appears to believe that where a word is used in a specific and limited situation *in some places* then it thereby cannot be used in a universal sense (but see his admission on p. 226 n 6). Consequently he attempts to limit Paul's use of the verb "I permit" to a particular situation and deny it has a permanent value for all time.

Kroeger claims, ". . . a number of other Pauline passages support the concept of women sharing instruction with men as well as vice versa. We must therefore consider whether a specific sort of teaching is prohibited, rather than all teaching of any kind." (82)

Comment: First, Kroeger's premise that women have as much right to teach men as vice versa led him to the conclusion that there must be "another interpretation" of 1 Timothy 2:12 which would harmonise with his premise. Unfortunately for his theology the premise was wrong.

Second, the initial premise was wrong because none of the Scriptures he brings forward supports the premise. What he has conveniently ignored are those Scriptures that establish the headship of Man. With these Scriptures out of sight he appeared to find texts which supported his premise. An understanding of Paul's teaching on headship and his creation theology would have put him on the right track to understand the mind of Paul.

1.2. DATE OF LITERATURE

If Kroeger's two meanings are found in Greek literature do we have any literature containing these new meanings which goes back to the time of Paul?

Comment: Kroeger makes no attempt to answer this extremely important question. Why not? So precarious is Kroeger's base that he will not discuss the sources, dates or origins of Gnosticism (66, cf. 119). Why? If he can show that Gnostic ideas about Eve go back to Paul's time then this would make his theory more plausible. One suspects that he has seen some serious obstacles and has shied away from doing the research (or publishing it) in case it weakens, not strengthens, his case. His case is so tenuous that by page 65 he recognises it as only as an hypothesis. It is not even a probability any longer.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. WHAT WAS THE HERESY?

In Gnostic teaching all matter was evil, so Yahweh was an evil person (or thing?) for having created it. Yahweh is not the supreme God. He comes below another higher, perfect God. The serpent was good in helping Adam and Eve to shake off the deception perpetrated on them by the Creator and Eve was the mediator who brought true knowledge to the human race. Cain and Esau were heroes while Abel richly deserved his fate. Its "upside-downing" of

the Bible is its characteristic feature. Compare 1 Timothy 6:20 "oppositions of so-called knowledge." (60)

Comment: Even if Kroeger could prove that a Gnostic teaching existed in Paul's day which reversed the biblical position that Adam was formed first, then Eve, and taught that Eve was formed first, then Adam, he would still have difficulty with the Greek syntax of 1 Timothy 2:12 to get it into the text. However, Kroeger makes no attempt to establish the possibility that the "upside-down" teaching on the creation order of male and female did exist in Paul's day. If it did not, then his case falls to the ground. If it did, where is the evidence? For some unknown reason he decided not to establish the possibility that the reversed order did exist. This is a fatal weakness in his approach. On that kind of approach we might read into 1 Timothy 2:12 any number of possible scenarios which would alter the meaning of the Greek as it stands. By walking away from researching the proof required to make his hypothesis plausible he has made his case suspect. He is hoping the uninformed reader will accept his theory uncritically without the proof.

So Kroeger has two major problems with his proposed new translation of 1 Timothy 2:12. First, he must provide scholarship with the proof that (a) an upside-down teaching on the order of Adam and Eve existed, and (b) that it existed in Paul's day. If he defaults on either of these points his case becomes one of mere conjecture. The present work omits the proof that scholars would expect to find in a work purporting to find the original meaning of this important text.

Second, he has to prove (a) that Paul in 1 Timothy 2:12 is directly combating this upside-down teaching, and (b) that the traditional reading of the text is not possible grammatically, and (c) that Paul's use of Genesis 2-3 in 2:13-14 is not part of a larger, world-view that Paul's theology reveals in which the headship of Man explains the positive and negative statements about woman in 2:11-12. In other words, 1 Timothy 2:12 must not be isolated from similar statements in 1 Corinthians 11:8-9 and 14:34, or viewed apart from the cosmological principle set out in 1 Corinthians 11:3.

Nowhere in his work does Kroeger deny the grammatical legitimacy of the traditional translation of 1 Timothy 2:11-12, so *that* translation is left still standing at the end of his work. He has not been able to shift it or abolish it, presumably because it is the most natural way to read the Greek. In the case of his translation, by contrast, at every point it utilises the extremes of grammatical or semantic possibilities in order to arrive at "another interpretation." His approach is, "Is there an unexpected construction which might give another interpretation?" (37). He looks for "an unexpected construction" in order to arrive at "another interpretation." This is an admission that the traditional translation is the "normal" and that his is the "abnormal" approach to translating ordinary Greek.

Another admission is that 1 Timothy 2:12 "can perhaps be construed as an indirect statement with a redundant negative." The "can perhaps" is an admission that it "can perhaps *not*" be an indirect statement here. Not content with a "perhaps" his translation also requires the second negative to be deleted as "redundant." How many more grammatical concessions does he require in order to arrive at his conclusion? It reminds one of the child's game where you arrive at a different word by changing one letter at a time. Given enough "goes" all the original letters are soon replaced resulting in a completely new word. Kroeger, by deleting a negative here and replacing a direct by an indirect construction there, and changing the meanings of words, arrives at "another interpretation."

2.2. DID THE HERESY EXIST IN PAUL'S DAY?

Timothy was in Ephesus when he received Paul's first letter. Kroeger's theory requires Paul to condemn a female teacher in the church in Ephesus who is teaching Gnostic heresy (59).

Comment: In Acts 20:29 there is no mention of any females "speaking perverse things" but only males. The text reads, "for I know this, that there shall enter in, after my departing, grievous wolves unto you, not sparing the flock, and of your own selves [spoken to the elders of the Ephesian church] there shall arise men [ἄνδρες] speaking perverse things, to draw away the disciples after them."

Kroeger tries to make out a case that the young widows are Gnostics (62).

Quote: "The false teachers incite people to withstand the truth of Moses, just as did Jannes and Jambres." (63)

Comment: This is careless reading of the text. The text (2 Tim 3:8) actually says, "and, even as Jannes and Jambres stood against Moses, so also these do stand against the truth, men corrupted in mind . . . ." The false teachers are not against Moses but against the truth.

2.3. DID PAUL REFUTE THE HERESY?

Quote: "The author of the Pastorals . . . cites the biblical account in order to repudiate the legendary figures and all of the spurious lore that had grown up around them. This, we shall argue, is precisely what is happening in 1 Timothy 2:13-14, where the writer is dealing with contemporary lore ascribed to Eve." (64)

Comment: First, Kroeger attributes a false motive to the writer of the Pastorals who did not cite the names of Jannes and Jambres in order to *repudiate contemporary lore* about them. The text makes it plain that Paul is referring to the historical confrontation at the time of the Exodus and draws a parallel between that confrontation and a confrontation that would take place in the future pray or prophesy And know this that in the last days there shall come perilous times . . ." (2 Tim 3:1). In other words, Paul still has the historical Exodus confrontation in mind when he concludes the outcome in 3:9, "but they shall not advance any further, for their folly shall be manifest to all, as theirs [Jannes & Jambres] also did become."

Second, since there is no *contemporary lore* concerning Jannes & Jambres in 3:1-9 (which is based on Exodus 7:10ff.), and since 2:13-14 is also based on two historical events (creation of Adam in Gen 2:7 followed by Eve's in 2:21-22; deception of Eve in 3:6a followed by Adam's sin in 3:6b) the supposed *contemporary lore* ascribed to Eve (in Gnostic literature) is an imposition on the text.

Kroeger argued:

> Our hypothesis will deal with the possibility that the false teachers were indeed Gnostics, proto-Gnostics, or some group with a mythology remarkably like that of the Gnostics. There is within the Pastorals abundant evidence that Gnosticism was in a formative stage, though the hotly debated strands of theology were surely less developed than that known to us from second-century writings. We maintain that those involved with the false doctrines included both men and women, and that the women were involved in telling stories which contradicted the Scriptures." (65)

Comment: First, if men and women were teaching this false doctrine (i.e., that Eve was formed first, then Adam) why is Paul selective in telling only the women not to teach it? In 1 Timothy 1:3; 1:6-7 (masc. pl. vb following); 1:19-20; 4:1-3; and 6:3-5 (cf. 2 Tim 1:15; 2:17; 3:1-10, 13; 4:3-4, 14), the false teachers are all males, as one would expect, because Timothy is told to convey Paul's teaching to "the brothers" (4:6) which suggests that a Christian church/synagogue existed in Ephesus. The meeting-place of the brothers is called "the house of God, which is an assembly of the living God" (3:15). Kroeger requires false women teachers and he finds them in 1 Timothy 4:7; 5:11-13; 2 Timothy 3:6-7; and Titus 1:11. The last

two are irrelevant because it is men who are leading women astray. The first is doubtful and the second has nothing to do with teaching false doctrine.

Second, Kroeger's hypothesis requires that the particular false doctrine Paul condemns is the one which asserts that *Eve, not Adam, was formed first.* Where is this doctrine found in Gnostic writings? How early is the evidence for it?

Third, the reason Paul gives for the woman learning in a submissive disposition (quietness), refraining from teaching and from ruling a man, is based on the *order of creation:* Adam was created first, then Eve, and she was created specifically for him. This explains why Paul draws attention to the priority of Adam's existence. The woman is to learn from her husband *in quietness*. 1 Corinthians 14:34 supplements what is said here. For there she is commanded to be silent and if she has any questions she is to ask these of her husband in the privacy of her own home, not in public. The two injunctions go together and both are based on the Law, and on the Headship of Man. There is no need to seek an alternative explanation for Paul's use of Genesis 2-3 than the one he gives, which is in harmony with his holistic view of the relations between men and women in the church.

2.4. WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE TRADITIONAL VIEW?

It is interesting that Kroeger refuses or omits to examine the traditional exegesis of the text, so that it is left standing at the end of his research. Consequently, the reader is left wondering why he should accept a novel interpretation based on novel methods of exegesis. The only argument levelled against the traditional interpretation is that Kroeger does not like it! He then indulges in a misrepresentation of that view with the sole object of holding it up to ridicule. By avoiding all contact with Paul's teaching on headship the object was to focus attention on the practical implications of headship without stating the theological reasons why those implications are there in the first place.

Ultimately Kroeger's appeal is to the fallen nature of men and women with the constant underlying refrain: "it is not fair, is it?" It is not fair to deny women their freedom, their liberty, their freewill, etc. By playing on these themes the unsuspecting reader is drawn in to agree with him.

3. OVERSTATING AND UNDERSTATING

Kroeger's preface deliberately sets out to denigrate the traditional view by a series of heart-rendering stories about women being deprived of or denied their God-given "freedom." For example, "She was a member of an active but conservative church that severely restricted the scope of her Christian activities" (11).

Comment: This accusation against evangelical exegesis reminds one of the serpent's innuendo to Eve that God was *restricting* her by not allowing her to eat of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. It is typical of those who oppose the biblical teaching on the distinct spheres and functions that God has given to men and women to represent His wisdom as evil. Woman has been created to fulfil a specific role in God's world. If she neglects that God-appointed role then she fails in His purpose for her life. It is a sure indication of someone who is not in tune with the Spirit of God's Word when s/he talks of God *restricting* women's freedom to a sphere that is not the same as man's. The use of "liberation language" is also another indication that God's Word is under attack.

Kroeger claims that 1 Timothy 2:12 "is used to disbar women from proclaiming the Good News." (11)

Comment: This is deceptive. Kroeger's method is to win sympathy for his view by misrepresenting the biblical teaching on the ministry of women. He either is ignorant of, or

undervalues, God's two distinct purposes in the creation of man and woman. He appears to be coming from a feminist interpretation of Scripture where men and women are deemed to be identical, except at the physical level, all other supposed differences being the result of nurture not nature.[881] This theological viewpoint permeates his work at every level. He suppresses the traditional explanation (i.e., Man's headship), and thereby wins over the uninformed reader to oppose anyone who prevents a woman from preaching the Gospel. He has very little time for the conservative evangelical position (he claims to be a conservative evangelical) that Scripture does not permit a woman to teach or rule a man, neither does it permit her to speak in church. Kroeger does not accept this teaching because it opposes his feminist viewpoint.

Kroeger uses his Preface to present *one unrepresentative interpretation* of 1 Timothy 2:11-12, as "a straw man," and then holding it up to ridicule, he gains the sympathy of unwary readers. He thinks that by presenting only *one* unrepresentative view, and knocking it down that there will be no alternative to his view. This is not a fair way to handle God's Word. Certainly no British evangelical scholar would accept his opening illustration as a valid application of the teaching in 1 Timothy 2:11-12. But by parading it as *the* representative interpretation he manipulates the impact he wants to achieve.

His second illustration is intended to represent the "conservative church" as an uncaring, un-Christian, organisation. The third and fourth illustrations, like the first, are intended to bring ridicule on the "conservative church."

The use of these opening four illustrations are clearly intended to parody the conservative evangelical position which he is no doubt aware of. By presenting a caricature view as the only alternative to his view the intention is to contrast his view with a false view. That is dishonest writing. He indulges in more of it on pp. 23-24. It is not surprising to find the serpent's suggestion that the woman has been "restricted" by God, or man, or both, or by conservative evangelicals in Kroeger's work. The crusade to "liberate" her has a good ring about it, but all it means is that unregenerate persons want to do as *they* please rather than submit to the will of the Lord Jesus Christ, their Head. If Scripture reveals that the Christian woman has her own appointed sphere and that she should fill *that* sphere first *before* she thinks of neglecting it to work in man's allotted sphere, then it should be followed.

On page 12 Kroeger misrepresents Paul's teaching by insinuating that his (and Paul's modern day followers) whole doctrine of woman's ministry hinges on *one verb* in 1 Timothy 2:12. In fact Paul's doctrine on the relation between man and woman goes back to 1 Corinthians 11:3, where he states the revelation which he received of the three headships in creation. Paul's doctrine is grounded in creation theology (see 1 Cor 11:8-9; 1 Tim 2:13-14), not just one verb or one verse.

Kroeger then turns Jesus' request to the women to tell His disciples that He had risen from the dead into a mandate for women to preach to men. There is a touch of unreality about this kind of exegesis. Surely in all civilisations men can speak to their friends (male and female) in public! So what was special or peculiar when Jesus spoke to the women and asked them to convey a message to his disciples? Kroeger uses the most ordinary every-day encounters between Jesus and women to promote them as teachers of men!

Even Jesus Himself ignores the women who bore witness to his resurrection and refers only to the male witnesses. Mark 16:14, "And he reproached their unbelief and stiffness of heart, because they believed not the *ones* having seen him having been raised." Here "the *ones*" is masculine plural, as is the aorist middle participle "having seen him," which is a reference to the two on the road to Emmaus and Peter. These were Jesus' three male witnesses. The apostles might have been excused if all the witnesses had been women.

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[881] Books combating feminist theology are S. Goldberg, *The Inevitability of Patriarchy* (New York: Morrow, 1974); C. N. Jacklin, *The Psychology of Sex Differences* (Stanford University, 1974).

Quote: "The spiritual leadership of Hulda, Deborah, Miriam, Priscilla, Phoebe, and others is denigrated or denied." (12)

Comment: Another typical misrepresentation of the conservative treatment of these persons. I know of no conservative scholar who would denigrate the work of these godly women. If Kroeger can misrepresent and twist the views of other good men out of all recognition in just the first two pages of his book one should not be surprised to find his handling of Scripture to be any less twisted.

Quote: "Yet it was Priscilla who "instructed Apollos more perfectly in the way of the Lord" (Acts 18:26) at Ephesus." (12)

Comment: To someone who did not know any better Kroeger would seem to be giving a fair impression of what Acts 18:26 says (see p. 17 where he repeats the same statement). However, he is being economical with the facts. Acts 18:26 records that it was Aquila *and* Priscilla—husband and wife—who instructed Apollos, and not just Priscilla on her own. Aquila and Priscilla first encountered Apollos in the synagogue where men and women did not mix, so it would have been Aquila's place to invite Apollos to his home with a view to instructing him more fully in the Christian faith.

Much is made of the fact that Apollos was taken into the home of Aquila and Priscilla.[882] Note that this activity did not happen *in church,* but that does not stop many from applying it to the *ecclesia.* It is worth pointing out that Priscilla did not explain the Gospel *on her own.* We have no example where a woman taught a man on her own in her own home. Would this have been possible or seemly in that culture?

It cannot be inherently immoral for a husband and wife to invite someone into their home and talk to them about spiritual things, surely? So what's the problem with Priscilla discussing spiritual matters with male guests? You would think to read Kroeger that she was involved in some extraordinary feat, unheard of in the annals of human relationships! If women are told to educate themselves by asking their own husbands at home concerning things learned in the weekly services by her husband (1 Cor 14:35), surely she could learn from other male friends and guests, and there will arise occasions when she knows more than some of her male guests or friends. It would be quite natural for her to impart this knowledge to them, surely, in the privacy of her own home. But we are not at liberty to extrapolate a principle from what happened in her home to what she can do in church.

Quote: "it was the judge and prophet Deborah who led the children of Israel into battle." (12)

Comment: What Kroeger does not point out is that in the time of Deborah the nation was in an apostate condition (Jud 4:1, "they did evil in the sight of Yahweh") and that Deborah was God's prophet to deliver His message to Barak who was so cowardly that he said he would not go unless Deborah went with him! *That is the low state that manhood fell to at that time.* If the leading general has to hide behind the skirt of a woman what must the foot soldiers have been like?! Because of Barak's cowardly behaviour Yahweh decided to use another woman (Jael) to put him to shame. On a point of accuracy (not a trait in Kroeger's work) Deborah did not *lead* Israel out to battle. She said to Barak: "I will certainly go with you" (Jud 4:9). Another touch of ignominy occurs in 5:1 where it reads, "And Deborah sings—also Barak son of Abinoam—on that day . . ." as if he is accompanying her, not the other way round. In times of apostasy God takes away manly leaders and replaces them with others who are not natural leaders. When God threatened to chastise Jerusalem and Judah we read (Isaiah 3:1-5, 12):

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[882] Priscilla's name occurs three times in conjunction with her husband, Aquila (Acts 18:2, 18, 26). In Acts 18:2, 18 Aquila's name occurs first in the Majority Greek Text (but second in UBS[4] in 18:26, probably by assimilation to 18:18).

> See now . . . the Lord Almighty is about to take from Jerusalem and Judah . . . hero and warrior, the judge and prophet, the soothsayer and elder [i.e., all male leaders] . . . . I will make boys their officials; mere children will govern them. . . . The young will rise up against the old. . . . Youths oppress my people, women rule over them.

When women ruled over God's people it was a sure sign that He had taken away their leaders. So it was no credit to Israel to glory in its female rulers, or to be led by them at any level.

Quote: "Hulda triggered the great revival under King Josiah." (13)

Comment: Once again we have an illustration of Kroeger's ignorance of the facts. Anything that looks like support for his cause is pounced upon and becomes "evidence" to support his pre-determined conclusions that there is no distinction between men and women at any level (except the physical).

Hulda triggered no "great revival" because Josiah's revival began ten years before he sent five men to consult her. The facts are: when Josiah was eight years old (in 632 BC) he began to seek the Lord (2 Chr 34:3). When he was twelve years old (in 628 BC) he began a national reformation in which he broke all the images and pagan shrines throughout the land. It was as a result of his reforms that six years later, when the Temple was being refurbished, the Book of the Law was found in the Temple, and it was only then that Hulda was consulted.[883] So much for Hulda's fictitious "revival."

So far we have seen that Kroeger adopts at times a facile approach to the biblical text, and he has a definite feminist axe to grind with no credible hermeneutic behind it, such as reading the text *against its original cultural and political background.* Every text is examined with a view to moulding it to fit into his pre-determined conclusions.

Kroeger quotes Psalm 68:11 as if a host of women went out to preach the Gospel. At least that is how he sees its present day application ("Such passages call women to a ministry of proclamation")(13).

Comment: This exegesis fails to read the text *in its original cultural setting.* The Psalm has a military setting and just as the women and girls went out to greet David and Saul returning from the slaying of Goliath and the Philistines, with timbrels and songs, so here, in this Psalm, when the Lord's word goes forth and accomplishes its purpose, the female proclaimers go out in praise of its accomplishment. Nothing could be more natural. What the women do belongs to Israel's military culture. But in those times women went together, sang together, and danced together. There were no mixed gatherings or mixed choirs.[884]

Isaiah 40:9 is translated by Kroeger: "O woman who is herald of good tidings to Zion, lift up your voice with strength, O woman who is herald of good tidings to Jerusalem, lift it up, fear not; say to the cities of Judah, "Behold your God" (13)."

Comment: This is a mistranslation of the Hebrew which reads:

On a high mountain get you [fem. sg.] up, O Zion, proclaiming tidings.

Lift up with power your [fem. sg.] voice, O Jerusalem, proclaiming tidings.

The parallelism shows that "proclaiming tidings" goes with "Zion" and "Jerusalem." There is no word for "woman" in the Hebrew text.

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[883] Jeremiah was called to be a prophet in 626 BC and was only in his fifth year (so he may have been the same age as Josiah—22 years) when the Book of the Law was found.

[884] Psalm 68:25 mentions virgins playing timbrels in the context of a victorious military procession (vv. 7, 17) and the female population (v. 11) welcoming them back and singing about God's deliverance of His army (v. 20) and giving the women much booty (v. 12). This has nothing to do with the Temple choirs.

Kroeger appears not to be aware of the fact that cities are regarded as female in Hebrew, and so the grammatical gender is feminine. Zion and Jerusalem are being addressed because they are grammatically feminine.

It is obvious from Kroeger's choice of translation that he has little knowledge of the Hebrew language. But his ignorance shows up his biased approach to any text that remotely looks like supporting his cause. We have examined all the evidence he has produced on pp. 12-13 which he claims "call women to a ministry of proclamation" and not a single text stands up in his favour.

Micah 6:4 is translated by Kroeger as: "Have I not sent before thee Moses and Aaron and Miriam **to lead thee**?" (13)

Comment: First, the bold words are not in the Hebrew. *He has added these words on his own authority.* He repeats this mistranslation on page 33.

Second, the Hebrew is not in the form of a question but is a statement of fact. It reads:

For I brought you up from the land of Egypt.

And from the house of servants I ransomed you.

And I sent before you Moses, Aaron and Miriam.

Yahweh is recounting what He did *in the past* which should have called forth Israel's thanks, but He is puzzled by their attitude of indifference toward Him, hence His question in v. 3, "O my people, what have I done to you? And what? have I wearied you? Testify against me." He not only sent Moses (male) and Miriam (female) but Isaiah (male), Deborah (female), Jeremiah (male), and Hulda (female), and many, many other prophets, male and female, "daily rising up and sending" them, but they paid no attention to them or to Him.

Third, the interpretation Kroeger puts on Micah 6:4 is intended to elevate Miriam to the position of a *leader of Israel.* The implication being that she *led* the *men* through the Red Sea. It should be noted, however, that Miriam, unlike Moses, was not a leader of men. The only leading she did was to *lead the women* in song (Exod. 15:20). Miriam, unlike Aaron, was not a High Priest. Aaron was not a leader in the same sense that Moses was. He had a different function; he was the High Priest. Yahweh is not stating that all three were leaders, because they clearly were not, but that He sent them together to use their *different* gifts to keep them from going astray. In other words God provided Israel with good leaders (Moses to lead men, Miriam to lead women out in song; and Aaron to lead their worship) and still they went astray from Him. Micah 6:4 testifies to *diversity* not *duplication* of gifts; not three joint rulers, or triumvirate, but three different types of leaders with different spheres. If Miriam had any gift of leadership it was as a choir-mistress leading the women in singing a song her brother Moses composed. The only time she sought to elevate herself into a position of dominance over Moses Yahweh spat in her face metaphorically (Num 12:14).

Kroeger asserts: "This verse [Micah 6:4] causes us to ponder whether women are called to silence or service."

Comment: The answer is not an either/or, but both. Women are called to service within the sphere God has allotted them; and called to silence in the sphere they are not allotted.

Consequently for Kroeger to use Micah 6:4 to support Miriam's leadership of *men* is mischievous, and in the end destroys the headship of Man that God instituted. The Christian is warned in Romans 13:1, "Let every person be subject to the governing authorities. For there is no authority *except from God,* and those that exist have been *instituted by God.* Therefore he who resists the authorities resists what *God has appointed,* and those who resist will incur judgment." If God will punish men who do not obey *human* rulers, how much more severe will He be with those who defy His own institution of the headship of Man? Woman is not to rule Man in the Church. She is to show her submission *by her silence*; and she is to show her love *by her service* of good works. It is not a case of either/or, but of showing both at the appropriate time and place—"silence in Church, service in the Community."

It is clear from the preface that the traditional, or conservative evangelical, interpretation has been rejected out of hand as contradicting Galatians 3:28. The tone is clearly disdainful of any interpretation which does not fit his treatment of one text—1 Timothy 2:12.

Moving on from the Preface to his Introduction we find more of the same approach and rejection of the conservative-evangelical position, but also a new element: overstating some of the evidence and understating or ignoring those facts that would undermine or weaken his position.

Quote: "Priscilla instructed the learned Apollos, Lois and Eunice taught Timothy, and Phoebe is named as an overseer and a deacon in the church at Cenchrea." (17)

Comment: There are three half-truths here. (1) I have dealt with Priscilla above, but the inference he wants to make here is that the "learned" Apollos has Priscilla to thank for his learning. On p. 55 he makes the claim, "Apollos argued with great power that Jesus was indeed the Messiah, and thereafter the early church called Priscilla a 'teacher of teachers.'" There is no source given for this statement. See section 5 "The Early Church" which deals with the Early Church fathers' views of women's ministry.

(2) There is no direct evidence that Lois and Eunice taught Timothy but we can infer from 2 Timothy 3:15 that his parents taught him from infancy the contents of the Scriptures.[885] All we are told in 2 Timothy 1:5 is that Paul remembers Timothy's "unfeigned faith that dwelt first in your grandmother Lois, and your mother Eunice, and I am persuaded that also in you." The faith spoken of here is not something you can pass on to someone (i.e., knowledge of the faith in the sense of believing and trusting in the Lord Jesus Christ for salvation). Paul claims that Timothy is his "child in the faith" because he begot him through his preaching. No doubt Eunice and Timothy's father, like all good parents, taught their children stories from the Old Testament, but that is only what every Christian parent should do today.

But what Kroeger wants to infer from his statement is that Timothy owed his later, mature position and standing to a woman teacher (82). We have before shown that Priscilla and Aquila, *in their own home,* i.e., privately, shared their knowledge with Apollos. Where Priscilla could not teach, or pass on, or share, her knowledge was in the public Church meeting. Her headship relation to her husband (with its attendant submission as manifested in public silence) takes precedent over her opportunity to share her gifts in the public Church service.

(3) There are two points of disagreement with Kroeger's description of Phoebe. (a) Phoebe is called a "deacon." I have shown above (see 4.5 and 4.1) that when set against the culture of the times women would never have been in a position of authority over men. So that hermeneutically it would be a mistake to transfer and transplant twentieth-century culture back into her time. The following is an abstract from (4.5 above):

Although this particular work (Acts 6:1-6) among the women was given to men and not to women, this could have been because the situation required firm leadership. It is likely that there was other work among the women which would not be appropriate for a man to do, so although we have only one reference to a woman being called a deacon/servant (διάκονον from διάκονος) in Romans 16:1, namely, Phoebe, no doubt certain tasks would be

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[885] Timothy's father was a non-Jew (Acts 16:1, 3), and it would appear, according to a single Greek manuscript (MS 25), that Eunice, his mother, was a widow at the time Paul took him to be his emissary (see T. B. Allworthy, *Women in the Apostolic Church* [Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1917], p. 54). The reference to being taught from a babe (βρέφους)(2 Tim 3:15) may refer to the little parchment rolls used for teaching children. 'From their consciousness,' says Josephus (*Apion,* ii. 18), or, as Philo puts it, 'from their swaddling clothes' (*Legatio ad Caium,* 31).

instinctively felt to be "woman's work," even if the women concerned are not given any title or official appointment.

In the New Testament church the only teaching ministry done by women was done by older women (this is not the feminine form of Elder or elderly woman) who were expected to pass on to younger women/wives their wisdom on how to run their homes and to be subject to their husbands. It is interesting that the teaching regarding submission is given to the older women, and it is *their* responsibility to iron out difficulties that the younger wives may have in this area. Of course, this is the natural right of older women in most nations, tribes, and societies. It is a non-institutional convention which is here being strengthened in the New Covenant society. Their ministry is based on sex discrimination (in the good sense of that word) and so it is not to the whole church, though if ever there was an office of Deaconess these older women would surely qualify for it.

Regarding the translation "deaconess" in Romans 16:1 it should be pointed out that the Greek word means a servant (even a slave) of any kind. In the Greek there is only one form of the word which is masculine (there is no feminine form) which is applied to male and female servants alike. Neither is the word always a technical term. It has the ordinary meaning of "servant" as can be seen in Mark 10:43: "whoever wants to become great among you must be your servant (or deacon)." In this sense every Christian—male and female—is a servant/deacon of Christ. It is not clear whether Phoebe was a servant in this sense, or in a technical sense (as in Philippians 1:1 and 1 Timothy 3:8, 12?). The term "deaconess" is a loaded translation here. Since there is considerable doubt as to the exact nature of her work, it would be best to err on the side of truth and call her "a servant of the church in Cenchreae."[886]

Given this background it is not surprising to discover that according to two early Christian documents, the *Didascalia* (3rd cent. AD) and the *Apostolic Constitutions* (late 4th cent. AD)[887] the function of the deaconess was to assist the clergy in the baptising of women, ministering to the women who were poor and sick, instructors of women catechumens, and in general intermediaries between the deacon or the bishop and the women of the congregation. The office died out by and large in the 11th century, but was revived in 1836 in the Lutheran Church.[888] Phoebe would, most likely, have been engaged in work that had to do with the women in the church in Cenchrea, given the culture of the time. But the tenor of the passage might suggest that she was a mature woman who was doing a service to the whole church (even if it was specifically for the benefit of the women, because there were matters to do with females that male deacons could not do). The text is silent regarding the nature of her work, and maybe we should be too, and not use this brief mention of her to hang all our modern ideas about the function of deacons on.

We need to distinguish between descriptive and prescriptive roles for women in Paul's epistles. The study of the descriptive should be controlled by an analysis of the prescriptive teaching of Paul on the subject of women's role in the church. Paul established clear parameters (which he already found in the Hebrew Scriptures) for women's roles in the

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[886] The following translations prefer 'servant': AV (1611), RV (1881), ASV (1901), Weymouth (1913), NAS (1960), Smith-Goodspeed (1931), King James II (1971), Ferrar Fenton (1883-), and C.I. Scofield (1909).
Robert Young's *Literal Translation* (1862) has 'ministrant'. J.B. Rotherham (1872) has 'minister,' as does NRSV mg (1989).
The following translations prefer 'deaconess': *RV* mg (1881), Moffatt (1913), *RSV* (1946), Phillips (1947-72), Berkeley (1959), *NEB* (1961), *Jerusalem Bible* (1966), *NAB* (1970), and *NRSV* (1989).
The following prefer a paraphrase:
The Living Bible (1971): "a dear Christian woman."
Knox Version (1963), "she has devoted her services to the church at Cenchrae."
H.J. Schonfield (1955), "who is an administrator of the Cenchreae community."

[887] See *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church* (ed. by J.D. Douglas), p. 286.

[888] For the history of the office of deaconess see *The Ministry of Women. A Report by a Committee appointed by His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,* with Appendices and Fifteen Collotype Illustrations (London: SPCK, 1919).

church. The mention of only five women is purely fortuitous or accidental (he knew many more women, and no doubt many more women helped him), but Paul's norms regarding women's roles in the church are foundational, and thus much more important. We would expect Paul to abide by his own principles, or rather "the commandment of the Lord" (1 Cor 14:37).

Before we can talk about these women being in "leadership" or "authority" roles we should first of all define these terms in the light of Paul's use of them. To avoid Paul's world-view of the relationship between men and women, and focus solely on five names, about whom we know so little, will lead to a distortion of Paul's teaching and eventually annul it if the *descriptive* is allowed to dominate the *prescriptive.* The way the descriptive data is used by those who object to Paul's prescriptions gives a false impression that women occupied the same positions as men in every respect in Paul's churches. Paul is then pictured as contradicting his own teaching. But Paul was confident he had the mind of Christ in this matter, so there can be no contradiction between what he preached and what he practised. To argue otherwise is to undermine the authority of the New Testament Scriptures.

(b) Kroeger calls Phoebe an "overseer."

Comment: Now an overseer is another word for a bishop/elder. In Acts 20:17 Paul called for the elders of the church in Ephesus and told them, "Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost has made you overseers [ἐπιστολή; RV, bishops], to feed the church of God." To call Phoebe a bishop/overseer appointed by the Holy Spirit is a mistake, never mind being a distortion of the doctrine of Man's headship. Phoebe is called a προστάτις in Rom 16:2. It occurs only here in the New Testament.[889]

Given the Greek culture of the time, where respectable women did not normally appear alone in public (she usually got her maid to do all the out-of-doors jobs for her, such as going to the market), or hold public office, or speak in any public assembly of citizens, a woman's sphere of life revolved around the household. It is in this connection that the significance of the word should be sought, and not as that word would be used of a man's sphere of influence which was mainly outside the home.

It would be a hermeneutical mistake to look up a Greek dictionary and apply a function that would be culturally acceptable for a man to fulfil but which would not have been possible for a woman to fulfil, and apply it to Phoebe. The masculine form of the word is προστάτης and it has a wide range of meanings such as (1) a *chief* of a party in democratic Greek states, *president, ruler,* where in some Greek states it was actually a title. It also has another set of meanings such as (2) *one who stands before and protects, a protector, guard, champion,* used especially of certain gods as Apollo. The word occurs only five times in the LXX and always of high-ranking civil servants. (1 Chr 27:31, overseers of David's economic wealth [sheep, cattle, farms, vineyards, labourers, and his treasures]; 1 Chr 29:6, overseers of the work on the proposed Temple; 2 Chr 8:10, overseers of the non-Israelite labourers on Solomon's Temple; 2 Chr 24:11 (*bis*), the king's officers and the High Priest's officer. A woman could not occupy these offices. (3) In Athens it was the name given to a citizen, a patron who *took care of emigrants or aliens* in a foreign city, or a resident alien who had to pay taxes but enjoyed no civic rights.

There is a separate feminine form (προστάτις) which is used of Phoebe which would suggest that out of all the masculine "occupations" noted above it is the third meaning that would most readily apply to her *in this context,* because Paul's use of the word implies that she *took care* "of many and of myself also." She was a patron, a generous-hearted lady, who looked after the unfortunates. In 1 Timothy 5:10 it was expected of mature widows that they "had entertained strangers, . . . saints" feet she washed, . . . those in tribulation she relieved, . .

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[889] See 4.5.2. for a full treatment of the same topic.

. every good work she followed after." This probably sums up Phoebe's work as a "deacon." So looking after travelling Christians (evangelists, apostles and their co-workers) was customary work for aged women. So Paul, as a traveller, would have had first-hand knowledge of Phoebe's kindness in Cenchrea, hence his desire to "pay her back" by asking his friends in Rome to take good care of her physical needs when she arrived. To interpret the word to mean that Phoebe was "a ruler of many and of me [Paul] also" would be inconsistent with 1 Timothy 2:11 where Paul teaches that a woman is not to rule a man. We must not only consult a Greek dictionary, but a Greek dictionary of culture, if we are to make a proper match in a given context, as we have shown above.

We must expect that Paul would always speak and act in a consistent manner with his teaching, and in particular that, "the head of woman is man." Understanding his theology will often help us to determine how his vocabulary is to be defined in situations which involve relations between men and women. The term *prostatis* "patron" is a good example. Phoebe was not an "overseer" or bishop because such an office would be incompatible with her gender: only males could be overseers.

Quote: "Eve as a "secondary" creation . . . is based upon her subsequent formation from the side of man. If being created first determines superiority, however, we must go back beyond the man to the beasts, the birds, the fish, and the creeping and crawling creatures" (18).

Comment: Kroeger fails to understand that man was of a different order of being to everything else God had created (unless Kroeger believes in evolution). Man was created as "the glory of God"—His best work, because Adam was a "son of God" (Lk 3:36). Woman, on the other hand, was created as the "glory of man" because she was created, not for God but, to satisfy man's needs.

Kroeger denies Paul's statement that Eve was the *first* to sin (20).

Comment: By denying the representative nature of Adam and Eve's sin and its transmission to all humans (20)(i.e., the doctrine of Original Sin) he undermines the conservative-evangelical view of the enormity of the first sin. Kroeger appears to adopt the view that all the consequences of that first sin ought to be removed as soon as one becomes a Christian, and as a consequence men and women are equal again. Does he expect the pain of birth to be removed once a woman becomes a Christian? Does he expect the weeds to be removed once a farmer becomes a Christian? Such a view of sin and God belongs to a beginner in the things of Christ. The mature, well-read, Christian knows better than to rail against a just God because He does not conform to our way of thinking.

Quote: "The Bible is not a book of oppression—for women or anyone else." (29)

Comment: Note the use of "liberation" language again as if God were unjust to restrict Adam and Eve from eating of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. Any restriction to one's "liberty" is not of God, is Kroeger's rule-of-thumb teaching. Obedience, for Kroeger, is an unacceptable concept. The inference is, *you are free to do as you feel led:* there is no restriction on the kind of ministry women can do.

Quote: "Often it seems that we must abandon either our view of the Bible as our only infallible rule of faith and practice or else we must deny the full equality of all persons before God." (30)

Comment: Note the simplistic either/or option which once again shows up Kroeger's distance from conservative-evangelical teaching on this subject. The Bible is *both* an infallible book *and* it teaches that all men and women are made in the moral image of God. Note the fallacy that if men and women are equal in the image of God then they are equal *in all other respects.* He appears to ignore the Scriptural statement that while man is the "glory of God," woman is the "glory of man" (1 Cor 11:7), therefore they cannot be equal in all respects.

Throughout his work Kroeger is careful never to look carefully into Paul's crucial "headship" principle in 1 Corinthians 11:3. This is very telling and significant. *He deliberately avoids the very foundation on which Paul drew his arguments for the universal church practices.* Why?

Kroeger also avoids looking into any of Paul's creation theology texts (1 Cor 11:8-9; 14:34; and 1 Tim 2:13-14). His only reference to these texts is to back off from them with the statement that they are "difficult Pauline passages" and he infers that they are not clear because of "all their exegetical problems" (33). His approach to these texts is that if he *says* they are difficult then they *are* difficult. There is nothing difficult about them once one understands the mind of the writer. Paul's use of them is perfectly logical and clear. But if you want to side-line unpalatable Scriptural truths simply dub them as "difficult," or, as Kroeger put it, "plagued with problems," or better still, put the blame on commentators and exploit the disagreements between them with the excuse that, "If they are not able to sort out what the text means how am I expected to do so?" In this way they can be side-lined from the discussion.

It seems a fair deduction to draw from the way in which Kroeger studiously avoided any contact with the creation texts, and especially the headship principle in 1 Corinthians 11:3, that this was done because these texts and doctrines are diametrically opposed to Kroeger's pre-determined preference that women should teach and rule over men in exactly the same manner that men do. Kroeger's basic underlying assumption is that there is no difference between male and female; they are absolutely equal in all respects except the physical body they inhabit. In this respect Kroeger's approach is indistinguishable from that of the feminist movement.

Quote: "No less a thoroughgoing fundamentalist than the late L. E. Maxwell, president of the Praire Bible Institute, declared that more than a hundred passages in the Bible affirm women in roles of leadership, and fewer than half a dozen appear to be in opposition." (33)

Comment: It is not clear whether Maxwell subscribed to the whole of this statement as no source is given. Kroeger's method here is to quote a statement from someone else which cannot be checked. Where are these "more than a hundred passages"? There are only two women mentioned in the whole of the OT who performed a public role: Miriam and Deborah. The average reader is not in a position to check Kroeger's statement, and consequently there is the danger that he will mislead them into believing that there *are* "more than a hundred passages" which support his view. This is not honest scholarship. Just where his case appears to be strongest he defaults in giving the evidence for it.

Note the way he handles the "evidence." He says: "It would be quite easy to give up, rather smug in our belief that the larger set of positive passages is quite direct, whereas the passages apparently representing a negative point of view are plagued with problems."

Having amassed an unverifiable one hundred examples in favour of his view he then contrasts these with the few "negative" examples, which are only "apparently" negative. This presentation might deceive the average Christian who is not familiar with the background to the problem, but it will not get past those who are familiar with the topic under discussion who will want to see the evidence for themselves and weigh up each case for themselves.

Quote: "Paul . . . was fully aware of the consequences of a Jewish woman removing her veil in a public gathering." (35)

Comment: Jewish women in Paul's day did not wear veils, but something draped over their head.

Quote: "Gender, age, social condition, and racial considerations are all swept away by Galatians 3:28." (39)

Comment: This is classic feminist teaching. Having added "age" which is not in Galatians 3:28, he might as well have gone on to add, "homosexual, heterosexual, and lesbian." Why stop with age? If all distinctions are gone there are no longer males and females in the world—just people. An early Christian sect, the Adamites, thought that in Christ the Fall was reversed and they went about naked, worshipped in church naked, and had communal meals together naked.[890] This is what happens when "Gender . . . is swept away."

Kroeger's approach is not a holistic one. He fails to deal with the principle in 1 Corinthians 11:3 that the "head of woman is man." Whether he likes it or not that principle makes a gender distinction that is rooted in creation itself, in its genes, not in culture. Likewise, when the Church comes before God in worship the females are distinguished from the males by having their heads covered and remaining silent during the church service (1 Cor 11:4-9; 14:34-35; 1 Tim 2:11-14). The reasons are rooted in creation, not in culture.

Kroeger fails to take into account or appreciate the breath of Paul's theology. In his view, as he peers at only one verse—2 Timothy 2:12—out of Paul's encyclopaedic knowledge of God's revelation, his total preoccupation with this one verse has produced a myopic effect in his perception of Paul's teaching because, thinking that this was the only verse on the subject of the relation between men and women in church, he failed to deal with 1 Corinthians 14:34. If he had stretched his vision to take in 1 Corinthians 11:8-9, he would have found a common denominator between these three passages that throws light on each other, and together form a cumulative argument that goes back to 1 Corinthians 11:3, "the head of woman is man." Once it becomes plain that Paul is arguing from nature not nurture, all Paul's statements come into focus around the principle "the head of woman is man." Indeed, the heart of his Gospel is in the revelation, "the head of Christ is God."

Kroeger does not accept unequivocally the authorship of the Pastoral Epistles (44).[891] He sees "at least one other hand in the composition. Possibly the epistle was written upon the instruction of the apostle Paul but completed after his death as his will and testament . . . to Timothy." If so, then Paul's medical advice—to desist from drinking water and start drinking a little wine instead to help his stomach trouble—was a little late in getting to Timothy! And what about his hope to come *soon* to see Timothy (1 Tim 3:14)? If Timothy never got the letter until Paul was dead, it being his last will and testament, according to Kroeger, what was the point of the wish?

Kroeger leaves open the possibility that someone might have added something to the text "wishing to simulate an epistle of Paul." (46)

Kroeger peddles views that lower, or sow doubt, in the reader's mind that the Pastorals are genuine. He did the same with 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 (36). He does not share the standard held by most evangelical conservative scholarship in this respect. This low view of Scripture (i.e., that we could be reading non-apostolic verses as apostolic) is playing into his hands because 1 Timothy 2:12 and other parts of Paul's writing which "contradict" Gal 3:28 are held by some to be late additions. Kroeger cannot be seen to go along with that view,

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890 John Henry Blunt, *Dictionary of Sects, Heresies, Ecclesiastical Parties and Schools of Religious Thought* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1891), p. 5.

891 For a defence of Paul's authorship see Stanley E. Porter, "Pauline Authorship and the Pastoral Epistles: Implications for Canon," *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 5 (1995) 105-23; Bruce M. Metzger, "A Reconsideration of Certain Arguments against the Pauline Authorship of the Pastoral Epistles," *ExpTim* 70 (1958) 91-94; D. Guthrie, "Appendix," in *The Pastoral Epistles* [TNTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957; rept. 1984], pp. 211-28; and Thomas D. Lea, "Pseudonymity and the New Testament," in *New Testament Criticism and Interpretation* [ed. David Alan Black and David S. Dockery; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1991], pp. 533-56, esp. pp. 553-56. For further bibliography see A. Kösterberger, "Ascertaining Women's God-Ordained Roles: An Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:15," *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 7 (1997) 107 n. 1.

but he achieves the same result—deletion of Paul's command—by another route, namely the deletion of the negative.

Quote: "First Timothy 5:5-10 speaks of widows who are to be enrolled as members of the clergy, and Titus 2:3 requires female elders to be "worthy of the priesthood."" (91)

Comment: There are two misunderstandings here. First, Paul does not say that widows are to be enrolled as members of the clergy. This is an anachronistic reading of the text as if "clergy" existed in Paul's day. This is just another indication that Kroeger has failed to develop a biblical hermeneutic. He reads the text from within a twentieth-century standpoint.

If Kroeger had read 1 Timothy 5:5-10 in the broader context (something he fails to do regularly) of the *whole* chapter he would have seen that 5:1 lists *all* the age-groups that Timothy has to pastor. Paul is not talking about offices in the church here. He does that elsewhere (3:1-13).

Second, Titus 2:3 does not require female elders to be "worthy of the priesthood." Again the answer is in the broader context. Paul goes through *all* the age-groups that Titus has to pastor in Crete. Paul is not talking about offices in the church here. He does that elsewhere (1:5-9). In any case women could not be elders because elders had to lead their own households (1 Tim 3:5). Only heads of houses were eligible for the Eldership.

On page 91 Kroeger argues that if the directive in 1 Timothy 2:12 forbids women to rule over men then it stands in direct variance to other Pauline material. He then lists these contrary texts, but these turn out to be a series of inaccurate statements such as that (1) Phoebe had an "office" similar to that of an elder, and was even appointed by Paul himself; (2) Junia was a "noteworthy apostle;" (3) Priscilla and other women were "fellow labourers" with Paul who asked Christians to be subject to them (Phil 4:2-3); (4) Women presided over house-churches; (5) Women were leaders in first century churches in Asia Minor (92); and lastly, that a prohibition against women assuming positions of authority is inconsistent with the strong evidence for it. "Presumably they did not consider this Scripture to be a deterrent. How, then, might they have understood it?" Kroeger asks.

They certainly did not understand it in the way Kroeger has mistranslated the Greek! He is also somewhat lacking in his knowledge of Early Church history and how the early Church Fathers understood Paul's teaching on the subject.

On the meaning of *authentein* see Appendix G below.

EXCURSUS 3 : THE CHICAGO STATEMENT ON BIBLICAL INERRANCY

The following Statement has been abstracted from Norman L. Geisler, *Inerrancy* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1979], pp. 494-497). This 19-point doctrinal statement arose out of an International Conference on Biblical Inerrancy (ICBI) in October, 1978, attended by 300 evangelical leaders. It is preceded by A Short Statement and followed by an Exposition (pp. 498-502); both worth reading.

ARTICLES OF AFFIRMATION AND DENIAL

Article I

We affirm that the Holy Scriptures are to be received as the authoritative Word of God.
We deny that the Scriptures receive their authority from the Church, tradition, or any other human source.

Article II

We affirm that the Scriptures are the supreme written norm by which God binds the conscience, and that the authority of the Church is subordinate to that of Scripture.
We deny that Church creeds, councils, or declarations have authority greater than or equal to the authority of the Bible.

Article III

We affirm that the written Word in its entirety is revelation given by God.
We deny that the Bible is merely a witness to revelation, or only becomes revelation in encounter, or depends on the responses of men for its validity.

Article IV

We affirm that God who made mankind in His image has used language as a means of revelation.
We deny that human language is so limited by our creatureliness that it is rendered inadequate as a vehicle for divine revelation. We further deny that the corruption of human culture and language through sin has thwarted God's work of inspiration.

Article V

We affirm that God's revelation in the Holy Scriptures was progressive.
We deny that later revelation, which may fulfill earlier revelation, ever corrects or contradicts it. We further deny that any normative revelation has been given since the completion of the New Testament writings.

Article VI

We affirm that the whole of Scripture and all its parts, down to the very words of the original, were given by divine inspiration.

We deny that the inspiration of Scripture can rightly be affirmed of the whole without the parts, or of some parts but not the whole.

Article VII

We affirm that inspiration was the work in which God by His Spirit, through human writers, gave us His Word. The origin of Scripture is divine. The mode of inspiration remains largely a mystery to us.
We deny that inspiration can be reduced to human insight, or to heightened states of consciousness of any kind.

Article VIII

We affirm that God in His Work of inspiration utilized the distinctive personalities and literary styles of the writers whom He had chosen and prepared.
We deny that God, in causing these writers to use the very words that He chose, overrode their personalities.

Article IX

We affirm that inspiration, though not conferring omniscience, guaranteed true and trustworthy utterance on all matters of which the Biblical authors were moved to speak and write.
We deny that the finitude or fallenness of these writers, by necessity or otherwise, introduced distortion or falsehood into God's Word.

Article X

We affirm that inspiration, strictly speaking, applies only to the autographic text of Scripture, which in the providence of God can be ascertained from available manuscripts with great accuracy.[892] We further affirm that copies and translations of Scripture are the Word of God to the extent that they faithfully represent the original.

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[892] For the Greek text of the New Testament there are two competing versions of the original autographs, the Egyptian (=Alexandrian = NU = Nestle-Aland/United Bible Societies text) and the Byzantine Text (= Majority Text of Hodges & Farstad [2d ed., 1985]). The following total letter count is based on the Nestle-Aland 27th edition (1993). The length of each Gospel is as follows. Matthew, 88,708 letters (= 28.61% of the text of the four Gospels). Mark, 52,374 letters (16.89%). Luke, 96,607 letters (31.15%). John, 72,418 letters (23.35%). Grand total: 310,107 letters in the four Gospels. The counting is only approximate as it was calculated as follows. Complete lines were calculated at an average of 40.6 letters per line in Nestle-Aland's 27 the edition. The letters in the incomplete lines were counted manually. Matthew =1982 complete lines plus 8,239 letters in the 350 incomplete lines. Mark = 1290 complete lines plus 4,103 letters in the 190 incomplete lines. Luke = 2158 complete lines plus 8,992 letters in the 388 incomplete lines. John = 1700 complete lines plus 3,398 letters in the 163 incomplete lines. The grand total for the Majority Text is 320,430 letters. The difference between the NU and MT in the four Gospels is 10,323 letters, which is a difference of 3.22%. This total includes actual omissions in NU, plus anything put in single or double square brackets as doubtful. This loss would be the equivalent of omitting nine and one half pages in NA27 or, put another way, the equivalent of losing Mark 1:1 to 4:12. The MT is 10,323 letters longer than the NU text and the breakdown is as follows: Matthew, 2316 letters = 2.54% longer than NU. Mark, 3109 letters = 5.60% longer than NU. Luke, 2513 letters = 2.53% longer than NU. John, 2385 letters = 3.19% longer than NU. Apart from the 3.22% quantitative difference there are thousands of qualitative differences involving differences in spelling, substitutions and transpositions. It would appear to be a straight choice between these two competing texts and the Church down through the ages has used a text closer to the Majority Text than the Egyptian Text. The quantitative difference between the MT and NU texts in the rest of the NT is less than that in the four Gospels (or about 2.5%). The NU omitted (or treated as suspect) large passages in the Gospels such as Jn 7:53-8:11 and Mk 16:9-20. There are no comparable omissions in the rest of the NT text.

We deny that any essential element of the Christian faith is affected by the absence of the autographs. We further deny that this absence renders the assertion of Biblical inerrancy invalid or irrelevant.

Article XI

We affirm that Scripture, having been given by divine inspiration, is infallible, so that, far from misleading us, it is true and reliable in all the matters it addresses.
We deny that it is possible for the Bible to be at the same time infallible and errant in its assertions. Infallibility and inerrancy may be distinguished, but not separated.

Article XII

We affirm that Scripture in its entirety is inerrant, being free from all falsehood, fraud, or deceit.
We deny that Biblical infallibility and inerrancy are limited to spiritual, religious, or redemptive themes, exclusive of assertions in the fields of history and science. We further deny that scientific hypotheses about earth history may properly be used to overturn the teaching of Scripture on creation and the flood.[893]

Article XIII

We affirm the propriety of using inerrancy as a theological term with reference to the complete truthfulness of Scripture.
We deny that it is proper to evaluate Scripture according to standards of truth and error that are alien to its usage or purpose. We further deny that inerrancy is negated by Biblical phenomena such as a lack of modern technical precision, irregularities of grammar or spelling, observational descriptions of nature, the reporting of falsehoods, the use of hyperbole and round numbers, the topical arrangement of material, variant selections of material in parallel accounts, or the use of free citations.

Article XIV

We affirm the unity and internal consistency of Scripture.
We deny that alleged errors and discrepancies that have not yet been resolved vitiate the truth claims of the Bible.

Article XV

We affirm that the doctrine of inerrancy is grounded in the teaching of the Bible about inspiration.
We deny that Jesus' teaching about Scripture may be dismissed by appeals to accommodation or to any natural limitation of His humanity.

Article XVI

We affirm that the doctrine of inerrancy has been integral to the Church's faith throughout its history.
We deny that inerrancy is a doctrine invented by Scholastic Protestantism, or is a reactionary position postulated in response to negative higher criticism.

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[893] Provided this Article does not lock the Church into a particular literal interpretation of creation it is fine.

Article XVII

We affirm that the Holy Spirit bears witness to the Scriptures, assuring believers of the truthfulness of God's written Word.
We deny that this witness of the Holy Spirit operates in isolation from or against Scripture.

Article XVIII

We affirm that the text of Scripture is to be interpreted by grammatico-historical exegesis, taking account of its literary forms and devices, and that Scripture is to interpret Scripture.
We deny the legitimacy of any treatment of the text or quest for sources lying behind it that leads to relativizing, dehistoricizing, or discounting its teaching, or rejecting its claims to authorship.

Article XIX

We affirm that a confession of the full authority, infallibility, and inerrancy of Scripture is vital to a sound understanding of the whole of the Christian faith. We further affirm that such confession should lead to increasing conformity to the image of Christ.
We deny that such confession is necessary for salvation. However, we further deny that inerrancy can be rejected without grave consequences, both to the individual and to the Church.

EXCURSUS 4 : CRITIQUE OF Margaret Fell, "Womens Speaking Justified, Proved and Allowed by Scriptures" (London, 1667).

Margaret Fell (1614-1702) was converted to the aims of the Society of Friends (or Quakers) under George Fox's preaching in July 1652. The growth of the Quaker movement was largely due to him. Her first husband died in 1658 and she married George Fox (1624-1691) in October 1669. Fox urged the acceptance of the Indwelling Spirit as the only true way to salvation. This one insight took priority over other doctrines which had to fit around it. Hence, Margaret Fell's *Womens Speaking* pursues the tenet basic to Quakerism: that God potentially made *all* human beings His prophets by implanting the Indwelling Spirit in everyone and that, accordingly, there is no need for a professional, academically trained clergy to instruct those who would be saved. If, as George Fox taught, "Christ [was] in the male and female, then the spirit of Christ [may] speak in the female as well as in the male."[894] Fox vehemently denied that women had been forever polluted by Eve's original transgression. However, he never developed the argument in favour of women preaching; that remained for Margaret Fell to do. In *The Woman Learning in Silence* Fox was foxed and concluded, "some [texts] are hard to be understood." But later on (*ca.* 1676) he fully adopted Fell's position.[895]

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894 See the Introduction by David J. Latt, in Margaret Fell, *Women's Speaking justified, proved and allowed for by the Scriptures* (1667) (The Augustan Reprint Society, pub. no. 194; Los Angeles, University of California: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1979). p. xi. note 7 for the bibliographical details.

895 See the Introduction by David J. Latt, in Margaret Fell, *Women's Speaking justified, proved and allowed for by the Scriptures* (1667) (The Augustan Reprint Society, pub. no. 194; Los Angeles, University of California: William

Fell's conclusion was that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was intended to eliminate confusion in the meetings of the church by commanding that men *and* women who are confused or out of order or who do not speak in the same language as the congregation should remain silent. The women in 14:34-35 are women who are still "under the Law," or unregenerate and that is why Paul silences *them.* She also suggested that the silence in 1 Timothy 2:11 applies to women in marriage but not in the church. Fell did not distinguish between two Greek terms translated "silence (vocal)" in 1 Corinthians 14:34 and "silence (disposition)" in 1 Timothy 2:11. This pitfall is present in any theology based on a translation.

If Paul were demanding that women should not prophesy in church he would be inconsistent with 1 Corinthians 11:5, she argued. To oppose godly women from preaching in church was to oppose the Spirit of God speaking through them. The devil and his followers might seek to silence women, but that, she bitterly notes, is simply part of his stratagem to deprive God of one half of His labourers.[896]

Margaret Fell's first argument is her translation of Genesis 1:27, "when God created Man in his owne Image: in the Image of God created he them, Male and Female: . . ." She comments, "Here God joyns them together in his own Image, and makes no such distinctions and differences as men do" (p. 3). Unfortunately, she has turned "created he him" into "created he them." The Hebrew literally reads, "[27a]God created the man. In his image—in the image of God—he created him. [27b]Male and female he created them." We know from Genesis 2 that there was a considerable gap between v.27a and v.27b in which Adam did a number of things before Eve was made his helpmeet. The same focus on Adam's image *alone* occurs in Genesis 5:1-2. Here only Adam is specifically stated to be made in God's likeness.

The general assumption is that male and female are both stated to be made in the image or likeness of God. This is a wrong assumption because Paul seems to know better and he notes the lack of reference to the image that the woman was created in, in 1 Corinthians 11:7. He says, only the male was created in the image of God. This is hard for feminists to swallow.

Paul follows the Hebrew of Genesis 1:27 and attributes the image of God only to Adam and hence to all men by extension. The only inference we have about her image is the statement that God called mankind (male and female) after the dominant male memberpray or prophesyADAM," which suggests that she shared the same *moral* image that Adam bore, and this, subsequent history bears out in that she has a conscience as sharp as man's.

See Appendix H for a study of the term "MAN." Here is something I said there.

> The Hebrew does not give the first male (Adam) a personal name until the second male (Cain) is born. So that from Genesis 1:26 to 4:1 הָאָדָם (*hâ'âdâm*) should be translated as "The Man" rather than "Adam." It is only from Genesis 4:25 onwards, after Cain is born, and when Adam "knew" his wife again, that the Hebrew calls him "Adam" (by dropping the prefixed article).

It has not been possible to trace Fell's translation. It may have been her own. In which case she has read into it what he expected to find there.

Fells' second argument is that Genesis 3:15 speaks of putting enmity between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent. By some unexplained logic she finds an argument here for women speaking in the power of the Lord. She also finds the imagery of

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Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1979). p. xii. note 12, appealing to Gal 3:28.

[896] Margaret Fell, *Women's Speaking justified, proved and allowed for by the Scriptures* (1667). Introduction by David J. Latt (The Augustan Reprint Society, pub. no. 194; Los Angeles, University of California: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1979). This work contains a facsimile of Fell's 19-page tract. For 17th cent. works condemning women preachers (esp. Francis Bugg's works) see Latt's Introduction, p. xi. n. 9.

the Church as a woman another reason for speaking. The argument is that if the Spirit can speak through woman then anyone who opposes her speaking is speaking against Christ.

Paul's answer would have been, "She can speak her prophecies at home and among her own kind with her head covered. But to speak in church is forbidden to her."

Fell's third argument is that Jesus showed as much attention to women as to men in His ministry on earth. This is then coupled with His resurrection appearances to women first (pp. 4-7). Somehow these points of contact with women permit women to preach.

Paul would have had no problem with this at all. Jesus could have used children or beggars or outcasts of society to announce His resurrection but to extrapolate a commission to women to preach the Gospel on a par with men, to men, is more than the context will bear, not to mention the explicit command of the Lord to the women not to speak in His Church.

Fell's fourth argument is that Apollos did not reject what Priscilla taught him on the grounds that she was a woman "as many now do" (p. 8).

Paul would have replied that this was not done in the public worship service where only men may speak, but in her own home with no obligation on Apollos to listen. It was his choice to listen to her and her husband. But in church, if a woman spoke, no man would have a choice not to listen to her. In Acts 1:14 we have another private meeting where the Apostles were gathered together praying, with the women closest to the Lord Jesus, including His mother and brothers in their midst. The church meeting is not a private meeting and so what may be permitted in private is not permitted in public.

Fell's fifth argument arises out of her understanding of the context of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35. She thinks the context shows that there was confusion in the worship service with men and women babbling on in tongues, etc. Given this scenario, she notes that, "Here the Man is commanded to keep silence as well as the woman, when they are in confusion and out of order." Paul does not link the silence of the male tongue-speakers with the silence of the women. In fact, he gives different reasons why men and women are to be silent, which Fell conveniently overlooks.

The following long extract has been kept intact with my comments appended to it under superscript letters. She writes—

And now to the Apostles words, which is the ground of the great Objection against Womens speaking: And first, 1 *Corinthians.* 14. let the Reader seriously read that Chapter, and see the end and drift of the Apostle in speaking these words: for the Apostle is their [*sic.* there] exhorting the *Corinthians* unto charity, and to desire Spiritual gifts, and not to speak in an unknown tongue, and not to be Children in understanding, but to be Children in malice, but in understanding to be men; and that the Spirits of the Prophets should be subject to the Prophets, for God is not the Author of Confusion, but of Peace: And then he saith, *Let your Women keep silence in the Church, &c.*

Where it doth plainly appear that the women, as well as others, that were among them,[(a)] were in confusion, for he saith, *How is it Brethren? when ye come together, everyone of you hath a Psalm, hath a Doctrine, hath a Tongue, hath a Revelation, hath an Interpretation? let all things be done to edifying.* Here was no edifying, but all was in confusion speaking together:[(b)] Therefore he saith, *If any man speak in an unknown Tongue, let it be by two, or at most by three, and that by course, and let one Interpret, but if there be no Interpreter, let him keep silence in the Church.* Here the Man is commanded to keep silence as well as the woman, when they are in confusion and out of order.[(c)]

But the Apostle saith further, *They are commanded to be in Obedience,* as also saith the Law; and *if they will learn anything, let them ask their Husbands at home, for it is a shame for a Woman to speak in the Church.*

Here the Apostle clearly manifests his intent: for he speaks of women that were under the Law,[(d)] and in that Transgression as *Eve* was, and such as were to learn, and not to

speak publickly,[e] but they must first ask their Husbands at home, and it was a shame for such to speak in the Church: And it appears clearly, that such women were speaking among the *Corinthians,* by the Apostles exhorting them from malice and strife, and confusion, and he preacheth the Law unto them, and he saith, in the Law it is written, *With men of other tongues, and other lips, will I speak unto this people, vers. 2* [*sic.* 21].[f]

And what is all this to Women Speaking? that have the Everlasting Gospel to preach, and upon whom the Promise of the Lord is fulfilled, and his Spirit poured upon them according to his word, Acts 12.16, 17, 18. And if the Apostle would have stopped such as had the Spirit of the Lord poured upon them, why did he say just before, *If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace?* and *you may all prophesie one by one.*[g] Here he did not say that such Women should not Prophesie as had the Revelation and Spirit of God poured upon them, but their Women that were under the Law, and in the Transgression, and were in strife, confusion and malice in their speaking, for if he had stopt Womens praying or prophesying, why doth he say: *Every man praying or prophesying having his head covered, dishonoureth his head; but every Woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered, dishonoureth her head?*[h] *Judge in your selves, Is it comely that a Woman pray or prophesie uncovered? . . . .* (pp. 8-9).

And whereas it is said, *I permit not a Woman to speak, as saith the Law:* but where Women are led by the Spirit of God, they are not under the Law, for Christ in the Male and in the Female is one; and where he is made manifest in Male and Female, he may speak, for *he is the end of the Law for Righteousness to all them that believe.* So here you ought to make a distinction what sort of Women are forbidden to speak, [namely] such as were under the Law, who were not come to Christ, nor to the Spirit of Prophesie: For *Hulda, Miriam* and *Hanna,* were Prophets, who were not forbidden in the time of the Law, for they all prophesied in the time of the Law . . . . (p. 13).[i]

. . . but tatlers, and busie bodies, are forbidden to preach by the True Woman, whom Christ is the Husband, to the Woman as well as the Man, all being comprehended to be the Church; and so in this True Church, Sons and Daughters do Prophesie, Women labour in the Gospel; but the Apostle permits not tatlers, busie bodies, and such as usurp authority over the Man would not have Christ Reign, nor speak neither in the Male nor Female; Such the Law permits not to speak, such must learn of their Husbands: . . . And may not they that learn of their Husbands speak then? (pp. 16-17).[j]

NOTES ON FELL'S INTERPRETATION

[a] The addition of "as well as others, that were among them," was necessary to her argument (even though it is not implied by Paul) otherwise the focus on the women alone would have meant they were being singled out to be silent. This would not have suited her scenario, hence the addition.

[b] Fell has introduced the idea of confusion at this point when there is nothing in the context to suggest it. If anything, there is no confusion. The problem seems to be one of (1) using the limited time available to the maximum profit, this will involve the problem of listening to spiritual tongues that no one can interpret. What's the use in that? we can hear in the background. Tongue-speakers could, theoretically (and maybe did so literally which brought the matter to a head), monopolise the available time and create frustration if nothing was interpreted. So Paul wisely gives the same solution to both groups (tongues and prophets). His equality of treatment for both spiritual gifts would have gone down well. (2) There seems to be some suggestion in the background that tongues are for use outside the church, for unbelievers, and not to be used inside the church for believers. This would mean that those with the gift of prophecy would have all the available time in the church services for their gift. When Paul was present in Corinth for 18 months and could speak in more

languages than any of them, he was able to interpret them, but after he left this left a gap in interpretation, hence the problem of untranslated tongue-messages arose as a result.

(c) Note the addition of "as well as the woman, when they are in confusion and out of order." This was a necessary addition to maintain her scenario. She has overlooked the fact that all of chap. 14 is addressed only to the "brothers," so the women are not included when Paul tells the male tongue speaker to remain silent if there is no interpreter of his tongue in the congregation. When he has found an interpreter/translator then he can resume his tongue-speaking in the church. There is no hint of "confusion" or being "out of order." Fell requires these conditions to exist in order to exclude a certain class of women from speaking in church, which is her solution to 14:34.

(d) Paul does no such thing here. These women are all Christians and Paul speaks to all of them, not to a section or class of them. This is one point in her exegesis where she cannot find what she requires in the text and so she invents it.

(e) Here she arrives at the heart of her interpretation. She has divided the Corinthian women into two classes. The two classes are, (1) Those who have been taught the Gospel truth by their husbands or by the Spirit, and (2) Those who have not yet been taught the Truth by their husbands, and are still "under Law." She claims that it is to this second class of women that Paul addresses his ban in 14:34-35, and not to the first class, to which Fell belongs. Therefore she is exempt from the ban in 14:34-35 because she had the spirit of prophecy poured out upon her.

(f) Fell limits the contextual audience here to the second class of women. This is not possible because v. 20 begins, "Brethren," so that Paul is not addressing women but men. Also, it seems that the quotation from Isa 28:11-12 (referred to as "the Law") relates to a subtle observation by members of the Corinthian church (mentioned in their letter to Paul?) about the use of tongues which seems to place their use outside the church, as they are a gift for use among unbelievers.

(g) Paul's answer would have been, "Who was I speaking to throughout chapter 14?" The answer is, to the men. So that Fell's assumption that he included women speaking in the church has not been proved. Throughout this epistle Paul is talking to the men in the church, even vv. 34-35 are addressed to them! "Let *your* women keep silent in the churches." Indeed, the wording of this injunction has all the marks of being a universal directive of the Lord Jesus because there was only one church in Corinth, so why say, "Let your women keep silent in the *churches*."

(h) Paul's short answer would have been that the question being addressed in 11:2-16 was, "How do men and women dress when they pray to God (when it is lawful for them to do so)?" He was not discussing *where* but *how* the two genders approach God in prayer. Gender is a central issue in Paul's theology. It is a secondary (or non-existent) issue in Quaker theology. Consequently these two systems can never be harmonised. They are at loggerheads. Quakerism is but another face of Feminism.

(i) But then so did false female prophetesses, such as Hodaiah, who prophesied against Nehemiah (Neh 6:14). Fell is making out a case for Paul forbidding false female prophetesses. But why would Paul take pains to silence only false female prophetesses? Her case boils down to commonsense: false prophets should not speak in Church. Why could Paul not say this in one short sentence and include male and female in it?

(j) But what applies to women must surely apply to men, so why does Paul focus only on women? She has no answer to this. She is too focussed on the need to get round the obvious meaning of the text to think through the consequences of her solution. If she had conceded that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 applied only to the church situation then she would still have had a case for women prophesying outside the church, which her evidence, in part, supports. But she could not accept this restriction and this determined her interpretation of the texts.

SUMMARY

Margaret Fell, and other women like her, were being forbidden in the seventeenth century from preaching both inside and outside the church. She was right to protest strongly against the ban on preaching outside the worship service. When the Spirit was poured out at Pentecost it was poured out on male and female. Much of her case is taken up with proving from Scripture (and the Apocrypha) that women did prophesy outside the Church. Where she ran into difficulty was when she tried to force the biblical texts to permit women to speak in church. She could not accept that they couldn't so she sought an interpretation to get round it.

She could not understand the mind of Paul who seemed to allow women to speak in church in 1 Corinthians 11:5 but disallow them in 1 Corinthians 14:34-35. To reconcile these two Scriptures, she hit on the novel idea that a particular *class of women* were not to speak in church. The reference to the "Law" in 14:21 and 34 gave her the idea that "women who were under the Law" were being told to be silent in church, and not women who had the "Spirit of Prophesy," such as herself. She also identified this class with the younger widows who are described as tattlers and busybodies in 1 Timothy 2:6, 11-15. These, she argues, are not to preach either inside or outside the church.

Her solution was to replace "women" in 14:34-35 with "women under the Law." Paul is asking the unlearned women to forego speaking in church until they have learned their religion from their husbands. Then they can speak in church. Would this not also apply to new male converts whose parents were pagans?

If the case was so simple, how do we explain Paul's extremely strong language and reaction in 14:36-38, with its reference to "commandments of the Lord" which some Corinthians are not prepared to accept? Her solution is just plain commonsense, so why throw down the gauntlet to the church? In any case, Fell's exclusion of unregenerate women (and men surely) from speaking in church is purely hypothetical, for who is going to judge who is regenerate and who is unregenerate? Why have we not heard of "first class" and "second class" women in the church before now? And shouldn't she have the same two classes among the men? She has not addressed the real question, which is, Why did Paul single out only women to remain silent during the worship service and not the unregenerate men also? And, Why did he base the grounds for this silence on the Law?

EXCURSUS 5 : CRITIQUE OF *Men, Women and Authority,* edited by Brian Edwards (1996)

Men, Women and Authority, edited by Brian Edwards. Bromley, Kent: Day One Publications, 1996. 259pp.

Nine authors have contributed to this collection of essays: Mark Johnston, Kenneth Brownell, Brian Edwards, Stephen Rees, Edward Donnelly, John Benton, Jonathan & Sheila Stephen and Sharon James,

The main criticism of this book is that no author explores the possibility that 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 should be set in an out-of-church context. Without exception those who deal with this passage assume that women can "pray or prophesy" in church, and this major deficiency (in the reviewer's opinion) puts them on the wrong track to an understanding of Paul's holistic position.

In 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 Paul sets out the manner (the dress-codes) in which males and females come before God. This has to do with their *natures* not the *place* where they come before Him. Man *must* have an uncovered head whether he prays to God in private or in public, because his nature is the same at all times. *Mutatis mutandis* in the case of the woman. The context is unspecified because Paul is dealing with universal principles. Paul deals with out-of-church situations in 1 Corinthians 7:1—11:16, and in-church situations in 11:17—15:58.

The second criticism is a deficient understanding of headship. This is seen primarily in terms of male leadership and the authors stoutly defend this aspect of headship as though it were the core definition of that term.

Headship is much wider and deeper than this. It is the total giving of one person to another to do his will in a voluntary manner. Christ does God's will; Man does Christ's will; and Woman does Man's will. The essence of each relationship is freedom to serve the other in a manner that surpasses one's highest ideal of voluntary, loving, sacrificial service: to obey one's head *in everything.* We see it best in the way the Lord Jesus put God's will before everything else, yet He was equal to the Father in His nature. He did it freely but He also did it fully—no half-hearted service with Him. Man is to imitate Jesus, and Woman is to imitate both Man and Jesus. Headship is more than a marriage contract between two, distinct persons. It is the absorption of one person into the other so that they operate as one, with one mind and one purpose. There is a hint of it in Genesis 2:23, "For this reason a man will leave his father and mother and be united [fused] to his wife, and they will become one flesh." And, "Christ is the head of the church, his body" (Eph 5:22). The Body and the Head act and move as one. This is headship. It is more than leadership. It is that *plus* the complete giving of oneself in love to do someone else's will to the fullest extent of one's ability. There is no fear or tension in this relationship. It is held together by mutual love and total surrender to one's head.

Man alone has been given the responsibility to speak *in church.* Woman is to acknowledge this position by being submissively silent alongside him *in church.* Public speaking is the Christian man's prerogative. Once this truth has been established and the tradition observed for any length of time, any breach of it by a woman is immediately sensed by all present as a shameful act. This is what Paul meant when he said, "it is disgraceful for a woman to speak in the church." Speaking of any sort is for men only. This was the practice in the synagogue—the Church of the Old Covenant. This same order in the Church of the New Covenant ensures that Christ receives the full attention of all males who present themselves before Him and His Father with an uncovered head in the formal worship service. The females also present themselves but with a covered head. The symbols *are* compulsory.

CRITICISMS OF INDIVIDUAL ESSAYS

Brian Edwards, "Leadership in the Bible," pp. 50-67.

B. Edwards assumes that men and women are both made in "the image and likeness of God" (p. 65). This is never said of Woman in Genesis or elsewhere. She is made in the *moral* image of God because she was derived from Man's body. Only Man was made in the "image and likeness" of God. Where God, Christ and Man differ from Woman is that Woman does not have headship, the rest do, so that Man is closer to being like God, than Woman, in this respect.

Stephen Rees, "Interpreting the Bible on Gender," pp. 69-92.

S. Rees' two essays, chap. 4 and chap. 7 are the worst in the book. Both make fundamental errors in theology. He does not understand the difference between "obedience

relationships" and "headship relationships." He treats them as the same thing which leads him into serious error regarding the Person and Work of the Lord Jesus.

The difference between the two kinds of relationships is as follows:

Headship can be defined as a relationship between two persons in which one person voluntarily submits to do the will of the other. Only three known headships of this kind are explicitly revealed in Scripture, they are between God and Christ, Christ and Man, and Man and Woman (1 Cor 11:3). All headship relationships are obedience relationships, but not all obedience relationships are headship relationships, in the same way that all virgins are girls, but not all girls are virgins, or all apples are fruits but not all fruits are apples (see my web-site book, GOITC, Chart 1).

On page 70, S. Rees assumes that there is a headship relationship between a son and a father at the human and the divine levels. This is not true. Both of these relationships are "obedience" relationships.

The relationship of a son to his father is an obedience/deferential relationship but the head of the son is not his father, but Jesus Christ, because the head of every man is Christ, not his earthly father. Jesus obeyed his parents. He was submissive to them (Lk 2:51). As he grew up he was aware that God was his head not his earthly father.

Stephen Rees, "How Feminism Affects Your Theology," pp. 133-157.

S. Rees has confused the pre-Incarnation status of the Son of God with His Incarnation status. He assumes the headship status to be an eternal status (pp. 138, 141). This is not true. It was/is a temporary status.

The Incarnation elevated mankind. From now on Christ was in man, and man was in Christ (Jn 17:2). Christ, the express image of God (Heb 1:3) and man, "the image and glory of God," shared one thing in common, they both had God's image of headship. It was now inappropriate to cover the image of God in Christ and in Man. This was the second reason Paul gives for Man appearing before God with an uncovered head and differentiating him from Woman.

This change of head-covering heralded a new era in the relation between God and Man. Jesus, not God, would be the One who would judge all men on the final Judgment Day. When Jesus has completed the task of redemption and judgment He will hand back the headship to His Father and the original relationship of Son to Father will be restored, which is an obedience relationship, not a headship relation (1 Cor 15:28).

Before the Incarnation, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit were in an obedience, deferential relationship to God the Father. They were not in a headship relationship. They were not created beings. They were three distinct Persons sharing the same nature. Before the Incarnation they were equal in nature but not in function. The Father could send the Son and the Holy Spirit, but not vice versa, but this should be set in the context of planning Man's redemption before the foundation of the world.

For God the Son to change his relationship to God the Father and come under God's headship, like all His created males, like Adam, was quite a come-down from His deferential relationship to his Father. But He accepted this new relationship in order to come under the same relationship that all men bore to God, namely, that of coming under God's headship which was a new experience for Him. He is the second Adam, thus He *had* to come under God's headship to become fully man.

While this new headship experience might be seen as an exaltation in Jesus' status, it was in fact a humbling one in the eyes of all the angels in heaven, because Jesus was made a little lower than the angels in heaven (Heb 1:7), but it was a humiliation that Jesus took on

voluntarily in order to put himself ***in the place of man*** and, as a **man,** bear **man's** sins in His own human body on the cross to satisfy the Father's justice. As a man, He obeyed the Law of Moses so that He could obtain the righteousness of God to give to every man who asks it of Him in faith. Jesus accepted the headship of Man in order to accomplish Man's redemption.

Jesus' new, headship relationship to His Father involved three things. First, it meant that Jesus came under the same relationship that Adam had to God, namely, God had *direct* control of his life and goals. Second, he took on the experience of being one of His Father's created beings. This was new for Jesus who was an uncreated Being. He had to learn obedience as Adam had to learn it (Heb 5:8). This was new for Him as a man. Third, He had to do the Father's will as all men born of women have to. This was new for Him who was equal to the Father in all things. He and the Father were always one (Jn 10:30). Now Jesus subordinated His will to do the Father's will. "Your will be done on earth as it is in heaven" was the goal that dominated all He said and did on earth. It is from Jesus' headship relation to God that we get not only our definition of headship but its practical outworking in someone's life.

S. Rees has made the mistake of comparing the Man-Woman relationship with the Son-Father relationship. This is like comparing apples and oranges, because the former is a "headship" relationship, whereas the latter is an "obedience" relationship. He has made a wrong comparison. What he ought to have compared was the Christ-God relationship with the Man-Woman, then he would have been comparing two "headship" relationships and would have made legitimate comparisons between them.

S. Rees' inability to distinguish between the Son's "obedience" relationship (a Deity relationship) and Christ's "headship" relationship (an Adamic relationship) has distorted his view of the Trinity. There can be no headship relationship between the three Persons of the Trinity because they are uncreated Beings: they are all equally "God" because they all share the same nature. There can only be an "obedience" relationship between them with God the Father as "head" (which should not be confused with "headship") of the Trinity. At the present time Jesus is still in a headship relationship with God and thus He can still represent us as our great High Priest in heaven.

S. Rees, too, assumes that 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 refers to the public worship service (p. 143).

Sharon James, "Roles Without Relegation," pp. 227-248.

This is, on the whole, a good essay on the opportunities for women to serve the Lord, as she says, "in such a manner as to preserve the biblical principle of male headship in the family and the church" (p. 236).

However, there are two matters that need attention. First, she has defined "headship" too narrowly as male leadership. See my comments on this above. Second, she assumes that 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 is set in the church, and this has unfortunate repercussions for women's spheres of ministry. She believes that women can pray in church, which is contrary to 1 Corinthians 14:34-35. She has gone along with the common assumption that 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 took place in church. This assumption will need to be re-examined and carefully argued/defended if it is to do justice to the theological significance of gender in God's worship that Paul is working out from. Gender is a central issue in Paul's scheme.

S. James goes beyond the biblical evidence in pushing for women deacons in NT times (p. 141). The meagre evidence for deaconesses in the post-Apostolic and Early Church

periods is made to seem stronger than it actually is. See my chapter in GOITC for the evidence.

This book will be welcomed by those who see headship in terms of leadership in the church and family, but headship is more than leadership. It is a unique, revolutionary way of living in itself.

EXCURSUS 6 : CRITIQUE OF *Man and Woman in Christian Perspective* by Werner Neuer (1981)

SUMMARY AND CRITIQUE OF Werner Neuer, *Man and Woman in Christian Perspective.* ET by Gordon Wenham. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1990 (German orig, 1981, 1988).

This book will be welcomed by those who see headship in terms of leadership in the church and family, but headship is more than leadership. It is a unique, revolutionary way of living in itself, which Jesus showed when He left His obedience relationship with His Father to take on a headship relationship with God. The manner in which He subordinated His whole being to do the will of God is the model that every man is to imitate in doing the will of the Lord Jesus, and every woman is to imitate in doing her husband's will. That is the essence of headship. Unfortunately, W. Neuer completely missed this crucial aspect of Jesus' life.

This work attempts to face up to the threat of feminism and this is its main contribution. The author is convinced that should it establish itself it would revolutionise Christian theology, the church, and piety (19[897]).

"When God's will for the fundamental relationship of male and female remains unobserved, there are the gravest consequences for human life and conduct, even if God is obeyed in other spheres. . . . For this reason the heart of this book is what Holy Scripture has to say about the relationship of male and female. It must therefore be explicitly emphasised that despite the variety of aspects considered the focus of our study is the theological view of male and female" (21).[898]

1. The Relationship between the Physical and the Spiritual

This work is very useful in noting that the relationship between the physiological and the psychological is different in men and women. Their bodies are perfectly matched to suit their compatibility to live together and enrich each other. Body and soul stand in very close relationship to each other and mutually influence each other. They form an inseparable unity. Being male and being female characterises the *whole* person and not just his or her body. A person exists only as a male or female. Sex is a mode of being that determines one's whole life. It is incorrect to view a person as an essentially sexless intellect to which their sex is attached, not as part of their being, but as something external, that is only important for the

[897] All such numerals are page numbers in Neuer's book. Paragraphs without any such numbering are the reviewer's own comments. The reviewer's longer criticisms are indented and in a smaller font size.

[898] I have attempted throughout to assess the author's positive position in a way the author would approve, as this requires a sympathetic reading of his work.

propagation of the species (27). Since the whole person is governed by one's sex, physiological differences correspond to psychological differences. Sexuality involves the whole person and constitutes part of one's essential being (28).[899]

This is expanded over the next few chapters. There is the interesting observation by the Dutch biologist that only woman, in contrast to all other highly developed animals, has the physical appearance of motherhood without being or becoming a mother (35).

> It would also appear that woman alone has the milk glands on the external frame of the body, which enhances her attractiveness. Woman needs man more than man needs woman to find fulfilment in this world. That marriage is not essential for man fits in with his reason for existing, namely, to be God's helpmeet, which does not require him to be married. Jesus, Paul, and many other godly men and prophets (e.g. Jeremiah) were so devoted to doing God's will that marriage was seen more of a distraction than a help. Woman, on the other hand, is designed to be a mother and to be Man's helpmeet, and helpmeet is most fully expressed within a marriage relationship. Neuer's work expands this area very helpfully.

W. Neuer sets out the strengths and weaknesses of each sex. Thus males show greater spontaneity, drive, aggressiveness, desire for leadership and a capacity for creative achievements in all fields of intellectual life. Females, on the other hand, show greater receptivity and ability and willingness to imitate, greater adaptability and suggestibility, linguistic aptitude and are more sympathetic toward people (38).

The intellectual cognitive differences are very pronounced. Among eighty-two grandmasters at chess (up to 1988) not a woman is to be found. There has never been a woman grandmaster, and among the five hundred best chess players of all time there is not one woman. The fact that all significant mathematicians *without exception* have been men points to man's greater strength in abstract reasoning. But prowess in certain areas does not mean that men are more intelligent than women any more than female prowess in her fields means that she is more intelligent. Abstract thinking is only one *aspect* of intelligence (43), but this spatial ability does mean that the most brilliant achievements in the realms of philosophy, art, and musical composition and the pioneering discoveries in modern science are either exclusively or overwhelmingly the domain of men (44).

Male and female brains are wired differently so that nature not nurture (endowment not environment) is the cause of this disparity (54). Whereas the man is well known to be more creative in his thinking, the woman is known to be more receptive when it comes to thought. This is confirmed in aptitude tests which have shown better male performance when it comes to comprehension and reasoning, while women excel in all rote-learning tasks (44). While women have proved to be outstanding musical interpreters (e.g., pianists) the creation of great compositions has been reserved exclusively for men (45). The woman's thinking tends towards the visible and particular, whereas the man's is more strongly directed towards the conceptual and general. It has long been established that the woman's being is more dominated by her feelings than the man's (46). Closely connected to woman's adaptability is her greater readiness to submit to the leadership of others, while in the man there exists a distinct tendency toward leadership, and it is observable in all cultures (48).

How much the woman's body is built for motherhood is seen in the fact that failure to become a mother increases the danger of physical illness and psychological depression (39).

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[899] Compare Emil Brunner's statement, "Our sexuality penetrates to the deepest metaphysical ground of our personality. As a result, the physical differences between the man and the women are a parable of psychical and spiritual differences of a more ultimate nature," in *Das Gebot und die Ordnungen* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1933), p. 358, as quoted in *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood: A Response to Evangelical Feminism,* ed. John Piper and Wayne Gruden (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 1991), p. 34.

> But this observation should be set alongside 1 Cor 7 which envisages females foregoing marriage in the interests of greater devotedness to God. Apart from this religious motivation, W. Neuer's statement may be more typical of the world of the non-Christian woman. But the observation that the woman's body is more directed towards motherhood than the man's is towards fatherhood, fits in with the original purpose of man's body. Was his ability to procreate designed from the beginning but lay dormant and was awakened only when Eve was made for him and brought to him?

W. Neuer notes that human motherhood is a much more comprehensive role that elsewhere in the animal kingdom. Only in the more so-called developed nations is breast-feeding reduced from between two to four years down to a few weeks or months (40).

Another interesting fact is that whereas male cells contain a Y-chromosome and an X-chromosome, female cells have two X-chromosomes. This difference involves *all* the cells of the body. Females do not have a single Y-chromosome in their bodies. Yet the coalescing of the male and female genes to produce the next generation means that every person possesses to some degree the characteristics of their mother and father. This goes for biological as well as intellectual and psychological aspects. There is neither a "total man" or a "total woman" (41)

> Yet the distinctively masculine Y-chromosome is carried only by males. Consequently tracing one's male ancestry through the Y-chromosome is foolproof, whereas tracing it through the mother is problematic.

The different outlooks of the sexes is gender-determined. The man has a closer relationship with the world of things, whereas the woman has a closer link with the world of persons (49). This is not surprising given that man was made for God and to control the earth (an object), whereas woman was made for man (a person). The man's body is equipped for the practical re-modelling of the environment (cf. his bone structure and his muscles). His greater ability in abstract and spatial thinking compared to the woman's also allows him to master mentally the world of things.

While the woman's body is in large measure built for bearing and bringing up children, the man's, as far as bearing and bringing up children is concerned, is equipped simply to enable the all-important but brief moment of generation. The woman's body is an inescapable pointer to the way her being is orientated towards people, as is also her greater speech ability (49).

2. Patriarchy and Matriarchy

Research into patriarchy and matriarchy shows that the latter hardly existed, except to prove the rule that there are exceptions to nearly everything (55).[900] Significant deviations from gender-specific behaviour are adequately explained by people's capacity to flout their nature and predisposition, hence homosexual behaviour and other deviant practices (56), and female leadership in the church, we might add.

W. Neuer attempts to tie in the scientific discoveries regarding the fundamental differences between the sexes (which liberal evangelicals and feminists have denied for decades) with the view that God created men and women to be different because he has *different purposes* for them. Their differences are not the chance result of blind evolutionary processes, but the product of a consciously planned creative act of God. To pervert one's sexuality is to destroy God's handiwork. To thank God for being a man or being a woman is to fulfil one's purpose for being (57). (So ends chapters 1-4.)

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[900] See Aristophanes' *Assemblywomen,* in which he creates a fictitious gynaecocracy (set in Athens in 390 BC).

3. Feminist Terminology and Woman's "image of God"

Chapter 5 and following deal with the biblical material. Unfortunately chapter 5 is marred by the phrase "equality of the sexes" (59). Also, he asserts that "All three chapters [of Gen 1-3] are composed in poetic language" (59). This is not true. They are normal Hebrew prose.

Concerning the ambiguous phrase, "the equality of the sexes," W. Neuer means the equal worth of men and women in God's eyes, but then occurs a misreading of Genesis 1:27 (63). From this he falsely concluded, "Men *and* women are here dignified with being God's image. Neither sex has an advantage which makes it more valuable than the other. . . . Woman possesses the full dignity of the image of God." He even suggests that Genesis 1:27 could be paraphrased: "And God created man and woman in his image, in the image of God he created them" (63-64).

> Gen 1:27 only states that *Man* was made in God's image.[901] The following statement is another fact: "Male and female created He them." Between these two statements lies a considerable period of time before Eve was created *for* Adam, not *for* God. Genesis 1 is a series of extremely abbreviated historical events. The entire universe is created in six days and recounted in less than 400 words. So great care is needed to combine *all* that Scripture has to say about the creation of men and women before jumping to conclusions over a partial reading of that larger corpus of material, especially 1 Cor 11:2-16.
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> Conservative evangelicals have conceded "equality of the sexes" before they have studied the implications of that phrase. This situation came about because the doctrine of love-headships had not been taught or defended for a century or more. In default, feminist theology seeped into the minds of generations of young Christians who became the next leaders—leaders who were ignorant of the doctrine and who then wrote the present set of biblical commentaries without the necessary background needed to tread carefully through chapters like Genesis 1—3, which are read by almost all writers from a feminist perspective.
>
> W. Neuer's detailed research into the psychological, physiological, and biological differences between men and women and the intimate relationship between body and soul/spirit should have led him to see that one is more like God than the other; that man was constituted in his entire being (body, mind and spirit) to reflect God's control of His world, and that woman (the weaker sex) was constituted in her being to be man's helpmeet. That both share the same moral image is as far as "equality" should be taken. Everything else is different yet complementary, because Man's headship relationship is the determining factor.

W. Neuer attempted to clarify what the "image of God" means. He asks, "Are men and women the image of God only in regard to their common human nature [what I have termed their common moral nature], or do they also reflect God's nature through their sexual distinctiveness?" (64)

He is now answering a question standing on feminist ground, rather than on biblical grounds. He is unable from this point onwards to treat Man's "image of God" separately from Woman's because of his initial assumption that both Man and Woman were made in the image of God. So whatever he deduces the image of God to be for Man, he must assume that it is the same for Woman, and so the distortion goes on and on. He had earlier, and rightly,

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[901] See the further notes under §6.4. "Definition of Headship."

argued that sexuality involves the whole person and so Man's body should be an integral part of his being in the image of God. But he cannot go down that road without devaluing women's "image of God," so he gets round his own dilemma by postulating, "the fact that the whole person reflects God in no way means that the person reflects God in every aspect" (66). This allows him to argue that, "man's material form is not the divine image, for God's existence is totally independent of a material body" (67).

> Yes, God is a spirit, but if man's body was designed to fulfil Man's created purposes then something of the divine image must operate through the male body that God clothed His "breath" in. Thus W. Neuer has squandered all the research into the differences God placed between the male and female bodies and how these are specifically and fully fashioned not only to complement each other but to reflect God's design purposes fully through those bodies.
>
> Man was designed to stand in God's place and he was given a perfectly adapted body by which he could do this. The two had to complement each other perfectly, otherwise failure and defectiveness would have been a built-in feature of his body. Woman, on the other hand, was not designed for this purpose. Her purpose was man-centred. She was made for Man. Everything about her perfect body was designed to fulfil this specific purpose. The two had to complement each other perfectly, otherwise failure and defectiveness would have been a built-in feature of her body. The Creator's purpose determined the shape of both bodies. *The "equality of the sexes" cannot include equality of purpose.*

W. Neuer throws away his earlier research in the interests of maintaining "equality of the sexes."

4. Eve was created to complete Adam

The statement in Genesis 2:18 that, "it is not good that man should be alone," is taken by W. Neuer to mean that God made woman to complete the man; that without her he was incomplete.

> Paul does not make this mistake. He notes that male and female need each other to continue their own species, but individuals, like the Lord Jesus, can exist complete outside marriage. The Second Adam was in all points like the First Adam, yet He did not need a wife to "complete" Him. Gen 2:18 anticipates 2:20b, "But for Adam there was not found a helper comparable to him." In other words, 2:18 *follows,* not precedes, 2:20b!
>
> Adam, we must presume, was created a male from the beginning[902] hence it was predictable that a female would be created for him. But unlike the animal kingdom where male and female were created simultaneously, God had to prepare Man for the introduction of another human being into his world. Adam could see that he was male but he could also see that he was alone. But the way in which Eve is introduced shows that Adam did not have her imposed on him. God skilfully created the need for a sexual companion by bringing pairs of animals to him. Through the process of naming the animals he became aware that they were created male and female. Only when Adam had time to reflect on the way God had provided companionship among the animals did he see that he was without a female companion. The naming experience awakened two

[902] Jesus certainly interpreted Gen 1:27 and 2:24 in this way, "from the beginning he made them male and female" (Mt 19:4).

possibilities in Adam's mind. First, companionship. There were two of everything. He was alone. Second, a *female* companion. This was what he saw in all the pairs he named. So 2:18 should be read *after* 2:20b as a deliberate plan on God's part to introduce a sexual companion for him. Woman was always in God's plan for Man from the beginning. His sexual organs insured that.

God was first to see that it was "not good," *from His point of view,* that Man did not have a female companion, but out of deference to Man's personhood, He would not impose one on him against his wish. When, in time, Adam, too, began to feel that it was "not good" that he was alone, then, and only then, could God complete His creation. So Man's "aloneness" was deliberately created in Man so that God could complete His creation. This process was an integral part of completing His creation. There was nothing defective at any stage. Man, as originally created, did not feel alone, or incomplete, or need Eve. God *made* him feel alone and *then* He was able to complete *His* creation.

Seen from this perspective Adam's person is highly respected by God. He will not impose a sexual companion until Adam is ready for her. Eve, on the other hand, had no say in the matter. She was created for him—to do his will from the beginning. She experienced his love-headship from the moment her Creator brought her to him and she saw him. Up until that time Man was head over God's inanimate creation and over the animals, and now in naming[903] her, he was also over her, her head, her leader, but more than that, God established a headship relation between the two, so that just as Adam was created to *serve* Him, so Woman was created to *serve* Man, not just for him to be her leader. The relation is fuller and more profound than the concept of leadership.

5. Headship is seen in terms of leadership

Throughout this work W. Neuer never gets beyond a definition of headship as leader (or "head")(101). Thus, he understands the phrase "in everything" (Eph 5:24) to indicate that the "husband's headship" relates to all areas of life. Being head always means exercising chief responsibility in all aspects of married and family life. Just as the church can take comfort from entrusting its leadership to Christ, so can a wife by letting her husband have the final say in all issues relating to the marriage (124-25).

Even when he uses the Scripture texts that Paul uses to convey the Apostolic understanding of headship, Neuer is still thinking of leadership, whereas Paul is getting to the core idea, namely, *the submission of the will.* For Paul, that is what differentiates "head" from "headship." The former is leadership, the latter is a life-style.

W. Neuer notes that the Greek word *hypotassesthai,* "be subject," covers a complete range of meanings from submitting to an authority [leadership or 'head'], to a fully conscious putting oneself at the disposal of another [or headship](126), which would serve Paul's purpose to capture the unique relationship between the three headships in 1 Corinthians 11:3.

> Headship is more than just leadership. "Head" implies a functional subordination, whereas "headship" implies a creational subordination, consequently headship is a lifelong commitment to do another's will to the utmost of one's ability through love and respect for the position God has allotted to each sex in His authority structures. The likeness to God was completed in Man when he was given headship over another being with a will, namely,

[903] Giving a name is more than labelling: it is an act of appropriate ordering, by which a man intellectually objectifies the creatures for himself (71).

> Woman. Woman, on the other hand, has not been given headship over another being. Man and God are alike in having headship. In this she differs from Man's "image of God."
>
> A "head" can be one's parents, teacher, boss, military officer, football captain, and hierarchies in work and church. But headship is the voluntary, total relationship of two beings acting as one being, controlled by one will. It is found in only two relationships on earth: in a Christian marriage, and in the relationship between a Christian and God through Jesus Christ. In both sets of relationship, the two become one.

When W. Neuer returns to the different functions that God has given to male and female he is on safer ground. He notes that their different modes of creation are intimately related to their different tasks in life. Adam alone (not Adam and Eve jointly) names the animals. He creates the word *ish* for himself and *ishshah* for Eve, which expresses both the difference as well as their similarity (71).

In Genesis 1:28 the task of subduing the earth is given to man and woman. "In the man the call to rule is primary, whereas fatherhood is secondary. . . . In the woman the maternal call is primary, and sharing the rule is secondary" (quoted from Edith Stein)(73). Together, each contributes in the way appropriate to their sex. Genesis 2:18 not only expresses the sexes' mutual need of completion and help but also the non-reversible orientation of the woman towards the man as the reference point for her life (73). For if the woman has the responsibility to assist the man in his God-appointed responsibilities, that means that the woman has to be subject to the man. "As regards that fellowship of man and woman in which she ought to stand by him, she occupies a secondary position; for whoever helps does not lead but offers support, accompanies, offers advice and action, but does not take the initiative" (quoted from Gertrude Reidick)(74).

The primacy of Man is seen not only in being created the first of the human pair, but God looks for and addresses him when He meets the two of them. She learned of the prohibition indirectly, but he directly from God. He taught her what was Yahweh's will, not vice versa (74).

The fall is not only the rebellion of mankind against God, but the setting aside of the divinely appointed order of male and female responsibilities. After the fall, God reinstates the original structure of authority when He puts the snake under the woman, the woman under the man (in a force headship relationship), and all three under His divine authority. "The authority of mankind over the animals is essentially different from the authority of the man over the woman, which only consists of the right to lead in a partnership of equals" (75). By this statement W. Neuer reduces headship to leadership. However, it is leadership plus a lot more.

> It is a total way of life on a par with voluntary slavedom. In Hebrew culture a man could become a slave to a Hebrew master to get himself out of financial trouble. He had to be released in the seventh year. However, he could become a slave for life by having his ear pierced by his master. Why would he do this? "But if the servant plainly says, 'I love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go out free,' then his master shall bring him to the judges. He shall also bring him to the door, or to the doorpost, and his master shall pierce his ear with an awl; and he shall serve him forever" (Exod 21:5-6). "Also to your female servant you shall do likewise" (Deut 15:17).

W. Neuer is correct in suggesting that Eve's fall began with her forsaking the leadership of her husband and involving herself *without him* in a dialogue with the snake (76).

It makes more sense that she did it alone than that Adam was a witness to all that happened and did not intervene. But he is wrong to suggest that her act was a bid to

dominate Adam. She acted as she did because the fruit of the Tree was physically attractive and promised to make her wise. To dominate Adam is reading too much into the text here. Disregard for the commandment was her first sin. Children can disobey their parents without attempting to dominate them. They want to act independently; to be out from under their control and to follow their own will. So with Eve here.

W. Neuer is correct when he portrays the woman as a person in special need of protection and particularly open to Satanic seduction. It is not by chance that the snake goes to the woman. She is more receptive to new impressions (77). He is also correct in denying that Genesis 2 affirms a total equality of rank between the sexes and that the subordination of woman is first addressed in Genesis 3:16. The equal worth of men and women includes a subordination of equally valuable partners (79), but this subordination is always seen in terms of accepting male headship.

6. The Headship of Christ and Man

This is the most questionable part of W. Neuer's book (110-112). He notes, The Greek term *kephale* (head) expresses a relationship of subordination. "It means that the one who stands over the other conceptually is the basis of the other's existence. So as Christ comes from the Father, is subordinate to the Father and lives for him, so the woman lives in a way appropriate to her existence from the man and for the man's sake" (111).[904]

The major fault with this view is that W. Neuer has not realised that Jesus had two distinct relationships with God, His Father; an earthly one (as Man in a *headship* relationship) and a heavenly one (as Son of God in an *obedience* relationship).

First, God the Son and God the Father shared the same God-nature, and the subordination that the Son showed to the Father arose in heaven (not on earth) from a covenant the Trinity entered into to save mankind.[905] The Son is an uncreated Being and therefore there can be no "headship" relation between Him and the Father (or between any of the Persons of the Trinity for that matter), because in the human family the father is not the head of his son. Jesus is the head of all men—the head of all fathers and sons. Sons show an obedient, reverential, deferential attitude toward their fathers, and this is the first relationship that the Second Person of the Trinity had to the First Person of the Trinity. It was not a headship relationship, but a *voluntary,* obedient relationship. Quite a difference.

Second, by becoming a man, God the Son changed His relationship to His Father from an obedience one to a headship one. In other words, he became a second Man, a second Adam. He took on the role of a created being. He identified Himself with mankind by entering into the same relationship that the first Adam had to God. Adam, a created being, had God as his head, so the Messiah had to have God as His head. This was a new experience

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[904] Here Neuer has got the analogy right by equating the *headship* of Man over Woman with the *headship* of God over Christ. However, he has mismatched Christ-Father, instead of Christ-God or Son-Father. Further down he wrongly equates the *headship* of Man over Woman with the *obedience* of the Son to the Father (Trinity). These are not analogous relationships.

[905] Scripture uses the terms "Son" and "Father" and "Spirit of God" to reveal the relationship that they assumed with respect to Man's salvation. We do not know for sure what the relationship was before these terms were created, but Jn 1:1 seems to suggest a unity that exists between a thought and its verbalisation, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God." But once the Covenant of Salvation was drawn up, the Persons of the Trinity were revealed under these three terms. If we assume that the Father-Son relationship existed before the universe was an idea in God's mind, then we can assume that an eternal obedience-subordination existed within the Trinity. This, however, is unlikely, because the terms "father" and "son" presuppose a functional subordination, and this relationship only came about in connection with the plan to redeem mankind. So the family terms originated only *after* creation was planned with all its contingencies. We can be certain that a headship-subordination could not exist at that stage. Some of the early Church fathers accepted the idea of an eternal obedience relationship which is a qualified "subordinationist" position.

for the Second Person of the Trinity. From the position of co-Creator He became incarnate as a man—a "created being." What a humiliation! Note, Paul does not say that the head of the *Son* was God, which would be a mismatch of theological names, but rather that the head of Christ (the man) was God, because the head of every man is God.

W. Neuer does not distinguish between these two very different relationships that the Son of God experienced, and consequently he uses the Father-Son obedience-relationship to model the Man-Woman headship relationship on. This was/is a theological blunder. The model should have been the Christ-God one (Incarnation), not the Father-Son one (Trinity). Terminology is important. Paul does not confuse his terms. He does not use the mixed formula Christ-Father (as Neuer does [111]), but Christ-God in 1 Corinthians 11:2, because the Son-Father relationship is only an *obedience* relationship, whereas the Christ-God relationship is a *headship* relationship.

W. Neuer's theological blunder is then applied disastrously to the Man-Woman relationship (111). He says, "It shows rather that super- or subordination of persons of equal worth is intended" (111),[906] and,

"Paul saw rather in the example of the Trinity that equality is not opposed to super- or subordination. At the same time the Trinity clarifies in what way the man's divinely intended primacy should be exercised and in what way not. Since his headship has its model in the headship of God the Father over Jesus Christ, this removes any justification for a man to rule his wife despotically" (111).

The first sentence in this quotation is not how Paul saw the analogy. The second sentence is a false analogy. The third sentence is, indeed, how Paul saw the analogy. This illustrates the confusion that characterises W. Neuer's attempts to use Paul *words* without having an understanding of Paul's *mind.*

It is theologically incorrect to write: "As God's lordship over the Son is a reign of unconditional love seeking the Son's best, so man's leadership must be a reign of selfless love . . . ." (111-12). There cannot be "lordship" within the Trinity, only within a headship relationship. He approves of the incorrect theological statement of Werner Meyer, "In the loving submission of the woman to the man is reflected the inner Trinitarian glory of the relationship of the Son to the Father" (112). The Man-Woman relationship is a headship relationship whereas the Trinitarian relationship of the Son to the Father is a *voluntary,* obedience relationship. He is comparing apples with oranges here. He ought to have compared the Man-Woman relationship to the Christ-God relationship, because both of these are headship relationships.

7. Creational and Functional Subordination

W. Neuer gives four reasons for the permanency of Man's headship. They are: (1) its claim to be based on revelation; (2) the impossibility of deriving it from the contemporary world; (3) its basis in the nature of the sexes; and (4) its basis in the nature of God.

Some weaknesses are, under (1) he defends the theological reasons Paul gives in 1 Corinthians 11 & 15 and Eph 5, and "whose rejection involves opposing God" (141). But apparently this warning does not extend to Paul's embodiment of such in a practice such as the head-covering. So if you throw away the practice you are not "opposing God," only if you throw away the theology!

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[906] If he has the Trinity in mind this is a wrong analogy, because the Man-Woman relationship is a headship relationship, not an obedience relationship.

Under (3) headship is again seen in terms of leadership which the male persona supports.

Under (4) is the questionable idea that the OT priests and the NT apostles are God's representatives on earth, "reflecting his holiness and perfection." "Consequently it follows from the biblical view of God that the leaders of the church must be men" (152). But which represents God more: a wicked archbishop or a saintly widow? He uses the fact that more masculine images are used about God than feminine ones[907] and this suggests that man is more representative of God than woman.

In reply it should be noted that the likeness extends to the headship role that man has been given as a birthright, rather than that he is male, because God has no masculine gender. God is a Spirit.

W. Neuer should have located the "likeness" that man has to God in his headship rather than in his maleness, though the two come together in the male body. It might seem like a quibble, but it is better to be precise in our understanding if we are not to press masculine terms such as "father," "king," "lord," etc. to argue that God must be "male in some sense" because He made man in His own image and likeness. The "likeness" cannot extend to his sexuality, but *through his sexuality* God's likeness is conveyed in a way which it is not through a female body.

W. Neuer had earlier argued (correctly) that God had prepared the male body to do the tasks that God gave man to do, and prepared the female body to do its quite different appointed tasks.

> It follows that the spirits which operate through these two different bodies have different authorities or powers and this is why one is covered (female) and the other uncovered (male) in the presence of God and the angels (1 Cor 11:10). The "female" spirit was created for the "male" spirit or, to put it in biblical language, "Woman was created for Man, not Man for Woman." There is a created subordination *from the beginning* which extends to the totality of one's being, including the spirit that inhabits the human body.[908] This is why it is incorrect to draw a comparison between the Man-Woman relationship and the Father-Son relationship, because there is no created subordination, only a functional subordination, within the Trinity, and even then the functional subordination within the Trinity is revealed only in connection with Their plan for Man's redemption. We cannot infer that this functional subordination was a permanent, eternal relationship within the Trinity prior to Their plan for Man's redemption.
>
> Arising out of this we can use the term "functional subordination" to describe the relationship of son to father, both in the Trinity and in the human family. And we can use the term "creational subordination" to describe the relationship of wife to husband, man to Christ, and Christ to God.
>
> When the Son of God, who took on a functional subordination role for the purpose of Man's redemption, became a man, He took on the creational subordination that man has with his Creator God. "There was a **man** sent from **God** . . ." (Jn 1:6). Thus He truly stood in Man's place, and as representative man (the Second Adam) He experienced God's wrath and the punishment that should

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907 God is compared to a mother in Isa 66:13; 49:15; Ps 27:10.

908 W. Neuer makes the point "that the man reflects God in a special way by being a man . . . more completely than the woman does . . . . But this statement must not be misunderstood to mean that the woman is in only a limited sense the image of God. . . . The statement about the image of God in man is a qualitative statement that permits no quantitative reduction." (160).

have been man's to experience. It was a *true* substitutionary life and death in every sense of those words.

If writers had distinguished these two kinds of subordination they would never have compared the Man-Woman relationship with the relationships within the Trinity, and in particular with the Father-Son relationship, which many of them do.

W. Neuer's arguments against using the term "mother" of God are well worth reading (152-157), though in his use of the term "father" he presses this too far. "It is through God's revelation in Christ that we first learn that God is in his essential nature a father (i.e., through begetting his son, Jesus Christ)" (155).

One wonders which came first, the human or the divine paternity? God must use human language to speak to man. Once Adam (father) begat a son in his own image, he begat another male. The relationship between these two males was an obedient, reverential one, going from son to father (unidirectional). Only the functional subordination aspect of the Adam-Abel relationship can be carried over into the Trinity. We cannot apply any other relationship feature between these two males, to the Trinity, without overstepping our knowledge. For example we cannot argue that logically a father must be prior to his son, therefore God the Father must be prior to God the Son. This would be pressing the human analogy beyond its metaphorical limits. Nor can we deduce that since a son must have a mother, therefore there must be God the Mother alongside God the Father who begat God the Son. This, too, would be unorthodox teaching. We are left, then, to select only *one aspect* in the human father-son relationship that can legitimately be applied to the Trinity and that is the voluntary, deferential relationship itself between two humans who share a common male nature.[909] That is the only aspect that we can compare in the two relationships. The rest of the human analogies must not be pressed. The Church Fathers were acutely aware of the limitations in the human analogy and in order to safeguard the deity of the Son spoke of the "eternally begotten Son," which is a difficult concept to imagine! But all it was saying was that the Father was not prior to the Son, which the human analogy would lead one to believe must have been the case.

Again, on the human analogy, the "only begotten son" indicated the person concerned was the firstborn. We cannot press the human analogy otherwise we end up again with God the Father being prior to God the Son. The firstborn received the lion's share of his father's inheritance. He is the favoured son, the first of his strength. Again, it is the relational aspect, "firstborn," and all that that term conjured up for the Hebrew man that *alone* must be abstracted from this human analogy and other possible analogies dropped.

So the comparisons between the human and the divine "families" are more in the form of metaphors because the terms "father," "son," "only begotten," etc., which have a reality in the human family, have only a notional reality in the Trinity, which consists of three, genderless Persons sharing a common God-

[909] This is where any analogy between "God the Mother" and "God the Son" would break down completely, because on the human level, the female is in a *creational* subordinate position to the male, whereas the point of the father-son relationship is that it is a *functional* subordinate relationship between two persons sharing the same "male" nature. Consequently only the human father-son relationship can reflect the Trinitarian Father-Son relationship, because only these two have a common *functional* subordination relationship.

nature. And it should be recalled that without a plan of redemption worked out "before the foundation of the world," there would have been no functional subordination within the Persons of the Trinity, and consequently no need for terms such as "Father," and "Son," to describe the roles that each Person would adopt in order to save mankind.

W. Neuer has pressed the human analogy too far on the Trinity and so the section, "God as Father" (155-157) should be read with extreme care.

The following scheme sets out the alterations that took place within the Trinity in order to redeem Mankind. In the case of the Lord Jesus, He moves from being equal to the other Persons of the trinity, to functional subordination, to creational subordination, and then back to functional subordination, as follows.

1. The Trinity consists of three, uncreated Persons, therefore no functional or creational subordination is possible between them before the foundation of the universe.

2. The Trinity contemplate the creation of the universe, including Man to govern the Earth.

3. Man's redemption contemplated. The Second and Third Persons of the Trinity voluntarily accept the role of functional subordination in order to achieve it. The adoption of functional subordination does not mean that they lose their Godhead. "The Jews sought all the more to kill him, because . . . he said that God was His Father, making Himself equal to God" (Jn 5:18; cf. 10:33).[910] They understood the Father-Son relationship to be one of equality in nature, even though they were subordinate in function.

4. Creation of the universe and Man completed. Man is in a creational subordination relationship to his Creator. "The head of Man is God." He was created *for* God. Woman is in a creational (not a functional) subordination relationship to Man. "The head of Woman is Man." She was created *for* Man.

5. The Fall of Mankind occurs.

6. The plan of salvation is initiated. The birth of the Messiah as a man to redeem mankind is brought about. Creational subordination is adopted by the Messiah (Christ) in order to be Man's genuine substitute. His creational subordination comes out clearest at the moment the Father turned away His face from Him on the cross, when He experiences separation from Him, and in some deep distress calls out, "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?" (Jn (Mt 27:26). In that moment man's sins are upon Him and that explains the separation He experienced. He *had* to experience this if the substitution was genuine and complete. Yet He is also aware that even as a man, His relationship to the Father is slightly different from that of Christians to the Father (even though both use "Father" in their address to Him). "I am ascending to My Father and your Father, and to My God and your God" (Jn 20:17). He is a Son by nature (equal with the Father); Christians are sons by adoption.

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[910] In John's Gospel, "God" refers to God the Father (cf. 6:27 "has God the Father sealed,' cf. 8:42; 16:30). Jesus is aware that "the Father is in Me, and I am in Him" (Jn 10:38).

7. "Now when all things are made subject to Him, then the Son Himself will also be subject to Him who put all things under Him, that God may be all in all" (1 Cor 15:28). Thus the functional relationship of Son to Father will be restored, which is an obedience relationship (or functional subordinate relationship), not a headship relation (or creational subordinate relationship) (1 Cor 15:28). Nothing is said of a move back to the pre-functional subordinate relationship that the Son had before the universe was planned.

Any attempt to draw an analogy between the functional subordination between the Father and the Son, and the relationship between husband and wife is false, because the former is a functional subordination, whereas the latter is a creational subordination.

The only correct analogy to compare the husband-wife relationship to, is the one used by Paul, namely, that of the *Man* Christ Jesus to God (note: Paul does not say the "Father," but "God"). Jesus, for Man's sake, became man (a created being). In order for Him to be fully man He had to move into a creational subordination position, because all men stand in that relationship to God, their Maker.

Paul is careful in the pairs of words he uses. For the functional subordination within the Trinity (which was set up specifically to redeem Mankind) he uses the redemptive names "Father" and "Son," but for the creational subordination he uses "Christ" and "God," because "Christ" has reference to His manhood, whereas "God" has reference to His creaturehood. He never confuses these pairs. He never pairs "Christ" with the "Father," or the "Son" with "God," as many Christian writers do, including W. Neuer. Paul does not make the mistake of saying, "the head of Christ is the Father," because "Father" points to the Son's Trinitarian *functional* subordination, whereas, "the head of Christ is God," points to His *creational* subordination; quite a difference in His relationship to the First Person of the Trinity.

The relation, Creator-creature, can never be seen as one of equals. What the Creator creates must be under His control (subordinate to Him). He cannot create (or clone) Himself to create an equal, therefore He is One. Consequently all men are in a creational subordination relationship to God. But Woman was created for Man, so she is in a creational subordination relationship to Man, not a functional subordination to Man.

When a man begets a son, that son is in a functional subordination relationship to his father, not a creational subordination position, because the son was not created for the father, but for God. The human and the Trinitarian father-son relationships can only be functional subordination ones, as the familial terms themselves suggest.

From this we cannot make the mistake of saying that men and women have a mutual subordination relationship (as in secular marriage relationships), when clearly women are in a creational subordination relationship to man, not a functional subordination relationship to him. All women are born into this creational relationship whether they marry or not.

> Another error to avoid is to liken the relationship of husband and wife to that of the Father and the Son (which is a functional subordination). This is another common mistake among Christian writers. It is usually made in order to avoid the idea of "subordination" within marriage, because this term, in any flavour (sugar-coated or not), is hated in Western culture. Or if "subordination" must be used they prefer to liken the marriage relationship to the Trinitarian Father-Son *functional* subordination and the nice glow that this relationship has in their minds. But this is not true. The marriage relationship is a *creational* subordination relationship: "Woman was created for Man" (1 Cor 11:9), and by definition, all creational subordination relationships are unequal relationships. All creational subordinations are unidirectional or one-way relationships. They are not mutual subordinations. Consequently all male-male relations (i.e., father-son) are functional subordinations, but all male-female relations (i.e., husband-wife) are creational subordinations. We only know this through God's revelation, but all Christian marriages must live within this knowledge and order their lives around it. This will set them off from all secular marriages which are founded on mutual subordination or equality.

W. Neuer's use of the Bridegroom-Bride analogy should not be pressed (157-162). Here the language has been taken from the human experience and applied to the spiritual (which suggests that the father-son analogy also has its origin in the human rather than in the divine). He notes that the "description of God as father and bridegroom has shown that the masculine terminology of the Bible is based on the nature of God, whereas feminine terms are unsuited to designating the divine nature" (158). Here, he has wedded the masculine gender too closely to the divine, which is sexless. It is the harmonious and beautiful *subordinate relationships* that God had established between male and female, and father and son, that matters in the analogies, not their genders or their generation differences as such. In using anthropomorphic language, God can liken Himself to an animate being (such as animals and humans, including being a mother) or an inanimate thing (from rocks to light). The focus is on a *single facet or feature* of the thing being compared and no extension should be assumed. So if God pictures Himself as a lion roaring, we are not to extrapolate from this that, like a lion, He has a big mane of hair or is masculine. It is the *fear* that a lion's roar produces in humans that is the focus and He intends to produce a similar sense of fear in His people in using this analogy or metaphor. Similarly, the Psalmist likens Yahweh to a drunk man, "Like a mighty man who shouts because of wine" (Ps 78:65). The focus is entirely on the *effect* that such an awesome shout will have on those in the vicinity. To press other features and deduce that Yahweh is a man, or someone who behaves like a drunkard, or someone who is not always in control of Himself, is to go beyond the *single feature* that the Psalmist has chosen to pick out to liken God to.

The Holy Spirit has noted that in human terms the peak of intense yearning in the bridegroom for the bride is in the period leading up to the marriage. So the focus should remain on that lovely period of human sexuality to capture the intense love of the Son for His Church. Heaven is sometimes portrayed as a huge feast, because, in human terms, this conjures up an image of satisfying one's appetite to the full with all the impressions that go along with the image: music, joy, pleasant feelings, celebration, friendship among the guests. etc. The fact that there may be no food in heaven does not detract from the intense. anticipated joy that the human image produces, and it is this image of intense joy that is successfully conveyed by putting heaven's joys in terms of human experiences.

Where Neuer is correct is in the appropriateness of Christ taking the role of the bridegroom rather than being the bride.[911] This is in harmony with the image of Christ being

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[911] The Old Covenant Church and the New Covenant Church are both compared to a bride. In the OT, see Jer 2:2; or a (betrothed) husband, Isa 54:5; Jer 3:8-9; 9:2; Ezek 16; Hos 1-3. In the NT as a bride, see Mt 9:15-16 and parallels;

the head of the body, rather than being the Body and the Church being the head. Care, however, should be taken when human language is used to describe the spiritual world where flesh and blood does not exist. Human sexuality belongs to the physical world and has no counterpart in the spiritual world. But humans come in two forms, male and female, and one has been subordinated to the other in terms of authority. One is ranked above the other. They are not in the same class and the angels know this. They also know how to recognise the ranking. Males (given a beard by God) are ranked above females, and when they both come before God they come in a different dress-code. Being single or married does not come into the picture. It is this fixed, differentiation in the authorities that God had allotted to the sexes that leads to, and establishes, good order and harmony and allows the Holy Spirit to draw on such *subordinated authorities* (which are attached to genders) to illustrate the other, spiritual, hierarchical relationships. Put the focus on different powers of authority clothed in different genders and this will avoid the confusion that restricting the debate to the marriage relationship sometimes leads to. The two *different* genders represent two *different* authorities whether they are married or not. Let that be the starting-point for a discussion of marriage and no confusion can arise.

It also means that Jesus did not *have* to marry to satisfy the truth that "the head of woman is man." He had this authority by virtue of being a male. It may find its expression in marriage but marriage does not confer it. All men have this authority (or headship) by virtue of being male whether they marry or not, so that no man loses anything of his manhood by remaining single or celibate. Jesus was a *full* male. This teaches that marriage is not of the essence of manhood. Man is complete in and of himself. This is comforting for all males who forego marriage in the interests of giving their undivided attention to the things of the Lord.

8. Women as Models of Headship

W. Neuer has captured well how a loving headship relationship works out in practice. 1 Peter 3:1-6 unfolds the picture of the divine vocation of women which is normative throughout the NT and is embodied with exemplary purity in Mary, the mother of Jesus. The greatness of Mary rests in her quiet willingness to let the miracle of the incarnation happen to her and to retire completely behind the mission of her son and the apostles. She was true to her divine calling, not through public activity for God but by letting God work secretly in her and by helping prepare for the public activity of her son by being a mother. The same is true for the women who were followers of Jesus. They do not step into the limelight but rather work steadily in the background (Lk 8:2-3) in order to make possible the public ministry of Jesus and the Apostles (133).

These women quietly perform their function of being man's helpmeet. They accompany the apostles with quiet peaceableness and precisely through their hidden existence on God's behalf, exercise a blessing which is not to be undervalued (134).

Peter states that the test of proper conduct in marriage is that the prayer life of both partners is not harmed (1 Pet 3:7). The rule, live your marriage so that you can pray, indicates very surely what is pure and important in marriage and what must be avoided. 1 Peter 3:7 shows that the spiritual fellowship of the spouses is the heart of every Christian marriage. By making the shared lives of the spouses with God the basis and norm of Christian marriage, Peter creates the best foundation for husbands and wives to live as God determined, and thereby to overcome the age-long battle of the sexes by mutual self-sacrifice (134).

9. Understanding Genesis 3:16 and Man's "rule"

22:2-4 and parallels; 25:1-10; Jn 3:29; Rev 19:7, 9; 21:2; 22:17; or as a husband, see Eph 5:22.

W. Neuer questions Calvin's interpretation, who wrote, "She had, indeed, previously been subject to her husband, but that was a liberal and gentle subjection; now she is cast into servitude." There is no straight replacement. The text gives no warrant for holding that God imposes a punishment of male tyrannical oppression on the woman or that it regards such despotism as good.

W. Neuer is correct to argue that Man was given leadership before Woman fell. Differentiated roles were corrupted, not created, by the Fall. Man's oppression of Woman is as a result of sin. But the relationship is not one of just leadership. On its own, this falls short of what Paul means by "head."

We can concur with W. Neuer's conclusion that Genesis 3:16 does not mean that the subordination of Woman must be a permanent punishment for her single sin (81). However, he does see it as a possible summons to the Woman to return to the pre-Fall subordination to the Man. This is not satisfactory, as it fails to note that something new and unnatural has *permanently* entered her world—force headship—which will never go away, but remain permanently in the background even in a Christian marriage. This is the new force or "rule" that God draws attention to, but she has only herself to blame for bringing it into existence. She would never have experienced it had she remained in his love. And the Christian woman today should never experience the "rule" of Genesis 3:16 if she remains in her husband's love. There is a way for women to escape the consequences of Eve's sin but it is only by entering into a love-headship relationship with her husband, or in the case of single females, a love-headship relation, through the Christian community, to Christ.

W. Neuer cannot decide which interpretation best suits Genesis 3:16. The choice is between (1), either Genesis 3:16 ordains only that subordination of women to men which is already part of God's creation ordinance in Genesis 2, or (2), Genesis 3:16 states that woman will be oppressed by men as a result of her sin, without justifying such oppression.

> As far as this reviewer is concerned only (2) has some merit. Love-headship existed from the beginning of creation. Force-headship only existed after the Woman's fall. Both love- and force-headships are found in heaven and on earth. But they both existed first in heaven. Force-headship need never have existed on the earth, but Woman brought it in through her disobedience, and it is here to stay but not to be used where love-headship rules unopposed.
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> The reviewer's own solution to the "rule" of man in Gen 3:16 is set in the context of force-headship, which God and the Lord Jesus both exercise to retain control of their worlds. Man's force-headship did not exist before the Fall of Woman. It came into existence as a direct consequence of her own sin in acting independently of her husband, in much the same way that an archangel acted independently of God, and God used force to gain control of him. So force-headship emerged into existence in reaction to out-of-control persons. It is not an evil force in itself but it is open to misuse in Man's hands.
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> God's statement is simply a statement of fact in a changed, fallen world. Force-headship is back-to-back with Love-headship, both in the Divine and the human realms. They are two sides of the one coin. God is simply informing the Woman that she has brought force-headship into existence by her own stupidity and it will remain a part of her existence for as long as humans (and thorns and thistles) exist on the earth. Satan brought God's force-headship into existence by his stupidity. It did not exist until he rebelled.
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> So it is not so much a punishment ("he *will* rule over you") as an unavoidable consequence of her sin. Nor is God announcing what the effect on Woman will be

as a result of Man's fallen nature, which would be a prophetic word ("he *shall* rule over you").

It is better to draw an analogy between the headship of God over His archangels, and the headship of Adam over his wife. Both relationships were love-headship relationships until independent action by a powerful archangel, Satan, and independent action by Eve, shattered their respective love-headship relationships. God and Adam both found themselves having to resort to force[912] to retain (regain in Adam's case) control of their respective worlds. But this did not mean that Adam *had* to live at this harsher level of force to maintain control over his wife, which would be domination. Rather, love-headship was to be the normal relationship and force-headship was a reserve power in the case of further acts of independent action. Here God is sanctioning the use of force by Man to retain control of his world, over which He has set him. And, by and large, this is what has happened throughout history and will do so to the end of time. However, the use of force-headship within a Christian marriage is an indication that something has happened to destroy the love-headship that alone should govern that relationship. Sin in the husband, or sin in the wife, or sin in both, will extinguish love, and two wills are set in competition leading to separation and divorce.

The idea that Genesis 3:16 just expresses what is already in the creation ordinance of Genesis 2 is wrong. This interpretation is said to be advocated by Thomas Aquinas (1226-1274) and Luther (80).

10. Woman's place in Old Testament Worship

W. Neuer has a useful section on the occasions when women participated in the religious life of the nation (83-85). Unfortunately, he includes Noadiah as a prophetess alongside Miriam, Deborah and Huldah. Noadiah was, in fact, a false prophetess who opposed Nehemiah (Neh 6:14; cf. Rev 2:20, "that woman, Jezebel, who calls herself a prophetess."). He next examples cases where religious duties were delegated on a gender basis (85-86). Mothers were entrusted with the young children and maturing daughters, while the fathers taught the older children and especially his sons. This division is retained in the NT due to the continuity of Man's headship being a creational feature of human society for all time.

What W. Neuer fails to make clear is that this division is based on God's headship relationship to Man and Man's headship relationship to Woman. These two relationships have determined the division of duties and responsibilities. These two headships have been retained in the NT, except that God has handed over His headship of Man to the Lord Jesus Christ. Man's headship over Woman is as permanent as the existence of men and women on this planet.

Yahweh had a free hand to write up laws permitting women to be priests on an equal footing with men because He created their culture and one which would set Israel apart as distinct from all the nations of the earth. With an eye toward His Son's Church, this was an ideal opportunity to introduce equality between men and women, had He so desired. But He didn't and W. Neuer does not explore the obvious theological reason why this could not be done, though much later on in his book this does come out.

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[912] God frequently uses force throughout the OT period to keep control of the nations, cf. Isa 40:10 and Ps 22:28, etc., and in the eschatological rule of the Messiah (Mic 5:1).

11. Oppression of Women in OT society

The section on oppression of women in Hebrew society (86-87) has not been handled very well. W. Neuer assumes that all the laws in the Pentateuch were given by Yahweh. This is not true.

The legalised oppression toward women in some laws reflects the hardness of the unregenerate heart, which the Law is not able to cure (which is Paul's argument in Romans). The *lex talionis* (an eye for an eye) was not given to encourage such retaliation but to restrict the desire for revenge to appropriate proportions. Quite a different motivation. Jesus abolished the need for this law with His command to turn the other cheek.

"At the same time he [Jesus] attacks every degeneration of male leadership into chauvinist despotism, as he removes the Old Testament and Jewish right of a man to divorce his wife." (101). Here the Law is seen as sanctioning oppression of women.

It is not surprising to find laws that Moses, not Yahweh, *had* to establish to accommodate Israel's hardness of heart. But it would be wrong to attribute these laws to Yahweh as part of the headship of man. They are not. This W. Neuer has failed to make clear. Consequently he presents a distorted view of OT law. He should have distinguished between those laws that bring out, and apply to, the love-headship side of the man-woman relationship, and those that arise out of the "hardness of their hearts," i.e., that bring out the force-headship side of the man-woman relationship, where either or both will not abide by the original and on-going love-headship relationship.

The laws that accommodate man's hardness of heart arise from a misuse of the force-headship authority that he has been given. But Moses is forced to give in to this hardness and try to regulate it in order to curb its excesses. It is interesting that in the long list of prohibited sex relations in Lev 18-20, the prohibition against father-daughter incest is missing. This type of incest was so repugnant that it was not necessary for Moses to mention it explicitly. To some extent, then, the laws that were finally written down simply tracked man's misuse of his position.

This hardness forced Moses to regulate for divorce—for the *fait accompli*—in the OT, which Jesus threw out. He made no provision for divorce in His Kingdom because to do so would be a recognition that men with such hardness of heart could be part of His Body. It would also be a violation of Man's headship in marriage. *Only death can separate a Christian couple.* In mixed marriages the unbeliever may walk out. In this case the Christian partner remains single for the rest of the estranged partner's life on earth.

It must be remembered that God's Law was introduced to hold an unregenerate nation together until such time as the Messiah would appear (Gal 3:19). The Law was introduced for sinners, not for saints, Paul informs us. It deals with the human heart as it finds it, not as it should be. Nevertheless, its standards were placed within the reach of fallen man, so that, should they follow it perfectly, they would be saved by works of the Law. But none could keep even the reduced standards, which forced them to look elsewhere for another way and some found it in the way of faith (Rom 3:28; 4:5).

The Law accommodated polygamy (another concession to man's exploitation of his force-headship powers) and David, the man of God, had fourteen wives. The Law, the Old Covenant of Works, was abolished when Christ came (Rom 8:2), yet those laws which safeguarded man's headship and are compatible with the love-headship relationship have an abiding force in the New Covenant of Faith (Rom 7:22, 25).

W. Neuer did not look into the possibility that economic matters (including inheritance laws) have as their primary aim the need to safeguard man's control of his household's finances. The law of inheritance also safeguarded the genealogy of the

Messiah.[913] If Yahweh had permitted women to hold the economic power in the family (through inheritance or some other means) this would have undermined the man's headship position.[914] Yahweh, not Moses, regulated Israel's economic laws.

Feminists have used material, such as W. Neuer has brought together, to smear the headship of Man with the odour of oppressing women. W. Neuer has handed them a collection of undifferentiated laws, some of which have been made up by Moses to placate the force-headship authority[915] that was given to Man through Eve's transgression (Gen 3:16, "he shall rule over you"), but some are there to safeguard Man's headship relationship over Woman. By failing to make this point clear, feminists have assumed that the *whole* Law was intended to placate or curb the excesses of man's oppressive rule of women—to placate what Jesus called man's "hardness of heart"—and justify it through legal procedures, and they are partly right.

Consequently, W. Neuer has inadvertently handed feminists a stick with which to beat and undermine the good and beneficial side of the Law, when used wisely (Rom 2:26; 7:12, "the law is holy, and the commandment holy and just and good;" 7:14, 16). He, himself, sees a *contradiction* between what the Law legalises and what he understands as equality between man and wife in Genesis 2:24. This gives the *whole* Law a bad odour to the delight of feminists.

12. The Language of Appeasement or Conciliation?

W. Neuer's terminology gives the impression of wanting to soften or to apologise for the uncompromising patriarchal stance of the Bible, as though the work was intended to make it more amenable to feminists or liberal evangelicals. For instance, his work is liberally sprinkled with phrases such as "woman is man's equal companion," and "women are equal to men" in Jesus' eyes, in Paul's eyes, in Peter's eyes, etc., etc. There are no balancing instances of "women are not equal to men" in God's eyes, etc. Also, he selects titles such as, "The Equality of the Sexes" (63, 83, 92, 107), and refrains from using the linguistically opposite term, "The Inequality of the Sexes," to describe the divine discrimination between the sexes, preferring titles such as "Sexual Differences and the Integrity of the Personality" (26), "The Differences Between Male and Female" (31), "The Differences Between the Sexes" (69), "The Distinction Between the Sexes" (98, 110). Substitute "divine discrimination" for "differences" to see that the former is based on headship; the latter is purely observational.

W. Neuer is well aware that the Creator has given to Man the gift of headship (which he, unfortunately, limits this to leadership[916]) over all His creation, including Woman. This position of authority brings with it responsibility and responsibility brings with it accountability and accountability assumes control. Control is a hierarchical term and implies an unequal distribution of power. Inequalities inhere more in headship than in leadership. Up to this point in W. Neuer's book he avoids the issue of headship (and even the term itself[917]) and the huge disparity and inequality that that term carries in the Man-Woman relationship.

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[913] This was investigated in my unpublished Glasgow University thesis, "Jesus' Genealogies: A Critical Survey of Ideas and Solutions" (1993).

[914] In my opinion, a man should not marry a woman who could control him through her greater wealth. Better, if poor, to marry a poorer, Christian woman, and together increase their wealth for the benefit of their family. In this respect arranged marriages may avoid such imbalanced marriages from taking place to the detriment of the man's ability to exercise his headship in a way which will secure the happiness of both partners.

[915] There is a right and a wrong use of force-headship, which I have addressed elsewhere in this work. It must not be concluded that all force-headship action is a contradiction of love-headship. It isn't, because God and the Lord Jesus both use it on occasions to retain control of those under their authority.

[916] The term "head" does not occur until page 100.

[917] The term "headship" first occurs on page 112.

Appeasement terminology is seen in the title, "Oppression of Woman" (86), which is traced back to the Law itself which legalises it. This has the effect of degrading the whole Law as biased in favour of men at the expense of "women's rights," whereas all of God's laws should be seen against the backcloth of Man's headship. It is *that* that accounts for the shape and content of the Law.

What W. Neuer has failed to grasp is that there is an in-built inequality in the establishment of Man's headship. There would have been no problem with it had Eve not transgressed, because up until her sin she experienced only a love-headship relationship with Adam. The Fall of mankind, however, has not replaced this love-headship with a force-headship (Gen 3:16). Rather, love-headship has to be counter-balanced with force-headship to stay in control (even God requires it to stay in control of His world).

> The Law is there to curb the wrong use of force-headship, not to regulate love-headship. He has failed to note, to use Jesus' words, that "from the beginning it was not so." From Adam until the giving of the Law, sin dominated and dogged man's innermost being (Rom 5:14). The Law was introduced in Moses' time to objectify sin for what it is—living contrary to the revealed nature of God (Rom 5:13; 1:18-23; 7:7). It was to be God's teacher to lead Man toward Christ for meaning in life.
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> Scripture reveals that "there is no authority except from God" (Rom 13:1) and Christians are to obey the existing authorities. They are God's ministers to execute His wrath "on him who practices evil." But what happens when this power is misused to persecute God's Church? Here we see lawful authority being misdirected toward doers of good. The same thing can happen with a husband's existing, force-headship, authority. It is open to abuse or right use. The Law can only curb or circumscribe its wrong use but cannot create a love-headship relationship in man. It can only demand it, "Love the Lord your God with all your heart, etc." (Gal 5:14). What the Law was not able to do, the Spirit of Christ dwelling in the believer is able to do (Rom 8; Gal 5:14).

13. Patriarchal and Headship Language

Paul has no problem with the concept of men being married to the man, Christ Jesus, "Therefore, my brethren, you also have become dead to the law through the body of Christ, that you may be married to another—to Him who was raised from the dead, that we should bear fruit to God" (Rom 7:4). He is thinking of the biblical view of marriage, of being one-flesh with Christ, being His body. There is no sexual aspect in view at all in this "marriage." He is using marriage terminology to get at the essence of what that one-flesh union entails—love-headship.

Peter, when speaking to wives, talks of the "hidden man of the heart," which is lost in some translations, such as the NKJV, "rather let it be the hidden person of the heart."[918] But the retention of the Greek idiom is instructive, in that it brings out the patriarchal framework within which truth is revealed.

All Christians, male and female, and all angels, male and female,[919] are included under the term "sons of God," or "sons of Abraham," but all men are excluded under the term "daughters of God," or "daughters of Abraham." The only female angels in the Bible

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[918] In this regard it is important to read a literal English translation alongside a modern version, whose language is tailored to bring out the meaning rather than the idiom of the Greek.

[919] W. Neuer errs when he says that "wherever angels take human form in the Bible they appear to be male. The idea of female angels seems to be foreign to the Bible" (192 n. 276). See Zech 5:9.

occur in Zech 5:9. Presumably, both male and female angels are included in Job 38:7, "When [God created the universe] the morning stars sang together, And all the sons of God shouted for joy."[920] All the archangels are male, so that male and female angels come under the authority of male leaders in heaven. In the resurrected state, all male and female Christians will be "like" the angels (but not be actual angels) in that they will not marry, yet they will retain their gender, as the *man,* Christ Jesus, does now in heaven, from where he will come again recognisably as a man. Christians will have a new, spiritual body like the Lord Jesus's, but they will be recognisably male and female in appearance, because to defeat death the physical body must come back to life again and be transformed into the likeness of His glorious body. In this sense our gender is as eternal as eternal life will be.

The term 'Adam' can include women. Genesis 5:2, "a male and a female he created them, and he blessed them, and he called their name 'Adam'."

Patriarchal language should be retained because the theology is often bound up in the male terms used.

14. Setting up a Rabbinic Straw-man?

W. Neuer's use of Rabbinic writings proving Judaism's oppression of women should be used with care. Practically all his evidence is taken from material that was written down well after Christianity had been founded, so it may not reflect the situation in Jesus' day (92-94). The same goes for the use of the Jewish prayer (dated to *ca.* AD 150) prayed by every Jew, thanking God that he was not born a woman (93). He has taken it as an arrogant, male chauvinist statement of superiority. Given that man was created to be God's servant, and woman was created to be Man's servant, such a prayer may have the greater glory of God standing behind it. Again, caution is needed in handling Jewish material, especially where it is used to show off the superiority of Christianity by selective comparisons. Judaism is not alone in having a beam sticking out of its eye.

15. An all-Male Ministry

W. Neuer is correct in extrapolating from Jesus' selection of men-only for his Apostles and missionaries, that Jesus intended this to be a principled decision, and not one conditioned by the culture of his day (98). He notes there is not a single passage in the Gospels which points to women who followed Jesus being entrusted with the task of preaching (100). He ameliorates this situation by consoling his women readers that this was done because "we see that Jesus did not just express the equality of the sexes in word and action, but that he also respected the individuality of male and female in the sense of Genesis 2" (100). The feminist expression, "equality of the sexes" is one that needs to be carefully defined (if not avoided altogether). It is not a biblical, never mind a Pauline, concept, and it is open to all kinds of interpretation.

Male and female they are in their totality. There is not a single cell in their bodies which are the same or equal. How can two beings which do not have a single cell in common with each other be equal? Everything about them is different—brain physiology, bones, muscles, skin, eyes, etc. They are two distinct types of human beings but share a number of characteristics in common. I would prefer to see evangelicals use the term "common" where others use "equal." Women and men share a *common* moral image; they share a *common* means of access to Christ (Gal 3:28), a *common* sanctification that sanctifies one's unbelieving partner (1 Cor 7:14), etc.

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[920] The expression "sons of God" is rare in the OT. It occurs in Job 1:6; 2:1; 34:7; and Gen 6:2. This latter is not a reference to angels marrying women, but to the sons of the elect line intermarrying with unbelievers, in much the same way that the Israelites intermarried with the Canaanites against strict instructions not to do so, as it would destroy the genealogical link back to Abraham whose descendants had the Promises (Gal 3:16).

16. Marriage and Celibacy in 1 Corinthians 7

Here W. Neuer struggles to put Paul in a good light (105-106). However, this whole chapter should be put in the context of a local, temporary restriction put on marriage by the Lord Jesus Himself for a limited period of time. Seen in the context of a prophetic word that came through Paul and which he passed on to the church in Corinth, all that Paul says about this restriction makes good sense.

When the church received this prophetic message (possibly in the previous letter, as 1 Corinthians is really Paul's second letter to them, and 2 Corinthians is really his fourth letter) they each reacted to it differently depending on their married, betrothal, or unmarried state. Those who were married wanted to know if the prophetic message ("It is good for a man not to touch a woman") meant that they were to stop sleeping with each other. Paul deals with each status in turn.

W. Neuer has put forward a good case in trying to reconcile this chapter with Paul's total view on marriage on the assumption that this is a normal situation in Corinth, even though, in the reviewer's opinion, he has to stretch and strain things a bit to pull them all together.

How else is one to read 7:2-3, "let each man have his own wife"? Is this an exhortation to single men to get married "because of the sexual immorality"? Yes, says W. Neuer, marriage is the normal vocation for all, without pressing "each one" in an absolute sense (106). Or is it, as the reviewer holds, a command to those *already married to go on sleeping* with one another? But why would you tell a married couple to go on sleeping together unless there was a directive telling them "not to touch" each other? And why would such a directive come from the Lord Jesus in the first place? The answer appears to be in the local, sexually uninhibited culture of Corinth itself, of which vv. 2, 26 is proof.

Again, how is one to interpret 7:7, "For I wish that all men were even as I myself"? This is a very hurtful thing to say to all the married men in the church. This is unlike Paul. I have suggested the following way out of this unPaul-like scenario.

> Concerning those in group 1 (7:2-7) Paul meets the possible (maybe actual) misinterpretation (of the original directive which was contained in his previous letter) that they are to abstain from sexual relations completely. He replies that he did not mean that at all. He meant that their sexual relations should continue normally without ever wanting to "touch" each other *as a result of being aroused by the eroticism of the city.* He wished that they could *resist being aroused* by this extra-marital stimuli as he (Paul) would certainly resist it if he were in Corinth. He wishes they could remain "normal" as he would in such a situation. That is what he means when he says in 7:7, "I wish that all men were as I am *[in this matter of resisting the urge to have sexual relations as a result of being aroused by the eroticism of their environment]*."[921]

In dealing with this troublesome verse, W. Neuer can only say,

"According to verse 7 Christian marriage and also celibacy for God's sake is a charisma (*i.e.,* a gift of divine grace) whose reception cannot be compelled. Characterising marriage as a charisma protects it once and for all from disparagement" (105).

But why, if Paul knew this, would he say that he wished that *all men* had his charisma of celibacy? This is saying that marriage is good, but celibacy is better. The solution is that Paul wished all men (married and unmarried) would have his gift of being able to resist having relations due to the abnormally high inducements to do so, coming from the eroticism

[921] See section 4.6. above where this extract is taken from.

of their environment. He is urging a form of self-discipline even within the context of marriage. This would explain why some parts are binding instructions (what the Lord says), while other parts are Paul's personal advice, given in the light of the prophetic directive.

17. Galatians 3:28

This passage shows that in the church of Jesus there is no difference in value between different social classes, and different sexes. Since all constitute a single unity in Christ Jesus, the superiority of Jews over Gentiles, freemen over slaves, men over women, has no justification in the light of Christ's revelation. Paul is in no way saying that all these differences are simply extinguished or have no further significance for the shape of church life. For it is obvious to Paul that national, social, and sexual differences continue even among Christians. Paul did not demand the abolition of slaves among Christians (see Philemon). In Gal 3:28 he emphasised the complete parity of all believers "in Christ." The expression "in Christ" refers to the new life that is given to those who believe in Christ (2 Cor 5:17). Gal 3:28 means, therefore, that as far as eternal salvation is concerned, all, whether male or female, are equal before God (107-08).

> "Equal" is not the choicest of terms to use of a *common* salvation in Christ. Men and women, Jew and Gentile, enter salvation on the *same condition of faith.* The idea of "equality" does not enter into the issue of salvation. It is better to see Jew and Gentile, Man and Woman, walking side by side toward a *common* Christ, a *common* salvation, etc., rather than the Woman looking Man in the eye and saying "I am *equal* to you in Christ," with the Lord Jesus standing somewhere in the background. Talking of "equality" all the time disorientates Paul's theology into a perverted argument over equal rights. In headship there are no rights but duties.

18. 1 Corinthians 11:2-16

This is yet another disastrous section in W. Neuer's book. He writes: Paul is concerned that the position of the man, as head of the wife, should be outwardly expressed in the church. The custom generally current in the Christian church at that period, of women covering their heads, served to symbolise the divinely intended primacy of man. The custom of covering the head was important for Paul, not as an end in itself, but because it expresses his non-negotiable conviction of the man's divinely intended headship. He is not fighting for the custom but for the observance of the relationship. The Corinthian women in laying aside their headgear were rebelling against their subordination and proclaiming an equality with men (113).

He goes on: It is misguided to conclude from the culturally conditioned custom of the headgear that the whole section (1 Cor 11:2-16) is culturally conditioned. Paul is defending eternally valid truths of revelation (the hierarchical order within the Trinity and between the sexes[922]) which are apparent not just in Genesis 2 but also in Christ (cf. the subordination of Christ to the Father[923])(114).

W. Neuer accepted uncritically the common assumption that Paul had tied his theology to a passing custom. Because of this he can only conclude, "Whether the primitive Christian custom of covering the head which Paul defended is still binding today is another

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[922] Note here the wrong analogy between subordination within the Trinity and within marriage. They cannot be compared at this level.

[923] Note once again the mismatch of terms. He ought to have written Christ-God, not Christ-Father.

question" (114). He never gets round to giving an answer to this extremely important, theologically-laden custom, leaving the reader to do what is right in his or her own eyes. Thus the only visible, physical symbol that Christ instituted to differentiate between His male and female followers when they come before Him in prayer is carelessly passed over as unimportant. This is a major fault in his handling of this topic.

W. Neuer has overlooked Paul's argument from nature. Paul locked the woman's hair in with her artificial head-covering. If she removes one she must remove the other. *They stay on or come off together.* This theological tradition has nothing to do with contemporary head-covering, nor does it take on whatever meaning (modesty or patriarchal) it had in Corinthian society. For Paul, the head-covering was anchored in nature and symbolised that the authority the woman had was different from the headship authority that was given to man. It was not a symbol of being under her husband's authority (as Neuer has argued [114][924]), otherwise unmarried women, widows and virgins would not need to cover their heads while praying or prophesying.

> In symbolic theology, separating doctrine from practice is like discarding the use of water in baptism, or to have circumcision without cutting off the foreskin, or to eat the Lord's Supper without bread and wine. The doctrine and its outward manifestation are inseparable. Hence, as water is to baptism, so headcovering is to good order in the Church. You cannot have one without the other. What God has joined together, let not (wo)man pull apart.

W. Neuer argues against the revival of head-covering on the grounds that, "Certainly our situation, when it comes to headgear, is fundamentally different from the situation then. It cannot be said nowadays that the custom of women covering their heads to pray is a custom of the churches of God (v. 16), that is the practice of all Christendom" (114).

So the argument is, that since women have disobediently thrown off the head-covering and brought about a total change of custom in the church that this universal disobedience invalidates Paul's argument. What a strange argument!

W. Neuer also sets up a false scenario to justify the abolition of head-covering. He imputes evil motives to the women. He claims they were rebelling against the order of creation and rejecting having to be subordinate to their husbands, which he thinks was symbolised in the local church practice of head-covering. He argues that if a Christian woman does not cover her head during public prayer, that does not show (in contrast to the situation then) that she is rebelling against the order of creation (114).

Is it not possible that the Corinthian women were doing it out of ignorance? Like all symbols, unless an oral meaning is continuously attached to it, it soon becomes a meaningless symbol. The church has not supplied the theological significance of the dress-codes over the past century, and consequently the theological significance (and the practice) has been lost completely in the major denominations. Recovering its significance is on a par with Josiah discovering the lost Law book in the Temple. You either put the Law book back in the Temple, and put the theological significance of head-covering back into obscurity, or you face up to the fact that we have lived in ignorance of God's Law, repent, and reinstate the Law of Christ. But for Josiah and the Church to suppress the Truth once it has been brought out into the open (let the reader take note) is a culpable action in God's eyes. Pleading ignorance is no longer an option.

W. Neuer is inconsistent within his own argument. Having argued that an uncovered woman today is not rebelling when she dispenses with her head-covering, he writes: "To sum up. 1 Corinthians 11:3-16 shows that it was a central concern of Paul to make visible the

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[924] But on p. 115 he argues that the woman's "authority" in v. 10 refers to the spiritual authority that she possesses to pray, provided she accepts the position assigned to her at creation.

created subordination of women to men in the Christian church life and to guard against any levelling out of differences between the sexes" (116).

Then why acquiesce in the levelling out of the compulsory, theological dress-codes? Answer: because it is no longer acceptable to obey Christ in this matter. The women chorus, "Christ must accept that there is no going back to wearing a head-covering in His presence even if He has commanded it. We are too proud to take on this easy yoke, so please dispense with it."

19. 1 Corinthians 14

W. Neuer, is to be commended for not following the common assumption that 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 is set in a church context. He argues that its context can only be an out-of-church one in order to reconcile it with 1 Corinthians 14:34-35. Consequently, the latter passage is a total ban on women speaking in church worship (117). This does not contradict 1 Corinthians 11, where Paul is dealing with women praying or prophesying in small house groups, whereas in 1 Corinthians 14 he speaks explicitly of the whole church being gathered for worship. Prayer and prophecy did not occur only in public worship. He quotes Schlatter in support, "Prophecy was not necessarily restricted to the assembled congregation . . . . If a woman was commissioned by God to pass on a divine message, she could do so in another way without making a public speech" (118). It is therefore quite possible that 1 Corinthians 11:3ff. deals with matters pertaining to prayer and prophecy which took place outside worship services (118).

20. Deaconess

W. Neuer is less cautious when it comes to the office of deaconess. He notes, in Romans 16:1f. Paul commends the deaconess Phoebe. Obviously (he continues) when the epistle was composed there was already an order of deaconesses in the Pauline churches, for the Greek word *diakonos* describes an office (121). This is going beyond the evidence to wishful thinking, because every Christian, male and female, is a *diakonos.* There is no separate feminine form of the word.

Another over-the-top statement is his idea that "we find one clear clue to the duties of a deaconess in 1 Timothy 5:3-16, where Paul discusses the diaconate of those who were enrolled in the order of widows" (121). It is unsubstantiated and reckless assumptions like these, without any close contact with the historical reality of early church history, that makes one cautious about Neuer's depth of research on occasion.

21. The Influence of Feminism

This is an excellent section of Neuer's book and well worth reading. He shows how feminism is woman's worst enemy in that their standards are paradoxically what *men* do (163-172).

22. Why a Female Priesthood is Theologically Untenable

W. Neuer plays much on the idea that only the male can be God's representative. But to say that God can only be represented by the male (173) is a different subject altogether and is not related to the creational subordination issue. He should have distinguished between the different functions that God allotted to men and women and he would have been on safer ground.

> Man was created for God, and Woman was created for Man. Consequently she is subordinate to Man. Jesus could not become a woman otherwise "she" (=Jesus)

> would be subordinate to Man. This is the only secure theological explanation that will safeguard and ensure that the Messiah must be a male. Coming as a woman would not have secured salvation for men but only for women. But by coming as a man Jesus secures salvation for all under man's headship.

W. Neuer's representative argument arises out of a view of the priesthood that is untenable to the churches of the Reformation, which accepted the priesthood of all believers. A saintly woman better reflects the image of Jesus Christ than a godless bishop.

Where Neuer compromises Paul's teaching is in ordaining "clergywomen" to do pastoral work in hospitals or woman's prisons or to become "a special order of assistant women curates" (174). Why ordain? Why not just let them get on with this work without inventing an office?

> It is the creation of an "office" that is the root cause of the problem in leadership. Once you create or multiply offices, then someone else, also with God-given gifts, is left behind. Since all Christians are "deacons," let all be raised to the office of "deacon," and this will solve the problem! Assistant women curates will, by virtue of their raised office, be over men in the congregation, that will be the psychological perception. The same thing happens with the idea of "staff." You create a division in the body when you start "ordaining" God-given gifts. There should be no "ordaining" of anyone's gifts. Rather there should be the official recognition of Elders in a supervisory/leadership role. But this would be a natural procedure, in that older persons are expected to be more responsible, more mature, more able to refute wrong doctrine, etc. What should be avoided is the promotion of very young men to lead older men. That is not the normal state in the family, nor should it be in the Church. There is a back door into the ministry through theological colleges. This bypasses the natural route which is to rise up within the Church body itself and not be imported from outside through human "ordination." Colleges have their place but not as a backdoor route to preferment.

The work of deacons should be job-specific, not a permanent office. Persons whom the Spirit has gifted with a special ability should be called upon, when the occasion arises (cf. Acts 6:1-6), to use that gift and then fall back as an ordinary member of the congregation until their gift is required again or rotate the work so that all feel *their* gift is being recognised and exercised. Women deaconesses were not brought into the church until many centuries after the birth of the NT church.

W. Neuer is thoroughly consistent and uncompromising when it comes to all positions of leadership both in the local church and house groups. Men alone must lead these (176). Evangelical feminists get round this by appointing married couples to lead in house groups exploiting Aquila and Priscilla's home ministry to Apollos. It is but a small step to applying the same tactic in the church service. What may be natural at one level, is unnatural at another, in that Apollos had the choice to accept or reject this private invitation.

> On the question of what constitutes a church meeting, Paul sees it in the gathering of the ***whole*** church in a *public worship* assembly (1 Cor 5:4; 11:18; 14:23). The place where they meet is immaterial. The church is made up of *people* not bricks and mortar. The church could meet in any building or home that will accommodate the ***whole*** church. It could meet in an open square or in the woods. Strangers should be able to walk into *public worship* church meetings (1 Cor 14:23-25). Private meetings are just that, private meetings, not church meetings, and 1 Cor 11:2-16 will apply in these meetings. Home meetings are just that, home meetings, where members of the family, male and female, can pray, speak in tongues, and prophesy together, and 11:2-16 will apply in these meetings also. 1

Cor 11:2-16 also applies to single (male and female) persons who speak in tongues or pray *in private.* It is of universal application, hence its position in Paul's well-ordered letter.

In conclusion, W. Neuer is right to point out that due to feminist pressure, either for a quiet life or wrongly adapting to the spirit of the age, men are not assuming their position as head of the family (177). But women, too, have been deceived by the spirit of the age and have been encouraged to rebel against the man's headship (unfortunately, restricted by Neuer to leadership) and pull back from the total demands that being a Christian mother entails (178).

SUMMARY EVALUATION

Theologically Neuer is weak. His misunderstandings affect his conclusions. These can be seen in reducing headship to leadership and extending the same *male* "image of God" to woman; his inability to see Paul's distinction between "head" and "headship", i.e., functional versus creational subordination, meant that he made inappropriate analogies between the Trinity and Man's headship of woman. Lastly, his inability to see Paul's argument over the compulsory nature of the head-covering meant that his work, when assessed against the three "men-only" statements, falls short, and he can only endorse two of them.

On the credit side, it is unusual to find among Christian writers on this topic someone who challenges the basic assumption that 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 refers to a church service setting. He also reads 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 as an absolute ban on females speaking in church. Acceptance of these two important findings will have practical applications for women's spheres of ministry. I thoroughly endorse these two conclusions which will be the long-term benefits of his work.

He is strongest on the physiological differences between men and women and how these are part of the Creator's design in giving Man headship over His creation. However, he is reticent to draw the obvious deduction from these differences for the different "images" that God has given to men and women to carry out their specific tasks and achieve their God-ordained goals.

EXCURSUS 7. BOOK REVIEW OF THE *ENGLISH STANDARD VERSION*

The latest English Bible, the *English Standard Version* (Crossway Bibles; Wheaton, ILL.: 2001), is a disappointment for two reasons. First, it has followed the trend of translating a minority Greek text (a local Greek text, mainly confined to Egypt) over against the majority Greek text that lies behind the *Authorised Version* (1611) and the *New King James Version* (1994), so that we still lack an English translation of the Byzantine (or Majority) Greek NT which was the dominant Greek text in the Church for 1900 years until the Revised Version appeared in 1885. From that date onwards English translations have followed the shorter, Egyptian text. There is growing evidence that the majority Greek text retains the original text even though its oldest manuscript evidence does not go back as far as the local, Egyptian text, because the dry climate of Egypt was more conducive to the preservation of the writing material with its distinctive text.

Second, the influence of a politically correct, feminist age is seen wherever the word "brothers" occurs in the NT. A ubiquitous footnote tells the reader to read *adelphoi* as "brothers and sisters" because this is what was intended when it was originally written (Preface, pp. viii-ix, xiii; and see the note under Acts 1:14 which is repeated at the start of Rom; 1-2 Corinthians; Gal; Phil; Col; 1-2 Thess; 1 Tim [4:6]; 2 Tim [4:21]; Heb [3:1]; Jas; 2 Pet; 1 Jn [3:13]; 3 Jn [3]; Rev [6:11]).

In Old and New Testament times men and women in all Near Eastern cultures, including Hebrew and Jewish, did not mix when they came together. There was always a physical separation of the sexes—a culture of modesty unknown in modern, decadent Western civilisations. A culture that God Himself instituted for His Church since the foundation of the world.

The Church grew out of the synagogue, where the Gospel was first preached all over the Roman empire. In the synagogue, the men of the Covenant occupied the centre portion and the women congregated out of their line of vision (often in a side room opening unto the main hall, or in a gallery, or at the back), so that the worship of God was carried on by the men with the women in a silent, submissive, helpmeet role. Christian congregations were still segregated in John Chrysostom's time (347-407). The governance of the synagogue-churches (some began in private houses) was entirely in the hands of men. The headship of man was a crucial factor in determining everything to do with gender relationships. Headship was understood as a hierarchy of delegated powers and authorities and the difference in the Christian Community and in the ecclesia meetings was made visible *for all time* by the men not covering their heads and the women covering their heads when "praying or prophesying". If head-covering had a cultural existence in Paul's day this gave way to the new, theological basis that it now has in Christ's universal Church and Community. This new, Spirit-given custom is set in spiritual concrete for all time to come.

All Paul's epistles were written in the first instance to the men of the Covenant sitting in the body of the church. Christ was their direct head, whereas man was the direct head of woman. Men came before God with an uncovered head; women came before God with a covered head. There were clear, theological reasons why God established His worship in this permanent manner.

A close reading of Acts in light of its providentially ordained, cultural milieu reveals the startling (from a Western point of view) situation where the membership of the Church was seen primarily in its male members (even though there must have been as many women as there were men), if one is to go by the manner in which such gatherings are addressed. For example, in Acts 1:15, the 120 recorded names are all males who are addressed as, "Men, brothers." This total does not include the women and children, just as the 5000 who were fed were all men. The women and children were deliberately not included in both totals. Indeed, a careful examination of the NT writings shows that the focus is specifically on the men of the New Covenant.[925] This is seen not only in the male term "brothers," but in the grammatical gender used throughout to convey their, and the Spirit's, exhortations and commands. This is not surprising given that throughout the revelation given to the Church under the Old Covenant we meet with the same phenomenon: God addresses His Word primarily to the male members of His Covenants.

The precedent was set in the Garden of Eden where God knew perfectly well that Eve was the sinner, yet He called for Adam first as he was her head, and so he was responsible for her actions, which should have been under his control. Likewise, under the New Covenant, this male headship responsibility is still there. Consequently, it is the men who are totally

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[925] F. J. A. Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1897), p. 229, noted that in the apostolic age the Church was 'apparently the sum of all its male adult members.' Article 19 of the Thirty-Nine Articles reads: "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, ..." This does not exclude women but conforms to the principle that the greater includes the lesser. Woman was made for Man, not vice versa. Blessings bestowed on Man accrue to those under his responsibility—to his wife and children.

responsible for the full ordering of the Christian Community and Church services, as it was also their sole responsibility under the Law. Only men could be Elders under both Covenants. Women—being asked to be silent and submissive in the Church meetings, and to enquire of their religion at home—would not have been viewed as being on the same level of responsibility for the good ordering of the Church as their menfolk were. Hence the Spirit addresses His Word to the men—the brothers—in the first place, and only rarely does He address the women directly. Thus *adelphoi* throughout the NT should be translated as "brothers" as only the men of the New Covenant have the right to speak in Church and to ask questions in continuity with Old Covenant practices (1 Cor 14:34).

There is a linguistic device whereby the "unmarked" term may include the two genders of a species. Thus "lion" may cover both male and female *as a species* (it is therefore said to be "unmarked" when used in this manner), but "lion" will normally refer to the male of the species *unless the context determines otherwise.* However, "lioness" cannot include the male lion, therefore it cannot be an "unmarked" term. But this linguistic observation should be used with extreme caution when it comes to the term "brothers" and "sisters" because these are already gender-specific terms and have no recognised "unmarked" use in biblical Greek. *There are no examples of "brothers" used in an unmarked manner in biblical literature.* Both gender-specific terms are like "lioness" in the above example. Therefore neither "brother" nor "sister" can be used in an "unmarked" manner as ESV is guilty of doing in the case of "brothers" unless it can bring forward clear proof that it has been used in this manner in the Greek language.[926] Consequently the idea that "brothers" is an unmarked term is a pseudo-linguistic creation. As is the case in most languages, there will always be exceptions to the rule, but they are just that—exceptions. Exceptions must not be turned into a general rule as ESV has done with "brothers." The term "brother" means what it says, *male* brothers in Christ. Consequently, ESV's policy to translate "brothers" as "brothers and sisters" was wrong.

Unfortunately, ESV has lamely followed NRSV's bad example of this linguistic blunder. See 1 Corinthians 15:6 where the 500 "brothers" is turned into 500 "brothers and sisters," thus reducing the number of male witnesses by half (at least). Yet in its context Paul is only enumerating *legal* witnesses, and only males could be legal witnesses, never females. Ignorance of Paul's Jewish background led to this numerical blunder. To understand Paul's mind one needs to be steeped in the patriarchal and biblical concepts of God's revelation to the Church of the Old Testament. In other words, to be an effective translator of the *Greek* New Testament (with its theologically conditioned culture) one needs to be a fully competent, Old Testament scholar because that is the direction the Lord Himself, Paul, the Apostles, and the Early Church (whose membership was 100% Jewish in the early years [Rom 11:18]) are coming from into the further light of the New Covenant age. We must come from the East, not from the West, if we want to avoid simple blunders like these in future English translations.[927] There is no clear-cut example, either in the Septuagint or the NT, where

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[926] Scholars had noted that: "The use of ἀδελφοί, . . . to describe the members of a guild, or the 'fellows' of the Serapeum at Memphis, may prepare us for, but does not exhaust, its definite Christian significance." George Milligan, *The Autographs of the New Testament in the Light of Recent Discovery* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1910), p. 15.

[927] ESV is not alone in perpetuating the chronological error at 2 Kings 17:1 where the text should read: "In the twelfth year of Ahaz king of Judah, Hoshea the son of Elah had reigned nine years in Samaria over Israel." ESV reads: "Elah began to reign," which extends the Northern Kingdom's chronology by nine years. This error occurs in every English version to date. The correct translation was pointed out in 1991 in, "A Translation Guide to the Chronological Data in Kings and Chronicles," *BibSac* 148 (1991) 3-45, espec. p. 33. Another inexcusable error is caused by departing from the Hebrew which reads 22 not 42 years in 2 Chr 22:2. The 42 years is a dynasty reckoning, see *BibSac* 148 (1991) p. 22. No indication is given for this departure from the Hebrew text, which makes one suspicious that other departures have not been noted in the footnotes. This is very unsettling.

"brothers" *must* include "sisters." "Brothers" should always be taken to mean *male* brothers wherever it appears in the OT[928] or the NT.

We noted above the new, unsubstantiated suggestion in the footnote under Acts 1:14 which reads:

> The plural Greek *adelphoi* (translated "brothers") refers to siblings in a family. In New Testament usage, depending on context, *adelphoi* may refer either to men or to both men and women who are siblings (brothers and sisters) in God's family, the church.

The first sentence has not been proved to be a common meaning of the term *adelphoi.* To find one rare occurrence of *adelphoi* used in this fashion (Liddell & Scott give Euripides, *Electra* 536 as an example) and then impose this on the NT writers is akin to what mischievous or ignorant writers have been doing with Scripture for centuries. They avoid the plain meaning of a word and focus on an unusual application to create their new doctrine.[929] It should be noted with emphasis that there is no instance in the Septuagint or the NT where the word *adelphoi* refers to siblings in a family. From this non-biblical use of "brothers" as "siblings" (i.e., offspring without distinction of gender), the footnote quite arbitrarily applies this exceptional meaning to the biblical text.

Jesus said, "And everyone who has left houses or brothers [*adelphous*] or sisters [*adelphas*] or father or mother . . . ." (Mt 19:29; cf. the same in Mk 10:30; Lk 14:26). If the term *adelphoi* embraced "brothers and sisters" in its meaning, then why does Jesus use *adelphoi* solely of males here, and refers to females using the female form of the word? This shows that both *adelphoi* and *adelphas* were clearly gender-specific terms in NT times and *neither* included the other gender.

It is suggestive that ESV applies the meaning "brothers and sisters" to the term *adelphoi* in the letters addressed to the Churches, because (one suspects) it is politically incorrect to address only males in the congregation today, as Peter, Paul, James and John clearly do in their church letters. That would appear to be the rationale for this departure from the older, literal translations, such as the AV and the NKJV. Inclusive language is a modern attempt to alter the dictionary definition of "brothers" to include "sisters." ESV might itself be used one day in the future as *evidence*(!) of this use, resulting in a self-fulfilling wish. It also has the effect of rewriting the patriarchal culture of the Bible in terms of today's politically correct, feminist culture.

In the Book of Acts, Paul uses *adelphoi* only of males. He addresses the citizens as, "Men, brothers [*adelphoi*]. . . ." (cf. Acts 13:15, 26; 22:1; 28:17; as does James in Acts 15:13; Peter in Acts 15:7; Stephen in Acts 7:2; and the rulers of the synagogue in Acts 13:15). But in the church epistles ESV assumes that Paul is using "brothers" to include women. Paul could have said, "brothers and sisters" if he had meant to include both. The fact that he did not, shows that there is an underlying consistency in Paul's theology of male headship and in addressing his letters directly to the brothers in the first instance. Once this is recognised then chapters like 1 Corinthians 14 (with its constant appeal to the "brothers") means that there is no inner contradiction when Paul tells the sisters to be silent in 14:34. But if the term "brothers" means "brothers and sisters," then Paul contradicts himself in 14:26 because there "brothers and sisters" speak in church (apparently) using a wide range of contributions, including psalms,

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928 Deut 15:12, "When your brother is sold to you, a Hebrew or a Hebrewess, and he has served you six years, then in the seventh year you must send him out from you." This is not a case where "brother" stands for "male and female," but rather, the brother is the focus of the law and the addition of the female is by way of extension, not inclusion (and may have been added at a later date to the original), because the rest of the passage speaks only about what happens to the male. I would place both references to the female (at 15:12, 17) in brackets to bring out the fact that the focus is on the male—the brother—and not on the female. The same law is repeated in Exod 21:5-6 without any reference to the female as an extension of this law.

929 See examples of this in "Excursus 2. Critique of Kroeger's book" in my web-book, "Good Order in the Church: The Head of Woman is Man." Web address: http://www.lmf12.wordpress.com/

hymns, spiritual songs, doctrines, Spirit-inspired speaking in tongues and prophecies, revelations, interpretations, praying, etc. This new definition of "brothers" means that there is no difference between men and women in the church meetings. They are all equal, as feminism teaches. ESV gives credence to this new definition (and doctrine).

However, note that in 1 Corinthians 14:26, ESV alters "teaching (διδαχὴν)" to "lesson" to avoid a contradiction with 1 Timothy 2:12 where woman is not to teach (διδάσκειν). By altering "brothers" to "brothers and sisters" in 14:26, ESV created a contradiction in Paul's theology over women teaching, which it then had to remove by altering "teaching" to "lesson."[930] Feminists should protest loudly over this nifty bit of footwork given that in their Preface (p. viii) ESV states that they will keep to a consistent English translation for the same Greek word. ESV has handed feminists a powerful argument for getting rid of the Spirit's injunction to the women to be silent in church (1 Cor 14:34), for if "brothers" means "brothers and sisters," then women can bring a "teaching" into the church (according to 14:26) and have the authority of Scripture to share it on an equal footing with her brothers in Christ, after all, are they not all siblings in God's family, according to ESV's ubiquitous footnote?

Many will regard this version as a product of its age—a politically correct age, and one that has been heavily influenced by the leaven of feminist teaching. Many conservative-evangelical scholars, therefore, who are conversant with the doctrine of Headship, will consider this version a poisoned translation because it radically alters the theological, background culture and original focus on the men of the New Covenant. If this criticism holds good then the ESV will go the way of all other modern translations, which is a pity because there are some redeeming features about it. But there is no joy in eating a beautiful meal when you are informed that it has a light sprinkling of arsenic throughout it!

A future, literal translation may have to counter the feminist "brothers and sisters" of the NRSV and ESV with the translation "brother-males" to bring out the underlying, providentially created, cultural and religious background, against which, and in which, Paul wrote his Spirit-inspired letters.

The *New King James Version* (*NKJV* [Nelson, 1994]) is still the best Bible translation in English that we have on offer today, provided its alternative "M-Text" footnote readings are read in place of the main text.

SOME TRANSLATION OBSERVATIONS

The object of the following survey was to examine every case where ESV has substituted "brothers and sisters" for the Greek "brothers" to see if there are any cases where the context is inclusive. Only possible or interesting cases have been commented on below.

EXAMPLE 1. In the Book of Acts, the address, "Men, brothers," occurs 12 times (1:16; 2:29, 37; 7:2; 13:15, 26 [13:38, M-Text]; 15:7, 13; 22:1; 23:1, 6; 28:17 [In every instance, except possibly 22:1, only males are present.]). In every case ESV omits "Men" with no footnote. By contrast NRSV puts "Men, brothers" in the footnote everywhere it alters the main text to something more inclusive (except at Acts 13:15, 26; 22:1; 23:6; 28:17). Is it a coincidence that ESV accepted ten of the twelve NRSV readings? The two exceptions are at Acts 1:16 (Friends) and 2:29 (Fellow Israelites), but even here "Men, brothers" appears in the footnote of NRSV. It is interesting that wherever "Men, brothers" occurs, the element "brothers" refers to the physical, flesh and blood element, whereas in the Church letters it refers to their new brotherhood in Christ. Jew and Gentile are "brothers" in Christ.

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[930] The noun "teaching" occurs 30 times in the NT, which ESV always translates as "teaching" except here and in Rom 16:17 and Tit 1:9 where it is translated "doctrine," and in Heb 6:2 where it is translated "instruction." Feminists would be very happy to read "teaching, doctrine, instruction," in 1 Cor 14:26 instead of the weaker "lesson."

There is a variant reading at Acts 1:16. NU reads "brothers" whereas MT reads "disciples." The presumption is that the Egyptian text altered the broader term, "disciples" in the interests of strict historical accuracy to the narrower, more accurate descriptive term "brothers" because of v. 16, where the membership of the first Jerusalem Church consisted of 120 males, hence they are addressed as, "Men, brothers, ..." But the switch from "disciples" to "brothers" reveals the presumption that males constituted the main body of the church and women and children were included under the broader term "saints" or "disciples."[931] Membership under the Old Covenant Church consisted of the circumcised male members with women and children assumed to be an integral part of the Church through their solidarity with their male heads or male relatives, and this understanding has been carried through into the New Covenant Church in this first list of its members. It was this same body of 120 males who elected Matthias to replace Judas in the Apostleship. It was upon these same 120 males that the Holy Spirit came on the day of Pentecost.

EXAMPLE 2. In Acts 15:23 the NKJV reads, "The apostles, the elders, and the brethren, To the brethren who are of the Gentiles in Antioch." There is a descending order of authority here with the brothers mentioned last, but they are all united in sending out the Jerusalem decree. ESV reads, "The brothers, both the apostles and the elders, to the brothers [Or brothers and sisters] who are of the Gentiles . . . ." The three tiers of authority are reduced to two. This reflects the Egyptian Text (E-Text) which omits "and the" before "brothers." Thus the Egyptian Text has moved in the direction of locating authority further up the hierarchical ladder, depriving the brothers of their authority status alongside the apostles and elders. The Majority Text (M-Text) reflects a time when the ordinary male members of the Church were on a par with the apostles and elders in deciding theological disputes. According to the M-Text the Jerusalem church was democratic as far as all its male members were concerned, but according to the E-Text it was not, only the apostles and elders decided the issue in this case. The trend toward centralising authority in an episcopacy was certainly the situation in the post-Apostolic. Could it be that the M-Text reflects the Apostolic Period?

The E-Text at Acts 1: 16 shows a concern to identify the church with its male members. It reads "brothers" whereas the M-Text reads "disciples," which could include female followers. The E-Text excludes the possibility that the 120 included women by altering "disciples" to "brothers." In the event both "disciples" and "brothers" in this context refer only to males, because the 120 named members are addressed as, "Men, brothers." If they had not been addressed in this way then it would have been ambiguous whether the first 120 names of the first Jerusalem Church of Christ included women or not. The address makes it certain that all 120 persons were males.

But ESV contradicts this by translating "brothers" in v.15 (following the E-Text) as "brothers and sisters." The footnote is intended to be part of the translation, so that their text reads: "In those days Peter stood up among the brothers and sisters (the company of persons was in all about 120) and said, [16] "Brothers, the Scripture had . . . ." The reader is confused by this second "Brothers" at the beginning of v.16. The Greek has "Men, brothers" making it clear that only males are being addressed. There is no footnote in ESV to say what gender is included. On the eleven other occasions where the Greek has "Men, brothers" it is left as "brothers" in ESV without a footnote, which means that it recognises that Peter is addressing only the men.

One is bound to ask two questions here. Why did Peter address his message only to the men? and, Why did the first register of the Jerusalem Church include only the male members?

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931 There is another alteration in the NU text at Luke 23:55. The MT says that women came up from Galilee *with* Jesus to Jerusalem, which might permit a hint of scandal, so the NU text reads that they came from Galilee *to* Jesus in Jerusalem, thus removing the hint.

The dominance of the male members of the Jerusalem Church is repeated wherever churches were established throughout the world. This can best be explained by the position God gave man in His world, and the preordained, subordinate, supporting role He created for Woman alongside Man. The Holy Spirit recognised the headship of Man both in the family and in the Church and He did nothing that blurred the gender lines, nor did He treat men and women as equal in authority. Rather He recognised that in every marriage the unity of the two becoming one flesh, with one head, ensured a harmony in the family and church that was unobtainable outside Christ's headship of the Church.

Therefore, in controlling the head of each family, the Lord Jesus was in control of all His disciples—male and female—through His direct headship of Man, and through Man's direct headship of Woman. It was sufficient for Christ to speak to His brothers to be in control of all the husbands, brothers and sons, because "the head of every man is Christ" (1 Cor 11:3). In Christ's ordered world there was no need to address men and women at the same time, as though they were not in a hierarchical, headship relationship. It is because of this preordained, hierarchical arrangement that He addresses the heads—the males—of all the women in His Church. Therefore ESV and other inclusive language translations with their alteration of "brothers" to "brothers and sisters" overwrite the Spirit's form of address to the Church, because they do not recognise the permanency of the hierarchical arrangement that the Creator predestined for the Church of His Son.

The loss of the knowledge of this hierarchical headship in the church has permitted feminism to flourish throughout the Western part of Christ's visible church. Male headship was replaced by male leadership; then male leadership was replaced with mutual submission. Now men and women are equal in all respects. Consequently, for the Holy Spirit to focus His attention on the male members is totally unacceptable in our politically correct churches. Even translations of the Bible are now altered to reflect this new equality of status and worth of all Christ's disciples. How better to achieve this than by altering "brothers" to "brothers and sisters"? And how better to achieve this than by a scholarly footnote purporting to be based on sound, conservative-evangelical research, which shows that the term "brothers" had a "specialized use" in New Testament Greek, which, by coincidence, included females in its use. Is it providential that this new meaning was discovered just in time as the church passed through the Feminist Age?

EXAMPLE 3. Acts 6:1-3 reads, "Now in those days, when *the number of* the disciples was multiplying, there arose a complaint against the Hebrews by the Hellenists, because their widows were neglected in the daily distribution. [2] Then the twelve summoned the multitude of the disciples and said, 'It is not desirable that we should leave the word of God and serve tables. [3] Therefore, brethren, seek out among you seven men . . . whom we may appoint over this business'" (NKJV).

Note that the complaint was made by the men, not the women. So men complained to the Apostles and the Apostles told them to choose seven men to ensure there was fair distribution of the food to the widows. This accords with all we know of a male headship society. Men are the movers and shakers of all that happens and women are very much in a submissive role. This is especially so in public life.

It comes as a surprise, therefore, to find that ESV has transformed "brothers" into "brothers and sisters" as though today's lax climate existed back then, and that the sisters had a say in choosing the first seven deacons. This goes against all that we know in such a male headship society. The translation misrepresents the culture of Jesus' time. Nowhere in Acts is there an instance where men and women do something jointly, involving a decision. Leadership always comes from and through the male membership of the Church. In Greek, Roman and Jewish culture women had no public role among men and no vote in politics or the government of their cities and states. Everything we know about these cultures reveal male headship operating in their respective societies right down to the family level.

Language reveals the culture of its speakers. The dominant sequence of male-initiated activity throughout the Book of Acts (16:2;17:10; 18:27; 28:14-15, 21; cf. also 1 Thess 4:10; 5:27; 1 Tim 4:6; 2 Tim 4:21), and the listeners being predominantly addressed as "brothers," tells us a lot about Jewish society in the time of Jesus. It shows that male headship was alive and dominant throughout the Roman world, and throughout the early Christian Church with its male Head, its male Apostles, and its male Elders.

EXAMPLE 4. Acts 11:1, "Now the apostles and brethren who were in Judea heard that the Gentiles had also received the word of God" (NKJV). Here ESV replaces "brothers" with "brothers and sisters." But in v. 12 the six "brothers" who accompanied Peter to Cornelius' house are not replaced with "brothers and sisters." This is inconsistent translation of the plural form of the verb. Compare also 10:23 where "brothers" is not interfered with.

EXAMPLE 5. In Acts 11:29 the disciples sent relief to the "brothers" living in Judea. ESV, predictably replaces "brothers" with "brothers and sisters" on the assumption that since this is what would happen today, it must have happened at that time. It is clear from the dominant part played by men throughout Acts that brothers would deal with brothers, even if their wives and daughters were supplying them with the material goods and food. The interface or exchange point would be at the male level in a patriarchal culture.

As these "brothers" travelled around Greece, Asia Minor (modern Turkey), Egypt and the Levant, they would, in the first instance, have contact with the "brothers" they were going to meet, and all their transactions would be done at a brotherly level. It is therefore not surprising to find that "they brought great joy to all the brothers" (Acts 15:3; cf. 16:40; 21:7) as they travelled around. No doubt they also brought joy to all the wives and daughters of the brothers they encountered, but language reveals just how male-orientated their world was. It is therefore imperative that every translation should capture the male headship world that the Gospel came into, which is very different from the headless world we live in today. To bring these two very different worlds together as if there was no major cultural difference between them is mischievous, which the ESV replacement of "brothers" with "brothers and sisters" does.

EXAMPLE 6. The world of Jesus was a male world, unlike the Western culture of the ESV translators. The majority of wives and young women would have been at home doing home-orientated tasks, and skills. As he walked around Jesus would see the familiar sight of men greeting men and he drew a lesson from it. "And if you greet your brethren only what do you more than others? Do not even the tax collectors do so?" (Mt 5:47). By changing "brothers" into "brothers and sisters" a false cultural background to the world of Jesus has been created.

EXAMPLE 7. Similarly, when the apostles write to the brothers they sometimes end by urging them to greet one another with a "holy kiss." Given the culture of the times it would have been scandalous for a man to kiss a woman who was not his wife. No man in Greek or Roman culture would kiss his own wife in public never mind allow another man to kiss her. The apostles never intended their words to apply across the gender divide. Their words were addressed to men, and the men were to give their brothers a "holy kiss" or greeting (Rom 16:16; 1 Cor 16:20; 2 Cor 2 Cor 13:12; 1 Pet 5:14). Men kissed men, and women kissed women. Cross-gender kissing in the church today is a recent innovation having been carried over from the stage and television world.

The alteration of Scripture ("brothers" changed to "brothers and sisters") and the overwriting of its male headship culture with a culture of mutual submission is a disservice to the Christian Church, as the altered "Scriptures" will then act as a substitute for its own pure words and its own headship culture.

EXAMPLE 8. Matthew 23:14 was spoken in the Temple. In the Temple the sexes were segregated, which means that Jesus spoke Matthew 23 to men, because no man was permitted to enter the Court of the Women. When, therefore, Jesus said, "You are not to be called rabbi, for you have one teacher, and you are all brothers," he was addressing only men. "Brothers" in this context can only mean men. ESV has Jesus saying to an all-male audience, "you are all brothers and sisters."

EXAMPLE 9. Matthew 25:40. Men moved in a world of men and so had more contact with other men, rich and poor, than they would have had with females. In the parables of the lost sheep and the lost coin, the man calls all his *male* friends, relatives and neighbours (Lk 15:6), and the woman calls her *female* friends, relatives and neighbours (Lk 15:9), to rejoice with them. This reflects the segregated male-female world in which Jesus moved.

The same fixed, cultural situation is borne out in the Final Judgment scene where the King will say, "Assuredly, I say to you, inasmuch as you did it to one of the least of these My brethren, you did it to me" (NKJV). Men would not have had the same opportunity to minister to women in Jewish culture, and women would be expected to look after other women. Hence for ESV to substitute "brothers" with "brothers and sisters" is to overwrite the cultural context in which these words were said. In their NT cultural context "brother" means "brother" and not "sister." Here ESV has moved from a literal translation to a cultural transformation.

EXAMPLE 10. Luke 14:12, "When you give a dinner or a supper, do not ask your friends, your brothers, your relatives, nor rich neighbours, lest they also invite you back, and you be repaid."

On the place of women in Roman society we have the account of Cornelius Nepos (end of first century BC) who notes that Greeks would be shocked by some Roman standards, for instance:

> Who among the Romans is ashamed to take his wife to a party (*convivium*)? In whose household does the mother (*materfamilias*) not hold the place of honour and circulate in full public view? These things are quite otherwise in Greece. The woman is not invited to a party except with relatives, nor does she sit down anywhere in the house except in the inner part which is called the women's quarters (*gynaeconitis*), where no men can approach unless closely connected by family ties (*Vitae* praef. 6-7).

In Roman and Greek society distinctions between public and private carried gender markings. The forum was a man's world, also politics, elections, the administration of justice and public speaking, were all activities which women would never dream of getting involved in.[932] The domestic sphere was the sphere that women excelled in, and in which she might display the distinctive female virtues celebrated on so many tombstones: of modesty, chastity, fidelity and woolmaking, all of which are endorsed by the household codes of the New Testament.[933] The entertainment area in the Greek home (*symposium*) never permitted men, external to the household, to mix with female members of the household, in contrast to

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[932] Roman women were excluded from public participation in politics, for which see Shelly Matthews, *Rich Pagan Women and the Rhetoric of Mission in Early Judaism and Christianity* (Stanford, CAL: Stanford University Press, 2001) pp. 42-46.

[933] See Diana E. E. Kleiner and Susan B. Matheson (eds.), *I Clavdia: Women in Ancient Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1996), p. 104. On the influence of gender in the architecture of the home in Roman and Greece society see pp. 104-115 and the extensive bibliography there. Separation of the sexes within the home (i.e., reserved zones) was observed for all sorts of reasons, not least, the need for modesty and privacy.

the practice in the Roman home (*convivum*).[934] This contrast in etiquettes has implications for the NT practice of house churches, where it is very unlikely that men and women mixed indiscriminately as is the practice today in Western churches. If men and women did meet in this way they would have conformed to the synagogue pattern of segregation.

Given this cultural background and the fact that all the categories mentioned by Jesus are composed of males, it is misleading to change the distinctively male term "brothers" into "brothers and sisters" in this context. If there were females present at Jewish dinners they would come under one of the other terms, but not under "brothers."

EXAMPLE 11. Sometimes ESV replaces "brothers" with "brothers and sisters" for no apparent reason except to break up the monolithic male headship culture, as in Luke 16:28 (the rich man and Lazarus), "for I have five brothers," becomes, "for I have five brothers and sisters." Does this mean he had five brothers and five sisters, or is the total five?

EXAMPLE 12. Luke 18:29, "Assuredly, I say to you, there is no one who has left house or parents or brothers or wife or children, for the sake of the kingdom of God" (NKJV). The absence of "sisters" in this list may have led ESV to think that "brothers" here stands for "brothers and sisters." But this is a case where not all the items are recorded by Luke, because in the parallel record of what Jesus said, Jesus includes "sisters" as a separate category (Mt 19:29; Mk 10:29). So in Luke, "brothers" means "brothers" and not "brothers and sisters" as this would be adding to God's word.

EXAMPLE 13. Luke 21:16, "You will be betrayed even by parents and brothers, relatives and friends." Luke once again does not record the separate category of sisters, which is a deliberate omission and "sisters" is not to be understood to be included in "brothers" because Luke does not use "brothers" with this meaning. (See EXAMPLE 12.) Luke has consciously left out "sisters."

EXAMPLE 14. John 2:12 (see also Acts 1:14), "After this He went down to Capernaum, He, His mother, His brothers, and His disciples" (NKJV). ESV, predictably, reads "brothers and sisters" for "brothers" in both texts. This is very unlikely given that Jesus' half-sisters would have been in the home of their husbands in Nazareth (Mt 13:55; Mk 6:3, "are not his sisters here [in Nazareth] with us"), where they appear to have resided, whereas Jesus was in Capernaum when John 2:12 took place. Brothers, on the other hand, like Jesus, would have remained in the house of Joseph, their father (though it is likely that Joseph was dead by the time Jesus began his ministry) and looked after their mother.

In any case, ESV is inconsistent because only in Jn 2:12 and Acts 1:14 does ESV replace "brothers" with "brothers and sisters" in the case of Jesus' own family. In all other occurrences there is no replacement. In Matthew 12:46 (and the parallel in Mk 3:32) it reads, "his mother and his brothers stood outside," but ESV does not have the footnote here. It relegates the whole of 12:47 to the footnote whose parallel is Mark 3:32. In neither place is "brothers" replaced with "brothers and sisters." ESV even has a footnote at Mk 3:32 noting that: "Other early manuscripts add *and your sisters,"* which, in itself, indicates that "brothers" was not understood to include sibling sisters.

It would seem that in all the places where Jesus' mother and brothers are mentioned together, the "brothers" are his four half-brothers and the term does not include his half-sisters.

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[934] Diana E. E. Kleiner and Susan B. Matheson (eds.), *I Clavdia: Women in Ancient Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1996), p. 109.

EXAMPLE 15. John 7:3, 5, 10. Jesus' brothers are replaced with his "brothers and sisters," because it is assumed that (1) his sisters were still living with him, which is extremely doubtful. They were likely married and under the headship of their own husbands by this time. And (2) that his sisters went up to the Feast of Tabernacles, which was not compulsory for any females to attend. Only males were obliged to attend this feast. On both points it is very unlikely that Jesus' sisters are included with his brothers in this context.

EXAMPLE 16. John 21:23, "Then this saying went out among the brethren that this disciple would not die" (NKJV). Given the male headship culture of Jesus' day, and given the evidence from the Book of Acts that the Church, through its male members, communicated to their male colleagues in other churches throughout the Roman Empire, "brothers" here will mean the same as it does throughout Acts, where there is not a single case where "brothers" must include sisters as though they were on a par with men. This would be to impose our Western 'headless' culture on a thoroughly male headship culture. The dominant use of "brothers" throughout the NT to refer to the membership of the Church is in keeping with a male headship society. There was no secular society; the entire nation belonged to the Church of the Old Covenant through male circumcision. The theological truth from Creation to Calvary was that God had ordained *for all time* that the head of woman would be man. It follows from this creational subordination that all Church matters (under the Old and New Covenants) would be decided by the male members. Their sisters were to accept their decisions, being placed in a submissive role to man by God Himself.

EXAMPLE 17. Epistle to the Romans. Eleven times "brothers" is replaced by "brothers and sisters" (1:13; 7:1, 4; 8:12; 9:3; 10:1; 11:25; 12:1; 15:14; 16:14, 17).

It must be remembered that the world Jesus moved and had his existence in was completely different to the 'headless' culture we experience in the West today. Everywhere Jesus looked he would see a masculine-dominated culture; men in the open, women at home. Because the nation was also a Church, the Church was the State. Under King David's rule and also that of his son, Solomon, all the offices of State were given to men. There is not a single female in any position of authority over men anywhere in the Church-State. This was in keeping with an all-male headship introduced by the Creator.

The Apostle Paul was well aware of God's ways and decrees and it was given to him to articulate the three concentric circles of responsibility and control. First, God was head of Christ. Second, Christ was head of all men. Third, man (husband) was the head of woman (wife). The three are locked together under God the Father's authority.

The circle or sub-headship under threat today is the headship of man over woman. This is no longer acceptable in Western churches. Political correctness and a century of feminist propaganda has yielded the ultimate prize of destroying the male headship tradition in the church. Men and women are now equal. The male headship of the Apostolic Church is looked upon as un-Christian, and replaced with mutual submission. The drive for equality of office, role and authority in the church was once pressed for in the full knowledge that it was against Scripture. But now ESV's footnotes informs us that the word "brothers" had all along the meaning of "brothers and sisters," so that all Christians, male and female, had been treated as equals and did all things jointly, and were addressed jointly, and jointly taught and instructed one another; that women taught men and men taught women with no male headship in operation throughout the Apostolic period. In all things they were equal. God loved all His siblings in His Son's Church equally.

Thus ESV's "discovery" undermines male headship and the theological and patriarchal culture that characterised the Apostolic Church. All the Church epistles are addressed to the males—the brothers—in the first place. It is the men who are to learn in Church and then teach their wives and children at home. It was only right that the females and offspring in each family should look to the head male for teaching and leadership. This is

the way that God ordained that man should be head of his own household, and only those heads of houses who ruled and cared for their own families well were eligible to become Elders in the Church of His Son.

The truth in the circumstance that all the Church epistles are addressed to the males in the first place, should not be lost sight of, for it means that God would instruct the males directly and the females indirectly through what He had taught the males. Thus even in the manner in which He revealed truth to mankind, He respected the headship of man by giving him the Truth first, not jointly. He did the same when He created Adam. He revealed the truth to him first and he passed it on to Eve.

The fact that God's respect for man was captured in writing for all time, means that all men should see themselves being addressed directly as "brothers" as they read these first-century writings, and thus see in this circumstance God's respect for the special status He has conferred on each one of them. God's unique respect for man's leadership is lost if "brothers" is altered to "brothers and sisters."

The spiritual danger in ESV's footnote is that it removes the respect that God still has today for man's headship (which is encapsulated in the term "brothers") by putting man and woman on the same level. This reflects modern man's thinking. It does not reflect God's thinking.

The attempt to destroy the teaching on man's headship has gone on for the past century. The church is still not fully aware of the spiritual battle as it is slowly robbed of its theological traditions. ESV's unintentional (one hopes) contribution to this on-going destruction lies in the feminist leaven that sits at the foot of God's Word, silently shifting the focus away from man's special relationship to Him through the gift of headship.

EXAMPLE 18. Romans 7:14. Paul is not conscious of women and children when he addresses the men throughout this epistle. It is as if he knows that if every man comes under Christ's headship, then the rest of the man's family will follow his lead. Paul masculises his theology. "For all who are led by the Spirit of God are sons of God" (Rom 7:14). The corollary, if he were speaking to women, would be, "For all *women* who are led by the spirit of God are *daughters* of God." So there is no need to alter "brothers" to "brothers and sisters." Brothers means male brothers. But the solidarity of the family is such that it coheres with its head, and so the salvation that is offered to each brother is considered to be offered to the rest of his 'body.'

EXAMPLE 19. The ESV's translation style (Preface, pp. viii-ix).

The plain meaning of Scripture is that "son of God" refers to a male brother, and "daughter of God" refers to a female sister. But masculine terms, such as "son of God," are given a "specialized use" in New Testament Greek, it is claimed. There is a strange oddity here. The statement reads, "As used by the apostle Paul, this term ["sons"] refers to the status of all Christians, both men and women, who, having been adopted into God's family, now enjoy all the privileges . . . of God's children." While it is undoubtedly true that all are God's children, in God's family He distinguishes between "sons" and "daughters," and so "sons" must not be confused with "daughters" or vice versa. It is unbiblical and inappropriate to call a female a "son of God," and unbiblical and inappropriate to call a male a "daughter of God."

The Spirit does not confuse the genders. The term "sons" is not an inclusive term. Rather, because the Holy Spirit is addressing His words *directly* to males (brothers) most of the time, the male listeners are called "sons," and by analogy females would be called "daughters" of God. We noted above that Paul is not conscious of women and children when he addresses the men throughout his epistles. So we conclude "sons of God" always refers to males, and "daughters of God" always refers to females. There may be exceptions to this grammatical rule, but they are just that—exceptions. If there are not so many references to

"daughters of God" this is because of the intense focus on the men throughout the church epistles.

Western culture, in this regard, is open to the pitfall of assuming that "sons of God" is inclusive of "daughters of God," because of the huge disparity between the male headship outlook of the Apostles and the feminist outlook of Western cultures, or because those not in sympathy with the biblical male headship culture have not taken seriously the gender of the addressees and taken note that the only appropriate term to describe their adoption is the male one, "sons of God." If the addressees had been females, then the Holy Spirit would have described their adoption as "daughters of God." It just so happens that the addressees are seldom females to bring out this point. However, we read, "God has said . . . 'I will dwell in them . . . they shall be My people . . . I will be a Father to you and you shall be My sons and daughters, says the Lord Almighty.'" (2 Cor 6:16-18, NKJV). There are "sons of Abraham" (Gal 3:7) and "daughters of Abraham" (Lk 13:16; or "daughters of Sarah" 1 Pet 3:6). Jesus refers to a woman of faith as "daughter" not "son" (cf. Mt 9:22; Lk 8:48). The correct gender term is used because God respects the gender of each of His offspring, and He does not call females "sons," nor does He insult men by calling them "daughters," even though in each case the term refers to the *likeness* to God. A man is a "son of Abraham" if he behaves like Abraham, or has the same faith as Abraham. So the term "son" captures this "likeness" to Abraham. A woman is not a "son of Abraham," but a "daughter" because she, like the male, behaves through faith as Abraham behaved. But she is not a "son of Abraham."

So once again, as in the case of the use of "brothers" so with the use of "sons." Neither term can include the female. Rather we have to be aware of a different set of parallel terms that apply only to females, namely, "sisters" and "daughters." ESV has constantly misapplied these two distinct sets of gender terms.

There is a representative use of Adam and Christ and oftentimes the sin of a leader will bring punishment on his family or the nation, but these instances should not be confused with the gender pairs: brothers/sons, and sisters/daughters. Closer attention will have to be given to the gender being addressed in Scripture if we are to avoid the confusion that characterises the ESV and the NRSV. These are feminist-encouraging translations because they remove the theologically significant gender boundary that God placed in the family and the Church structures.

EXAMPLE 20. Romans 15:14, "Now I myself am confident concerning you, my brethren, that you also are full of goodness, filled with all knowledge, able to admonish one another" (NKJV). Here, according to ESV "brothers and sisters" admonish one another. It is highly unlikely that a wife would admonish the husband of another wife, or that she would admonish all the men in the Church. The addressees are men, and it was quite in order for men to admonish other men, as many Scriptures prove, but women admonishing men would be inappropriate action, because they are to be vocally silent and dispositionally submissive in the public meetings. Altering the text has created a contradiction in Scripture. Men, not men and women, are being addressed here, so only men should admonish men.

EXAMPLE 21. 1 Corinthians 5:11, "But now I have written to you not to keep company with anyone named a brother" (NKJV). The use of the singular "brother" here brings out the fact that this letter is focused solely on the male members of the Church. ESV does not have a policy to convert "brother" into "sister," as its footnote applies only to the plural form "brothers." Paul says nothing about sisters here because it is assumed that "anyone named a sister" would be disciplined within her own family under the principle that "the head of the woman is the man."

EXAMPLE 22. 1 Corinthians 6:5-8. There is a switch from the plural "brothers" to the singular "brother" which shows that in both cases only males are in view. Also, sisters may take sisters to law today, but that would have been impossible in Paul's day.

EXAMPLE 23. 1 Corinthians 7:29, "But this I say, brethren, the time is short, so that from now on even those with wives should be as though they had none" (NKJV). Here, "brothers" cannot be read as "brothers and sisters," because what Paul says applies only to males. If "brothers and sisters" is the correct translation then "wives" would have to be altered to "spouses" to agree with the inclusive gender change.

EXAMPLE 24. Ephesians 6:5, "Slaves, obey your earthly masters . . . as servants of Christ" (ESV). Greek has different words for female (δούλας) and male (δούλος) slaves. Here the masculine form is used. Does this mean that δούλος, like αδελφος, has a "specialized use" in the NT which it does not have outside the LXX and NT? and that this specialized use encompasses male and female slaves? Did Christians coin this new, genderless "collective noun" for theological purposes? If so, why does God refer to them separately in Acts 2:18?

In other words, ESV supporters would argue, δούλος is a special collective noun that does not occur elsewhere in Greek literature. Is it not more likely, that Paul is speaking directly to male slaves, and we can infer from what he says to male slaves that this must also apply to female slaves, even though they are not directly addressed? It has to be the latter, given the unmistakable and massive focus on the male members, that dominates all the Church epistles.

EXAMPLE 25. Romans 9:3 (16:7, 11, 21), Paul wishes that he could be cut off from Christ for the sake of "my brothers, my kinsmen according to the flesh," meaning his non-Christian fellow-Jews. Greek has different words for female (συγγενίς) and male (συγγενής) kin. Does this mean that συγγενής, like αδελφος, has a "specialized use" in the NT which it does not have outside the LXX and NT? and that this specialized use encompasses male and female relatives? Clearly, by using the term "brothers" here, Paul is targeting only his Jewish male relatives in this context. It is tempting, in the abstract, to assume that under the male form of "kinsman" Paul intended to include his female kinswomen, but we must take into account the kind of literature in which words are found and the cultural outlook of the speaker if we are to convey his precise thought. Given Paul's focus on the male members of the Church, (i.e., the "brothers") throughout all his church epistles, it is certain that he is thinking only of his fellow-Jews in this particular context.

EXAMPLE 26. Romans 16:7. "Greet Andronicus and Junia, my countrymen [ESV, kinsmen] and my fellow prisoners, who are of note among the apostles" (NKJV). Paul calls Herodian, his kinsman because he was male, and not his kinswoman (Rom 16:11). He calls Lucius, Jason and Sosipater, his kinsmen, because they are all males (Rom 16:21). Consequently, Junia can only be a male person because of the masculine form of "kinsmen" used here. Special pleading is required to see Andronicus as male, Junia as female, and "kinsmen" used for both. The other occurrences of the masculine form of "kinsman" in the NT do not require female relatives to be included in their contexts, see Mk 6:4; Lk 14:12; Jn 18:26; Acts 10:24 (cf. 11:3). The occurrences of the feminine form of "kinswoman" do not require male relatives to be included in their contexts, see Lk 1:36, 58. Only the masculine forms in Lk 2:44; 21:16 are not indisputable male-only relatives. The presumption is that they are masculine, especially in Lk 2:44, because it was not compulsory for women to attend the three yearly feasts.

EXAMPLE 27. 1 Corinthians 8:12 is addressed to the "brothers" and in the next verse the singular "brother" is used. Does the singular "brother" stand for "sister" as well? Clearly

not in this context. The ubiquitous use of masculine grammatical forms in the shape of nouns, adjectives and pronouns, following the term "brothers" cannot be accidental, given that no one would address only the males in a meeting today in the way that Paul addresses his letters to the Churches—certainly not in politically correct Western churches.

It is clear from Paul's male language and the manner in which he addresses the Christians that he sees the Church in terms of its male members without denying the truth that it also consists of females (free and slave) and children, who appear to be embraced under the umbrella term "saints." But all females and children are in a subordinate relation to the men who are in a subordinate relation to their Head, the Lord Jesus. Paul is clearly under the influence of his own doctrine of male headship as he writes. His whole outlook on life is dominated by the three headships in 1 Corinthians 11:3.

EXAMPLE 28. 1 Corinthians 11:33, "Therefore, my brethren, when you come together to eat, wait for one another" (NKJV). Even in a central event such as the Lord's Supper, the Apostle's focus is still on the male members and *their* behaviour is what is under scrutiny, not that of the females. If the previous passage (11:2-16) was seen as the Apostle correcting the behaviour of the women, this passage should be seen as the Apostle correcting the behaviour of the men in church. Consequently, "brothers" at 11:33 refers only to males in keeping with its consistent usage by Paul in all his epistles. The culprits are the brothers, not the brothers and sisters. The sisters are innocent in this instance.

The first Lord's Supper arose out of Jesus' last Passover meal and was eaten by thirteen men on their own with no females present. Females did not have to come to Jerusalem to eat the Passover, but the men did. It was compulsory for them. It is not clear whether men and women ever ate in a communal manner in Judaism at a synagogue meal before the institution of the Church came about.

The strong impression given by the Church epistles is that Christianity was a man's religion and Christ and the Spirit expected everything to revolve around them. But the union between men and women through Christian marriage was stronger and more integrated through headship than anything seen on earth up to that point in time, yet paradoxically, the wife's expression of this deeper bond took the form of greater self-denial, less assertiveness and greater respect for her head than was seen before the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost.

EXAMPLE 29. 1 Corinthians 12:1-11. This whole passage was spoken to the brothers (v.1). The Trinity is involved in dispensing spiritual gifts to the members. The gifts of leadership "appointed in the Church" (v. 28), in particular, apostles, prophets (m.pl.), and teachers, would not have been given by God to women, as this would not be in keeping with man's headship over her. God is not a God of disorder.

EXAMPLE 30. 1 Corinthians 14. The addressees are the male members of the Corinthian Church (see vv. 6, 20, 26, 39), not the "brothers and sisters." The setting is in the church meeting. The assumption of an ESV reader, who had read the footnote under 14:6, would be that women as well as men contributed their gifts *in public* to the building up of the members' faith. Yet all the contributors are males; male tongue-speakers, male prophets, male participants (contributing hymns, revelations, interpretations, etc.). The Holy Spirit, writing for the Church in all ages and foreseeing all things (being the third Person of the Trinity), including the overthrow of man's headship, then explicitly rules out any participation of the sisters on the grounds that according to the Law of her Creator she is to adopt a silent and submissive position in the church services. Everything the Spirit has revealed in the Gospels and the NT writings is in harmony with this ruling. At no time does the Holy Spirit treat women on a par with men in respect of speaking in Church or having a public role on a par with men. *These spheres are restricted to men only for all time.* The Spirit addresses the brothers at

all times in recognition of their right to rule themselves and teach themselves the faith. The Spirit's last word on this subject is, "it is shameful for a woman to speak in church" (14:34) because she has not been permitted by God to do so. The angels who observe, and the men with knowledge who witness it, know that public participation by women is a disorderly act and experience acute embarrassment at the dishonour done to Christ in open defiance of His explicit command. The ESV's overwriting of the Spirit's word, "brothers," with "brothers and sisters," will perpetuate and even multiply this dishonour for all time to come in the lives of those who think they are reading the Spirit's Word.

EXAMPLE 31. 1 Thessalonians 2:14, "For you, brethren, became imitators of the churches of God which are in Judea in Christ Jesus. For you also suffered the same things from your own countrymen" (NKJV). Note he says "countrymen" not some other term covering both genders. So that the persons he is addressing and the countrymen must both be male persons.

EXAMPLE 32. 1 Thessalonians 4:1-6, "Finally then, brethren, we urge and exhort in the Lord Jesus . . . [4] that each of you should know how to possess his own vessel [ESV, body] . . . that no one should take advantage of and defraud his brother in this matter . . . ." (NKJV). Two facts make it certain that "brothers" cannot include sisters here. (1) The male body is being spoken about, and (2) the singular "brother" can only be a male.

EXAMPLE 33. 2 Thessalonians 3:6, "But we command you, brethren, . . . that you withdraw from every brother who walks disorderly" (NKJV). The shift from the plural to the singular makes sense if Paul is addressing the same male members of the Church. Singular males are in view in vv.10, 13. In v. 15, "Do not regard him as an enemy, but warn him as a brother," bears out the observation that "brothers" here can only be males. The ESV has not created a policy of de-genderising the singular "brother" to mean "brother or sister," as this would expose the artificiality of their policy of de-genderising the plural form. But it is the constant use of the singular "brother" that reveals the male-orientated view of all the NT writers, and even the Lord Jesus Himself. ESV is inconsistent in de-genderising the plural form but not the singular.

EXAMPLE 34. Hebrews 2:11-12. Here Jesus calls all His male followers "brothers," which is the correct gender and grammatical form to use. But equally He would call all His female followers His "sisters" because that is the correct gender and grammatical form to use for them (cf. "you are my brothers and sisters if you do my will," Mt 12:50; Mk 3:35). What has determined the masculine gender in this context is the writer's audience: they are males—"brothers." But the quotation is from the Greek translation of Psalm 22:22 and if ESV were consistent then the Septuagint writers, as well as the NT writers, were using "brothers" with the meaning of "brothers and sisters." This is unlikely because as a translation of the Hebrew, the Hebrew term "brothers" does not include females. The Hebrew nation had its patriarchal culture created for it by God Himself through the Law, which only put in writing what had been in existence since the creation of Adam and Eve. Patriarchal culture is a permanent fixture among God's chosen people and is patent in both Old and New Testaments. This is lost when "brothers" is exchanged for "brothers and sisters."

A literal translation should be sensitive to pick up the patriarchal background and faithfully convey it into English even though Western culture has moved away from it and accommodated itself to the feminist view of human society. The Western Church has been quietly conditioned to accept "sexual equality" as a biblical doctrine, which it is not. Sexual quality, not sexual equality, is taught in Scripture. The ESV does God's revelation a disservice when it plays down its very strong focus on the masculine members of the Covenants to be in charge of the home and church spheres. The Western church is now clearly a feminist church

having been relentlessly exposed to feminist pressure and conditioning for equality over the past century and the ESV translation committee represents this change of viewpoint. It was only natural, therefore, either by design or default, that they would read into the biblical text, where possible, a non-patriarchal background but, inconsistently, they do so only in the NT. There was no attempt to alter the OT to read "brothers and sisters" in place of "brothers." If the translation committee had been more representative of Christ's world-wide Church, and especially where the Church has taken root in patriarchal cultures, their misleading footnote would have stuck out like a sore thumb.

The patriarchal Gospel was offered to the Jew first and *then* offered to the Gentile. A modern Jew would find a different Gospel being offered to him today in this translation. The ESV has removed the Gospel of the New Covenant from its patriarchal or male headship canvas and placed it on a feminist canvas. Consequently, the ESV will become a stumblingblock to the Jew and to all patriarchal societies with its obliteration of male headship and female subordination which God created for the good of marriage and human society. This preordained, creational subordination (of woman to man, and man to Christ) is an integral part of the *one* Gospel that was handed down to us. Feminism is a different gospel, whose key doctrine is reflected in the ESV's footnote.

EXAMPLE 35. Hebrews 7:5. The Levites took tithes only from their "brothers." Women did not have to pay tithes. Therefore to substitute "brothers and sisters" for "brothers" in this context shows ignorance of Hebrew culture and its theological foundation.

Some invest Western culture with a divine right to replace the theological headship culture that God ordained for His Church (Old and New) from the foundation of the world. Breaking down patriarchal barriers is seen as progress. Throwing off Christ's easy yoke in the matter of women covering their heads when praying to God is done so with glee and relief throughout the Western Church. "The one faithful in the least, is also faithful in much; and the one unrighteous in the least, is also unrighteous in much" (Lk 16:10). Carelessness over the Master's "least command" is a good indicator of a Christian's true relationship to the Lord Jesus.

EXAMPLE 36. Hebrews 10:19. What is said to the "brothers" in the first instance will also apply to all females and children and slaves. This is the language and outlook of a patriarchal culture. It characterises the Church, Jesus the Jew, founded and is building today. All the NT writings show continuity with the OT in this headship revelation from the creation of the world. The Holy Spirit sent His messages specifically to the male stratum in each church He addresses, because man is the glory of God. Man constituted the finest thing that God created. He gloried, He exulted in man. He could create nothing better. Man was the pinnacle of His achievements—His crowning glory, His pride and joy. Woman, the weaker vessel, was given to man, and she is "the glory of man." She is not the glory of God. She has a glory all of her own but she does not occupy the same place in God's achievements as man does. She is not equal to man in being either with him, or jointly, the finest thing God created. Is it any wonder, then, that God always speaks to His crowning glory—to man—and seeks to bring him back into the relationship and standing that he once enjoyed in the Garden of Eden? Men do their Maker no service when they reject their creational, hierarchical position in God's creation and behave like women or assume the role that He has assigned to woman. There is a submissiveness in men that is dishonouring to God and there is a submissiveness that is glorifying to Him. The Spirit has revealed that it is dishonouring for any man to submit to any woman, either at home or in the Church. He must submit to Christ alone (through virtue of His headship) and to those leaders He has appointed (through the gift of leadership) in His Church. Church and family come directly under Christ's personal governance. The State belongs to His rival. Christians are obliged to obey secular rulers and governors (male and female, good and bad) as a command of Christ.

EXAMPLE 37. Hebrews 13:22-23. Here the plural and the singular of brother must have the same meaning of male persons. ESV makes no attempt to alter the singular "brother" to "sister" anywhere in the NT.

EXAMPLE 38. James 1:2. The letter is addressed to the "twelve tribes" of Israel throughout the world who accepted Christ as their Messiah. The first generation of Christians were Jews, and circumcised Gentiles ("God-fearers") who converted to Judaism. The Gospel went out from Jerusalem into all the world through the Jews and God-fearers who came up to Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost. Most of the early churches would have been Christian synagogues. These Christian synagogues would have set the pattern for the Gentile churches which were later set up by the *Jewish* Apostles. James' letter must be set against this cultural backdrop. So instead of talking about "churches" James talks about Christian "synagogues." This is obliterated in most English translations where "synagogue" is translated as "assembly" in James 2:2 (except Young's Literal), thereby removing the strong, Jewish background that is important to read James against.

This indisputable, early Jewish/synagogue background is precisely what we meet with in Paul, Peter, James and John's writings, in that all four writers address the male members of the Church without denying that women and children constituted the "saints." Each is aware through revelation that man (not woman) is God's finest achievement, and consequently man is the focus of His attention, as it was from the Garden of Eden onwards. Consequently, when James uses the term "brothers" throughout his letter, he means the male members. Revelation also brought to light the subordinate relationship between men and women and this they lived with and conformed their lives and thinking to. It comes through in the constant address to the "brothers." He even uses the singular "brother" when he wishes to illustrate a point, as in 1:9; 4:11; 5:19. The switch from plural to singular at 4:11 is proof of this point.

It might be argued that equality in Christ did away with these revelations and that what was latent in Galatians 3:28 is made patent in ESV. This is a theological point, not a literal translation. It should not have been incorporated into a new translation in the form of a surreptitious footnote. By addressing only the male members of the churches directly, the Holy Spirit thereby maintains a constant and consistent viewpoint in the revelation He has given from the beginning of the world. ESV breaks this continuity and blurs the distinction God made between male and female and their respective roles in His plan for mankind.

EXAMPLE 39. 1 Peter. In this letter Peter addresses the male members directly and urges "brotherly love" (1:22; 3:8; cf. Rom 12: 10; Heb 13:1; 1 Thess 4:9; 2 Pet 1:7) and also that they "Love the brotherhood" (2:17). Peter's world is governed by special revelation and the full knowledge of the complex relationship that God has placed between man and woman, between man and God, and between woman and God. Neither Peter or any of the other NT writers knows anything of a doctrine of equal opportunities or equal status in the way they, through the Holy Spirit, address the Church. Only men are in the frame. ESV, for theological reasons, puts women into the frame on an equal footing with men. However, the explicit, direct appeal to the male members throughout the whole of God's revelation to man from the creation of the world is in keeping with man's headship and his responsibility to maintain good order in God's creation. It is the loss of this hierarchy of authority and responsibility that has undermined the man-woman relationship in marriage and undermined male leadership in the church. ESV has considerably weakened man's privileged position by shifting the focus away from the "brothers" to the "brothers and sisters."

Capturing the cultural and theological world in which the Apostles lived and moved should be as much part of a translation as translating the actual words they used as defined by a dictionary. Greater sensitivity should be shown toward this important aspect of

translation than in trying to adapt biblical concepts to fit into non-biblical cultures, which is illustrated in the translation "brothers and sisters" for "brothers." This translation eliminates the consistent, patriarchal standpoint of God's revelation. It is not so much a translation as a transformation of the patriarchal canvas on which God painted His truth. The Truth has been carefully lifted away from the divine canvas and set down on a modern canvas more acceptable to a non-biblical culture, and one that is deemed to be more enlightened than the old setting. Consequently, the battle has shifted from the text of the Bible to the background of the Bible. But special revelation cannot be divorced from the divine canvas it comes on.

EXAMPLE 40. 1 Peter 2:5. Peter, addressing the men, says that they constitute a spiritual "holy priesthood" (2:5, 9), to offer up spiritual sacrifices to God through Jesus Christ. Under the Old Covenant only men could be priests, yet not all men could be priests. But here the implication is that all "brothers" become priests. It was Moses' wish that all God's people would be prophets (Num 11:29) and this was granted at Pentecost where the Holy Spirit gave the gift to all men and women without discrimination. So likewise here, all Christians, male and female, can offer spiritual sacrifices to God. The exercise of the prophetic and the priestly offices are subject to the laws governing their public appearances as laid down in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 and 14:33-38.

EXAMPLE 41. Peter, throughout 1 and 2 Peter, prefers to use the term "beloved (Ἀγαπητοί) to refer to the "brothers." Only at 1 Peter 3:8 and 2 Peter 1:10 does he use the term "brothers" directly. At 1 Peter 2:11 "beloved" is restricted to the males who come under secular rulers. Servants and wives come under their own masters and husbands, and these are dealt with separately from the men by Peter.

Peter follows the natural law of creation that the younger men should subject themselves to the older men (1 Pet 5:5). There is a submissiveness that is not a headship submissiveness and it is given voluntarily, and there is a submissiveness that is inherent in headship and is given as a duty. Here, it is the former. Indeed, we see it in the Lord Jesus who washed the disciples' feet. And Peter urges the Elders to show this same submissiveness toward the younger men, even though he has just urged the younger men to be submissive to their church Elders. There is an appropriate mutual submissiveness between same genders that would be inappropriate across the genders.

EXAMPLE 42. In 1 John, the Apostle switches from "beloved" (Jude and Peter's favourite term) to "brothers." Indeed, there is a Greek variant at 2:7 showing how interchangeable these two terms were. John also moves easily from the plural to the singular "brother" when he wishes to illustrate some point, just as James (1:9; 4:11) did (cf. 1 Jn 2:9-11; 3:10-17; 4:20-21; 5:16). The pattern is clear. The NT writers write to the men in the congregation. They in turn will convey the truth to their families, hence the injunction that women should ask their questions at home. The underlying assumption is that Apostolic letters were discussed by the men alone. Men wrote to men in the first instance. The solidarity of the family meant that the men were the acknowledged teachers and leaders in the home and the church.

John addresses males of all ages: little children, little youths, young men, brothers and fathers. These would have formed the body of any Christian synagogue or church with the womenfolk in a supporting, attentive role.

EXAMPLE 43. In 3 John the term "brothers" has its normal meaning of male fellow-Christians who travelled the world with the Gospel. Gaius is commended for entertaining them on their travels.

EXAMPLE 44. Revelation 6:11. Here "bondservants" and "brothers" should be taken in their normal meaning of males, just as in 6:15 all the groups listed there consist of males only, even though it is possible that women and children may have been among them. The 144,000 are "sons of Israel" (7:4). If there are women and children they will be in addition to this number. The same will apply in 12:10. The patriarchal background sees society, the nation, and the church in terms of its male members. There is no unambiguous instance in the Bible where "brothers" is used in an inclusive sense. And even if there was a possible case, this would have to be an exception to the rule, rather than proof of the assertion.

SUMMARY OF ESV's DEFECTS

1. ESV has moved from a literal translation to a cultural transformation (EXAMPLE 8).
2. ESV adds "sisters" to God's Word, which is not there (EXAMPLE 11).
3. ESV has missed the significance of the male term "brothers" as the addressees (i.e. the genders are merged.)
4. ESV has missed the significance of the male term "sons" as the addressees (i.e. the genders are merged.)
5. ESV removes man's privileged position between God and woman to be the receiver of His Word (The Church epistles are primarily addressed to the males.)
6. Altering the text has created a contradiction in Scripture (EXAMPLE 20)
7. You cannot call a sister a "son of God," nor can you call a brother a "daughter of God."
8. ESV does not alter the singular "brother" to "sister" (EXAMPLE 22), but they are embedded in addresses to "brothers." If the plural includes "sisters" then the singular must also be unisex.
9. According to ESV ἀδελφοί is a special "collective noun." It means siblings without regard to gender. Is δούλος also a special "collective noun" found only in the NT? (EXAMPLE 24)
10. According to ESV συγγενής in Romans 6:3 is a special, non-gender-specific noun, that includes "brothers and sisters" when used in the NT. (EXAMPLE 25)
11. Disorder at the Lord Supper. The sisters are innocent in this instance. (EXAMPLE 28)
12. 1 Corinthians 14:33-38. The ESV's overwriting of the Spirit's word, "brothers," with "brothers and sisters," will perpetuate and even multiply the dishonour to the Lord Jesus Christ for all time to come in the lives of those who think they are reading the Spirit's Word.
13. 1 Thess 4:1-6. Two facts make it certain that "brothers" cannot include sisters here. (1) The male body is being spoken about, and (2) the singular "brother" can only be a male. (EXAMPLE 32)
14. The ESV has not created a policy of de-genderising the singular "brother" to mean "brother or sister," as this would expose the artificiality of their policy of de-genderising the plural form. (EXAMPLE 33)
15. If ESV were consistent then the Septuagint writers, as well as the NT writers, were using "brothers" with the meaning of "brothers and sisters." This is unlikely because as a translation of the Hebrew, the Hebrew term "brothers" does not include females. (EXAMPLE 34)
16. A literal translation should be sensitive to pick up the patriarchal background and faithfully convey it into English even though Western culture has moved away from it and accommodated itself to the feminist view of human society. (EXAMPLE 34)
17. The Levites took tithes only from their "brothers." Women did not have to pay tithes. Therefore to substitute "brothers and sisters" for "brothers" in this context shows ignorance of Hebrew culture. (EXAMPLE 35)

18. By addressing only the male members of the churches directly, the Holy Spirit thereby maintains a constant and consistent viewpoint in the revelation He has given from the beginning of the world. ESV breaks this continuity. (EXAMPLE 38)
19. Capturing the cultural and theological world in which the Apostles lived and moved should be as much part of a translation as translating the actual words they used as defined by a dictionary. Greater sensitivity should be shown toward this important aspect of translation than in trying to adapt biblical concepts to fit into non-biblical cultures, which is illustrated in the translation "brothers and sisters" for "brothers." (EXAMPLE 39)

In this survey we have covered the most significant instances where "brothers" has been given the inclusive meaning of "brothers and sisters." There was not a single example where such an inclusive meaning was required by the context. Instead, it was noted that the Holy Spirit had taught the NT writers to deal with the sexes on a separate basis and to recognise that Christian men were to be heads of their wives, who were seen to be in a creational, subordinate relationship to them and to the Lord Jesus. This understanding of the hierarchical structure of the family and church explains why only the male members are addressed in the first place in all the church letters. This is no accident. The Holy Spirit respects and safeguards the privileged position God has conferred on every male He has created by addressing His Word to them. By altering God's Word to remove this privileged status, the ESV has unwittingly played into the hands of those who would destroy the authority God has given to man whom He regarded as His finest piece of work—His glory.

The Church is two-tiered: consisting of a male tier and a female tier. The female tier has been created for the male tier, not vice versa. The relationship between these two tiers is a preordained, subordinate one and was created by God as an in-built feature of their existence for all time on earth. The man is to govern the woman under Christ's headship of man. There are not two classes of human beings: male and female, but one class, sharing one flesh and blood and sharing the same moral likeness to God. **He created sexual quality, not sexual equality; "male and female created He them."** Only by keeping the tiers distinct and each fulfilling their distinctive functions can good order be maintained in Christ's Kingdom, the Church, and the family.

What God created distinct, man has merged as indistinct. What God has separated, man has merged. What God has merged, man has separated. This ceaseless battle to be wiser than God and change His institutions and laws to conform to human wisdom is something the Church has had to watch out for throughout the ages. The ESV's ubiquitous footnote, merging the two genders where the Holy Spirit has kept them distinct, is an instance of this on-going struggle for novelty and accommodation to the spirit of the age. This subtle, but dangerous, change alters the theological background against which God, in His wisdom, conveyed His will to the Church. As such, this translation is not to be trusted.

EXCURSUS 8: Review of *Biblical Manhood and Womanhood* (Piper & Grudem)

REVIEW OF *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood: A Response to Evangelical Feminism,* eds. John Piper and Wayne Gruden (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 1991). Pp. 566.

Twenty-two authors have contributed to this collection of essays.

The fundamental flaw in this work is that its authors (without exception) have taken the dress-code what Paul applied to the *created authority difference* between Man and Woman and transferred it to the marriage state. Paul linked the gender-specific dress-code to the *unequal* distribution of authority that God ordained for Man and Woman to remain in, in order to bring good order to human society, and to bring glory to His wisdom. It is to mark this *unequal* distribution of power, authority and responsibility that the different dress-codes were introduced.

The Woman's head-covering is not a symbol of Man's headship over her, nor does it symbolise the Woman's submission to Man in marriage. Rather, it bears witness to two, objective levels of authority, so that both are positive symbols. The uncovered head bears witness to the higher level of authority that all males have innately. The covered head bears witness to the lesser level of authority that all females have innately, whether they marry or not. Inherent in Man's higher level of authority and responsibility is headship over everything that God has placed under his governance, including Woman.

Men and women are expected to enter the spiritual realm ("praying and prophesying") bearing the God-ordained symbols of their different authority status. The symbols are not optional extras.

The silence of all women during the meeting of the *ecclesia* is directly related to their lesser authority creation status and not to their cultural environment.

In what follows I shall focus on those elements that are at variance with Paul's teaching on the subject of Man-woman relationships.

1. Defining masculine and feminine roles or dispositions

John Piper's definition of masculinity and femininity centres around Christian leadership (35-36). Man leads and woman follows. Paul's definition would be more creature-Creator orientated. As a Godward relationship, to be a male is to recognise that everything a man does is done in accordance with Christ's will, his new Head of Humanity, and done with a cheerful disposition and a genuine desire to please Him in everything. The role model for man is Christ's subordination of His will to do God's will. Subordination should be writ large all over his life. He is continually orientated toward Christ, his Head. His energies are subordinated to subduing the earth on God's behalf. This orientation will apply to all men, married and unmarried.

Should he desire to enter into a marriage covenant relationship, the care of his wife and family must reflect the care that Jesus shows for His Church. Marriage must not be an end in itself, but a means to the greater end of pleasing his Maker. The gift of a wife, therefore, is not to be used selfishly for man's own ends but he is to be mindful at all times to help her fulfil her goal to be someone who "will do him good, not evil, all the days of her life" (Prov 31:12). He is to be her servant-leader; to make the most of her life in Christ's service. But he must never take his eyes of Christ, his Head, at all times. This will give direction and purpose to his life at all times. If his will is Christ's will, then his wife's life will have direction and purpose as she helps him fulfil his goals. Their lives are like a ballroom couple; in defining his steps you define hers. Problems come when he momentarily forgets his steps and she doesn't. Her undeviating movements can remind him of his steps.

To be a female is to recognise that everything a woman does is done in accordance with Christ's will, and done with a cheerful disposition and a genuine desire to please Him in everything. Within a marriage covenant, the energies of the woman are channelled through her husband's will, knowing that this is the will of Christ, the Head of the Church. Marriage must not be an end in itself, but a means to the greater end of pleasing her Maker by being a

beneficial helpmeet to Man. The role model for the single and married woman is also Christ's subordination of His will to do God's will. Subordination should be writ large all over her life. She is continually orientated toward her husband, her head, to make sense of her life and please her spiritual Lord.

These definitions make it clear that male and female only begin to work out the Creator's purposes when they acknowledge His headship over them. This subordination must come first and be the foundation on which they live out their lives. All other expressions of masculinity and femininity which are not subordinated to pleasing the Creator are wild-card existences and will be perversions of one sort or another of their sexuality.

J. Piper is closer to this definition when he puts the focus on the disposition of the wife toward her husband, rather than on remembering a list of rules. But for him "headship" relates to leader-specific situations. She must be ever vigilant to see that she never usurps his leadership role. This is right but headship is more than leadership. There are many male-over-male types of leadership, but these are not the same as the headship of man-over-woman is. Headship is a much deeper and more profound relationship than any leadership relationship can ever be. Failure to coincide exactly with Paul's definition of headship means that this work is always labouring under a missing element—a missing dimension.

2. Submissive toward Christ—Subversive toward Satan

J. Piper, even within the broad context of the disposition of a wife toward her husband, entangles women in a jungle of analytical scenarios and leads her into a labyrinth of pitfalls over women's Dos and Don'ts. His analysis of the situation is to treat the world as a unified society in which Christian women are to apply the doctrine of male leadership to all men, Christian and non-Christian in the work-place and all ways of life and all professions and careers. This leaves women teetering on the edge of over-stepping her subordinate position. He gives the example where a housewife may be asked directions by a total stranger. He considers this a kind of leadership and she giving guidance to a man. The problem is solved if she gives the information he asks for in a feminine way. He lists roles which puts some men in a subordinate role to a woman, such from Prime Ministers, teachers, female bus drivers, doctors, lawyers, police officers, TV newscasters, editors, etc. His solution to all these potentially leadership roles by women is to ask that their role be carried out with great sensitivity to the males under her authority, namely, she should be non-personal and non-directive in her dealings with men. "To the degree that a woman's influence over man is personal and directive it will generally offend a man's good, God-given sense of responsibility and leadership, and thus controvert God's created order" (51). Abigail is an example of how to give non-directive leadership to a man (David) in a submissive manner (1 Sam 25"23-25). "If a woman's job involves a good deal of directives toward men, they will, in general, need to be non-personal. The God-given sense of responsibility for leadership in a mature man will not generally allow him to flourish long under personal, directive leadership of a female superior" (52), so that a female boss with a male secretary puts a strain on the humanity of both.

Whether the leadership is personal/non-personal, or directive/non-directive the Christian realises that s/he lives in two parallel worlds simultaneously. We are in the world but not of it. We are citizens of heaven and aliens on the earth for the duration of our lives. There are two spheres of influence; a kingdom of God and a kingdom of Satan, to which all belong. This world is under the dominion of Satan and through the enemies of Christ he has control of all the output of men and women.[935] Everything they do will reflect his values.

[935] Jesus was conscious of liberating people from Satan's grasp, "Should not this woman, a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan has kept bound for eighteen long years, be set free?" (Lk 13:16). He cast out devils from thousands during His time on earth. He recognised Satan in one of His closest friends, Peter, as much as in his most bitterest enemies.

Opposed to him stands the Kingdom of God (or Christ) which manifests itself through the Church on earth. This smaller world is under the control of Christ, and His citizens will reflect His values. These two Kingdoms are implacably opposed to each other. Each invades the other's Kingdom in an unceasing poaching war.

Consequently, Christians recognise that they exercise two contrasting dispositions all the time. On the one hand they show submissiveness toward Christ, and on the other they see themselves as being subversive toward Satan and all that he stands for. If a Christian is not aware that the moment they are born-again they immediately adopt these two contrasting attitudes, then they do not yet have "life" or are so immature that they are in ignorance of having passed from death to life.

Now, this world and its values are not yet under the control of Christ, but men and women who become sons and daughters of God are of greater worth in God's eyes, than men and women who do not. Consequently, a single daughter of God is of greater value than all the men on the earth who serve His enemy. She, along with her Lord Jesus, will one day pass judgment on these men.

However, while she on the earth she must remain in her divine calling as a woman and in two spheres she must adopt a submissive role. The two spheres are (1) in her marriage, and (2) in the church. In neither sphere can she reverse positions with man.

But what of her role in the world, where Satan rules? Here, she has a subversive role. She is under an obligation to rescue all women and men within her sphere of influence, and as an ambassador for Christ she can implore men and women, on Christ's behalf, "be reconciled to God" (2 Cor 5:20). She is out to rob Satan and to urge his followers to opt out of the world and come under the rule of Christ. Happy the woman who has a husband doing the same thing.

Should she accept promotion (i.e., delegated authority over men and women) in the work-place, or in politics by becoming an MP or Prime Minister, or accept any other position of power and wealth in the world? Why not? Provided she accepts the headship of her husband (if married) and her submissive role in Christ's Kingdom (the Church) and is not likely to use her promotion to damage either relationship, and if her motive is clearly to use her promotion to further Christ's cause, then all Christians, male and female, should go into all the world as salt and light into every nook and cranny of the business world, the political world, and all the other worlds and professions, trades and careers. Let every Christian be on a mission to spread the Gospel in Satan's kingdom and rob him of deluded men and women, boys and girls.

But let no Christian woman think that she can behave in Christ's Kingdom (i.e. in her marriage and in the Church) as she can do in Satan's kingdom. This is where good Christian women have gone wrong in the past.

When Christian women gain promotion in Satan's sphere of influence and there (in business, politics, etc.) discovers she is placed over a Christian man, he will have to accept her authority as he would if she was not a Christian. Because both are operating outside a marriage and a church context and only in these two contexts does headship operate. If the man was her husband (Christian or non-Christian) then she should forego the promotion because she cannot exercise this kind of authority over her husband. It would be a humiliation of his headship position (whether he is a Christian or not).

The reason why men (even Christian men) should accept coming under female authority (be she Christian or non-Christian) in the work-place is because the world belongs to Satan. His, is an upside-down world which the Christian is bent on turning rightside-up. It is a battle between light and darkness; between good and evil. It is a chaotic world at every level—art, theatre, music, philosophy and everything that emanates from the mind of those under Satan's rule. All is polluted with the "flesh," even though it may have a form of beauty.

From her position of authority, be it sitting on the throne of England or running her own business, she will use her position to promote "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are noble, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report," and she will meditate on these things (Phil. 4:8). These are the exact opposite of what she finds in the world in which she lives and moves and has her being. But she will keep herself unspotted by these evil influences as she moves among it every day of her life.

Christian men also live and move around in Satan's kingdom and with the same subversive goal as his sister in Christ. While the structures of power are God-ordained, those who sit on human thrones will quite often be females. All men are obliged to render to Caesar what belongs to Caesar. "And he said to them, 'Give back, therefore, the things of Caesar to Caesar, and the things of God to God'," (Luke 20:26). And if Caesar happens to be a woman, this makes no difference. "Give no offense either to the Jews or to the Greeks or to the church of God" (1 Cor 10:32). "Render therefore to all their due: taxes to whom taxes are due, customs to whom customs, reverence to whom reverence, honour to whom honour is due" (Rom 13:7). In an upside-down world you expect to see women and children ruling men. This is against God's created order—the rightside-up world. When women rule men in their marriages or in the church, there God's created order is turned on its head. But it is a sign of His displeasure. "See now . . . the Lord Almighty is about to take from Jerusalem and Judah . . . hero and warrior, the judge and prophet, the soothsayer and elder . . . . I will make boys their officials; mere children will govern them. . . . The young will rise up against the old. . . . Youths oppress my people, women rule over them" (Isa 3:1-5, 12).

Another reason why Christian women should accept secular power and authority within Satan's kingdom is that by filling that post, it prevents one of his minions from occupying it and using it to promote anti-Christian values. By the manner in which these Christian women exercise their secular authority they become role models for all under their care (men and women). Something of Christ will radiate from the manner in which they use their authority. They will not exploit it. They will not lord it over those under them. They will not abuse it. Christ's values will dominate all they do and say. They will pray for those under their charge.[936]

Over the centuries there is a waxing and waning, an ebb and flow, in the cause of Christ. In some countries His Church waxes in others it wanes. In the Western world, through its material blessings, His church is on the wane. There is an ebb in the tide of Christian influence at all levels of British society which is fast degenerating into a brutal, selfish, uncaring, immoral society on the incoming tide of filth, crudity and nudity, and all sorts of sexual perversions. Laws are continually being introduced reversing the Christian gains of the past, especially the legacy of the Reformation which brought society much more into line with Hebrew and Christian values than the nation had ever experienced in its previous history. This was the waxing period in the nation's spiritual development.

To take but one example, the law of succession to the British throne was based on male succession as God instituted it for His Old Covenant Church. This was in keeping with man's headship. Recently this law has been changed for any gender to succeed. This will set a problem for a Christian royal family. Under Christ's law a wife is subject to her husband's will, and all she does must be done with his approval. If a royal female succeeds to the throne and marries a commoner, she cannot pass any law if he disapproves of it, whether he is a Christian or not, or whether the law is for or against Christ's interests. He has this delegated authority from God by right of his gender. His headship takes precedent over any man-made laws of succession. His law of headship is a higher law because it was instituted "from the beginning" of civilisation by God Himself (Gen 3:16). The Queen is bound to obey her commoner husband in everything and leave him responsible for the outcome. Given this

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[936] See §4.1.1.1. "The Christian and Politics," where this topic is further expounded, and also §4.9.

change in the law, no Christian wife can succeed to the British throne without violating her husband's prior right to be her head. She would be better off abdicating her right to succession and remain within God's law for her life as her husband's helpmeet. That is her prior calling. Only males can rule males in marriage and in Church.

However, if she is single and a Christian, then let her succeed because Christ is her head.[937] Let her use the power and authority that God has raised her to (in His structuring of human society), like Queen Esther and Judge Deborah, for the good of His Church. But let her have no position of authority in the church just because she is Queen. She is on a par with all other Christian women in this respect. She, too, will cover her head when she prays to God, her Maker and Saviour, like all other women.

3. Complementarity versus Headship

What is lacking in J. Piper's portrayal of the relationship between Man and Woman is the little word, "will" (52). Doing the *will* of God was the focus of Jesus' life; doing the *will* of Christ is the focus of Man's life; and doing the *will* of Man is the focus of Woman's life. This is what is meant by 1 Corinthians 11:3.

Try introducing the term "complementarity" into each of these three relationships and it does not coincide with Paul's word "head." There is an element of truth in "complementarity" but the focus is in the wrong place. Complementarity is a non-hierarchical concept. It conveys the idea that both exist for each other; that one part was designed with the other in view; that one cannot exist without the other; that one is as essential as the other; that one is as important as the other; that neither is more valued than the other. We may call this the "nuts and bolts" relationship. This is the feminist view of the husband-and-wife relationship. It is recognised as the "complementarity" interpretation.

In stark contrast to this, "head" or "headship" highlights an hierarchical relationship; that one thing is made to serve the other; that one thing is superior to the other; that one bends the knee to the other; that one acknowledges the superiority of the other's authority; that one thing is subordinate to another; that the two parts are not identical or equal. We may call this the "head and body" relationship. This is Paul's view of the husband-and-wife relationship. It is recognised as the "headship" interpretation.

Now let's look at the feminist "complementarity" view of the Man-Woman relationship, and let's apply it to the biblical concept that "the head of Man is God." Does God complement Man? Does God require the existence of Man to make Him complete? Can God exist without Man? Does Man do God's will, or does God go Man's will? Is Man equal to God, or vice versa? Who exists for who? It is pretty obvious that this is no "equal partnership" arrangement. Man was created for God. Man does God's will. God can exist apart from Man.

Yet there is a subordinate or creational complementary partnership between God and Man in that the reason given in Genesis 2:5 for the absence of plants and herbs is that there was no man to till the ground. God needed man to till the ground to bring out the best in it.

If the term "complementarity" must be used to describe the Man-woman relationship it should be qualified with the word "subordinate" to bring out the unidirectional relationship that is implied in headship. Evangelicals should talk about "subordinate (or creational) complementarity" relationships and leave the feminists to omit the term "subordinate" to conform to their idea of an "equal partnership." The term

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[937] She wouldn't in Hebrew law because the patriarchal structure would ensure that her uncles or brothers would succeed. But Israel was the Church; the British nation is not to be identified with the Church. She operates outside the Church and outside marriage. She operates in Satan's kingdom to overthrow it using all means possible. Let her take advantage of the change in the law to reverse Satan's values for the good of the nation even though it can never be identified with Christ's Church on earth.

"headship-complementarity" would bring out the fact that Man needs Woman to continue his existence, whereas God does not need Man to continue His existence.

Complementarity governs the existence of all animals because headship does not exist in the animal world. Headship is found only in the human species and this fact puts a large gulf between humans and animals. To argue that animals and humans are on the same complementarity level is to ignore the "image of God" in Man and the chronological sequence in which the male and female were created and brought together in a creational, subordinate relationship.

That the sexual organs in Man and animals complement each others is a scientific or medical fact but there the complementarity ends. So complementarity is designed to continue the species, both Man and animal. Headship, on the other hand has to do with the here and now. How male and female are to relate to each other *now.*

4. Headship as organisation or organism

Headship has to do with a difference in authority that God has, for His own good pleasure, unevenly apportioned to males and females, in order to ensure that Man would be able to carry out the functions for which he was created. *They are not created with the same authority. One is to be subordinate to the other.* If this is what is meant by "complementarity" then we have the "head and body" image. But one suspects in BMW that "complementarity" is more of the "nuts and bolts" variety, hence the list of man's weaknesses and strengths are matched against the woman's weaknesses and strengths and the sums come out equal. The implication is that they require each other, they complement each other, in order to make a success of both their lives. This is a wrong model. It is an organisational model with the emphasis on two, independent wills, struggling to complement the weaknesses in the other. The "bolt" needs the "nut" to be of any use. One without the other is useless.

The biblical model is an organic one: the head and body functioning as one unit, with one will, one purpose and one goal. In each of the three headship relationships there is a marvellous unity. "The head of Christ is God." The Father is in the Son, and the Son is in the Father. "The head of man is Christ." Man is in Christ, and Christ is in Man. Abide in Me and I in you. We have the mind of Christ. "The head of woman is man." The two become one flesh; they have one mind. What Paul says of the church should be said of every marriage. "Now I plead with you . . . that you all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you, but that you be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment" (1 Cor 1:10); "that you stand fast in one spirit, with one mind striving together for the faith of the gospel" (Phil 1:27). Just as the body implicitly obeys the mind, so the wife implicitly obeys her husband, such is the organic unity in every Christian marriage. It is not an organisation; it is an organism. It will have organisational features about it but at heart it is a symbiotic organism. Scripture sets before us the norm and does not make provision for those who want to fall short of it. And the norm is attainable with the help of the in-dwelling Holy Spirit.

Feminism cannot accept this model, and Piper & Grudem are closer to the nuts-and-bolt (organisational) model than they are to Paul's head-and-body (organism) model. They drastically downgrade the biblical model by stripping Man's headship of leaving it only with its leadership aspect.

BMW's view of headship is captured in the idea of complementarity where man's "strong leadership" is met with woman's "responsive support for man's leadership" (52). While leadership is an important element in marriage, it is never the focus of attention in Paul or Peter's writings on marriage. Where leadership is spoken of it is in the context of males leading males. Leadership is taken for granted in marriage, and so the focus is shifted to obedience to that natural leadership. In each of the three headships leadership is not an issue; obedience is the issue. The Lord Jesus continually expresses His obedience to the

Father's revealed will. He uses His will to do the Father's will. He never once expresses "responsive support for God's leadership." Leadership in a headship relationship is taken for granted. What is of the essence in headship is the total commitment to do the will of one's head; to please one's head in everything. In Man's headship this requires an organic relationship: the union of two persons in body and soul. For this reason the marriage of two women or two men cannot achieve this "one flesh" union. In same-sex marriages one partner would have to adopt the subordinate role and the other the headship role. In both cases there is a distortion/perversion of gender roles. They cannot complement each other's created roles.

5. Confusing headship and leadership in the Church

"The same is true of God's design for leadership in the church. The realities of headship and submission in marriage have their counterparts in the church" (53).

The error here is that headship can only occur between a man and a woman, never between two males or two females. BMW has reduced headship to leadership and then seen a parallel in the governance of the church. BMW has assumed that "submission" in a headship relationship and "submission" in same sex relationships is the same thing, that is, the acceptance of someone else as leader. However, the submission in headship is *creational* submission (as in, woman was made for man) whereas leadership (or "head") is *functional* submission (as in, Jesus obeyed his parents). They should not be confused or compared as BMW has done here. Paul never makes the mistake of confusing creational with functional subordination when it comes to males leading males. Older males (elders) must earn the privilege to govern other males whose head is Christ. It would be a theological blunder to draw a parallel between a man's headship of his wife and an elder's headship of other men. No elder has a headship relationship to the other men in his congregation. The head of all men (including all elders) is Christ, and Christ alone. There are no Protestant Popes in Christ's Church. Every man has only Christ as his head. And every man should ensure that no Eldership or "church staff" should come between him and Christ. That would be an infringement of his access to Christ. Leadership among men must be by mutual consent and mutual respect. Leadership can be withdrawn should the leader(s) go astray from the Truth. So that his leadership in everything is not to be taken for granted. His leadership must be scrutinised against Scripture at all times lest he lead the flock astray. On the other hand, headship, cannot be withdrawn from any husband, be he Christian or non-Christian. It is creational, not functional.

Another difference in emphasis in BMW's understanding of headship as leadership, is that it restricts the submissive partner's relationship to those occasions that require the head to led. Headship, on the other hand, is a life-style which embraces leadership but is wider and more profound in that it opens the field to supporting the head in ways he might not have anticipated, but which will please him. The freedom to act and speak for the head out of love and respect is a rewarding and fulfilling role. The sky is the limit. It goes beyond leadership. It is the ultimate in sacrificial love. 1 Corinthians 13 helps us to see how unrestricted and all-conquering is love. Happy the Head who has Love dying to serve him!

6. Headship: the absolute surrender of the will

"Submission refers to the wife's divine calling to honor and affirm her husband's leadership and help carry it through according to her gifts. It is not an absolute surrender of her will. Rather, we speak of her *disposition to yield* to her husband's guidance and her *inclination* to follow his leadership. Christ is her absolute authority, not the husband. She submits "out of reverence for Christ'" (61).

The quality of her submission is determined by BMW's restricted view of headship as leadership and its organisational view of the marriage relationship. There is a fear here

that because all husbands are sinners he cannot be a reliable head at all times, and so she must reserve the right to scrutinise his every communication to her. Paul places no such qualification on Man's headship. It is total submission with no qualifications. It is an absolute surrender to one's head. It is not a "nuts-and-bolts" relationship, but a "head-and-body" relationship. Paul does not legislate for the mismatches, where one partner becomes a Christian, and the other partner is hostile to Christianity. The model is Christ and God, and the Church and Christ. Both are absolute commitments because the relationship is an organic one. The body implicitly and automatically follows the head. This points up the absolute necessity that Christians should only marry Christians, and no minister should marry a non-Christian to a Christian.

In the case of a husband requiring his partner to sin, such as Abraham required Sarah his wife to tell lies, she did so out of obedience to her head. God will hold Abraham, her head, responsible for her sin. She demonstrates the absolute surrender of her will in order that Abraham's will is accomplished. However, if Abraham had forsaken Yahweh and began to worship other gods, she would have remained faithful to Yahweh, according to Acts 5:29, and not obeyed him. He would have been stoned.

So there is a limit to a wife's obedience, but it is a long way down the road. Hence her obedience is absolute up to the point of worshipping another God. Below that point, she can be obedient while quietly protesting her dislike to doing anything which is against her conscience to perform. The responsibility will then lie with her husband, but if he loves her, he will not make her unhappy by requesting her to do something she genuinely feels is wrong. This would be my answer to Question 14.

Under Questions 6, 7 and 13, again we have headship reduced to leadership. While leadership is an essential element in headship, the more important thing is the *attitude* of using one's will to see the other's will fulfilled, that is what constitutes the essence of headship. There is no battle of wills, but the surrender of one will to another. There is no negotiation. Christ surrenders to the Father's will; Man surrenders to Christ's will; and Woman surrenders to Man's will. In this way God's will will be done on earth as it is in heaven. The weakest link is the Man-Christ one, and the Woman is dependent on that link being secure if she is to make the best use of her surrender to doing her husband's will.

There are texts which will pick up the leadership issue, such as Titus 2:5; 1 Timothy 3:4, 12; but there are others that pick up on the deeper, more profound issue of headship, such as 1 Corinthians 11:3; Eph 5:21-33 and Col 3:18-19. These are usually lumped together under "leadership," as in Question 7.

7. Women can teach men and prophesy (teach) in Church

BMW declare that 1 Timothy 2:12 is not an absolute ban on women teaching men because (Question 21),

> Paul endorses women prophesying in church (1 Corinthians 11:5) and says that men "learn" by such prophesying (1 Corinthians 14:31) and that the members (presumably men and women) should "teach and admonish one another with all wisdom, as you sing psalms, hymns and spiritual songs" (Colossians 3:16). Then, of course, there is Priscilla and Aquila's side correcting Apollos (Acts 18:26).
>
> It is arbitrary to think that Paul had every form of teaching in mind in 1 Timothy 2:12. Teaching and learning are such broad terms that it is *impossible* that women not teach men and men not learn from women *in some sense*. . . .
>
> If Paul did not have every conceivable form of teaching and learning in mind, what did he mean? Along with the fact that the setting here is the church

> assembled for prayer and teaching (1 Timothy 2:8-10; 3:15), the best clue is the coupling of "teaching" with "having authority over men.". . . This primary responsibility is to be carried by the pastors and elders.

Through this linkage BMW limit the woman's liberty only when teaching in settings and ways that dishonour men, who alone are called to the office of pastor and elder. There are a number of serious misunderstandings and errors in this quotation.

First, Paul does not couple her teaching to an authoritative office. "Teaching a husband" and "exercising authority over a husband" (a reversal of Gen 3:16?) stand as distinct activities. Sharing all she knows of Christianity within her marriage relationship must be done in the light of this prohibition. All home settings will come under this rubric. It is in this *private* setting that Aquila and Priscilla share with Apollos what they know of Christianity. This is not a teaching situation, but a natural concern to impart the full truth to Apollos in a private meeting. BMW have lumped the private and the public settings together and because a wife can teach in a private setting she can do so in the public setting provided she does not "dishonour" the men present.

It is not possible to transfer the Apollos setting into the public meeting and permit Aquila and Priscilla *jointly* to teach the men in the church. All husbands and wives will be at different stages of understanding Christianity and older wives (learning from their more mature theological husbands) will instruct younger wives, who in turn will share this with their younger, less-instructed husbands. But this activity will take place out of the public gaze otherwise it could humiliate their husbands. Hence, no doubt, the absolute ban on women speaking in public. The ban is there to preserve the husband's headship and honour.

Likewise, husbands are to share their spiritual knowledge with their wives *in private,* not in the public setting of the church (1 Cor 14:35). *Only in the public setting are men allowed to speak.* Hence, Paul, in 1 Timothy 2:12 does place an absolute ban on women teaching men their religion in church and at home. "I do not permit a woman to teach . . . but to be in silence [disposition]." In the case of unbelieving husband she should convey the Gospel in her own home *without speaking,* namely, through her obedient and subservient behaviour (1 Pet 3:1). It is in her loving, subordinate living, that the change the Gospel brings about is seen by her husband. Note how consistent the Holy Spirit is, whether he speaks through Paul or through Peter. These two apostles are in total agreement over the place God has assigned to women in the headship relationship as regards public speaking and taking up a superior position over their husbands through their superior knowledge.

Note, next, the unbiblical restriction of teaching to pastors and elders. See the same restriction under Question 22. However, 1 Corinthians 14 shows that every man has the right to make a contribution. This right has been largely taken away from him in the Western churches. It should be restored to him to overthrow the dependence culture that has grown up, whereby only those who are paid money are allowed to speak in church.

The restriction on the contributions by ordinary male Christians (often more mature and knowledgeable than the young man or woman set over them) has been the major cause of the infiltration of feminist doctrines in the West. Jesus noted that a disciple does not rise above his teacher. If He is correct then a congregation will not rise above its immature (but paid) teacher. And we all know how thin is the knowledge gained in a Three-year ministry degree. Yet on the strength of this meagre knowledge men (and now women) are put in charge of a congregation whose mature Christian men are muzzled. The congregation can only rise to the level of ignorance that its teacher has reached. We need to restore the liberty that all Christian men had by right to speak in the church service each week and warn the church of any trends that would undermine the teaching of Scripture. The need now is to break the restrictive mould that we have allowed to develop and resurrect the freedom that we see our fellow-brothers had in Corinth.

Second, the above quotation, using 1 Corinthians 11:5, grants women the right to speak in public providing they are praying or prophesying, but not teaching, apparently. The hermeneutical error here is ignorance. Ignorance of whom Paul is addressing in 1 Corinthians. He is speaking to the "brothers", not to both sexes. Nine times in this chapter he uses the address, "Brothers." This is quite a common hermeneutical error in most modern commentaries and studies of Paul's church epistles, all of which are addressed specifically to the male members.

Because of this ignorance, BMW assumes that Paul is speaking to a modern church congregation. Note the parenthesis, "(presumably men and women)." This was a wrong presumption, consequently what has been built on it is unstable.

If BMW had read 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 carefully, they would have noted (1) the placement of this chapter within the Letter (which is important for giving us Paul's context), and (2) that Paul's focus is on the *individual* male and female, not on the plural, men and women. They have assumed what is not in the text, namely, that the individual is in a church setting. The reason why Paul has focussed on the individual is that each gender has to approach God differently. So he deals with that teaching in 1 Corinthians 11. The question of when and where each gender can exercise their gifts is addressed in 1 Corinthians 14, which is clearly set in the public church service.

Ignorance of the structure of the Letter, and so of the way Paul's mind was working logically through the issues he had to address,[938] has led to the error of women being allowed to speak in public, something which she was not permitted to do until feminism infiltrated the Gospel which is as damaging as leaven infiltrating the unleavened Word of the Gospel (1 Cor 5:8). It has become so commonplace to hear women speak and preach in church that the shame of this disorder has worn off completely, and they are even being encouraged to try for higher offices to be bishops and archbishops.

Western commentators are guilty of reading back modern settings into Paul's church epistles, and reading 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 in a church setting is one of its biggest errors, because of the catastrophic effects it has on Paul's holistic view of headship. The older commentators, on the whole, did not make this mistake.

Third, BMW notes that in the Colossian church, "members (presumably men and women) should teach and admonish one another with all wisdom, as you sing psalms, hymns and spiritual songs" (Col 3:16). In 1 Corinthians 14:26 Paul noted that among the many spiritual gifts that can be contributed in the church service is "a teaching." So "presumably men and women" could also "teach" men in the Corinthian public service? So what happened to the prohibition of women teaching in 1 Timothy 2:12? Their answer is that women cannot avoid teaching "in some sense," so 1 Timothy 2:12 cannot be addressing teaching *per se,* but refers to having the office of teacher in the church, which they restrict to "pastors and elders." But this restriction is neither biblical, as we noted above, since 1 Corinthians 14:26 says that any man can give "a teaching," nor can they make a case for official over against unofficial teaching. 1 Corinthians 14:26 will not allow that.

Under Question 23 BMW make a distinction between the gifts of prophet and pastor-teacher using Eph 4:11. They recognise that prophesy includes teaching, but because the prophet is mentioned separately from the teacher, the latter is an office which women cannot hold in the church. But teaching per se cannot be compartmentalised in this way. A prophet can also be a teacher ("you can all prophesy one by one"—1 Cor 14:31) and a prophet will teach ("he who prophesies speaks edification and exhortation and comfort to men . . . he edifies the church"—1 Cor 14:3-4).

Whether a woman holds the office of teacher or not, by allowing her to teach ("Whenever you come together, everyone of you has a teaching"—1 Cor 14:26) she edifies the church through this occasional "teaching" and there is nothing BMW can do to prevent it.

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[938] See under §4.3.6.

The error here was, once again, assuming that "men and women" are being addressed by Paul. It was this assumption that gave rise to their "official" versus "unofficial" categories of teaching, in order to exclude women from one but not from the other. But in doing so they devalue the teaching that the "unofficial" male teacher contributes during the church service (1 Cor 14:26). If you squeeze a balloon in one direction it will bulge out of shape in another place, likewise when you squeeze one Scripture text into a preconceived shape, there will be a knock-on effect that will affect other Scriptures. If a woman cannot teach her own husband at home, in private, how can she teach other women's husbands in public? The major defect with BMW's handling of the issue of women teaching men is that the word "teach" cannot be taken in its natural meaning in 1 Timothy 2:12; Col 3:16 and 1 Corinthians 14:26.

In Paul's definition of prophesying (1 Cor 14:3) teaching cannot be excluded. Having "squeezed" women into being permitted to prophesy in church in 1 Corinthians 11:5, this set up an apparent contradiction with 1 Timothy 2:12. The only way out was to squeeze 1 Timothy 2:12 into a narrower field of meaning. Two distortions are needed to cancel each other out.

Contrast the natural meaning of Paul's words with his doctrine of headships and you get no distortion. In 1 Corinthians 11:5 he is dealing with women as individuals and the issue is, Are they permitted to come before God when they pray and prophesy on the same terms as men? The whole passage is taken up with the answer, No.

Paul, in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16, has not addressed the issue whether they can contribute vocally in the church service on the same terms as men. He addresses that issue in 1 Corinthians 14, where he again says, No. So neither in the *manner* in which they pray to God, nor in the church may they do so on the same terms as men. If they cannot speak in church, then they cannot teach, so there is no problem. This is in keeping with the fact that in all of Paul's church epistles he is addressing only the "brothers." It is this latter fact that has been at the root of all of BMW's deviations from the truth.

BMW assume that the setting for 1 Timothy 2:8-10 is in the church and 2:11-12 in the home. I have argued elsewhere (see §4.3.10.) that all of chapter 2 has the *daily life* as its setting, not just the weekly meeting when the church meets to pray.

8. Women to prophesy in an appropriate manner (Questions 22-23)

BMW places no restriction on when or where women may prophecy. "Paul simply regulates the demeanor in which they prophesy so as not to compromise the principle of the spiritual leadership of men (1 Corinthians 11:5-10)."

By "demeanor" here is meant that women are to cover their heads when they pray or prophesy. But how is that connected with women compromising man's leadership? If by "compromise" they mean that in the *manner* in which they deliver their prophecies then that has nothing to do with being covered or uncovered, which cannot affect the manner in which they speak.

BMW have confused the issue of head-covering with the manner in which the women speak while delivering their prophecies. The issue of head-covering is connected with the fact that gender is important to God. A woman on her own praying to God must do so with a covered head. A man on his own praying to God must do so with an uncovered head. The head-covering has nothing to do with the demeanour a woman adopts while prophesying. She can assert authority over men with her head covered!

According to BMW a female prophet is "to avoid the kind of teaching that by its very nature calls for strong, forceful pressing of men's consciences on the basis of divine authority."

This is an odd caveat. Surely, if men and women are equal (as BMW believe they are) in being used by the Holy Spirit to deliver His messages in the public worship service, then it

cannot detract from His message if He speaks through a female mouth or a male mouth. The message will be the same. If the Holy Spirit uses a female to deliver a "teaching that by its very nature calls for strong, forceful pressing of men's consciences on the basis of divine authority," then the Holy Spirit is at fault and not the woman. He made the wrong choice of person to deliver His message. This is like blaming the messenger for the message.

BMW are driven into this confrontation with the Holy Spirit because they breached the law forbidding women to speak in church. This is what happens once you start squeezing Scripture into preconceived scenarios. You have to go on squeezing other Scriptures to accommodate them to other misshapened texts of Scripture in order to fit them together.

Under Question 23 BMW seek to regulate the influence of women prophets because it is a teaching medium—it edifies the church (1 Cor 14:3-4). They have created a threat to male leadership and their solution is to drastically downgrade prophesying and make it subject to intense scrutiny by male elders because women are involved and they could undermine male leadership if they speak with an authoritative voice. This is a constant, 'looking-over-one's-shoulder' male fear in mixed company.

But this fear does not arise if only men were permitted to speak, teach or prophesy in church. BMW have created a problem that was not there in Paul's day. Their solution is to squeeze "prophesying" into something that can be controlled by an elite group of men. BMW argue:

> Prophecy in the worship of the early church was not the kind of authoritative, infallible revelation we associate with the written prophecies of the Old Testament. It was a report in human words based on a spontaneous, personal revelation from the Holy Spirit (1 Corinthians 14:30) for the purpose of edification, encouragement, consolation, conviction, and guidance (1 Corinthians 14:3, 24-25; Acts 21:4;[939] 16:6-10). It was not necessarily free from a mixture of human error, and thus needed assessment (1 Thessalonians 5:19-20;[940] 1 Corinthians 14:29[941]) on the basis of the apostolic (Biblical) teaching (1 Corinthians 14:36-38; 2 Thessalonians 2:1-3). Prophecy in the early church did not correspond to the sermon today or to a formal exposition of Scripture. Both women and men could stand and share what they believed God had brought to mind for the good of the church. The testing of this word and the regular teaching ministry was the responsibility of the elder-teachers. This latter role is the one Paul assigns uniquely to men.

The restriction of regular teaching to *elder-teachers* is inaccurate. All elders had to be teachers, but not all teachers had to be elders. The teaching could be done by any man at any time (1 Cor 14:26). And according to the license given by BMW to women to teach (on the basis of 1 Cor 14:26) women could be regular teachers without being elders and without even being prophetesses.

Downgrading prophecy to a mixture of truth and error does not solve the problem they have created of allowing women ***to teach*** in the church. That problem is not noticed or

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[939] In my opinion the Holy Spirit does not contradict Himself. In Acts 21:4 Paul to told only to *delay* his journey by seven days, not that he is not to go up to Jerusalem, which was already predetermined.

[940] Nothing is said here of "assessing" or "testing" prophecies. In v. 21 Paul says, "Test all things. Hold fast what is good. Abstain from every form of evil." Paul strings together a number of independent commands, so that it would be wrong to link, "Do not despise prophecies," with the command, "Test all things," which follows. Paul does not use the Greek verb "to test" in 1 Cor 14:30, but the word "discern" or simply, "pay attention to."

[941] Note that here "the others" are all males present. BMW were wrong to restrict the "assessors/evaluators" to the elder-teachers. In other words the full audience are to listen to the messages of those prophets who were moved by the Holy Spirit to speak in turn.

addressed by them and remains as a stumbling-block to their efforts to squeeze all the relevant texts into a preconceived shape to accommodate the present practice of women speaking in church.

Their starting-point is that the traditional ban on women speaking in church is now unacceptable in our culture; the theological climate has changed; women experience freedom to speak in Parliament and other public forums; it is also our gut feeling that it is unfair to suppress their distinctive, female contribution; it appears to us to be discriminatory and insulting to women's intelligence; everything about this restriction seems wrong in principle.

Here is the thinking behind this approach:

> "Given this new, feminist climate, how far can we [evangelical-feminists] go to permit women to be on the same level as men? Where is the cut-off point where they cannot go? Answer, when they give authoritative leadership to men. They can do anything else but appear bossy. Now, let's look at the loopholes in this scheme and make sure we, men, are always in control of the leadership and the authoritative teaching in the church. The danger can come through any form of female praying or prophesying or teaching. We must therefore safeguard our privileged position by ring-fencing all these female contributions with a warning not to speak in an authoritative manner, but in a demur, quiet, submissive tone of voice, barely audible, so that no male could possibly take exception. No strident call to repent, no finger-wagging at the men even when they are wrong. Right, let's go for that scenario. Now, what Scriptures stand in the way of us reaching this goal? How can they be re-interpreted away from the old, traditional way?"

And so these liberal-evangelists end up with no consensus on how to re-interpret Paul's clear teaching. Some will only permit women to pray in church, but never teach or preach. Some will permit them to pray and preach, but not to be the main teacher/pastor/minister or Elder. Others permit women all the privileges that men have, i.e., gender is done away with in Christ. They can become Archbishops and Moderators and set the agenda for the future from those positions.

But back to BMW's attempt to block any loopholes in man's sole right to govern the local church. When a woman prophesies there is always the possibility that Satan could be using her to deceive the Church, so her "prophecy" must be tested. There is danger whenever she speaks.

There is an inherent contradiction in BMW's argument. First they say that prophets (male and female) contribute "what they believed God had brought to mind for the good of the church," which leaves it wide open that this was a purely subjective contribution. Then they say, "It was a report in human words based on a spontaneous, personal revelation from the Holy Spirit (1 Corinthians 14:30) for the purpose of edification, encouragement, consolation, conviction, and guidance . . . ."

If the prophecy was a "revelation from the Holy Spirit" then it could not have been something "they [sincerely] believed" the Holy Spirit revealed to them, but were sincerely wrong. Scripture reveals that prophets are either false prophets or true prophets, not one minute a true prophet and the next a false prophet. Nowhere among all the recorded prophecies of true prophets is there an example of a mixture of true and false elements. They were moved to speak as they did and what they delivered were the words of God, never their own.

The scenario BMW paint is of a true prophet giving out a mixture of true and false statements in the same message, and the elder-teachers going over each statement trying to fathom out which bits are false and which bits are "probably true." The basis for this sifting

appears to be the verb "to discern" in 1 Corinthians 14:30. This word does not mean "to test" which would be δοκιμάζω (1 Thess 5:21).[942]

Another inconsistency in their handling of 1 Corinthians 14:30 is their restriction of the "testing" procedure to elder-teachers. This is not what the text says. "The rest" means the whole congregation who are listening to the prophet's message, and the congregation consists of men and women, therefore the women as well as the men are involved in this "testing/judging" procedure. By what law of exegesis can women be excluded from this procedure? And by what law of exegesis is the judging restricted to the elder-teachers? These restrictions have been imported into the text to accommodate a pre-set scenario in which only a small group of elite elder-teachers can "test" the prophets' messages.

The solution is that Paul is addressing the "brothers" throughout this chapter. Women are nowhere in view, either in delivering prophecies or in discerning what is spoken (but they were present). As far as Paul is concerned the active participants in the church can only be men. Once that contextual fact is recognised then there are no internal inconsistencies in Paul's position.

Neither is it necessary to downgrade the gift of prophecy. They were prophets in the same sense that all the major writings prophets were in the Old Testament, because it was the same Holy Spirit that was in all of them. And like all the OT prophets, they were either false or true prophets, and in time this would be become manifest, but to think that a true prophet could unwittingly be the mouthpiece of Satan is not credible. The prophets did not "sincerely believe" that their thoughts coincided with God's. No, they were given the actual words to speak from God. They were one-hundred per cent sure that what they were to convey was directly from God. There was no subjective element in the process. We should throw off BMW's slur on the gift of prophecy as a hit-and-miss affair.

9. Women can prophesy in the church service (Question 24). The evidence from Early Church history shows that this was not true.

BMW mentions Acts 2:17 (Peter's quotation of Joel 2:28-32); 1 Corinthians 11:5 (no context given), and Acts 21:9 (Philip's four daughters) as evidence of women speaking in public.

First, Paul does not disapprove of any public prophesying by men or women except that the Holy Spirit has permitted only men to speak when the Church is assembled (1 Cor 14:34). This, of course, BMW denies even though the unanimous evidence of all the Early Church Fathers agrees with the Spirit's ruling.

Second, women only breached this ruling when the secular world took up the feminist cause and pressurised the visible church to conform to its standards. All modern cases of women breaching the Spirit's ruling are indebted to feminism and not to the biblical text itself.

For 2000 years women were not permitted to speak because the Holy Spirit had spoken against it. The pressure to permit them to speak came from the secular world, not from the Spirit, and not from a recovery of Paul's original meaning.

The Church of England was the last institution in Britain to bow to the demand for equality. The pressure was too great and it *had* to give in. The Church never consulted the Spirit to have His prohibition lifted. It unilaterally brushed aside His command. That is the sum of the matter.

Third, as an after-thought some have tried to reinterpret Paul to permit what he was guided to deny. This should be pondered by all of Christ's elect as well as the observation that the breach began in the 'dead,' decadent Western denominations where the attendance was dropping fast and where the majority attending services were females.

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[942] See my longer criticisms at §4.3.8., and my brief note on 1 Cor 14:30 at §4.3.4.1.

In the light of this downward trend it can be seen that the underlying motivation in BMW is one of adapting to the new, unilateral decision of individual denominations to go their own way.

Fourth, it should be noted that BMW has no historical perspective. Nowhere does it examine the writings of the Early Church Fathers and Councils to see what its practices were. Its focus is on the present and its aim is to justify the present unbiblical practices. This is a serious weakness in its treatment of the subject, for Paul states that the whole Christian world followed his teaching. The practices of all the churches known to us for the first four centuries bear out his teaching—women never spoke publicly in church. The church continued to abide by Paul's practices until the rise of feminism at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the tradition was breached by denomination after denomination, like sheep breaching a gap in a hedge, until there was no denomination not smitten with the urge to throw off Christ's unambiguous command.

Fifth, traditions are much harder to change on a universal scale than interpretations of Scripture, and this is what gives the monolithic practices of the Early Church some weight when it comes to Paul's claim that the whole world followed his teaching. Evangelical-feminists would have to show that the whole world suddenly switched away from Paul's claim and universally introduced a new law preventing women from speaking in church to account for the unanimous testimony of the first four centuries. It is not surprising that no one has ever suggested this implausible scenario. Consequently, the evidence of Early Church history is a pretty fair indication of the universal practices that Paul was referring to in 1 Corinthians 11:16. The plain meaning of 1 Corinthians 14:34 and the plain implication of Early Church history become a two-fold cord that is not easily broken or ignored, one would think. But the evidence of the Early Church is conveniently ignored in BMW.

10. 1 Corinthians 11:5 permits women to speak in church

Question 25 brings out the crucial presupposition that lies behind the whole philosophy of BMW. Without any attempt to justify its claim, 1 Corinthians 11:5 is said to permit women "to pray and prophesy in church." Nowhere does Paul state that this is done in church, because that is not the issue he is handling in this half chapter. The issue is head-covering not whether women can or cannot pray or prophesy in church, which is how this section is being used by BMW.

Note that Paul focuses on the individual, the male and the female. He is not talking about the Church here. The reason for this is that mankind is divided into two genders, and each gender approaches God in a different way. Man is to pray with an uncovered head and woman is to pray with a covered head.

Paul then sets out to justify this difference in approach, which we need not go into here as it has been dealt with elsewhere. This occupies verses 2-16. The conclusion is that the church in Corinth should abide by this distinction because it is the universal practice of the Church.

We now come to the implications of this gender-specific dress-code. We can ask Paul about time and place:

Does this dress-code apply *whenever* either gender prays to God?
Yes, at all times.
Does this dress-code apply in all places?
Yes, in all places.
Does it apply in the Church meeting?
Yes.
At home?
Yes.
In the privacy of my own bedroom?

Yes.
So everywhere and every place?
Yes.
Why?
Because one is female and the other is male. They are not the same gender, and God does not treat them the same, hence the distinction in dress-code when they pray to Him.
Is the dress-code permanent?
Yes. Permanent, because the genders are permanent.

These are the sorts of questions that might have been asked and are being asked today, and we can answer for Paul because he has said enough and laid down all the necessary principles in this section and elsewhere to enable us to enter into his mind on the single topic of this section, namely, on the appropriateness or otherwise of either gender appearing before God in the wrong dress-code. That is the main topic under consideration in this half chapter.

Now Paul does not single out only "praying," he says, "praying OR prophesying." Now since both males and females prophesied as well as prayed, and both maybe did so on a daily basis, the answer to the question, Can a woman prophesy in church? is not answered in 11:5 but in 14:34, for there the topic under consideration is, Order in Church Meetings, and 14:29-33 deals specifically with prophesying. So it is here we look for the answer to the question: Can a woman prophesy in church? And Paul answers this specific question directly in 14:34, "Let your women keep silent in the churches, for they are not permitted to speak, but they are to be submissive, as the law also says. And if they want to learn something, let them ask their own husbands at home, for it is shameful for women to speak in church."

Note that this permanent prohibition follows immediately after Paul has ruled that "two or three prophets" may speak (Greek has the male gender form here, i.e., two or three *male* prophets). Paul could not have made his point clearer than he has done. The context is clearly the church meeting, which is not the case in 11:5, and having laid down how the *male* prophets are to regulate their input into the meeting, he specifically excludes the women, not only prophesying but, from all speaking of any kind, because he uses the most general word for speaking in this place (Gk *lalein*).

Armed with Paul's answer about women not being permitted to prophesy in church, if we return to 11:5, we can better understand his focus on head-covering as it relates to a woman prophesying, for here he assumes women will prophesy and when they do so, they must do so in the dress-code laid down for her. So the two passages taken together spell out Paul's position, which is: Women can pray or prophesy *outside* the church meeting (11:5a), and when they do so, they must have their heads covered (11:5b) because they are females, not males (11:2-16).

Her head-covering is anchored in her creation as a female, not in local custom.

It should also be pressed home here that when she prays to God, her Creator and Saviour, even in private *and alone,* she is to come before Him with a covered head. In the case of males they must *at all times* come before God in prayer (even in private) with an uncovered head. These are permanent, theological requirements of respect shown toward God, as we approach Him in prayer, which no church or individual can lightly brush aside as optional or unimportant.

So even if some woman reads 11:5 as permitting her to pray publicly in church, she cannot evade the requirement that she should do so with her head covered out of respect for Christ's command and because she is a woman. But it is a very rare sight to see a godly woman pray publicly in church with a covered head. Usually both commands of Christ are ignored in these situations, as we would expect, because the environment that permits this situation to arise is in support of feminism. Sins do not come singly. In a church which

permits women to pray with an uncovered head, you will also discover a range of other irregularities in the lives of the congregation and individuals, because feminism is a *system of belief* that pervades every corner of one's outlook and, like leaven, it alters the shape of the Gospel, resulting in a reduced, keyhole approach to a few core doctrines. Worship is also reduced because worship requires a spiritual level which feminism kills off. In these churches worship is even replaced with earnest evangelistic meetings to make up for the loss because it is easier to evangelise than to worship. There will also be a strong appeal to the flesh, to please the eye and ear, rather than to the spirit, to please God. Worship is difficult, if not impossible, for the feminist, but comes naturally to the Elect of God, to the spiritual man and woman.

In Question 25, note that BMW falsely identify the issue of 11:2-16 as follows: "The issue is how they [the women] are to relate to the men in the church." Paul deals with each gender separately, not as they relate to each other, but as they relate to God. The issue is not whether men are present or not, but whether God is present or not. She is praying to God, not to man. Whether she prays in public or in private, she does so in the dress-code determined by God for her sex.

11. Galatians 3:28

BMW rightly rejects the notion that this text does away with all gender distinctions in the Christian community.[943]

CREEDS OF THE CHURCH

THE CREED OF ST. ATHANASIUS

For the convenience of making cross-references and observations I have numbered each statement in square brackets.[944]

[1] Whosoever will[wishes to] be saved: before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholick Faith.

[2] Which faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled[unharmed]: without doubt he shall[will] perish everlastingly.

[3] And the Catholick Faith is this: That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity;

[4] Neither confounding[confusing] the Persons: nor dividing the Substance[divine Being].

[5] For there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son: and another of the Holy Ghost[Spirit].

[6] But the Godhead of the Father, of[omit] the Son, and of[omit] the Holy Ghost, is all one: the[their] Glory equal, the[their] Majesty co-eternal.

[7] Such as the Father is, such is the Son: and such is the Holy Ghost.

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943 See §4.2. for a fuller treatment of this text.

944 The superscript alternative renderings are taken from Gerald Bray, *Creeds, Councils and Christ: Did the Early Church Misrepresent Jesus?* (Ross-shire: Mentor, 1997), pp. 209-210, which is Roger Beckwith's modern translation in *Confessing the Faith in the Church of England Today,* Latimer Studies 9 [Oxford, 1981], pp. 32-33). I have noted only the more helpful differences—not all of them—between Beckwith's translation and the Book of Common Prayer.

[8] The Father uncreate[uncreated], the Son uncreate[uncreated]: and the Holy Ghost uncreate[uncreated].

[9] The Father incomprehensible[infinite], the Son incomprehensible[infinite]: and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible[infinite].

[10] The Father eternal, the Son eternal: and the Holy Ghost eternal.

[11] And yet they are not three eternals: but one eternal.

[12] As also there are not three ⌜incomprehensibles, nor three uncreated⌝[Uncreateds, nor three Infinites]: but one uncreated[Uncreated], and one incomprehensible[Infinite].

[13] So likewise the Father is Almighty, the Son[+is] Almighty: and the Holy Ghost Almighty.

[14] And yet they are not three Almighties: but one Almighty.

[15] So the Father is God, the Son is God: and the Holy Ghost is God.

[16] And yet they are not three Gods: but one God.

[17] So likewise the Father is[+the] Lord, the Son[+is the] Lord: and the Holy Ghost[+is the] Lord.

[18] And yet not three Lords: but one Lord.

[19] For like as we are compelled by the[omit] Christian verity[truth]: to acknowledge[confess] every[each] Person ⌜by himself⌝[singly] to be[+both] God and Lord;

[20] So are we forbidden by the Catholick Religion: to say, There be[are] three Gods, or three Lords.

[21] The Father is ⌜made of⌝[from] none: ⌜neither created, nor begotten⌝[not made nor created nor begotten].

[22] The Son is of[from] the Father alone:[945] not made, nor created, but begotten.[946]

[23] The Holy Ghost is of[from] the Father and of[omit] the Son: neither[not] made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding.[947]

[24] So there is one Father, not three Fathers; one Son, not three Sons: one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts.

[25] And in this Trinity ⌜none is afore, or after other⌝[there is no before or after]: ⌜none is greater, or less than another⌝[no greater or less];

[26] But ⌜the whole⌝[all] three Persons are co-eternal together[with each other]: and co-equal.

[27] So that in all things, as is aforesaid: the ⌠Unity in the Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity⌡[the Trinity in Unity, and Unity in Trinity] is to be worshipped.

[28] He therefore that[who] will[wishes to] be saved: must[let him ⌠thus think⌡] of the Trinity.

[29] FURTHERMORE it is necessary to everlasting salvation: that he ⌜also believe rightly⌝[should faithfully believe] the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

[30] For the right Faith is, that we[+should] believe and confess: that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is[+both] God and Man[+equally];

[31] [+He is] God, of[from] the Substance[Being] of the Father,[948] begotten before the worlds: and[+he is] Man, of the Substance[being] of his Mother, born in the world;

[32] Perfect God, and perfect Man: ⌜of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting⌝[having both man's rational soul and human flesh];

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945 This statement confuses the relationships within the Trinity before and after the Plan of Salvation. They are not the same. Statement no. 22 should read as in no. 21 with the alteration of "Father" to "Son." In other words what is said of the Father should be said of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. They are in all points equal before the Plan of Salvation came into existence.

946 The term "begotten" has reference to the changed relationship that the "Son" underwent when He voluntarily became the Lamb of God to take away the sin of the world. It has nothing to do with the *origin* of the Son of God. This Creed has confused the origin of the Son with His subordinate position.

947 Note once again the confusion between origin and function. Statement no. 21 applies to each Person of the Trinity. Statements nos. 22 and 23 apply to their functional relationships and not to their origins.

948 Any statement on the origin of the Son from the Father is going beyond revelation and this statement robs the Son of His equal status with the Father *before* the Plan of Salvation came into existence.

[33] Equal to the Father, as touching[regards] his Godhead[divinity]: and inferior to the Father, as touching[regards] his Manhood[humanity].[949]

[34] Who although he be[is] God and Man: yet he is not two, but one Christ.

[35] One, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh: but by taking[the taking up] of the Manhood[humanity] into God;

[36] One altogether, not by confusion of Substance[human and divine being]: but by unity of[+Christ's one] Person.

[37] For ⌜as the reasonable soul and flesh is⌝[just as the rational soul and flesh are] one man: so God and Man is[are] one Christ;

[38] Who suffered for our salvation: descended ⌜into hell⌝[to Sheol], rose ⌜again the third day⌝[omit] from the dead.

[39] He ascended into heaven, ⌜he sitteth⌝[sat down] on[at] the right hand of the Father, ⌜God almighty⌝[omit] : from whence he shall come to judge the quick[living] and the dead.

[40] At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies: and shall give account for their own works[actions].

[41] And they that have done good shall go into life everlasting: and they that have done evil into everlasting fire.

[42] THIS is the Catholick Faith: which except a man believe faithfully[+and firmly], he cannot be saved.

[43] ⌜GLORY be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost.
As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end. Amen.⌝[omit]

SOME OBSERVATIONS

The Athanasian Creed has nothing to do with Athanasius, a Greek Father (and bishop of Alexandria from 328 to 373), because it is both Western and written in Latin. Its authorship and date have never been conclusively determined, but it was almost certainly written in southern France, and is likely to date from the fifth or early sixth century. Its trinitarian teachings is a succinct expression of Augustinian theology (Augustine died 430). It began to be recited at prime from the ninth century, and in the single morning office in the Book of Common Prayer it became a festal alternative to the Apostles' Creed.[950] For the sake of simplicity "Athanasius" will be taken to be the unknown author of the Creed in the following observations.

The Athanasian Creed does not distinguish very clearly between the three relationships that the Lord Jesus experienced, which are (A), No subordination; (B), Functional subordination; and (C), Creational subordination. It can be assumed that within the Trinity there was mutual preferring of one another, but with the introduction of a Plan of Salvation a definite arrangement was arrived at between the three Persons regarding its implementation leading to voluntary subordination for the duration of the plan to redeem mankind.

The familial terms "Father" and "Son" should not be used in the "No subordination" stage. Different terminology should be used when referring to the status of the three Persons of the Trinity.

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949 The Son is inferior to the Father not only as "touching his Manhood," (i.e., creational subordination) but also in His pre-incarnate position as "begotten" to His functional subordinate position to do the Father's will as it relates to the salvation of Mankind.

950 See G. W. H. Lampe, "Appendix B: The Origins of the Creeds," in *Christian Believing: The Nature of the Christian Faith and its Expression in Holy Scripture and Creeds* (A Report by The Doctrine Commission of the Church of England)(London: SPCK, 1976), pp. 52-65, espec. p. 61.

The three Persons of the Trinity will be referred to under the names F-th-r, S-n, and H-ly Gh-st.[951] When referring to the "Functional (pre-incarnational) subordination" status, the three Persons of the Trinity will be referred to under the names Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.[952] And when referring to the "Creational (incarnational) subordination" status of Jesus, He will be referred to under the name "Christ."

No subordination (Pre-Creation)

Athanasius' statements supporting the equality of the Lord Jesus with God the Father (for want of another, neutral, or non -relationship term to describe Him) would go under this heading. Athanasius' statements that should be grouped together under this heading are nos. 1-20 and 25-28.

Functional Subordination (Pre-Incarnational)

Athanasius was well aware that subordination existed between the Son and the Father (no. 33). However, he did not appear to realise that the Son of God experienced a functional and then, when He became a Man, a creational subordination. The use of the terms "Father," "Son," and "Spirit of God," in themselves reveal a functional subordination. This functional subordination came about *before* the creation of Man on the earth. The terms themselves point to a definite Plan of Salvation in which each played a crucial role in restoring Mankind. God the Father's justice had to be satisfied; God the Son satisfied that justice through His own death on the cross; and God the Holy Spirit superintends the salvation of the Elect and brings them to glory.

Creational Subordination (Incarnational)

Athanasius' statement, "Equal to the Father, as touching his Godhead: and inferior to the Father, as touching his Manhood," captures the essence of what happened when the Son took on a human body. He came under the same headship that Man came under through being a created person. Man was not eternal, but the Son was. However, in order to save Man, the Lord Jesus *had to become* what He was not before, namely, a Man. He became a creature of His Father. Paul captures this descent—this identification with Man, this humiliation—in the phrase, "The head of Christ is God" (1 Cor 11:3).

Yet at the same time Paul could say of Jesus that He was "God[953] manifested in the flesh" (1 Tim 3:16).

The Lord Jesus Christ is at this moment sitting on the right hand of the Father, interceding for His Elect, being still Head of Mankind. After He has judged all nations and peoples, He will hand back the headship of Mankind to the Father and—it would seem—return to a *functional* subordinate position vis-à-vis His Father (1 Cor 15:28). Nothing is said about returning to the "No subordinate" position that He had before the Covenant of Salvation was entered into within the Trinity.

The Father of Jesus, and our Father

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951 This stage is a mystery, but Athanasius has (rightly) extrapolated by deduction what the relationship was between the Persons of the Trinity at this stage. Perhaps the most explicit indication is the pre-Fall plural "us" in, "Let us make man in our image, according to our likeness" (Gen 1:26). Only the Trinity were involved in the actual creation of Man.

952 The use of the familial terms indicates that a subordinate relationship is already in place.

953 NU reads "Who" [ΩΣ] in place of "God" [ΘΣ]. "God" is in the abbreviated form.

A distinction should be maintained between the meaning of the term "Father" when used by Jesus, and when used by the Christian. In the latter case, human beings are made sons by adoption (Rom 8:14-16; Gal 4:5; Eph 1:5), whereas Jesus was a "Son" by His own choice. He chose to subordinate Himself within the Trinity in order to carry out a certain function. Therefore "Father," and "Son," express a functional relationship between two equals, which is not the case between humans ("sons") and God ("Father"). This latter pair expresses a new, adoptive relationship between the Creator and the person He created but lost through disobedience. Jesus pointed up the difference when He said, "I am ascending to My Father and your Father, and to my God and your God" (Jn 20:17).

It is usual for theologians to press the analogy of begetting between the human and the divine, and as a result they have to distort the analogy by conjuring up an "eternal begetting" which is an absurd idea. Also the phrase "the firstborn" must not be pressed to indicate that God fathered a number of sons of which Jesus was the first. The birthright belonged to the firstborn. He was entitled to a double portion of the inheritance (Deut 21:15-17). He was the ruling head of the whole tribe (Gen 24:65; 25:5; 27:29, 37). He had the father's blessing (Gen 27:4, 27-38). He was the spiritual leader and priest of the family or tribe (Gen 26:25; 35:3-7). To be the "firstborn" was another way of high-lighting the close relationship that exists between two males (father and son). The same goes for the term "only begotten" (Jn 1:14, 18; 3:16; Col 1:15-18). There are human aspects to these words that must not be pressed. The latter, in particular, relates to Jesus in His incarnation, not to Jesus in His pre-incarnation state.

The God of Jesus and our God

A distinction should also be maintained between the meaning of the term "God" when used by Jesus when addressing the Father, and when used by the Christian. As a member of the Trinity, the Lord Jesus was God. He was equal to the "Father." He was co-Creator. He was uncreated. He had no beginning.

However, as a Man, He had a beginning. He was created. Therefore, He could address His Maker as His God because He was truly, and genuinely standing in the place of man. He was *fully* Man, and for that to be true, He had to address God as His Maker, just as all men must do.

Consequently, when Athanasius uses the term "inferior" to describe Jesus' relationship to the Father, he clearly, and rightly, does so in the context of His Manhood.[954] This is obvious if He was a *true* Man. However, what is not clear from his statements is that the Son was also "inferior" *before* He became a Man. The very term "Son" in itself implies a subordinate position. This is a significant omission in his creed. The Lord Jesus was not eternally in a subordinate relationship to the Father. Athanasius only speaks of the Son's subordination in the context of His incarnation, but he (wrongly) extrapolated the subordinate status back into eternity in an eternal generation.

In the author's view the familial terms post-date the Covenant of Redemption (or the Plan of Salvation) and presuppose that a Plan is in existence. The terms cannot exist apart from a definite Plan to save Mankind.[955]

The difference between the functional and the creational subordinate relationships was not understood in the debate over the nature of the Trinity. Thus Alexander, bishop of Alexandria (313-28) taught that the Son was co-eternal with the Father (to safeguard His

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954 Though he makes the error of pressing the "begetting" aspect to the absurd idea of the F-th-r eternally begetting the S-n.

955 For further notes on the Son's subordination, see Excursus 6.5-7.

uncreated status) and that the Father must always have been Father.[956] This latter statement shows that he did not understand the origin and significance of the familial terms themselves. Alexander is out to defend the deity and equality of the Lord Jesus at all costs and so he uses the familial terms to argue (as Origen did) for the eternal generation of the Son, so that by being the Father's only offspring they must share a perfect likeness.

My objection is that the familial terms point out the *relationship* between the two co-eternal Persons. A human generation analogy is not in view. The focus is on the obedient, deferential relationship that the father-son relationship conveys. It is *that* aspect that the terms concentrate on.

The NT does not set out to establish the equality between the Persons of the Trinity in the use of the familial terms, rather these human terms are taken up to tell us something about the *relationship* (not *generation*) between the three Persons of the Trinity. But we cannot get back behind these terms to know what was the original relationship between the Persons of the Trinity. All three Persons burst into view on the New Testament stage under these familial terms, which implies an already existing functional subordinate relationship within the Trinity. The familial terms must post-date the Plan of Salvation, because the Plan of Salvation cannot have been eternal.

Sabellius' view of the Trinity was of *one* God who changed masks (Gk. *prosopon* = Latin *persona*) according to whether He was acting as Creator (=Father), or Redeemer (=Son), or as Sanctifier (=Holy Spirit). In effect there was only one Person in his Trinity. Paul of Samosata taught that Jesus was a mere man whom God adopted to be His son (Adoptionism). Apollinarius (a disciple of Athanasius) held that the human soul of Jesus was replaced with the Word or Reason, thereby making Him appear to be human. These are just a few of the speculative ways that were tried to account for God and man coalescing in one Christ Jesus.

Eusebius had argued that the familial terms meant that the Father pre-existed the Son. He took the aspect of human generation and wrongly applied it to the Trinity.[957]

Arius (presbyter of the church district of Baucalis in Alexandria, Egypt) argued similarly. Writing to Bishop Alexander he notes that since God is one and alone ingenerate, alone eternal, etc. He cannot share His essence with another being because this would imply He was divisible and was subject to change: but God cannot change. If He could share His being this would result in a duality of divine beings, whereas the Godhead is by definition unique. Therefore, whatever else exists must have come into existence by an act of creation. His slogan was, "There was when He [the Son] was not." By God, Arius means God the Father. So Arius concluded, (1) The Son must be a creature. (2) The Son must have had a beginning. (3) The Son is finite and cannot fully comprehend an infinite God. (4) The Son is liable to change and even sin. In effect, the Arians viewed the title "Son of God," as a courtesy title. Arius could speak of the Trinity but the Three are entirely different Persons, not sharing in any way the same nature.[958] The mistake Arius made was to focus on the Man Christ Jesus, created by God the Father in order to stand in man's place, and he could not bring himself to believe that this human being could be the co-Creator of the universe. He was suspended from his office by Bishop Alexander and even Eusebius of Caesarea was placed under provisional excommunication at the same time (325).

In these three examples we see theologians latching on to different aspects in the human familial terms and wrongly applying them to the status of the Persons within the Trinity resulting in disastrous misconceptions, which must have affected their worship.

Two Major Faults with Athanasius' Creed.

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[956] J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1977, 5th revised edition), p. 224.

[957] J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1977, 5th revised edition), p. 226.

[958] J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1977, 5th revised edition), p. 226-29.

The first major fault is his application of the familial terms, father and son, to the *source* of Jesus' being (statements 22 and 31). This is not how these terms should have been used.

The two ideas that the familial terms can legitimately convey are (1) the son has the same image as the father,[959] and (2) the relation of a son to a father (functional subordination).

The second major fault is that Athanasius did not discern that there were two stages of subordination (pre-incarnational and incarnational) and consequently he merged them. It is necessary now to rearrange the statements of his Creed under (1) No subordination, (2) functional (or pre-incarnational) subordination, and (3) creational (or incarnational) subordination.

Athanasius clearly believed in the eternal subordination of the S-n to the F-th-r (statement 22). He also clearly believed in the eternal proceeding or eternal subordination of the H-ly Gh-st to the F-th-r and the S-n (statement 23). In the light of his statements (nos. 4-20) on the equality of the Persons within the Trinity he has clearly not understood the role that each of the Persons of the Trinity voluntarily agreed to subsume *before* the creation of Mankind.

Scripture does not directly address the question of the origin or source of any one of the Persons of the Trinity in the way which Athanasius has used its statements. Rather, Scripture puts the focus on the *relationship* between them. Because of this, almost every New Testament statement is set in the context of their subordinate relationships, so that we can learn very little about the relationship between them *before* the creation of anything. The Three Persons burst onto the Gospel stage in their agreed functional roles, one as "Father," one as "Son," and one as "Holy Ghost." Though we are ignorant of the relationship between them *before* the creation of Mankind, Athanasius's statements can be taken as being in agreement with what is revealed of their functions and subordinate positions which are inseparably tied to the Plan of Salvation.

I have taken the liberty of re-grouping Athanasius' statements under three headings which reflect the three status positions that the Lord Jesus Christ experienced. I have also revised the wording of the Creed to bring it into line with my own understanding of the relationships between the Persons of the Trinity.

A. No Subordination within the Trinity

[1] Whosoever will be saved: before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholick Faith.

[2] Which faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled: without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.

[3] And the Catholick Faith is this: That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity;

[4] Neither confounding the Persons: nor dividing the Substance.

[5] For there is one Person of the F-th-r, another of the S-n: and another of the H-ly Gh-st.

[6] But the Godhead of the F-th-r, of the S-n, and of the H-ly Gh-st, is all one: the Glory equal, the Majesty co-eternal.[960]

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[959] Adam begot a son in his own image. Hence it follows that a son begotten by God must be in His image.

[960] G. Bray understood this to mean that there was no subordination envisaged here, in *Creeds, Councils and Christ: Did the early Church misrepresent Jesus?* (Ross-shire: Mentor, 1997), p. 177. But the very terms, Father and Son, explicitly point to a functional subordination without denying an equality of Godhead, which is why I have used a different nomenclature here for the pre-functional subordination stage. Further confusion occurs on p. 181 where he states: "The Son, in contrast to the Father, is *begotten.* This means that his Person must be related to the

[7] Such as the F-th-r is, such is the S-n: and such is the H-ly Gh-st.

[8] The F-th-r uncreate, the S-n uncreate: and the H-ly Gh-st uncreate.

[9] The F-th-r incomprehensible, the S-n incomprehensible: and the H-ly Gh-st incomprehensible.

[10] The F-th-r eternal, the S-n eternal: and the H-ly Gh-st eternal.

[11] And yet they are not three eternals: but one eternal.

[12] As also there are not three incomprehensibles, nor three uncreated: but one uncreated, and one incomprehensible.

[13] So likewise the F-th-r is Almighty, the S-n Almighty: and the H-ly Gh-st Almighty.

[14] And yet they are not three Almighties: but one Almighty.

[15] So the F-th-r is God, the S-n is God: and the H-ly Gh-st is God.

[16] And yet they are not three Gods: but one God.

[17] So likewise the F-th-r is Lord, the S-n Lord: and the H-ly Gh-st Lord.

[18] And yet not three Lords: but one Lord.

[19] For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity: to acknowledge every Person by himself to be God and Lord;

[20] So are we forbidden by the Catholick Religion: to say, There[961] be three Gods, or three Lords.[962]

[25] And in this Trinity none is afore, or after other: none is greater, or less than another;

[26] But the whole three Persons are co-eternal together: and co-equal.

[Despite this clear statement, Athanasius held that both the S-n and the H-ly Gh-st derive their substance from the F-th-r co-eternally. This was formulated to combat Arianism, and in the process misrepresented the equality of origin. It is better to view the Trinity as a Unity of three Persons. Neither is of the substance of the other, and neither is less than the substance of the other, but each is of the same God-nature. The differences within the Trinity do not originate in a difference of generation (S-n) or proceeding (H-ly Gh-st), but originated within a difference in relationships between them and these arise from the Covenant of Salvation drawn up between co-equal Persons.]

[27] So that in all things, as is aforesaid: the Unity in the Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshipped.

[28] He therefore that will be saved: must thus think of the Trinity.

B. Functional Subordination within the Trinity

[21] The F-th-r is made of none: neither created, nor begotten.

[22] The S-n is of the F-th-r alone: not made, nor created, but begotten.

[Here again there is a misrepresentation of the equality of origin. The term "begotten" must retain its human dimension in that the relationship of son to father is a functional, subordinate relationship and that is what the biblical terms "father" and "son" capture, not that the "son" is generated out of the "father" as the human analogy might lead one to believe. Forget about the idea of the S-n being born to a pre-existing F-th-r. That is a human

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Father in order for us to understand him. It does not imply subordination of any kind, but merely expressed that relationship whereby the Son does his Father's will . . . ." Why, then, does the Father not do the Son's will if there is no "subordination of any kind"? This is confused thinking. Only in the pre-Plan of Salvation stage is there no subordination within the Trinity.

961 Other editions read here: ". . . Religion: to say there be . . . ."

962 Note that statements nos. 21-24 have been transferred and placed under the next heading, "Functional Subordination within the Trinity."

dimension that does not apply to the Trinity; only the relationship that exists between a full-grown son and his father is all that is intended by the terms "father" and "son" as they apply to the Persons of the Trinity. Consequently, the Son is "begotten" in the sense that for the purpose of saving Mankind He adopted the subordinate position of "Son" in relation to the "Father."
Summary. Athanasius has misapplied the human analogy regarding the origin of the Person of Jesus as can be seen in the terms "S-n" and "F-th-r" in this statement. Rewrite as follows: "The S-n is made of none, nor created by the F-th-r or the H-ly Gh-st; but the Son is sent by the Father alone for the purpose of saving Mankind."]

[23] The H-ly Gh-st is of the F-th-r and of the S-n: neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding.

[Here, again, the relationship between the Holy Spirit, on the one side, and the Father and the Son, on the other side, must not be divorced from the Plan of Salvation. Within the Trinity each Person took a part that would ensure that the sin of Mankind would be atoned for by the Son; and the Elect secured in their salvation by the work of the Holy Spirit. Thus, while all three Persons were equal before the Plan of Salvation was drawn up, and none subordinate to the other, yet for the purposes of saving an Elect from among Mankind they voluntarily adopted three different roles, which roles are captured under the terms, "Father," "Son," and "Holy Ghost." Rule out the idea of the origin of the Holy Spirit coming through the F-th-r and the S-n, and understand "proceeding" in terms of His subordination to the Father and the Son to do their will on the basis of the Plan of Salvation, which all three Persons drew up.
Summary. Athanasius has wrongly merged an idea about the origin of the H-ly Gh-st with an idea about His subordination to the Father and the Son in this statement, thus making the H-ly Gh-st eternally subordinate to the other two Persons of the Trinity. Rewrite as follows: "The H-ly Gh-st is made of none, nor created by the F-th-r or the S-n; but He is sent by the Father and the Son for the purpose of applying the benefits of Christ's death to the Elect."
Theologians have always found it difficult to explain how the generation of the Son differs from the procession of the Spirit. The quest was and is unnecessary because the human analogy as it relates to origins is invalid. Both "begotten" and "proceeding" are relationship terms.
The clause: "The H-ly Gh-st is of the F-th-r and of the S-n" *is an impossibility within the undifferentiated Trinity. Only the clause:* "The Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son" *is a legitimate statement, because it is only in the context of the implementation of the Plan of Salvation that such a statement is true. Both the Father and the Son send the Holy Spirit, but they are not the Cause of His Being, because He is fully God in Himself—uncreated, unbegotten, like the Son.*
The addition: "and of the Son" *(the Filioque Clause) is not found in the original text of the Nicene Creed or in John 15:26, but it is an authenthic part of the Athanasian Creed. The doctrine of the double procession of the Holy Spirit can be traced back to Augustine, who regarded Him as the expression of mutual love which bound the Father to the Son and vice versa. This is acceptable provided it is set within the implementation of the Plan of Salvation, but it is not acceptable if it is applied to the origin of the Holy Spirit as a Person.*[963]*]*

[963] G. Bray (*Creeds, Councils and Christ: Did the early Church misrepresent Jesus?* (Ross-shire: Mentor, 1997), p. 182) has assumed that because the Son has authority to send the Holy Spirit on His mission *in time* (John 14:15-31), that this can be extended to the matter of the Spirit's procession in eternity. In other words an eternal procession. This is confusing the pre-Plan stage with the implementation of the Plan of Salvation itself, and confusing the "no subordination" state of the Trinity with the "functional subordination" state that inheres once the Plan of Salvation is drawn up before the foundation of the world.

[24] So there is one Father, not three Fathers; one Son, not three Sons: one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts.

General conclusion. Athanasius has merged statements about the equality of the three Persons with statements about their functions or roles (Nos. 21-24) (and without reference to the Plan of Salvation). These ideas should have been kept distinct.

C. Creational Subordination within the Trinity

[29] FURTHERMORE it is necessary to everlasting salvation: that he also believe rightly the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

[30] For the right Faith is,[964] that we believe and confess: that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man;

[31] God,[965] of the Substance of the F-th-r,[966] begotten before the worlds: and Man, of the Substance of his Mother,[967] born in the world;

[Here Athanasius has merged the source of the S-n with Jesus' subordination status and misapplied human begetting to explain and safeguard the origin of Jesus' Godhead. Rewrite statement 31 as follows: "God, of the same substance as the F-th-r, begotten (= becomes a subordinate Son) before the creation of Mankind: . . . ."
Understand that the term "begotten" means that the Second Person of the Trinity voluntarily took on the subordinate relationship of "Son" to the First Person of the Trinity, namely, the "Father," for the purpose of redeeming Mankind. The terms "Father," "Son," and "Holy Spirit," are meaningless apart from the Covenant of Salvation prepared before the foundation of the world. The idea of Jesus' origin should have been kept distinct from His voluntary act to become subordinate to His Father. As the flame exists in relation to the candle wick, so these terms exist in relation to the Plan of Salvation. Separate them and they do not exist any more.]

[32] Perfect God,[968] and perfect Man:[969] of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting;

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964 Some editions omit the comma here.

965 Understand here: "[The Lord Jesus Christ is] God," etc.

966 To say that the Son derives His being from the Substance of the Father is to destroy his co-eternity and co-equality with the other Persons of the Trinity. Even the qualification of "eternal begetting" does not do away with the one-directional source of His being. The truth is that none of the Persons of the Trinity derived their being from any of the other Persons of the Trinity. The confusion here is that the analogy of human begetting is inappropriate to state the origin of any one Person of the Trinity. The human analogy is appropriate only to the *relationship* between the Father and the Son. We do not know on what basis three equal Persons of the Trinity appropriated their distinct and non-interchangeable roles and names. This is the mystery of the Trinity but it belongs to the stage leading up to the Plan of Salvation to redeem mankind. It should be borne in mind that virtually all the biblical statements about the relationships between the Persons of the the Trinity spring out from an already existing functional or creational subordination relationship. We are not able to discover what the relationship was between the Persons of the Trinity before these two subordination states came about (Dt 29:29). I cannot concur, therefore, with G. Bray's statement, "In his divine nature, Jesus is God, sharing the Substance of the Father but not begotten of it — an important distinction. The Son is begotten of the Father's Person, not of his Nature, . . ." (Gerald Bray, *Creeds, Councils and Christ: Did the early Church misrepresent Jesus?* (Ross-shire: Mentor, 1997), p. 186). Incidentally, I prefer to use the term "deity" not "divinity" when referring to the Son's Godhead. Man may be divine but he is not deity.

967 Understand also the activity of the Holy Spirit in supplying the male element without which He would not have been a true Man (or Second Adam).

968 Understand here some limitation on His omniscience, omnipresence, and omnipotence, in order not to destroy, obliterate or distort His true Manhood, which lacks these attributes. He had to be fully Man in order to be a perfect substitute.

[33] Equal to the F-th-r/Father,[970] as touching his Godhead: and inferior to the Father, as touching his Manhood.[971]

[34] Who although he be God and Man: yet he is not two, but one Christ.

[35] One, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh: but by taking of the Manhood into God;

[36] One altogether, not by confusion of Substance: but by unity of Person.

[37] For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man: so God and Man is one Christ;[972]

[The Lord Jesus could not become an elephant or a mouse without having two natures—His God-nature and an animal nature. The fact that He could become Man shows how much like God mankind is, and how different both are from the animal creation. Man cannot have evolved a God-like nature by accident, otherwise God Himself may be the product of a similar evolutionary process. From the beginning of Man's creation he was created in the image and likeness of his Creator, and thus it was not a difficult feat for the Son of God to become Man. This unity of God and Man in one Person—the man Christ Jesus, gives quality and dignity to human life of such a magnitude that it places an unbridgeable gulf between Man and beast.]

[38] Who suffered for our salvation: descended into hell,[973] rose again the third day from the dead.

[39] He ascended into heaven, he sitteth on the right hand of the Father, God almighty: from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

[40] At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies: and shall give account for their own works.

[41] And they that have done good shall go into life everlasting: and they that have done evil into everlasting fire.

[42] THIS is the Catholick Faith: which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.

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969 Understand here that Jesus took on a body that was under the curse of Genesis 2:17; 3:3, 19. It was a mortal body. He would have died of old age unless, like Enoch and Elijah, He was taken up into heaven. He did not take on a perfect body such as Adam had before his fall. But the spirit—the life—that existed in this mortal body was such as Adam had before he sinned. It was not tainted with sin. He was not born in sin or shapened in iniquity. In this way Jesus could live as Adam should have lived and by His acquired righteous life He was able to substitute His righteous life for the life of the Elect, and take upon Himself their death penalty. It would be wrong to assume that "perfect Man" here means that the body of Jesus was a clone of the perfect body that Adam had before he sinned. Athanasius is thinking in terms of Jesus' entering fully or perfectly into the same psychological world that Man experiences in the post-Fall situation. Adam, a new creation, found himself in a position "posse non peccari" ("possible not to sin"), whereas Jesus, an uncreated spirit, found Himself in a "non posse peccari" ("not possible to sin") position, thereby *guaranteeing* Man's salvation through His life, death and resurrection.

970 In this statement Athanasius is thinking of the Father, rather than the F-th-r. The former presupposes the Son to be in a Father-Son relationship, which is a subordinate position; the latter presupposes the S-n not to be in a subordinate relationship. With respect to Jesus' Godhead, both versions (i.e., spellings) are correct.

971 Understand here that Jesus moved from the position of being equal to the Father, though in a functional, subordinate relationship for the purpose of saving Mankind, to being a created being—a man—which changed His *functional,* subordinate relationship into a *creational,* subordinate relationship. God became the head of the *man* Christ Jesus (1 Cor 11:3), just as He is the head of every man.

972 Some editions have a full stop here.

973 Understand not the abode of the eternal lost and Satan, but rather the place of the dead (Hades). Jesus did not have to experience hell to identify fully with Man because righteous men go to be with the Lord after departing this life. The enemy is death, not hell. Consequently, understand 1 Pet 3:19 to refer to the *spirit of Jesus* speaking through Noah to the men (now in spirit form) who are presently kept in prison awaiting their punishment. Peter's statement points to the pre-existence of Jesus throughout the Old Testament period. On the introduction of this clause into the creeds see G. W. H. Lampe, "Appendix B: The Origins of the Creeds," in *Christian Believing: The Nature of the Christian Faith and its Expression in Holy Scripture and Creeds* (A Report by The Doctrine Commission of the Church of England)(London: SPCK, 1976), pp. 52-65, espec. p. 57.

[43] GLORY be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost.[974]
As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end. Amen.[975]

THE NICENE CREED

The main text is J. N. D. Kelly's translation of the Nicene Creed. The Creed was endorsed in June 325.[976] The superscript readings are taken from the version produced by the International Consultation on English Texts (ICET) as reproduced by Gerald Bray[977] and compared with the version published in *Common Worship* (London: Church House Publishing, 2000), abbreviated to CW. Unless otherwise stated CW agrees with ICET.

We believe in one God, the Father+, the almighty ruler of all [CW reads: "Almighty"], maker of ⌜all things, visible and invisible ⌝heaven and earth, of all that is, seen and unseen;

And We believe in one Lord+, Jesus Christ, the +only Son of God, +eternally begotten from of the Father, ⌜only-begotten, that is, from the substance [Gk. *homoousios,*[978] Latin *consubstantialis*] of the Father, ⌝omit God from God, light Light from light Light, true God from true God, begotten+, not made, of one substance Being with the Father, through Whom him all things ⌜came into being, ⌝were made. ⌜things in heaven and things on earth, ⌝omit ⌜Who became of us men and because of our salvation ⌝For us men [CW omits: "men"] and for our salvation he came down[979] +from heaven[980] by the power of the Holy Spirit and became incarnate, +from the Virgin Mary becoming man and was made man, +For our sake he was crucified under Pontius Pilate; he suffered +death and was buried.[981] and omit rose again on On the third day, +in accordance with the Scriptures; he ascended ⌜to the heavens ⌝into heaven, +and is seated at the right hand of the Father. and He will come +again in glory to judge the living and the dead +and his kindgon will have no end;

And We believe in the Holy Spirit. +the Lord, the giver of life, who proceeds from the Father (and the Son)[982]. [CW adds: "Who"] With the Father and the Son he [CW omits: "he"] is worshipped and glorified. He [CW replaces with: "who"] has spoken through the Prophets. We believe in one holy catholic and apostolic Church. We acknowledge one baptism for the forgiveness of sins. We look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen.

⌜But as for those who say, There was when He was not, and, Before being born He was not, and that He came into existence out of nothing, or who assert that the Son of God is from a different hypostasis or substance, or is created, or is subject to alteration or change—these the Catholic Church anathematizes. ⌝omit

[End of Creed]

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974 Some editions have a semi-colon here.

975 This Creed is found in the Book of Common Prayer, and in some editions it follows the 150th Psalm.

976 J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1977, 5th revised edition), p. 232. The superscript alternative readings are taken from Gerald Bray, *Creeds, Councils and Christ: Did the early Church misrepresent Jesus?* (Ross-shire: Mentor, 1997), pp. 206-207.

977 Gerald Bray, *Creeds, Councils and Christ: Did the early Church misrepresent Jesus?* (Ross-shire: Mentor, 1997), pp. 206-07. I have noted only the more significant variations.

978 Not to be confused with *homoiousios,* of a like, or similar, substance, which would favour the Arian view of the Trinity.

979 I suggest this ought to be read with the following punctuation: "Who became of us men and, because of our salvation, came down . . . ."

980 *Common Worship* reads from this point onwards up to "Mary": "was incarnate from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary."

981 *Common Worship* transposes "he rose again" to follow "day."

982 *Common Worship* does not have the parentheses around "and the Son."

Extract: "We believe in one God, the Father+, the almighty ruler of all [CW reads: "Almighty"],"
G. Bray notes:

> In the first article [of Faith], *the Almighty* is marked off to indicate that it is a noun, not an adjective. This is true, but it is not very helpful . . . . The creed is slightly defective at this point, and care must be taken not to suggest that the Father is somehow superior to the other two Persons of the Trinity.

The Creed, in fact, is not defective because the very terms "Father" and "Son" denote a subordinate relationship, hence the Father is superior as regards function but not as regards substance or being or nature. The term "Father" is a sure indication of a superior relation, just as the term "Son" is a sure indication of a subordinate relation. Scripture does not provide us with the names the three Persons of the Trinity had *before* the names "Father," "Son" and "Holy Spirit" were created to denote their relationship for the purpose of putting their Plan of Salvation into operation. The familial terms are inseparable from the Plan of Salvation prepared "before the times of the ages" (2 Tim 1:9; Tit 1:2) or "before the foundation of the earth" (Rev 13:8; 17:8; cf. Eph 1:4; Jn 17:24; 1 Pet 1:20; Heb [4:3 ἀπὸ has the sense of "at (the foundation of the world)" here] 9:26). The "times of the ages" spans the period from Eden to Calvary (Rom 16:25; Mt 13:35; 25:34; Lk 11:50), and "the end of the ages" terminated at the coming of the Gospel (Heb 9:26). It should be borne in mind that Rev 13:8 should not be translated that the Lamb was slain from the foundation of the world, as a comparison with 17:8 would show. In Revelation 13:8 the names are written in the slain Lamb's Book of Life, which has been kept continuously updated since the foundation of the world.

It is possible that 2 Timothy 1:9 could be a reference back to the promise of salvation implicit in the "seed of the woman" in Genesis 3:15, if "times of the ages (aeons)" is a reference back to the *whole* period of time that has passed since the creation of mankind. The same interpretation is possible in the case of Titus 1:2. This seems certain if the "promise" is the one made to Adam and Eve or to Abraham (so Calvin), otherwise the promise is made to someone (the Son of God?) before the creation of the world, which seems unlikely.[983]

Note the Filioque clause, "and from the Son" has been put in round brackets by G. Bray to denote that it was a later insertion. This controversial addition was first made in Spain in the third Council of Toledo in 589 (to satisfy Augustianian theologians). It was accepted in England and France, and finally came to be adopted at Rome early in the eleventh century. The expanded creed is known as the Niceno-Constantinopolitan or the creed of the 150 Fathers met for the ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in 451, which was an endorsement of the creed worked out in 381 under Emperor Theodosius I. The expanded Nicene creed was sung at the Eucharist following 589 and from the seventh century the Apostles creed was said in Compline, and from the ninth century in Matins and prime as well. The practice of turning toward the East while reciting the Apostles' Creed is a relatively modern custom.

Godfathers and godmothers promise three things at the child's baptism, one of which was that they teach the child to say the Apostles Creed. This is sadly not the case any more in most Anglican "free-church" style services. The worship service has become a means to evangelising not to worship God. When vicars are evangelists, creeds are down-sized or pushed to the back, if not neglected entirely, thus weakening the church's ability to combat false teaching, hence the rise of feminism and religious pluralism and other levelling-out or

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983 Paul Helm, "John Calvin on 'Before all ages'," *TynBul* 53.1 (2002) 143-148, shows that Calvin understood Tit 1:2 as I have advocated above (i.e., the ages that elapsed *since* the time of the Promise), but in 2 Tim 1:9 he interprets the same Greek phrase to refer to God's pre-temporal decree. Helm is right to criticise this inconsistency (p. 146) in Calvin's understanding of the same Greek phrase. In both places a promise and a recipient is envisaged, who are human beings.

barrier-breaking processes designed to break down the distinctions that God has placed in His Word and which were established in the Early Church's theological practices.

Extract: *"begotten from the Father, only-begotten, that is, from the substance of the Father . . . begotten, not made, of one substance with the Father."*

Note the reliance on the human analogy of generation which is used to safeguard the equality of Jesus' nature. The concern is commendable but the use of the human analogy is inappropriate as it leads to the illogical idea of an eternal generation which is incompatible with each Person being co-eternal and co-equal (according to Athanasius' statement 26). No Person of the Trinity was generated from any other member. The familial terms used about the Persons of the Trinity are taken from the human family not *vice versa.* The one aspect that cannot be applied to the Trinity is the idea of generation. Only the idea of the relationship between a son and his father is appropriate to be applied to the Trinity.

G. Bray justifies the human analogy of begetting in conjunction with the generation of the Son as follows:

> . . . . *eternally begotten* is a phrase which recalls Origen, though care must be taken not to interpret it in the sense of an eternal process of begetting. This possibility is mentioned by ICET and justified by a reference to Athanasius, but it will not do. The Son of God is perfectly begotten in eternity, not forever emerging from the Father.

There are two ideas in this justification. (1) The Son has His origin in the Father, and (2) *begotten* means that the Son emerged already fully formed in eternity. Singly or combined, these two ideas rob the Son of His equal status with the other Persons of the Trinity. *None of the Persons of the Trinity originated (or was begotten) from any of the other Persons.* The term "begotten" is the biblical way of referring to the *subordinate relationship* that the Son took on (= begotten) in relation to the Father. The term *begotten* has nothing to do with the origin of the Son from the Father. The relationship is paternal not parental; relative (noting relation) not genitive (noting origin). The First Person is *as a father* to the Second Person of the Trinity, but He is not the Father of the Son on the human analogy.

This Creed avoids any direct mention of the functional or creational subordination of the Son lest it gave any credence to its enemies' statements which had over-emphasised the subordinate aspects in Jesus' existence as a Man. The last paragraph in the Creed is a direct refutation of Arius' theological sound-bytes.

Where Arius went wrong was to take up human aspects that applied to the *Man* Christ Jesus, and applied them to the pre-Incarnate Son of God. But where the Creed itself went wrong was to latch on to the human analogy of generation and apply this to the substance or essence that the Father and the Son shared. I am not convinced that this was in the mind of the biblical writers when they drew on the familial terms to convey the relationship between the First and Second Persons of the Trinity. The orthodox group, in seeking to safeguard the deity of the Lord, spoke of Him being derived from the Father's substance without wanting to suggest that one was prior to the other. For them the human analogy broke down at this point. It was sufficient for them to safeguard the generic unity of the Persons who formed the Trinity: they all shared the same nature or essence or substance.

The weakness of this Creed is that, due to its formulation in a controversial context, it plays down the subordinate relationships within the post-Plan of Salvation Trinity, which were necessary for the salvation of Mankind.

THE APOSTLES CREED

The main text is taken from the *Book of Common Prayer*. The superscript readings are taken from the version produced by the International Consultation on English Texts (ICET) as reproduced by Gerald Bray[984] and compared with the version published in *Common Worship* (London: Church House Publishing, 2000), abbreviated to CW. Unless otherwise stated CW agrees with ICET.

I believe in God[+a comma after God] the Father Almighty[CW: almighty], Maker[creator] of heaven and earth:

And[I believe] in Jesus Christ[+a comma after Christ] his only Son[+a comma after Son] our Lord, Who[He [CW who]] was conceived by the[+power [CW omits power]] Holy Ghost[Spirit], [+and [CW omits and]] Born of the Virgin Mary,[+He [CW omits He]] Suffered under Pontius Pilate, Was crucified, dead[died], and[+was] buried, He descended ⌜into hell⌝[to the dead];[985] [+On] The third day he rose again ⌜from the dead⌝[omit], He ascended into heaven, ⌜And sitteth on⌝[and [CW omits 'and' and adds 'he'] is seated at] the right hand of God[omit] the Father Almighty[omit]; ⌜From thence⌝[omit [CW adds and]] he shall[will] come[+again] to judge the quick[living] and the dead.

I believe in the Holy Ghost[Spirit]; The holy Catholick[catholic] Church; The Communion of Saints; The Forgiveness of sins; The resurrection of the body; And the life everlasting. Amen.

> *The focus of this Creed is on the incarnational life and work of the Lord Jesus. Nothing is said about the nature of the Person of the Lord Jesus, or about His relationship to the other Persons of the Trinity except the mention of "his only Son," which points to the functional subordination of the Second to the First Person of the Trinity. But it is more likely that this phrase, when it was composed, was understood of His generation from the Father rather than His subordinate relationship to the Father.*

A more exact translation of the Greek text of the first line would be: "I believe in God the Father, Ruler of all." This is saying no more than 1 Corinthians 15:28.[986]

This Creed, in its present form, dates back to the eighth century and is recorded by Pirminius (or Priminius), founder of the abbey of Reichenau in south Germany. It may be the culmination of a series of expansions of shorter forms.

Some early, brief creedal statements are "Jesus is Messiah"(Mk 8:29; Jn 2:22); "Jesus is Lord" (Rom 10:9; Phil 2:11; Col 2:6); "Jesus is the Son of God" (Acts 8:37; Jn 4:15; cf. Heb 4:14). Paul sums up his creed in 1 Corinthians 15:3-4—that Christ died for our sins, was buried, was raised (and will come again). Romans 10:9, "If you confess with your mouth the Lord Jesus and believe in your heart that God has raised Him from the dead, you will be saved," could be an already existing creedal statement, and possibly also Romans 1:3-4. Also thought to be creedal statements (some in the forms of hymns) are: Phil 2:6-11; Col 1:15-20; 1 Tim 3:16; 2 Tim 2:11-13). Statements of belief appear at: 1 Timothy 1:15; 4:9-10; Titus 3:4-8; Acts 2:14-39; 3:13-26; 5:30-32; 10:36-43; 13:17-41; and possibly Rev 1:5b-7; 4:11; 5:9-10. The most explicit baptismal confession occurs in Acts 8:37, "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." John's Gospel was written "that you might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that

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984 Gerald Bray, *Creeds, Councils and Christ: Did the early Church misrepresent Jesus?* (Ross-shire: Mentor, 1997), pp. 206-07. I have noted only the more significant variations.

985 On the meaning of hell here, see the footnote under Athanasius' statement no. 28.

986 The idea of the the Lord Jesus coming under the rule of God the Father is not acceptable to Gerald Bray, in *Creeds, Councils and Christ: Did the early Church misrepresent Jesus?* (Ross-shire: Mentor, 1997), p. 103, but this misunderstands the shift from the Son's functional subordination to His creational subordination as a Man which He retains until after the Judgment Day.

believing you may have life in His name" (Jn 20:31; cf. 1 Jn 5:13). Thus the whole Gospel has a creedal aspect about it.

The two words "Jesus Lord" in 1 Corinthians 12:3 is the irreducible minimum of Christian creed. The title "Lord" given to Christ is a title of God the Father (Yahweh) in the Old Testament. It thus conveys Jesus' control of all men and things (Acts 10:36; Rom 14:9; cf. 1 Cor 16:22; 8:5-6). Christ is the Head of all men, and through Man's headship, He is head of Woman too. By making Jesus the exclusive pathway into God's presence, the Father honoured and glorified His Son in an exceptional way, and cut off all the Jews from speaking directly to God. The issue could not be starker for the whole world: If you want to worship God then come through His Son, Jesus Christ.

The idea that the Apostles produced this Creed in order to differentiate Jewish Christians from Jewish counter-missionary efforts to destroy Christianity, by pretending to be converts, first appeared in the latter part of the fourth century. It is repeated in the early fifth century in Rufinus' commentary on the creed. It is true that Jewish Christians who observed the Law would be distinguished from members of the non-Christian synagogues only by their allegiance to Jesus as the long-awaited Messiah. The rejection of the Law by the Jewish Christians was a logical step once salvation was shifted to faith in Christ but this took time to develop, and in the early days unsympathetic Jewish prophets could exploit the situation to bring the Jewish Christians back into Judaism. Belief in Jesus as Messiah or that he was not the Messiah became the touchstone of orthodoxy on both sides. A civil war within Judaism was taking place for the soul of God's elect people following the Day of Pentecost. Soon formal summaries of their distinctive differences were developed through head-to-head clashes, such as Matthew 10:32-33, "Whoever confesses me before men, him I will also confess before my Father who is in heaven," (cf. Luke 12:8-9). To confess "Jesus is Lord" (1 Cor 12:3) was a barrier to the Jew (cf. Lk 12:8-12). Compare Paul's reference to "us who believe in Him [God] who raised up Jesus our Lord from the dead" (Rom 4:24). Only through the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit could a Jew confess Jesus as Lord, or Son of God. To renounce Jesus as the Messiah or Lord was the persecutor's goal (Acts 26:1). Paul, as we would expect, develops the first summary of the essentials. Compare 1 Corinthians 8:6, "Yet for us *there is* one God, the Father, of whom *are* all things, and we for Him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and through whom we *live*." Compare also 1 Timothy 2:5-6, "For *there is* one God and one Mediator between God and men, *the* Man Christ Jesus, who gave Himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time." The trinitarian pattern of the later creeds comes in the "Grace" at the end of 2 Corinthians 13:14, "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all. Amen." It also comes in 1 Peter 1:2, "elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, in sanctification of the Spirit, for obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ." And in Matthew 28:19, "Go therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."

Another incentive to draw up creedal statements was the need for catechetical instruction and for the solemn profession of faith made by converts at their baptism. The earliest full-scale account of Christian baptism is given by Julian who says that the officiant names "the name of the Father and Lord God of the universe" over the person being baptized, "in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and in the name of the Holy Spirit, who announced through the prophets the things concerning Jesus, that the person who is enlightened is washed."[987] In the early third century, Hippolytus notes that the candidate for baptism stands in the water and is baptised after each of the following statements, (1) "Do you believe in God the Father almighty?" (2) "Do you believe

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[987] Julian, *1 Apol. 61.* Quoted from G.W.H. Lampe, "Appendix B: The Origins of the Creeds," in *Christian Believing: The Nature of the Christian Faith and its Expression in Holy Scripture and Creeds* (A Report by The Doctrine Commission of the Church of England)(London: SPCK, 1976), pp. 52-65, espec. p. 56.

in Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who was born by the Holy Spirit from the Virgin Mary, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate and died and rose again on the third day, alive from the dead, and ascended into the heavens, and sat down on the right hand of the Father, and will come to judge the living and the dead?" (3) "Do you believe in the Holy Spirit, in the Holy Church and the resurrection of the flesh?" Creeds became declaratory instead of interrogatory. Conciliar creeds arose out of baptismal creeds.

God, who dwells in eternity, and so outside our space-time framework, has revealed and is still revealing Himself to us today in real time, and will continue to speak to man until the end of the world. It is also a fact that the Second Person of the Godhead, who dwells in eternity, did enter His own creation of time and space and become something which He was not before. For some it is an intellectual problem to accept that a man could be God or that God could enter time, but the eye of faith is required to accept that it did happen: that Jesus was the Messiah, the eternal Son of God. Unfortunately, such faith has not been given to all men, consequently, the reasoning of such men is a danger to those who do have this gift of faith. Philosophical difficulties of this kind account for most of the early heresies, which reappear in different forms within the Church from time to time.

Tertullian (*ca.* 200) may be said to have been one of the earliest systematic theologians. As regards the Trinity, he saw the three Persons as sharing the personal nature of God the Father. He thought of Reason (*logos*) and Spirit (*pneuma*) as eternally latent within the unity of God. At the moment of creation, God the Father generated His Reason and exhaled His Spirit, endowing each of them with qualities of His own nature. This is why Reason is called the Son, and why its generation did not leave the father as an irrational being.[988] The flaw with this interpretation of "begotten" is that he is trying to explain how God could experience something which by definition could only happen in time. If he had understood the terms "Father" and "Son" in their *relationship* aspect only, then he would not have set the church off on the wrong track. Because he focused on the "begetting" side of these two terms he ended up with the bizarre idea of the other two Persons of the Trinity emanating from within the being of the one God, whereas they were always independent of the Father, in their own right, from all eternity. There never was a time when they were within the Father and emanated from Him to exist as independent Persons with their own wills.

Independently of Tertullian, Origen (*d.* 254) also focused on the "begetting" aspect. This led to the bizarre use of analogy which went as follows: Birth in time on earth reflected birth in eternity in heaven, therefore the Son was eternally begotten of the Father, and it was wrong to suppose that there was ever a time when the Son had not existed. The Son was the exact replica (Heb 1:3) of the Father and therefore shared fully in His eternal nature. It followed that the Son had always done the Father's will, and that this subordination of obedience was likewise part of the Son's eternal nature. He was equal, but in second place, and therefore dependent on the One who had begotten Him. The Father reproduced Himself in the Son and then again, through the Son, He reproduced himself in the Holy Spirit. Because the Father's nature was immaterial it reproduced itself without losing any of its substance.[989]

Given this scenario, it is difficult to maintain that there was absolute equality within the Trinity, because the Son would have been an *eternal Servant* of the Father, and a servant is not as his master even if they share the same nature. Origen's inability to see that the terms "Father," "Son," and "Holy Spirit" arise out of, and are inseparable from, the Plan of

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988 Cf. Gerald Bray, *Creeds, Councils and Christ: Did the early Church misrepresent Jesus?* (Ross-shire: Mentor, 1997), p. 77.

989 Cf. Gerald Bray, *Creeds, Councils and Christ: Did the early Church misrepresent Jesus??* (Ross-shire: Mentor, 1997), p. 80.

Salvation, led him into an unbiblical (Platonic) mode of thinking to find a solution to the Trinity in unity.

Athanasius took Origen's position as his starting-point. He sought to safeguard the equality implied in Origen's eternal generation and argued that this ruled out any form of subordination of the Son to the Father otherwise if He were subordinate eternally then He *must* have lacked something of the Father's nature and thus could not have enjoyed the status of equality implied by eternal generation. Either way, it was clear that the Son of God could not be eternally begotten and eternally subordinate at the same time. One or the other had to be dropped.

Athanasius was correct to argue that within the Trinity there could be no subordination, but what he was unable to reconcile was the subordination of the Son. The solution is a voluntary change of relationship within the Trinity as a result of the Plan of Salvation. The Plan was formed before the foundation of the world, i.e. before time and space was created, when only the Trinity existed in splendid isolation, but neither the Plan or Man can be co-eternal with the three Persons of the Trinity. There was a stage when the Plan (and Man) did not exist even in the mind of the Trinity.

CHALCEDON CREED

On 22 October 451 the Council published the *Definition of Faith.* The relevant section reads:[990]

In agreement, therefore, with the holy fathers we all unanimously teach that we should confess that our Lord Jesus Christ is one and the same Son; the same perfect in Godhead and the same perfect in manhood, truly God and truly man, the same of a rational soul and body; consubstantial with the Father in Godhead and the same consubstantial with us in manhood; like us in all things except sin; begotten of the Father before all ages as regards his Godhead and in the last days the same, for us and for our salvation, begotten of the Virgin Mary the *Theotokos*[God-bearer] as regards his manhood; one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, only-begotten, made known in two natures without confusion, without change, without division, without separation; the difference of the natures being by no means removed because of the union but the property of each nature being preserved and coalescing in one person (*prosopon*) and one *hypostasis,* not parted or divided into two persons but one and the same Son, only-begotten, divine Word, the Lord Jesus Christ; as the prophets of old and Jesus Christ himself have taught us about him, and the creed of our fathers has handed down.

Comment on the clause: "begotten of the Father before all ages"

Note the unfortunate pressing of begetting within the Trinity on the analogy of human begetting. The focus should have been on the analogy of the relationship between a mature son to his father, and the fact that a son derives his origin from his father should not be in view at all. The terms "father" and "son" when applied to the Trinity must not include the idea that the Son takes his being or substance from his Father and comes after his Father and is taught by his Father, has a mother, etc. etc. All these human aspects do not apply in the case of the Trinity. All that is in view is the relationship *that the First Person of the Trinity sustains to the Second Person of the Trinity in the context of the Plan of Salvation. The relationship and*

990 Taken from Gerald Bray, *Creeds, Councils and Christ: Did the early Church misrepresent Jesus?* (Ross-shire: Mentor, 1997), pp. 161-62.

the Plan are integral and inseparable. One cannot exist without the other. The Plan has brought the relationship into being, not vice versa.

THE WESTMINSTER CONFESSION OF FAITH

The 1647 Westminster Confession of Faith reads:

> Chapter III. In the unity of the Godhead there be three persons, of one substance, power, and eternity; God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. The Father is of none, neither begotten nor proceeding; the Son is eternally begotten of the Father; the Holy Ghost eternally proceeding from the Father and the Son.

Gregory of Nazianzus (*ca.* 390) said that the Son was *begotten* (generated) whereas the Holy Spirit *proceeded* from the Father. There was a difference between the two ideas, but nobody could say what it was! God had revealed the fact, but the explanation of it was hidden in mystery. And part of the mystery was that the Son was begotten in the eternity of the Father and was the agent of His own incarnation.[991]

This farcical situation came about because the fourth and fifth century Aristotelian philosopher-theologians could not break free from those who started them off on the wrong track. Instead of recognising at the outset that if all three Persons of the Trinity were co-eternal then the human idea of "begetting" and "proceeding" could not apply in their case, and they would have been forced to look around for alternative ways to understand these human terms. It is easy to see how they got trapped, given the terms "father" and "son," but the fact that the Holy Spirit did not fit into the human family analogy should have alerted them to the danger of using these terms to explain the *origin* of the Son and the Holy Spirit. We, at last, have been able to detach ourselves from this false line of thinking and can now re-use these terms to explain the *relationship* that they point to between the three Persons of the Trinity which the Plan of Salvation brought into existence before the foundation of the world. It now appears that the terms "Father" and "Son" originated in the Plan of Salvation and are inseparable from it. Why this was not seen in the fourth and fifth centuries can be explained by the threat that they saw to the co-equality and co-eternity of the three Persons. They got hung-up on the familial terms and the idea of begetting from the adjective "begotten" because it was these very terms that their heretic opponents used to try and destroy the Trinity. So they were right but for the wrong reasons. And thus, out of this intense hot-house environment of heated debate came the quirky solution of an "eternally begotten Son" and an "eternally proceeding Holy Spirit." These concepts are ludicrous because they attempt to apply a uniquely human means of begetting to a single God in Trinity. The Trinity is a mystery (How can three be different yet equal in all respects?). These church Fathers turned it into a double mystery (to, How can three be different and yet equal? they added: And how can they all be co-eternal and yet begotten at the same time?).

We can now see that the Son was "begotten" for a task, and the Holy Spirit was "sent" or "proceeded" on His task. The task in both cases was the Plan of Salvation. This Plan cannot be co-eternal with the Trinity, so that it originated "before the foundation of the world" (Eph 1:4; 1 Pet 1:20). It had a definite beginning and will have a definite end. Hence it follows that the terms "Father" and "Son" are likewise not co-eternal with the Trinity because they derive their origin in the relationship that this Plan required among the three Persons of the Trinity in order to save mankind. To ensure the salvation of mankind, one Person of the

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[991] Cf. Gerald Bray, *Creeds, Councils and Christ: Did the early Church misrepresent Jesus?* (Ross-shire: Mentor, 1997), pp. 104, 114.

Trinity became the "Father," another became the "Son," and the third became the "Holy Spirit."

The "Son" took on a functional subordinate relationship to the "Father" to bear the sin of the world, and the Holy Spirit took on a subordinate relationship to both the Father and the Son, in order to carry out His part of the Plan, namely, to save the Elect.

But when the Son became man "in the fullness of time" his functional relationship to the Father became a creational subordinate relationship, that is, the same relationship that all men have toward God, their Creator. But after the Day of Judgment, the Son will put off this creational subordinate relationship and resume His functional subordinate relationship with the Father. Whether the Son will ever put off the functional subordinate relationship and resume His Trinitarian (i.e., no subordination) position is not revealed in Scripture. The last revelation on this subject is 1 Corinthians 15:28 (see Deut 29:29).

That God is not the "source" of the Son is clear from 1 Timothy 3:16, "God was manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen by angels . . . received up into glory." And in Romans 14:10-12, "For we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ. . . . So then each of us shall give account of himself to God." Here "Christ" and "God" are synonymous. Jesus was Immanuel, "God with us" in the flesh. Compare also "he will bow before God, declaring that God really is among you" (1 Cor 14:25; cf. Rom 9:6), with "where two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in the midst of them" (Mt 18:20). *God was not the source of God.* Therefore "head" cannot mean "source" in 1 Corinthians 11:3.

NOTES ON THE CHART, "TRINITARIAN AND HUMAN HEADSHIPS"

The chart has been divided into six sections tracking the six stages in Jesus' relationship to the Father.

Stage A. No subordination

The Trinity consists of three distinct Persons yet one God. St Patrick likened it to the shamrock with its three leaves yet being sustained through one life stem. No parallel can adequately explain or illustrate how three Persons can be equal and yet different at the same time. At stage A, however, we have to envisage a situation where the Trinity exist in glorious isolation—just themselves. Nothing exists but themselves. Nothing is co-eternal with them. At this stage there are no distinct terms or names for the three Persons of the Trinity, because there is no need of such. They are One Being—God. There can be no subordination of roles because there is nothing objective to their existence. Thus is the life of the Trinity in its absolute state.

Stage B. Functional subordination: The possibilities

Functional subordination came about when the Trinity contemplated the creation of Mankind on earth. The creation of Adam with a free-will to choose to love his Creator or not, was open to genuine opportunities to foster that relationship or destroy it. Either way, the Trinity was well prepared. In the event of Adam choosing not to obey his Creator, God created a Plan of Salvation to bring him back through an act of sacrificial love—the Cross, where the transfer of his punishment and the exchange of his unrighteousness for Christ's righteousness would take place simultaneously.

This Plan of Salvation or Redemption was in place before Adam was created. Ephesians 1:3-5, "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has blessed us with every spiritual blessing in the heavenly places in Christ, just as He chose us in Him before the foundation of the world (πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου) , that we should be holy and without blame before Him in love, having predestined us to adoption as sons by Jesus Christ to Himself, according to the good pleasure of His will." 1 Peter 1:20, "He [Christ] indeed was foreordained before the foundation of the world (πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου), but was manifest in these last times for you." These two texts are sufficient to establish the fact that even before God created Mankind, He had prepared a Plan for any eventuality involving Adam's use of his free-will. Here we see God's total command of the situation He was about to bring into existence. He granted Adam free-will to make his own decisions, and at the same time He prepared a Plan to rescue some of his descendants (the Elect) should he decide to rebel.

In preparing for any eventuality once Adam was created, a notional change came about in the relationship within the Trinity. The mystery surrounding *how* the change came about is still a mystery. What is not a mystery is the resultant relationship between the three equal Persons of the Trinity. One became the "Father," one became the "Son," and one became the "Holy Spirit." Each would need the other, and each would have a distinct role to carry through. Total cooperation and total harmony would be required to carry the Plan of Salvation through to completion.

The terms "Father," "Son," and "Holy Spirit," capture this new relationship within the Trinity which would come into being *only* if Adam sinned. The Plan lay dormant before the foundation of the world. But it was in place, ready to be implemented should the need arise.

Consequently, the use of the familial terms, "Father," and "Son," in knee-jerk response, should immediately recall this Plan of Salvation *and* the new relationship within the Trinity that goes with it. They must not be separated: the Plan and the new names belong to each other. One cannot exist without the other.

The existence of the "Son" (the Second Person of the Trinity) was kept a mystery until the coming of the Lord Jesus to earth as God incarnate. Throughout the whole of the Old Testament period, from the creation of mankind to the Cross, man knew only of the existence of one God and His Spirit who inspired the prophets. The promise to redeem mankind was first revealed to Adam and Eve while they were still in the Garden of Eden, "And I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your seed and her Seed; He shall bruise your head, and you shall bruise His heel" (Gen 3:15). The Seed promised here was none other than Jesus Christ (cf. Gal 3:16), the Son of God, kept secret until the time came to reveal Him.

There are two references to the existence of this verbal Promise in the Garden. 2 Timothy 1:8-9, "Therefore do not be ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, . . . who has saved us and called us with a holy calling, not according to our works, but according to His own purpose and grace which was given [as a gift] to us in Christ Jesus before the times of the ages (πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων)." The phrase "times of the ages" refers to the whole period from Eden to Calvary. The same phrase occurs in Titus 1:1-2, "Paul, a bondservant of God and an apostle of Jesus Christ, according to the faith of God's elect . . . in hope of eternal life which God, who cannot lie, promised [to Adam and Eve] before the times of the ages." The use of "gift" and "promise" require a recipient to receive the "gift" and someone to make the "promise" to.

Should others prefer to see in the phrase πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων the period before the creation of the world, then this would strengthen the two texts (Eph 1:2 and 1 Pet 1:20) that explicitly refer to a pre-existing Plan of Salvation. In which case the phrase would need to be translated as "before time began" (as NKJV) and the recipient of the "gift" would be the Son, to whom also the promise would be promised. But this seems an odd scenario, so that I prefer to see the phrase as referring to the period "from the foundation of the world" which phrase is used elsewhere in the New Testament for the same period of time (see Stage C).

We can conclude Stage B by pointing out that it was a contingency stage *should* Adam use his free-will to rebel against his Creator. The fact that Adam's sin brought this contingency into existence should not be used to argue that he *had* to sin, on the grounds that God would not draw up a Plan on the mere chance that Adam *might* sin against Him. But such an argument removes Adam's free-will which undermines the nature of Man as originally created in the image and likeness of God.

What Scripture does teach is that God knows all the ramifications of any free-will decision and He shows His control by anticipating what these might be and preparing in advance ways and means to achieve His purposes. In this way God can give genuine free-will to Adam whose decisions are his own, not manipulated by God, and so he is fully accountable for his decisions, and yet God, knowing all the ramifications of any decision that Adam might make, remains in control of his life.

As a result of Adam's sin, mankind lost the ability to please God without the help of the Holy Spirit within him. In this regard Adam was unique in having a will that was genuinely and totally free to choose. All men since his day are born with a will enslaved to the flesh. They require the help of God to get free of it and they require His Spirit to restore their free-will again, so that they can once again please God.

The Plan of Salvation and the familial terms, Father and Son were, at Stage B, only theoretical possibilities. All would hang on Adam's free-will whether they would come into being.

Stage C. Functional subordination: The reality

Once Adam sinned he was informed of his punishment but also of a way of escape through a mediator, "the Seed of the woman." Within the Trinity the planned means of restoring Mankind came into operation and the Son, who was equal to the Father and the Holy Spirit, voluntarily assumed the role of being the "Lamb of God" to take away the sins of the world. This role or function required Him to be subordinate to the Father's will. Though equal in nature, He was subordinate in function. He did not cease to be God by being in a subordinate relationship to the other Persons of the trinity. He entered into this functional subordination out of the same love that the other Persons of the Trinity showed for mankind. The Son and the Holy Spirit do the will of the Father. The roles are never reversed or confused.

The existence of the Son was kept secret throughout the whole period from Eden to Calvary. Consequently, the creed of the OT Church was, "The Lord our God is one God." They worshipped God through a divinely instituted all-male priesthood, who had to cover their heads when they brought the nation's worship and gifts to Him. They were the appointed mediators between God and Man until they were replaced with the great High Priest, the Lord Jesus Christ.

Another reason for covering their heads was they were the creation of God, whereas the Son was an un created Being. Theirs was a creational subordination; His was a functional subordination. He was equal to God; they were not. Their subordination was of a different order to His even though the way this expressed itself may have been identical (i.e., love the Lord your God with all your heart, soul, etc.).

Woman was created to be subordinate to man from the moment of her creation. She was created for him; not *vice versa.* Therefore she is in a creational, subordinate relationship to man, not a functional one. This relationship is permanent in God's good purposes and plan for man's happiness. Man constantly remains the focus of the Trinity's attention throughout redemptive history. The Mediator would be a man. This was planned before Adam was created.

It should be borne in mind that from the time Adam rebelled against God and brought the Plan of Redemption into being, the whole of God's revelation was, from this

point onwards, channelled through this new relationship within the Trinity. Our view of God and our understanding of all His ways are conditioned by this new, internal relationship. We are shut up to viewing all things within this restricted, yet vast and complex, Plan of Redemption. But, nevertheless, all revelation is funnelled through the implementation of the pre-arranged, pre-ordained, Plan. We cannot know God now except as our Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit. The Plan brought about the changed relationships within the Trinity. And the Plan arose out of the consequence of giving Adam free-will.

Whatever plan God had for Adam had he obeyed Him was lost forever and Scripture nowhere dwells on it. The same goes for all other contingency plans arising out of the various scenarios that we can envisage, such as only Adam sins and Eve does not, or *vice versa;* or neither sins, or only one or some of their offspring sins. All kinds of scenarios can be envisaged and pondered which would have required different plans to cope with, but they never came about. The Fall happened in one way—the way we have it, and there was a Plan of Redemption already in position to deal with it. Looking back on salvation history, we can concur that the Plan of Salvation that is presently being carried out by the Trinity was predestined without denying the possibility that any of the other plans would likewise have been predestined had any of the other scenarios been the starting-point of Man's relationship with God in the Garden of Eden.

The implementation of God's Plan of Salvation (while planned as a contingency *before* the foundation of the world) is traced "*from* the foundation of the world" not "*before* the foundation of the world." Romans 16:25, "Now to Him who is able to establish you according to my gospel . . . according to the revelation of the mystery kept secret in *the* times *of the* ages (χρόνοις αἰωνιος)." The "times" referred to here can only be human history, not to the period before creation (i.e., in eternity). The revelation was kept secret *from man* (not from the Son, the only alternative recipient). It was kept secret *from,* not *before,* the foundation of the world. See Matthew 13:35, "All these things Jesus spoke . . . that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet . . . 'I will utter things kept secret from the foundation of the world (απὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου)'." The period envisaged here is from Eden to Calvary. Matthew 25:34, "[Jesus speaking] Then the king will say to those on His right hand, 'Come, you blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world (απὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου)." Although in the form of a parable, the idea that the Kingdom has been prepared *from* (not *before*) the beginning of human time fits in with the reality of the Fall, rather than as a possibility before the creation of man (i.e., as a contingency preparation, which would have placed it at Stage B, alongside Eph 1:4 and 1 Pet 1:20). Luke 11:50, "[Jesus speaking] Therefore the wisdom of God also said, 'I will send them prophets and apostles . . . that the blood of all the prophets which was shed from the foundation of the world may be required of this generation, from the blood of Abel to the blood of Zechariah." The phrase "from the foundation of the world" is paralleled by "from Abel to Zechariah," which covers the whole period of OT history and revelation for this particular crime (i.e., the first and last recorded examples of it). Hebrews 9:26, "He [Jesus] then would have had to suffer often from the foundation of the world." The period covers human history, not from a point before the creation of the world. It does not refer to the physical foundation of the world (which might be many ages before the creation of Adam, which is allowed for on my Trinitarian chart), but the time since the creation of mankind on the earth. In the biblical revelation of the creation of the foundation of the earth and the appearance of man on it, the two are virtually contemporary, so that "from the foundation of the world" is virtually synonymous with "from the creation of mankind" in all the contexts where this phrase is used.

Likewise, the Book of Life is opened, not *before* the creation of Adam (i.e., in eternity), but following his creation. Revelation 17:8, "And those who dwell on the earth will marvel, whose names are not written in the Book of Life from the foundation of the world (απὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου)." Revelation 13:8, "All who dwell on the earth will worship him, whose names have not been written in the Book of Life—of the slain Lamb—from the foundation of

the world." Note, it is not the Lamb who is slain *from* the foundation of the world, but the names written in the continuously updated Book of Life, as 13:8 makes clear. If the reference was to the Lamb having been slain *from* the foundation of the world, then the temporal setting of the slaying would have been within human time and probably to be seen in the veiled reference to Satan bruising the Seed's heel in Genesis 3:15. So the Book of Life was opened *after* mankind was created and will be shut at the end of the present age. The Psalmist could request that the names of his enemies be blotted out of this Book, so that he did not think the names were written in indelible ink. Does the request hold a theological truth in the Calvinist versus Arminian positions? Were all the names of the Elect written in this Book of Life *before* the foundation of the world? Or are they being added daily since (or from) the foundation of the world?

Stage D. Creational subordination: The Head of Christ is God

Stage D covers the period from the first coming to the second coming of Jesus. At the beginning of it the Son of God, the Word, became flesh in the form of a man. He becomes a creature of God on a par with all men. He becomes a man in order that He can be a genuine substitute for all men, in all ages, by exchanging His righteousness for our unrighteousness. Man sinned, therefore Man must be punished with death in order to satisfy God's justice and to keep His word to Adam, "In the day you eat of it [the tree of the knowledge of good and evil] you will surely die." God could not ignore His own solemn threat. Someone had to pay the price for disobedience. The marvel is that His own Son, even before Adam was created, volunteered to die on Man's behalf in order to remove the punishment of death that lay over him. But dying in Man's place would still not have been of any use to Man unless he could satisfy God's demand for a righteous standard of living. Since no one in the flesh can please God, Man failed to live up to God's standard. So even this was provided for by His Son coming as a man and living on earth a perfect life of obedience. So not only did Jesus take the punishment due to Man's sin, but He provided a life of good works which satisfied the righteous demands of God the Father.

The cost to the Second Person of the Trinity to obtain this salvation for Man was that He had to become a creature and come under God the Father's headship of all men. The Son became what He had never been before—a man. And as such he had to adopt the same posture of total obedience to the will of God. This we call creational subordination. His human nature is not transformed into a deity nature. He is fully human. Yet, at the same time, He is the Son of God, for He is so addressed by the Father on occasions. By becoming a man, Paul could say quite truthfully, "The head of Christ is God," that is, "the *man* Christ Jesus." What he could not have written was, "The head of the Son was God." This would be a theological blunder, because the relationship of father and son is a functional subordination relationship; it can never be a headship (or creational subordination) relationship. The man—Creator relationship is always a headship relationship. It can never be a functional subordination because that can only occur between two equals.

Man and woman are not equal because one, Man, has been given headship over the other, therefore it is a creational subordination relationship. They are not equal in gender because one is male and the other female, therefore the relationship cannot be a functional subordinate relationship. Given these two permanent inequalities, it is not surprising, therefore, that there is no change in her position in relation to Man from her creation to the end of time. She was created for Man, not *vice versa,* just as Man was created for God, not *vice versa.*

But something strange happened when the Son of God became Man. God, who was the head of all men, handed over this headship to His Son, and from now on all men must approach God the Father through His Son with an uncovered head and all women must do

the opposite, and come with a covered head. Thus their respective dress-codes are theological not cultural. And being theological they are permanent—to the end of the time.

Stage E. The Son's return to a functional subordination

When God handed over the headship of Man to His Son this was only a temporary arrangement. When all things in heaven and earth have been made subject to the Son, then the Son will hand back everything to the Father, so that the original position of God the Father may be restored. "Then comes the end [of the world], when He [Christ] delivers the kingdom to God the Father, when He [Christ] puts an end to all rule and all authority and power. For He [Christ] must reign till He [God the Father] has put all things under His [Christ's] feet. . . . For 'He [the Father] has put all things under His [Christ's] feet.' But when He [the Father] says, 'all things are put under Him [Christ],' it is evident that He [the Father] who put all things under Him [Christ] is excepted. Now when all things are made subject to Him [Christ], then the Son Himself will also be subject to Him [the Father], that God may be all in all" (1 Cor 15:24-28).

The return of everything to God the Father involves the return of the headship of Man to the Father as it was in the beginning, producing a chiasmus, and creating a pleasing climax to the fulfilment of the Plan of Salvation that was prepared before the foundation of the world.

At this time the Son changes His creational subordinate position *under* the Father for a functional subordination *alongside* Him—another chiasmus—and both return to their relationship as it was at the beginning of time.

Stage F. No subordination?

The Early Church Fathers viewed Stages A and B as one Stage in their legitimate attempt to safeguard the equality of the Persons of the Trinity in all things. They were never aware that there were two Stages at this point. We have shown that they did not realise that the terms "Son" and "only-begotten" had nothing to do with the *origin* of the Second Person of the Trinity, but with the functional relationship that the Plan of Salvation produced within the Trinity. Before this Plan existed the three Persons of the trinity existed in splendid isolation. Nothing was co-eternal with them.

1 Corinthians 15:24-28 clearly shows that there is a transition from creational to functional in the Son's relationship to His Father at the consummation of all things. But is there a further transition from functional subordination to no subordination to follow this? The chiastic structure would lead us to suspect that Stage F is mirrored in Stage A. However, we do not know for sure. At this point revelation runs out and we are left to contemplate Deuteronomy 29:29, "The secret things belong to the Lord our God, but those things which are revealed belong to us and to our children forever."

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"And a servant of the Lord must not quarrel but be gentle to all, able to teach, patient, in humility correcting those who are in opposition . . . . " (2 Tim 2:24-25) "So then, my beloved brethren, let every man . . . be slow to anger, for the **anger of man** does not produce the righteousness of God" (Jas 1:20).

Dear Rev. Banting,

I read with interest the Reform document, "Desiring what is true or Defending Desire?" being Reform's Presentation to the Rochester Commission (concerning Women in the Episcopate). There are a number of points I wish to comment on. The first is the danger in using the Trinity as a model for the relationship between Man and Woman. This must be used with great care, as there is the real potential for making a laughing-stock of ourselves if we do not know how to handle it.

You are probably well aware of the attempt to get rid of the idea of "headship" in the use of κεφαλη in 1 Corinthians 11:3, and reduce it to "source." This is a dangerous interpretation because the Father was not the source of the Son's being (or existence) as this would mean the Father pre-existed the Son. All three Persons of the Trinity have no beginning and none is derived from the other. Consequently there could be no "headship" (as defined below) among them until they decided to voluntarily constitute a hierarchy among themselves. This hierarchy only came into being for the specific purpose of redeeming mankind.

For the purpose of Man's salvation, the Second Person of the Trinity voluntarily took on the role of being Man's substitute and it was at this point (before the creation of mankind) that the Son was "begotten" for this role. Consequently the term "begotten" does not have reference to the source of the Second Person of the Trinity's being, but refers to His voluntary submission to the will of the First Person of the Trinity. The term "begotten," then, refers to His new, chosen function within the Trinity and not to His coming into being through the will of the First Person of the Trinity, which would destroy His eternal existence alongside the other two Persons of the Trinity.

You are well aware that as a consequence of interpreting "head" as "source" in 1 Corinthians 11:3, for the origin of the Son (which is a heretical idea), this same meaning is then applied to the relationship between Man and Woman, so that Man is seen as the "source" of the Woman. But Man did not create her: God created her out of him. He was completely passive in her creation. It is the fact that God created her *for* him that is significant for Paul's argument, not the substance from which she was created, as I shall develop below.

Paul is clearly using κεφαλη in a hierarchical sense throughout 1 Corinthians 11:1-16. If we look at the pre-incarnate status of the Lord Jesus, the Persons of the Trinity are equal in power and authority, except that the Son has voluntarily adopted a *functional* subordinate position vis-à-vis the other two Persons of the Trinity for the specific task of redeeming mankind. It is the task that has determined His humbling of Himself for our salvation.

If we look at his incarnate status we see Him as a Man, come to take the place of Man and die on his behalf. In His incarnate state He moves from a functional to a *creational* subordinate position vis-à-vis the other Persons of the Trinity. So there are three positions that Jesus moved through to save mankind.

1. Equal with the other two Persons of the Trinity
2. Functional subordination in His pre-incarnate state (before He became Man)
3. Creational subordination in His incarnate state (after He became Man)

When therefore Paul says that the "head of Christ is God" he is referring to the Second Person of the Trinity in His incarnation as a Man. Man was created by God and therefore Man is in a creational subordinate relationship to his Creator from the moment of his existence. Jesus became a Man and so He enters into the same creational subordinate relationship as Man. In this way He becomes fully Man and can fully represent Man to the other Persons of the Trinity. But in doing so He had to come under a *creational* subordinate position. He was made a little lower than the angels in order to complete His task.

Paul would never say that the "head of the Son is God" because the Son was never created, and, in any case, the Father—Son relationship is never seen as a headship relation. Paul is very careful in the terms he uses because he understood the difference between the three status positions that Jesus went through in order to redeem mankind.

It is for this reason that he says that the "head of every man is Christ," because the headship of all creation was given to the man Christ Jesus because of His role in saving mankind. Paul would never say that the "head of a man was his father" or that the "head of a son was his father." No human son has his human father as his head. Only the Lord Jesus is the head of every male. So all males look directly to Christ to fulfil His will. They were not created with the specific aim of doing their earthly father's will.

For Paul, "headship" is not just leadership, which is how Reform is narrowly interpreting the term. It is that and the rest. The rest being that "headship" (as used by Paul in this context and Eph 5) can be defined as a relationship between two persons in which one person voluntarily submits to do the will of the other *in a full-time capacity.*

We see the most perfect example of this in God's headship of Christ, who expresses His relationship to God in the beautiful, submissive words, "Not my will but Yours be done." This submissive attitude totally dominated His entire life and being. Nothing was exempted. It was total. This is more than leadership. It is doing the will of another to the uttermost of one's ability. This same submissive attitude should characterise the other two pairs: (A) "the head of Man is Christ," and (B) "the head of Woman is Man." The model is, of course, the Lord Jesus. Here we see "headship" in all its beauty and sensitivity.

It was this "headship" that women were challenging in Corinth. And it is to this rebellious situation that Paul draws on creation to correct. In what follows I shall draw a parallel with the relationship within the Trinity, because this is where Reform is liable to err theologically if it is not careful in how it uses the Trinity model.

Paul notes that Man is the "glory of God" whereas Woman is the "glory of Man." They differ in "glory." This is not so within the Trinity. Each is equal in glory. There is no parallel.

Paul next notes that Man was not made for Woman, but Woman was made for Man. This is not so within the Trinity. The Son was not "begotten" for the Father, nor was He created by the Father. There is no parallel.

Paul notes that God requires that Man and Woman be distinguished when they pray and prophesy. The distinction is placed on their heads, the seat of their will. The head of Woman is Man. This creational fixture means that there is a creational subordination established between Man and Woman: she was created for him, not vice versa. The subordinate status of Woman is indicated by covering her head when in the spiritual realm ("praying or prophesying"). In other words when she engages with the spirit world, she does so with the lesser authority status than a man has been given. She has authority but it is not the same as Man's. There is no parallel to this in the Trinity, where all three Persons are equal in authority. There is no in-built hierarchy within the Trinity; there is within the human family. It was hierarchical "from the beginning."

The failure to note the distinction between "functional subordination" within the Trinity and "creational subordination" within the Trinity, has led the unwary into assuming that the Man-Woman relationship could parallel the "functional subordination" within the Trinity. In fact, the only parallel that can be safely drawn is with the "creational

subordination" position within the Trinity when God became Man. This is what we must be careful to note whenever we use the Trinity as a model for the headship between Man and Woman. And with the "creational subordinate" position we have the correct theological model of "headship" in Christ's submission to the will of His Father in everything. "Headship," then, is saying to one's head: "Your will be done, not mine." It carries with it a voluntary giving of oneself to do the will of another, such as a bride should feel for her husband, and the Church should feel for Christ. This is the core meaning of headship.

Because none of the Persons of the Trinity was created there could be no "creational subordination" between them; therefore there could be no headship. It was only when the Son became incarnate that He put Himself into a "creational subordination" position by voluntarily becoming a Man, so that His relationship became that of creature-Creator, which all men have. Only by becoming a Man—identifying Himself fully with Man—could He save mankind, and only by setting us an example of what is involved in headship can we return to a right relationship with His Father.

The implications for the marriage relationship are staggering but I will not go into them here. But headship applies to every woman be she single, married or widowed: "the head of Woman is Man" and that has clear implications for her ministry in the ecclesia, where she is to adopt a submissive role which takes the form of being covered and silent as regards her individual input. Only men are to speak in the ecclesia, and only men are to have an uncovered head to reflect their different authority status in the hierarchy of powers that God has instituted throughout the spirit-world.

That God is not the "source" of the Son is clear from 1 Timothy 3:16, "God was manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen by angels . . . received up into glory." And in Romans 14:10-12, "For we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ. . . . So then each of us shall give account of himself to God." Here "Christ" and "God" are synonymous. Jesus was Immanuel, "God with us" in the flesh. God was not the source of God. Therefore "head" cannot mean "source" in 1 Corinthians 11:3.

How does this impinge on women aspiring to the authority that God has given to Man? There is the example of Miriam aspiring to be joint-leader with her two brothers, Moses and Aaron. Aaron, in this case, championing her cause. Miriam and Aaron (she is named first) spoke against Moses and challenged his authority. God was content simply to rebuke Aaron, but we are told, "The anger of the Lord burned against them, and he left them. When the cloud lifted from above the Tent, there stood Miriam—leprous, like snow" (Num 12:9-10). When Moses and Aaron pleaded with God to heal her, the Lord replied, "If her father had spat in her face, would she not have been in disgrace for seven days? Confine her outside the camp for seven days" (12:14). God's punishment was the equivalent of spitting in her face for challenging the authority of Moses; she was condemned to remain outside the company of God's people for seven days like an unclean thing in His sight.[992]

There is also the case of the angels who aspired to greater positions of authority in heaven not being content with their ranking structure and this resulted in disaster. Jude reminds us that "the angels who did not keep their proper domain but left their own abode," i.e., refused to stay at the authority level that God had, in His sovereign will, placed them in, and reached out for authority that God had not given to them, were thrown out of heaven. These angelic 'feminists' God "has reserved in everlasting chains under darkness for the judgment of the great day" (Jude 6).

Feminism is the spiritual AIDS of the Western Church. It is a virulent, spiritual disease that has infected the whole of Western culture and our sisters in Christ are in great danger if they listen to the siren voice of feminists, and virtually all Western females, Christian and non-Christian, are feminists by default, unless they have quite deliberately set

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[992] Cf. R. W. Pierce, "Male/Female Leadership and Korah's Revolt: An Analogy?" *JETS* 30 (1987) 3-10.

their faces against the evils of this sinister force that will ruin them and their marriages unless they stick close to the teaching of God's Word as He has revealed it through Paul in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 and in other Scriptures.

These were my first thoughts on reading the Report. When I have read the rest of the booklet I may write to you again.

Yours in Christ Jesus,

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Dr Leslie McFall

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A : 36 TRANSLATIONS OF 1 CORINTHIANS 14:33B-38

What is the correct translation of the Greek text of 1 Corinthians 14:33b-38? The Greek text reads:

Ὡς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων, 14:34 αἱ γυναῖκες[993] ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις σιγάτωσαν, οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπεται[994] αὐταῖς λαλεῖν· ἀλλὰ ὑποτασσέσθωσαν,[995] καθὼς καὶ ὁ νόμος λέγει. 14:35 εἰ δέ τι μαθεῖν θέλουσιν, ἐν οἴκῳ τοὺς ἰδίους ἄνδρας ἐπερωτάτωσαν, αἰσχρὸν γάρ ἐστιν γυναικι[996] λαλεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ.[997] 14:36 ἢ ἀφ' ὑμῶν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξῆλθεν, ἢ εἰς ὑμᾶς μόνους κατήντησεν; 14:37 Εἴ τις δοκεῖ προφήτης εἶναι ἢ πνευματικός, ἐπιγινωσκέτω ἃ γράφω ὑμῖν ὅτι κυρίου ἐστὶν ἐντολή· 14:38 εἰ δέ τις ἀγνοεῖ, ἀγνοεῖται.

The *Interlinear Greek-English New Testament*[998] gives the following literal translation:

> As in all the churches of the saints, the women in the churches let be silent;[999] for not it is permitted to them to speak, but let them be subject, as also the law says.[1000] But if they wish to learn anything, at home the(ir) own husbands let them question; for a shame it is for a woman to speak in a church. Or from you the word of God went forth, or to you only did it reach? If anyone thinks to be a prophet or a spiritual man, let him clearly know [the] things which I write to you that of [the] Lord they are a commandment; but if anyone is ignorant, let him be ignorant.

The substance of this translation is in agreement with the following English Versions:

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993 The Majority Greek text has ὑμῶν 'your' following 'women'; a few older mss (ℵBA) omit it as here.

994 The Majority Greek text has ἐπιτέτραπται (perf. ind. pass., from —τρέπω.), meaning, 'it was [and still is] permitted'; a few older mss (ℵBA) read: ἐπιτρέπεται (3 sg. pres. indic. pass., from —τρέπω.), meaning, 'it is permitted [now]'.

995 The Majority Greek text reads ὑποτάσσεσθαι (pres. infin. mid.), a few older mss (ℵBA) read: ὑποτασσεσσέσθωσαν (3 pl. pres. imper. mid.). The Middle voice is in meaning much closer to the Active than to the Passive. It is something the women are to do, rather than something done to them by others.

996 The Majority Greek text reads the plural here, γυναιξὶν, 'women'.

997 This is the word order in some older mss (mainly the Egyptian tradition). The Majority Greek text reads: γυναιξὶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ λαλεῖν. The transposition of the phrase 'in [the] church' brings out a difference of emphasis. In the Majority Greek text the meaning is: 'for a shame it is to women in [the] church to speak.' This suggests that it is not a shame if they speak outside the church. The alternative text reads: 'it is a shame to woman to speak in church.' This puts the emphasis on gender; whether young or old, single or married, *females* are not permitted to speak in church.

998 *The Interlinear Greek-English New Testament. The Nestle Greek Text with a Literal English Translation by The Reverend Alfred Marshall.* London: S. Bagster, 1967.

999 The repetition of 'in (all) the churches' at the end of v. 33 and the beginning of v. 34 seemed too clumsy to some commentators to belong in the same sentence. However, there is a similar 'clumsiness' in 2 Tim 1:18, "May the Lord give to him to find kindness in the Lord in that day." For the discussion on making 14:33b part of v. 34 see D. C. Arichea, "Silence of Women in the Church," *Bible Translator* 46 (1995) 101-112, and Robert W. Allison, "Let Women Be Silent in The Churches (1 Cor. 14.33b-36): What Did Paul Really Say, and What Did It Mean?" *JSNT* 32 (1988) 26-59, esp. p. 30.

1000 Josephus, 'The woman, says the Law, is in all things inferior to the man. Let her accordingly be submissive, not for her humiliation, but that she may be directed; for the authority *(to kratos)* has been given by God to man' (*Against Apion* 2.24 sect. 201).

[1534] Tyndale's New Testament. Translated from the Greek by William Tyndale in 1534 (In a modern-spelling edition and with an introduction by Daniel Daniell). (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1989).

Let your wives keep silence in the congregations. For it is not permitted unto them to speak: but let them be under obedience, as saith the law. If they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home. For it is a shame for women to speak in the congregation. Sprang the word of God from you? Either came it unto you only? If any man think himself a prophet either spiritual: let him understand, what thing I write to you. For they are the commandments of the Lord.[1001] But if any man be ignorant, let him be ignorant.

[1611] The Holy Bible. The Authorised Version (London, 1611).

Let[1002] your[1003] women keep silence[1004] in the churches: for it not permitted unto them to speak; but *they are commanded*[1005] to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church. What? came the word of God out from you? or came it unto you only? If any man think himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you are the commandments[1006] of the Lord. But if any man be ignorant, let him be ignorant.

[1862] Young's Literal Translation of the Holy Bible (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1862).

Your women in the assemblies let them be silent, for it hath not been permitted to them to speak, but to be subject, as also the law saith; and if they wish to learn anything, at home their own husbands let them question, for it is a shame to woman to speak in an assembly.

From you did the word of God come forth? or to you alone did it come? if any one doth think to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge the things that I

[1001] In 1 Thess 4:2 Paul says he passed on the commands or charges [παραγγελίας] of the Lord Jesus. The word occurs only five times in the NT, here and at Acts 5:28; 16:24 (where in both cases it is an charge laid on someone); 1 Tim 1:5, 18 (in both cases an obligation is laid on someone).

[1002] The AV begins a new section with these words thereby breaking their connection with the preceding words. When the writings of the New Testament were first written down the writers followed the normal conventions which meant that Paul's epistles (and the Greek Old Testament) were written down in capital letters (uncial script) with no spaces between the words, which throws light on Paul's expression 'rightly dividing the word of truth' (2 Tim 2:15). The Greek verb means 'to make a straight cut, to dissect'. The difficulty of knowing just where to divide continuous text can be illustrated in the English sentence: HESAWABUNDANCEONTHETABLE. This can be divided up to read: HE SAW ABUNDANCE ON THE TABLE, or, HE SAW A BUN DANCE ON THE TABLE. Only the context will decide which of these two divisions is correct. There were plenty in Paul's day who did not rightly divide the text into its proper words, and created mischief for him. A continuous Greek uncial text of the NT was published by The Concordant Pub. Concern (1926, 1930, 1955, 1977) called *Concordant Version. The Sacred Scriptures,* with an interlinear English translation.

[1003] A few of the older uncial manuscripts (ℵBA) do not have 'your', although the vast majority of surviving mss do have it. Modern NT Greek texts follow the text of the older uncial manuscripts. (See Z. C. Hodges and A. L. Farstad, *The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text* [Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1985], for the evidence.)

[1004] In public meetings in Greece (called *ecclesia,* the same term used for the Christian churches) women were not allowed to speak. See N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (eds), *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: University Press, 1970), p. 376.

[1005] The AV uses italics to indicate the need to use words which are not in the Greek text. According to the marginal note the law is thought to be Gen 3:16.

[1006] The Greek is singular and means a single order, edict, precept, commandment, ordinance, direction, commission, and charge. The plural is used of the Ten Commandments (Mt 5:19). What Paul is claiming is that ALL he has said on the subject of women keeping silent in the church is an indivisible unit—a single commandment—which comes straight from the Lord Himself. It is a disgrace for women to speak in the church.

write to you—that of the Lord they are commands; and if any one is ignorant—let him be ignorant;

[1872] Joseph B. Rotherham, ***The New Testament Newly Translated from the Text of Tregelles; and Critically Emphasised*** (London: S. Bagster, 1872).[1007]

Let the wives, in the assemblies, keep silence; for it is not permitted them to be speaking, but let them be in submission, according as even the law says. But if anything they are wishing to learn,—at home—their own husbands let them question; for it is a shame for a wife to be speaking in an assembly. Or, from you did the word of God go out? or, unto you only did it extend? If any one imagines he is a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge what things I am writing to you, that they are [the] Lord's commandment; but, if any one is ignorant, let him be ignorant.

[1881] The Holy Bible. The Revised Version (London, 1881).

Let[1008] the women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but let them be in subjection, as also saith the law. And if they would learn anything, let them ask their own husbands at home: for it is shameful for a woman to speak in the church. What? was it from you that the word of God went forth? or came it unto you alone? If any man thinketh himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him take knowledge of the things which I write unto you, that they are the commandment of the Lord. But if any man is ignorant, let him be ignorant.

[1883] Ferrar Fenton, ***The New Testament in Modern English*** (London: S. W. Partridge, [1883]).

Let your women keep silent in the assemblies; for it is not permitted to them to speak. On the contrary, they should be obedient, as stated in the law. But if they wish to learn, they should ask their husbands in their own homes; for it is scandalous for women to speak in an assembly. Did the purpose of God proceed from you? Or was it only received by you? If any one imagine himself to be an orator, or inspired, he should recognise what I write to you, that it is an order of the Lord. But if any disregards it, let him disregard it.

[1901] Holy Bible. American Standard Version (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1901).

As in all the churches of the saints, let the women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but let them be in subjection, as also saith the law.[1009] And if they would learn anything, let them ask their own husbands at home: for it is shameful for a woman to speak in the church. What? was it from you that the word of God went forth? or came it unto you alone? If any man thinketh himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him take knowledge of the things which I write unto you, that they are the commandment of the Lord. But if any man is ignorant, let him be ignorant.

[1902] The Twentieth Century New Testament (London: Horace Marshall & Son, 1902).

Married women[1010] should remain silent at the meeting of the Church, for they are not allowed to speak in public; but they must take a subordinate place, as the Law

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[1007] I have omitted the underlining that Rotherham uses to indicate special emphasis in the Greek. Single women had even less public rights than a married woman.

[1008] The RV follows the AV in beginning a new section here.

[1009] The footnote gives, 'Gen. iii. 16?'.

[1010] In the context this is a correct translation. Single women had less privileges and rights than wives, so that if wives are debarred from speaking so will her daughters be: the genus includes the species.

itself says. If they want information on any point, they should ask their husbands about it at home, for it is disgraceful for a married woman to speak at a meeting of the Church. Did God's message to the world originate with you? or did it find its way to none but you?

If any one thinks he has "prophetic" or spiritual gifts, he should recognize that what I am saying to you is a command from the Lord. Any one who disregards it may be disregarded.

[1908] Richard Francis Weymouth, ***The New Testament in Modern Speech*** (London: James Clarke, 1908).

Let married women be silent in the churches, for they are not permitted to speak. They must be content with a subordinate place, as the Law also says; and if they wish to ask questions, they should ask their own husbands at home; for it is disgraceful for a married woman to speak at a church assembly.

Was it from you that God's Message first went forth, or is it to you only that it has come?

If any one deems himself to be a prophet or a man with spiritual gifts, let him recognise as the Lord's command all that I am now writing to you. But if any one is ignorant, let him be ignorant.

F'n. Married women] One word in the Greek—the same as that often rendered simply "women." xi. 1-16 proves that Paul did not order all women to be silent at meetings of the church. The reference to "husbands" in verse 35 also shows that "married women" is the correct rendering here. Cp. 1 Timothy. ii. 11, 12, 12, n.

F'n. Let him &c.] Let this furnish a test whether he really has the Spirit, or not. Or perhaps the sense is "let him fully understand that these rules I am laying down are from the Lord."

F'n. Let him be ignorant] V. 1. "he is not known." The sense of the entire verse will then be "But if any man does not know the Lord's voice when he hears it, he is one of those to whom, on the last day, the Lord will say, 'I do not know you.'"

[1913] ***The Moffatt Translation of the Bible*** (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1913, revised 1935).

[vv. 37-40 are placed before vv. 33b-36] [37] If anyone considers himself a prophet or gifted with the Spirit, let him understand that what I write to you is a command of the Lord. [38] Anyone who disregards this will himself be disregarded. . . . [vv. 39-40 continue here] . . . [33b] As is the rule in all churches of the saints, women must keep quiet at gatherings of the church. They are not allowed to speak; they must take a subordinate place,[1011] as the Law enjoins. If they want any information, let them ask their husbands at home; it is disgraceful for a woman to speak in church. You challenge this rule? Pray, did God's word start from you? Are you the only people it has reached?[1012]

[1930] ***Concordant Version. The Sacred Scriptures*** (Los Angeles, CAL: The Concordant Pub. Concern, 1930 (1st ed. 1926, 1955, 1977).

Let the women in the ecclesias be hushing, for it is not permitted to them to be talking, but let them be subject, according as the law also is saying. Now, if they want to learn anything, let them be inquiring of their own husbands at home, for it is a shame for a woman to be talking in the ecclesia. Or came the word of God out from

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[1011] See the same idea in Barclay's translation (1988) and my note on it there.

[1012] Moffatt places 14:37-40 immediately after v. 33a. There is no textual witness for placing vv. 33b and 36 after v. 40. This is an arbitrary decision (see 4.3.9).

you? Or attains it to you only? If anyone presumes to be a prophet or spiritual, let him be recognizing that what I am writing to you is a precept of the Lord. Now if anyone is ignorant, let him be ignorant!

F'n. "Now if anyone . . . !" (14:38) is the apostle's indignant protest to those who presume to oppose these words.

[1931] The Bible. An American Translation (Old Testament by J. M. Powis Smith; New Testament by Edgar J. Goodspeed; Chicago, ILL: University of Chicago Press, 1931).

Women are to keep quiet in church, for they are not allowed to speak. They must take a subordinate place, just as the Law says. If they want to find out about anything, they should ask their husbands at home, for it is disgraceful for a woman to speak in church. Did God's message start from you Corinthians? Or are you the only people it has reached?

If anyone claims to be inspired to preach, or to have any other spiritual endowment, let him understand that what I am writing you is a command from the Lord. If anyone pays no attention to it, pay no attention to him.

[1933] Holy Bible From the Ancient Eastern Text (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1933). George M. Lamsa's Translations From the Aramaic of the Peshitta.

Let your women keep silent in the church for they have no permission to speak; but they are to be under obedience as is said in the law. And if they wish to learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home; for it is a shame for women to speak in the church. What? Did the word of God come from you? Or did it come for you only? If any one among you thinks he is a prophet or that he is inspired by the Spirit, let him acknowledge that these things that I write to you are the commandments of our Lord. But if any man be ignorant, let him be ignorant.

[1945] The Holy Bible. Knox Version (London: Burns and Oates, 1945; 2d ed. 1957).

And[1013] women are to be silent in the churches; utterance is not permitted to them; let them keep their rank, as the Law tells them: if they have any question to raise, let them ask their husbands at home. That a woman should make her voice heard in the church is not seemly. Tell me, was it from you that God's word was sent out? Are you the only people it has reached? If anyone claims to be a prophet, or to have spiritual gifts, let him prove it by recognizing that this message of mine to you is God's[1014] commandment. If he does not recognize it, he himself shall receive no recognition.

F'n. 3. "He himself shall receive no recognition," possibly in the congregation, but more probably in the sight of God (cf. 13. 12 above). Some Greek manuscripts read "let him go on in his ignorance."

[1949] The Bible in Basic English (Cambridge: University Press, 1949. New Testament pub. in 1941).

Let women keep quiet in the churches: for it is not right for them to be talking; but let them be under control, as it says in the law. And if they have a desire for knowledge about anything, let them put questions to their husbands privately: for talking in the church puts shame on a woman. What? was it from you that the word of God went out? or did it only come in to you? If any man seems to himself to be a prophet or to

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[1013] Knox follows the AV in beginning a new section here.

[1014] The Greek attributes the giving of the commandment to the Lord Jesus, although the term κύριος is the normal one for God in the Septuagint.

have the Spirit, let him take note of the things which I am writing to you, as being the word of the Lord. But if any man is without knowledge, let him be so.

[1952] The Holy Bible. Revised Standard Version (Glasgow: Collins, 1946-1952; 2d ed. 1971).

As in all the churches of the saints, the women should keep silence in the churches. For they are not permitted to speak, but should be subordinate, as even the law says. If there is anything they desire to know, let them ask their husbands at home. For it is shameful for a woman to speak in church. What! Did the word of God originate with you, or are you the only ones it has reached?

[1015]If anyone thinks that he is a prophet, or spiritual, he should acknowledge that what I am writing to you is a command of the Lord. If anyone does not recognise this, he is not recognised.

[1952] Charles Kingsley Williams, ***The New Testament: A New Translation in Plain English*** (London: SPCK, 1952).

Let the women be silent in meetings of the church. They are not permitted to speak; they must be under direction, as the law says. If they wish to learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home; for it is a disgraceful thing for a woman to speak in a meeting of the church.

What! Was it from you that the word of God came? or is it you alone that it has reached?

If any man thinks himself to be a prophet or spiritual, let him take notice that what I write to you is the commandment of the Lord. If any man takes no notice of this, no notice will be taken of him.

[1956] Hugh J. Schonfield, ***The Authentic New Testament*** (London: Dennis Dobson, 1956).

As is the practice in all the communities of the saints let the married[1016] women keep silence in the communities; for they are not entitled to speak, being in a subordinate position, as also the Law says. If there is anything they wish to learn let them consult their husbands at home, for it is indecorous for married women to speak at meetings.

Did the Message of God go out from you, or did it in fact come to you? If anyone regards himself as a prophet or medium let him acknowledge that what I am writing to you is a commandment of the Master. If anyone is ignorant, however, let him be ignorant.

[1958] The Amplified Bible (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Pub. House, 1958, 1987).

As [is the practice] in all the churches of the saints (God's people), 34 The women should keep quiet in the churches, for they are not authorized to speak, but should take a secondary *and* subordinate place, just as the Law also says. [Gen. 3:16] But if there is anything they want to learn, they should ask their own husbands at home, for it is disgraceful for a woman to talk in church [for her to usurp and exercise authority over men in the church]. What! Did the word of the Lord originate with you [Corinthians], or has it reached only you? If anyone thinks *and* claims that he is a prophet [filled with and governed by the Holy Spirit of God and inspired to interpret the divine will and purpose in preaching or teaching] or has any other spiritual endowment, let him understand (and recognize and acknowledge) that what I am writing to you is a command of the Lord. But if anyone disregards *or* does not

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[1015] The RSV begins a new topic here, which is unlikely. Verse 33 is continued in vv. 39-40 which summarises the instructions of the whole chapter. Verses 34-38 deal with the issue of women participating in the worship service in an active manner.

[1016] No justification for this restriction to married women is given. It is not even implied in the Greek text.

recognize [that it is a command of the Lord] he is disregarded *and* not recognized [he is one whom God knows not].

[1959] J. B. Phillips. ***The New Testament in Modern English*** (Glasgow: Collins, 1959).

Let[1017] women be silent in church; they are not allowed to speak. They must submit to this regulation, as the Law itself instructs. If they have any questions to ask they must ask their husbands at home, for there is something indecorous about a woman's speaking in church.

[1018]Do I see you questioning my instructions? Are you beginning to imagine that the Word of God originated in your church, or that you have a monopoly of God's truth? If any of your number thinks himself a true preacher and a spiritually-minded man, let him recognise that what I have written is by divine command! As for those who don't know it, well, we must just leave them in ignorance.

[1959] The Holy Bible. The Berkeley in Modern English (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Pub. House, 1959).

v. 34 As in all the meetings of the saints, the women shall keep silent in the churches, for they are not allowed to talk. Instead, they must, as the Law says, take a secondary place. If they wish to learn something, let them inquire of their own husbands at home; for it is improper for a woman to talk in meeting. Or did God's message get its start from you: or did it come to you alone?

If anyone considers himself a prophet or inspired, let him understand that what I write you is the Lord's injunction; but if anyone disregards it, he is disregarded.

Footnote (s) In Greek cities female publicity suggested loose morals; women as public speakers could not in those days advance Christianity.

[1961] The New Testament. An expanded translation, by Kenneth S. Wuest (Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans, 1961).

As in all the local assemblies of the saints, let the women be keeping silent, for they are not permitted to be speaking, but let them be putting themselves in the place of subjection and obedience, even as also the law says. Now, assuming that they are desirous of learning something, let them be asking their own husbands at home, for it is a disgrace for a woman to be speaking in the local assembly. Or is it from you that the word of God went forth? Or to you only did it reach? Assuming that anyone thinks that he is a prophet or spiritual, let him recognize that the things which I am writing to you are the Lord's commandment. But assuming that he is ignorant [of the fact that Paul is inspired], he is being disregarded.

[1962] Kenneth J. Taylor, ***Living Letters. The Paraphrased Epistles*** (Wheaton, ILL: Tyndale House Pubs., 1962).

Women should be silent during the church meetings. They are not to take part in the discussion. They are to obey and not to teach, as the Scriptures also command. If they have any questions to ask, let them ask their husbands at home, for it is wrong for women to express their opinions in church meetings.

You disagree? And do you think that the knowledge of God's will begins and ends with you Corinthians? Well, you are mistaken! You who claim to have the gift of prophecy or any other spiritual ability from the Holy Spirit should be the first to

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[1017] Phillips follows Knox in beginning a new section here.

[1018] Phillips makes what follows refer back to the main topic of the chapter and not to the immediate topic of prohibiting women from speaking in church.

realize that what I am saying is a commandment from God Himself. But if anyone still disagrees—well, we will leave him in his ignorance.

F'n. *[to teach]* literally: "They are not authorized to speak." They were permitted to pray and prophesy (1 Cor 11:5), apparently in public meetings, but not to teach men (1 Tim 2:12).

[1968] The Jerusalem Bible (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1968).

As in all the churches of the saints, women are to remain quiet at meetings since they have no permission to speak; they must keep in the background as the Law itself lays it down. If they have any questions to ask, they should ask their husbands at home: it does not seem right for a woman to raise her voice at meetings.

Do you think the word of God came out of yourselves? Or that it has come only to you? Anyone who claims to be a prophet or inspired ought to recognise that what I am writing to you is a command of the Lord. Unless he recognises this, you should not recognise him.

[1970] The New American Bible (New York: P. J. Kennedy & Sons, 1970).

According to the rule observed in all the assemblies of believers, women should keep silent in such gatherings. They may not speak. Rather, as the law states, submissiveness is indicated for them. If they want to learn anything, they should ask their husbands at home. It is a disgrace when a woman speaks in the assembly. Did the preaching of God's word originate with you? Are you the only ones to whom it has come?

If anyone thinks he is a prophet or a man of the Spirit, he should know that what I have written you is the Lord's commandment. If anyone ignores it, he in turn should be ignored.

[1970] The New English Bible (Cambridge: University Press, 1970).

As in all congregations of God's people, women should not address the meeting. They have no license to speak, but should keep their place as the law directs. If there is something they want to know, they can ask their own husbands at home. It is a shocking thing that a woman should address the congregation.

Did the word of God originate with you? Or are you the only people to whom it came? If anyone claims to be inspired or a prophet, let him recognize that what I write has the Lord's authority. If he does not acknowledge this, God does not acknowledge him.

F'n b. *Some witnesses read* If he refuses to recognize this, let him refuse!

[1971] King James II Version of the Bible (Jay Green. Byron Centre, Michigan: Associated Publishers and Authors, 1971).

Let your women be silent in the churches, for it is not permitted to them to speak, but to be in subjection, even as the Law also says. But if they desire to learn anything, let them ask their own husbands at home—for it is a shame for women to speak in church. For did the word of God come out from you? Or did it come only to you? If anyone thinks to be a prophet, or to be spiritual, let him recognize these things I write to you, that they are commands of the Lord. But if any are ignorant, let him be ignorant.

[1971] The Living Bible Paraphrased (London: Coverdale House Publishers, 1971).

Women should be silent during the church meetings. They are not to take part in the discussion,[1019] for they are subordinate to men as the Scriptures also declare. If they have any questions to ask, let them ask their husbands[1020] at home, for it is improper for women to express their opinions in church meetings.

You disagree? And do you think that the knowledge of God's will begins and ends with you Corinthians? Well, you are mistaken! You who claim to have the gift of prophecy or any other special ability from the Holy Spirit should be the first to realize that what I am saying is a commandment from the Lord himself. But if anyone still disagrees—well, we will leave him in his ignorance.

F'n e. Literally, "They are not authorized to speak." They are permitted to pray and prophesy (1 Cor. 11:5), apparently in public meetings, but not to teach men (1 Tim 2:12).

F'n f. Or, "if he disagrees, ignore his opinion."

[1972] J. B. Phillips. ***The New Testament in Modern English*** (London: Collins, 1972). (Revisions are underlined, see first edition 1959)

Let[1021] women be silent in church; they are not allowed to speak. They must submit to this regulation, as the Law itself instructs. If they have questions to ask they must ask their husbands at home, for there is something *improper* about a woman's speaking in church.

[1022]Are you beginning to imagine that the Word of God originated in your church, or that you have a monopoly of God's truth? If any of your number thinks himself a true preacher and a spiritually-minded man, let him recognise that what I have written is by divine command! *If a man does not recognise this he himself should not be recognised.*

[1976] Good News Bible. Today's English Version (Glasgow: Collins, 1976).

As in all the churches of God's people,[1023] the women should keep quiet in the meetings.[1024] They are not allowed to speak; as the Jewish[1025] Law says, they must not be in charge.[1026] If they want to find out about something, they should ask their husbands at home. It is a disgraceful thing for a woman to speak in church.

Or could it be that the word of God came from you? Or are you the only ones to whom it came? If anyone supposes he is God's messenger or has a spiritual gift, he must realize that what I am writing to you is the Lord's command. But if he does not pay attention to this, pay no attention to him.

[1019] This is not a correct translation of the Greek because it is narrowing down the area in which they are to keep silent. The Greek does not narrow it down to just the discussion period but to the *whole time* they are 'in church'.

[1020] In 1 Cor 11:11 the term for males (as opposed to females) is ἀνήρ; and the term for females (as opposed to males) is γυνή. The terms are used in 11:3-15 and 14:34-35 with their regular meaning to distinguish males from females. In Greek, γυνή is used without regard to age or station, and includes both married and single women; and ἀνήρ, when used alone always means *a man in the prime of life.* The several ages of manhood are give as παῖς, μειράκιον, ἀνήρ, πρεσβύτης. It means *a man* as opposed to his *wife, a husband.* (Liddell & Scott's *Greek Lexicon*).

[1021] Phillips follows Knox in beginning a new section here.

[1022] Phillips makes what follows refer back to the main topic of the chapter and not to the immediate topic of prohibiting women from speaking in church.

[1023] Not a direct translation of the Greek which reads: 'churches of the saints'. It is a tolerable alternative as it refers to the same persons.

[1024] 'In the meetings'. The Greek is 'in the churches'. The same phrase is used twice in this sentence, but for variety TEV has translated its second occurrence as 'in the meetings', which is a tolerable deviation from the Greek.

[1025] 'Jewish' is not in the Greek, but Paul is undoubtedly referring to the Jewish Scriptures, and not just to the Torah, as some commentators have assumed.

[1026] This weakens the sense of the Greek which refers to *an attitude of mind* on the part of the Christian women, 'be subject', which TEV avoids.

[1978] The Holy Bible New International Version (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1978).

As in all the congregations of the saints, women should remain silent in the churches. They are not allowed to speak, but must be in submission, as the Law[1027] says. If they want to enquire about something, they should ask their own husbands at home; for it is disgraceful for a woman to speak in the[1028] church. Did the word of God originate with you? Or are you the only people it has reached?

If anybody thinks he is a prophet or spiritually gifted, let him acknowledge that what I am writing to you is the Lord's command. If he ignores this, he himself will be ignored.

F'n h. Some manuscripts *this, let him ignore this.*

[1988] The New Testament: A Translation by William Barclay (London: Arthur James, 1988, new edition).

Following the custom of all the congregations of God's people, the women must remain silent at the meetings of the congregation. They are not permitted to speak. They must remain in the subordinate position which the Jewish law assigns to them.[1029] If they wish to find out about anything, they must put their questions to their own husbands at home, for it is quite improper for a woman to speak at a meeting of the congregation. Did the word of God originate from you? Or, are you the only people to whom it came?

If anyone claims prophetic or special inspiration, he must realize that what I write is a commandment of the Lord. If he refuses to recognize this, he is himself not to be recognized.

[1989] The Holy Bible. New Revised Standard Version (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

(As in all the churches of the saints, women should be silent in the churches. For they are not permitted to speak, but should be subordinate, as the law also says. If there is anything they desire to know, let them ask their husbands at home. For it is shameful for a woman to speak in church. Or did the word of God originate with you? Or are you the only ones it has reached?)[1030]

[1027] The use of a capital letter here suggests that the NIV translators think Paul is referring only to the Torah. They may be right but the Greek word can embrace the whole of the Old Testament.

[1028] The Greek does not have the definite article here. But sometimes in English the definite article has an indefinite sense, as it does here, for stylistic purposes. The Greek sometimes has the definite article where the English would use the indefinite article, and vice versa. For example the women are told to ask 'their own husbands'. In Greek the word 'their' is not present. The Greek (which has a flexible word order) has: 'ask the own husbands.'

[1029] This may not be what Paul has in mind. Rather Paul is thinking in terms of love-headship which implies submission. Barclay's translation gives the impression of an unjust *suppression* of women; that they are being *denied* their rights in some way. But Paul can see that the whole of God's dealings with women are based on the headship of Man so there can be no hint of suppression in His dealings with women. He created them to be help-meets for man, and His laws are in harmony with that overriding purpose. He never violates the responsibilities inherent in Man's headship toward woman in the Torah. It is this over-arching relationship that God has placed between man and women that Paul is referring to when he says: 'as the law says.' He is not thinking of one specific law, but of the whole foundation on which God's relations to His people is built on: the headship of Man. This principle permeates all God's laws without ever being stated openly. It is one of those 'givens' in Scripture that lie over everything in the OT, and is never put down in words as clear as those in 1 Cor 11:2, which is not a new revelation. It was implicit throughout the OT period. The whole of Hebrew culture is witness to its existence in its practices.

[1030] The marginal note says: 'Other ancient authorities put vv. 34-35 after verse 40.' According to UBS[4] the only ancient MS is D (5th cent.) but this is a well-known corrupt copy of the NT. The other two MSS are F and G, which are both 9th cent. (see 4.3.9 for an analysis of all the manuscript evidence). The evidence does not warrant the NRSV putting these two verses in parentheses. In any case vs. 33b and 36 are not transposed in any MS along with vv. 34-35 to a position after v. 40. The NRSV has taken the liberty to bracket 33b-36 as if all of it was

Anyone who claims to be a prophet, or to have spiritual powers, must acknowledge that what I am writing to you is a command of the Lord. Anyone who does not recognize this is not to be recognized.

[1989] The Revised English Bible (Cambridge: University Press, 1989).

As in all congregations of God's people, women should keep silent at the meeting. They have no permission to talk, but should keep their place as the law directs. If there is something they want to know, they can ask their husbands at home. It is a shocking thing for a woman to talk at the meeting.

Did the word of God originate with you? Or are you the only people to whom it came? If anyone claims to be inspired or a prophet, let him recognise that what I write has the Lord's authority. If he does not acknowledge this, his own claim cannot be acknowledged.

[1989] Heinz W. Cassirer, ***God's New Covenant. A New Testament Translation*** (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 1989).

As for women, they should keep silent when the congregations are assembled. Utterance is not permitted to them. No, it is their duty to submit themselves, as the law also says. And if there be any questions on which they wish to be informed, let them ask their husbands at home. It is a disgraceful thing that a woman should make her voice heard in a meeting of the congregation. If you have any doubts about this, is it perhaps that you suppose that God's word came forth from you yourselves, that you are the only people it has reached?

If anyone considers himself to be a prophet or a man endowed with spiritual gifts, let him acknowledge that what I am writing to you are words of command from the Lord. And should someone be in ignorance of that, let him remain in his ignorance.

[1993] The Message. The New Testament in Contemporary Language (Colorado: Navpress, 1993).

Wives must not disrupt worship, talking when they should be listening, asking questions that could be more appropriately be asked of their husbands at home. God's Book of the law guides our manners here. Wives have no license to use the time of worship for unwarranted speaking. Do you—both women *and* men—imagine that you're a sacred oracle determining what's right and wrong? Do you think everything revolves around you?

If any one of you thinks God has something for you to say or has inspired you to do something, pay close attention to what I have written. This is the way the Master wants it. If you won't play by these rules, God can't use you. Sorry.

[1996] Holy Bible. New Living Translation (Wheaton, ILL.; Tyndale House Pubs., 1996).

Women should be silent during the church meetings. It is not proper for them to speak. They should be submissive, just as the law says. If they have any questions to ask, let them ask their husbands at home, for it is improper for women to speak in church meetings.

Do you think that the knowledge of God's word begins and ends with you Corinthians? Well, you are mistaken! If you claim to be a prophet or think you are very spiritual, you should recognize that what I am saying is a command from the Lord himself. But if you do not recognize this, you will not be recognized.

F'n. Some manuscripts place verses 34-35 after 14:40.

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transposed after v. 40.

F'n. Some manuscripts read *If you are ignorant of this, stay in your ignorance.*

F'n. The phrase *as in all the churches* could be joined to the beginning of 14:34.

F'n. Some manuscripts place verses 34-35 after 14:40.

According to those who oppose the silence of women in Christ's Church the above versions are all false translations of the Greek. They would replace these translations with something like the following:

> Rather than chatter in the meetings, which is not allowed, encourage the ladies to be still and attentive, as the Torah describes, and if there is anything particular that they are keen to follow up encourage them to discuss the issues with their husbands back in home. It is actually embarrassing when a woman chatters in the middle of a meeting.

As in all the communities of the saints, women should keep silent in the *community assemblies;* indeed, they are not permitted (by the existing code) to speak. They should rather submit themselves, as the Jewish *tradition* decrees. However, should they *wish to inform* themselves about something, they should inquire of their men at home; for it is offensive to have a woman *speak her mind in public.* Has the word of God gone out from you, or have you only received it?[1031]

[1031] So Nobert Baumert (*Woman and Man in Paul: Overcoming a Misunderstanding* [Collegeville, MI.: The Liturgical Press, 1996], p. 197) sees three meanings for *'ecclesia'* in the text. (1) 'community' as corporation (33b), (2) 'community assembly' (34a) in the style of a town council, and (3) the abstract description 'in assembly' = publicly. By 'talking in an assembly' Baumert means women are not to participate in council deliberations. The argument from law, he argues, is not to Scripture but Jewish tradition (1 Cor 9:8f.), so it is only a human code of conduct that is not based on revealed truth (p. 196).

APPENDIX B : 36 TRANSLATIONS OF 1 TIMOTHY 2:11-15

What is the correct translation of the Greek text of 1 Timothy 2:11-15? The Greek text reads:

2·11 γυνὴ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ μανθανέτω ἐν πάσῃ ὑποταγῇ· 2·12 διδάσκειν δὲ γυναικὶ οὐκ
ἐπιτρέπω, οὐδὲ αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' εἶναι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ. 2·13 Ἀδὰμ γὰρ πρῶτος ἐπλάσθη,
εἶτα Εὔα· 2·14 καὶ Ἀδὰμ οὐκ ἠπατήθη, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἐξαπατηθεῖσα ἐν παραβάσει γέγονεν. 2·15
σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας, ἐὰν μείνωσιν ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ καὶ ἁγιασμῷ μετὰ
σωφροσύνης.

The *Interlinear Greek-English New Testament*[1032] gives the following literal translation:

> A woman in silence let learn in all subjection; I do not permit a woman to teach, nor to exercise authority of(over) a man, but to be in silence. For Adam first was formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived has become in transgression; but she will be saved through the(her) childbearing,[1033] if they remain in faith and love and sanctification with sobriety.

In 1 Timothy 4:3 Paul opposes those who were forbidding women to marry probably on the grounds that childbearing was cursed by God in Genesis 3:16. The theological reasoning was if Christian virgins avoided childbearing then they would never experience the curse of God in their pure bodies. Another way to capture Paul's thought here is to translate it as, "But she shall be saved—despite[1034] the [curse associated with] childbearing—if they remain in faith, etc." Or: "But she shall be saved—through the [cursed] childbearing—if they remain in faith, etc." Paul appears to be combating a contemporary view that women who go through the cursed experience of childbearing will not be saved, because they have willingly put themselves under God's curse. This view took the form of "forbidding [Christian virgins] to marry" (4:3). In 5:14 Paul encourages "the young women to marry, to bear children, to be mistress of the house, to give no occasion to the opposer to revile. . ." as the prime purpose for their existence, in other words he has the headship of man in view throughout: woman was made for man, not to live apart from him, but to be his helpmeet. The teaching of "forbidding to marry" was a direct challenge to the headship of man because

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1032 *The Interlinear Greek-English New Testament. The Nestle Greek Text with a Literal English Translation by The Reverend Alfred Marshall.* London: S. Bagster, 1967.

1033 For the alternative ways of understanding this text see Ann L. Bowman, "Women in Ministry: An Exegetical Study of 1 Timothy 2:11-15," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 149 (1992) 193-213, esp. pp. 206-12. Literal 'childbearing' is not probable here, since not all women bear children. The solution lies in the Greek work, τεκνογονία, which may refer not only to childbearing but also to child-rearing (sources given by Bowman). This one word serves as a synecdoche, where part stands for the whole. That is, childbearing and rearing represents 'the general scope of activities in which a Christian woman should be involved' (D. J. Moo, "1 Timothy 2:11-15: Meaning and Significance, "*Trinity Journal* 1 [1980] 64). This synecdoche was an appropriate figure to use, since a woman would commonly be married and involved in child-rearing in much if not all of her adult life. (Hopkin's study of Roman tombstones suggests that the average age of death for wives was 34 and for husbands was 46.6 years. In Greece it was 34.3 for women and 40.2 for men. Jewish women lived longer because only those over 60 years of age could expect to be supported by church funds [1 Tim 5:9]). Further, these were activities of surpassing social worth for a first-century woman. 1 Tim 5:14 suggests young widows marry and 'bear children'. 'If they abide,' has the sense of not leaving the realm or sphere in which they find themselves (Bowman, *op. cit.,* p. 210). Bowman concluded from v. 15 that women will experience salvation in the eschatological sense, which includes the judgment of works and receiving of rewards. The women who fulfil their God-ordained roles as women and who have the inner adornment of a godly character may expect to receive future perfection of salvation with its accompanying rewards (p. 212). 'Judaism sees the function of womanhood essentially as that of a home-maker' (R. Loewe, *The Position of Women in Judaism.* London: S.P.C.K., 1966, p. 49), and, 'So long as the wife remains within the domestic seclusion of her family, she constitutes an atoning force not inferior to the altar itself' (*Midrash Tanhuma, Wayyishlah* §6, ed. Stettin, 1865, 55a, on Genesis 34:1 translated in *A Rabbinic Anthology* (C. G. Montefiore and H. Loewe [ed.], London, 1938, p. 508, §1434).

1034 Cf. the use of δια in 1 Cor 3:15.

it kept man apart from woman and prevented the natural union of two becoming one flesh.[1035]

To be rejected is the view that this text is part of a package of salvation conditional on entering the marriage state and refusing all unnatural methods of birth control, "The promise is that she would be saved through the raising of children rather than following her secular sisters who used contraception and/or abortions to avoid becoming a mother and to pursue instead adulterous dalliances—hence the reference to remaining in holiness."[1036]

My own understanding and translation of v. 15 is: "She shall be saved [going] through the [cursed] childbearing [and not by avoiding it on religious grounds] if they continue in faith, and love and sanctification with sobriety."

There can be no suggestion that salvation is *by means of* childbearing, as if a woman could be saved by works. That would contradict Paul's teaching that we are saved *by faith* followed by acts of faith. The background to Paul's teaching is the Divine curse put on childbearing in Genesis 3:16. This curse seems to have been taken seriously to the extent that in order to avoid it marriage was forbidden. Paul says, "No, go ahead and marry *as normal*, and, as you enter into childbearing continue to live a life of faith, love and sanctification with sobriety. This is the Way for women." Verse 15, then, is Paul's counter to the scare-mongering of some heretical teachers who are forbidding women to marry.

Other translations are:

***[1534] Tyndale's New Testament. Translated from the Greek by William Tyndale in 1534* (In a modern-spelling edition and with an introduction by Daniel Daniell).** (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1989).

Let the woman learn in silence[1037] with all subjection. I suffer not[1038] a woman to teach, neither to have authority over[1039] a man: but for to be in silence.[1040] For Adam was first formed, and then Eve. Also Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived, and was in transgression. Notwithstanding through bearing of

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1035 For an overview of the way this text has been interpreted see Andreas Kösterberger, "Ascertaining Women's God-Ordained Roles: An Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:15," *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 7 (1997) 107-144, and Christopher R. Hutson, "'Saved through Childbearing'," *Novum Testamentum* 56 (2014) 392-410. He majors on the Jewish background to women dying in childbirth. He omits the connection with the curse on childbirth in Gen 3:16.

1036 B. Winter, "The 'New' Roman Wife and 1 Timothy 2:9-15: The Search for a *Sitz im Leben*," *TynBul* 51.2 (2000) 285-295, esp. p. 293.

1037 The word refers to the disposition (the attitude of learning) whereas the word 'silence' (from σιγάω) in 1 Cor 14:34 refers to sound (i.e., no speech). Cf. Ann L. Bowman, "Women in Ministry: An Exegetical Study of 1 Timothy 2:11-15," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 149 (1992) 193-213, esp. p. 198. The word in 1 Cor 14:34 means the absence of sound with regard to speech (cf. Lk 14:4; Acts 11:18; 21:14; 22:2), with regard to work it means complete cessation (Lk 23:56). Paul envisages no talk, no interaction, no discussion, no questions; just listen and receive what is taught (see Appx D). The addition here of 'in all subjection' conveys and reinforces this quiet disposition of submissiveness. There are three places in the Psalms where the Hebrew text speaks of being silent (דמם) toward God (Pss 37:7 ; 62:1, 5). In each case the Septuagint translators rendered this by the Greek word meaning 'to submit oneself' [ὑποτάσσειν]. 1 Tim 2:12 and 1 Cor 14:34 complement each other: the woman is to be both silent and quiet. The phrase *silence and submission* is a Near Eastern formula implying willingness to heed and obey instruction.

1038 On the rabbinic background to this negative form see S. Aalen, "A Rabbinic Formula in 1 Cor. 14,34," *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlicken Literatur* 87 (1964) 513-25.

1039 See Appx G.

1040 Some, like Gordon Fee ("Issues in Evangelical Hermeneutics, Part III: The great Watershed-Intentionality & Particularity/Eternity: 1 Timothy 2:8-15 as a Test Case," *Crux,* 26/4 [December, 1990] 37) want to see Paul's teaching here as local and temporary. See the reply by Bruce K. Waltke, "I Timothy 2:8-15: Unique or Normative? A Response to Gordon Fee," *CBMWNews* vol. 1 No. 4 (Oct. 1996) 4-7 (Reprinted from *Crux* 28, No. 1 (March, 1992) 22-27.

children they shall be saved,[1041] so they continue in faith, love and holiness with discretion.

[1611] The Holy Bible. The Authorised Version (1611).

Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression. Notwithstanding she shall be saved in childbearing, if they continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety.

[1862] Young's Literal Translation of the Holy Bible (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1862).

Let a woman in quietness learn in all subjection, and a woman I do not suffer to teach, nor to rule a husband, but to be in quietness, for Adam was first formed, then Eve, and Adam was not deceived, but the woman, having been deceived, into transgression came, and she shall be saved through the child-bearing, if they remain in faith, and love, and sanctification, with sobriety.

[1872] Joseph B. Rotherham, ***The New Testament Newly Translated from the Text of Tregelles; and Critically Emphasised*** (London: S. Bagster, 1872).[1042]

Let a woman in quietness be learning, in all submission: but I am not permitting a woman to be teaching, nor yet to have authority over a man, but to be in quietness. For Adam first was formed; afterwards Eve; and Adam was not deceived; but the woman, being completely deceived, has come to be in transgression. Yet she shall be saved through the child-bearing,—if perchance they abide in faith and love and holiness with sobermindedness.

[1881] The Holy Bible. The Revised Version (London, 1881).

Let a woman learn in quietness with all subjection. But I permit not a woman to teach, nor to have dominion over a man, but to be in quietness. For Adam was first formed, then Eve; and Adam was not beguiled, but the woman being beguiled hath fallen into transgression: but she shall be saved through the childbearing, if they continue in faith and love and sanctification with sobriety.

[1883] Ferrar Fenton, ***The New Testament in Modern English*** (London: S. W. Partridge, [1883]).

Let a woman learn in silence with all obedience. And I entrust not a woman to teach or to dominate a man; but, on the contrary, to be quiet. For Adam was formed first, Eve second. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman came into transgression through being completely deceived; but she will be saved because of the child-bearing, if she continues in faith, and love, and purity, with modesty.

[1041] See Krijn A. van der Jagt, "Women are saved through bearing children (1 Timothy 2:11-15)," *Bible Translator* 39 (1988) 201-08, for the view that Paul did not see childbearing as a means of salvation. He was stressing the importance of the church as a love community where a woman could reach the same spiritual heights as a man without renouncing her motherhood. See also Paul W. Barnett, "Wives and Women's Ministry (1 Timothy 2:11-15)," *Evangelical Quarterly* 61 (1989) 225-38, who argues that a woman should recognise that her path to salvation means accepting the role of Christian motherhood. Trypho (23): 'God has given women too the ability to discern what is right and virtuous. The male and the female bodily forms are visibly different, but neither is made righteous or unrighteous by this, but only on the basis of actual piety and actual righteousness' (quoted by F. Gerald Downing, *Strangely Familiar: An Introductory Reader to the First Century—to the life and loves, the hopes and fears, the doubts and certainties of pagans, Jews and Christians* [Manchester, ENG.: By the author, 1985], §§70-71).

[1042] I have omitted the underlining that Rotherham uses to indicate special emphasis in the Greek. Single women had even less public rights than a married woman.

[1901] Holy Bible. American Standard Version (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1901).

Let a woman learn in quietness with all subjection. But I permit not a woman to teach, nor to have dominion over a man, but to be in quietness. For Adam was first formed, then Eve: and Adam was not beguiled, but the woman being beguiled hath fallen into transgression: but she shall be saved through her child-bearing, if they continue in faith and love and sanctification with sobriety.

Margin: Or, *through the childbearing.*

[1902] The Twentieth Century New Testament (London: Horace Marshall & Son, 1902).

Women should listen quietly to their teachers, and always show them deference. I do not consent to women becoming teachers, or exercising authority over men; they ought to be quiet. It was Adam who was formed first, not Eve. And it was not Adam who was deceived; it was the woman who was so completely deceived that she fell into sin. But women will find their salvation in motherhood, if they never abandon faith, love, or holiness, and continue to behave with modesty. This teaching is reliable.[1043]

[1913] The Moffatt Translation of the Bible (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1913, revised 1935).

A woman must listen quietly in church and be perfectly submissive; I allow no woman to teach or dictate to men, she must keep quiet. For Adam was created first, then Eve; and Adam was not deceived, it was Eve who was deceived and who fell into sin. However, women will get safely through child-birth, if they continue to be faithful and loving and holy as well as unassuming.

[1930] Concordant Version. The Sacred Scriptures (Los Angeles, CAL: The Concordant Pub. Concern, 1930 (1st ed. 1926, 1955, 1977).

Let a woman be learning in quietness with all subjection. Now I am not permitting a woman to be teaching, neither to be domineering over a man, but to be quiet (for Adam was first moulded, thereafter Eve, and Adam was not seduced, but the woman, being deluded has come to be in the transgression). Yet she shall be saved through the bearing of children, should they be remaining in faith and love and holiness with sanity.

[1931] The Bible. An American Translation (Old Testament by J. M. Powis Smith; New Testament by Edgar J. Goodspeed; Chicago, ILL: University of Chicago Press, 1931).

Women must listen quietly in church and be perfectly submissive. I do not allow women to teach or to domineer over men; they must keep quiet. For Adam was formed first, and then Eve; and it was not Adam who was deceived, it was the woman who was deceived and fell into sin. But they will be saved through motherhood, if they continue to have faith and to be loving and holy, and sensible as well. This is a trustworthy saying.

[1933] Holy Bible From the Ancient Eastern Text (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1933). George M. Lamsa's Translations From the Aramaic of the Peshitta.

Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. I do not think it seemly for a woman to debate publicly or otherwise usurp the authority of men, but she should be silent. For Adam was formed first, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and she transgressed the law. Nevertheless, if her posterity continue in faith and have holiness and chastity, she will live through them.

[1043] Almost all other ETs place this last sentence with what follows.

[1945] The Holy Bible. Knox Version (London: Burns and Oates, 1945; 2d ed. 1957).

Women are to keep silence, and take their place, with all submissiveness, as learners; a woman shall have no leave from me to teach, and issue commands to her husband; her part is to be silent. It was Adam that was created first, and Eve later, nor was it Adam that went astray; woman was led astray, and was involved in transgression. Yet woman will find her salvation in child-bearing, if she will but remain true to faith and love and holy living.

F'n 3. The Latin here has "in the birth of children"; but the text as given in the Greek makes it equally possible to follow Theophylact (as several non-Catholic commentators do), and translate "in the Child-bearing." Woman, here considered as a single race, has been re-established since the fall of Eve by the obedience of the Blessed Virgin, as is commonly recognized by the Church from St Irenaeus onwards. "If she will but remain" is "if they will but remain" in the Greek; the plural being substituted for the singular to show that the statement is made about womanhood generally.

[1949] The Bible in Basic English (Cambridge: University Press, 1949).

Let a woman quietly take the place of a learner and be under authority. In my opinion it is right for a woman not to be a teacher, or to have rule over a man, but to be quiet. For Adam was first formed, then Eve; and Adam was not taken by deceit, but the woman, being tricked, became a wrong-doer. But if they go on in faith and love and holy self-control, she will be kept safe at the time of child-birth.

[1952] The Holy Bible. Revised Standard Version (Glasgow: Collins, 1946-1952; 2d ed. 1971).

Let a woman learn in silence with all submissiveness. I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over men; she is to keep silent. For Adam was formed first, then Eve; and Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor. Yet woman will be saved through bearing children, if she continues in faith and love and holiness, with modesty.

[1952] Charles Kingsley Williams, *The New Testament: A New Translation in Plain English* (London: SPCK, 1952).

A woman must learn silently and humbly. I permit no woman to teach or rule over the man; she must be silent. For Adam was formed first, Eve afterwards; and Adam was not deceived; the woman was deceived and fell into sin; but woman shall be saved by child-bearing, if she continues in faith and love and holiness with modesty.

[1956] Hugh J. Schonfield, *The Authentic New Testament* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1956).

Let a wife learn passively with complete submissiveness. I do not permit a wife to teach, nor to exercise a husband's prerogative, but to be passive. For Adam was formed first, and then Eve. And it was not Adam who was beguiled, but the woman being completely beguiled fell into transgression. Yet she shall be saved by childbearing, provided the couple remain faithful, affectionate and devoted, and also practice moderation.

F'n. Gen. iii. 16.

[1957] The Holy Bible. Knox Version (London: Burns and Oates, 1945; 2d ed. 1957).

Women are to keep silence, and take their place, with all submissiveness, as learners; a woman shall have no leave from me to teach, and issue commands to her husband; her part is to be silent. It was Adam that was created first, and Eve later, nor was it Adam that went astray; woman was led astray, and was involved in transgression.

Yet woman will find her salvation in child-bearing, if she will but remain true to faith and love and holy living.

Margin: The Latin here has "in the birth of children"; but the text as given in the Greek makes it equally possible to follow Theophylact (as several non-Catholic commentators do), and translate "the Child-bearing." Woman, here considered as a single race, has been re-established since the fall of Eve by the obedience of the Blessed Virgin, as is commonly recognized by the Church from St. Irenaeus onwards. "If she will but remain" is "if they will but remain" in the Greek; the plural being substituted for the singular to show that the statement is made about womanhood generally.

[1958] The Amplified Bible (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Pub. House, 1958, 1987).

Let a woman learn in quietness, in entire submissiveness. I allow no woman to teach or to have authority over men: she is to remain in quietness *and* keep silence [in religious assemblies]. For Adam was first formed, then Eve; [Gen. 2:7, 21, 22.] And it was not Adam who was deceived, but [the] woman who was deceived *and* deluded and fell into transgression. [Gen. 3:1-6] Nevertheless [the sentence put upon women of pain in motherhood does not hinder their souls' salvation, and] they will be saved [eternally] if they continue in faith and love and holiness with self-control, [saved indeed] through the Child-bearing *or* by the birth of the divine Child.

[1959] J. B. Phillips. ***The New Testament in Modern English*** (Glasgow: Collins, 1959). (See revised edition, 1972)

A woman should learn quietly and humbly. Personally, I don't allow women to teach, nor do I ever put them in positions of authority over men—I believe their role is to be receptive. (My reasons are that man was created before woman. Further, it was Eve and not Adam who was first deceived and fell into sin. Nevertheless I believe that women will come safely through child-birth if they maintain a life of faith, love, holiness and gravity.)

[1959] The Holy Bible. The Berkeley in Modern English (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Pub. House, 1959).

A woman shall quietly learn with complete submission. I do not allow a woman to teach, neither to domineer over a man; instead, she is to keep still. For Adam was first formed; then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman, deluded as she was, experienced the transgression. She will, however, be kept safe through the child-bearing, if with self-control she continues in faith and love and consecration.

F'n (h) Or, she shall be saved through the birth of the Child.

[1961] The New Testament. An expanded translation, by Kenneth S. Wuest (Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans, 1961).

Let a woman be learning in silence with every subjection. Moreover, I do not permit a woman to be a teacher [in an official position exercising authority over the man in matters of Church doctrine or discipline], neither to exercise authority over a man, but to be in silence, for Adam first was moulded, then Eve, and Adam was not deceived, but the woman, having been completely hoodwinked, has fallen into transgression. Yet she shall be saved [in the sense of sanctifying, salutary influences in her spiritual life through the pains of childbirth] in her childbearing if they continue in faith and love and holiness accompanied by sober-mindedness.

[1962] Kenneth J. Taylor, ***Living Letters. The Paraphrased Epistles*** (Wheaton, ILL: Tyndale House Pubs., 1962).

Women should listen and learn quietly and humbly. I never let women teach men or lord it over them. Let them be silent in your church meetings. Why? Because God made Adam first, and afterwards He made Eve. And Adam was not fooled by Satan, but Eve was, and sinned as a result. So God sent pain and sorrow to women when their children were born, but He will save their souls if they trust in Him, living quiet, good and loving lives.

[1968] The Jerusalem Bible (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1968).

During instruction a woman should be quiet and respectful. I am not giving permission for a woman to teach or to tell a man what to do. A woman ought not to speak, because Adam was formed first and Eve afterwards, and it was not Adam who was led astray but the woman who was led astray and fell into sin. Nevertheless, she will be saved by childbearing, provided she lives a modest life and is constant in faith and love and holiness.

[1970] The New American Bible (New Jersey: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1970; New York: P. J. Kennedy & Sons, 1970).

A woman must listen in silence and be completely submissive. I do not permit a woman to act as teacher, or in any way to have authority over a man; she must be quiet. For Adam was created first, Eve afterward; moreover, it was not Adam who was deceived but the woman. It was she who was led astray and fell into sin. She will be saved through childbearing, provided she continues in faith and love and holiness—her chastity, of course, being taken for granted.

> Margin. Women are not to take part in the charismatic activity of the assembly (11f; cf. 1 Cor 14, 34); their conduct there should not reflect authority but the role of man's helpmate (v 13; cf. Gn 2, 18), thus reversing the relationship of Eve to Adam (v 14; cf. Gn 3, 6f). As long as women perform their role as wives and mothers in faith and love, their salvation is assured (v 15).

[1970] The New English Bible (Cambridge: University Press, 1970).

A woman must be a learner, listening quietly and with due submission. I do not permit a woman to be a teacher, nor must woman domineer over man; she should be quiet. For Adam was created first, and Eve afterwards; and it was not Adam who was deceived; it was the woman who, yielding to deception, fell into sin. Yet she will be saved through motherhood—if only women continue in faith, love, and holiness, with a sober mind.

[1971] King James II Version of the Bible (Byron Centre, Michigan: Associated Publishers and Authors, 1971).

Let a woman learn in silence, in all subjection. But I do not allow a woman to teach, or to exercise authority over man—but to be in silence. For Adam was formed first, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman, being fully deceived, has come to be in transgression. But she shall be saved through the bearing of children, if they continue in faith and love and holiness, with being sensible.

[1971] The Living Bible Paraphrased (London: Coverdale House Publishers, 1971).

Women should listen and learn quietly and humbly. I never let women teach men or lord it over them. Let them be silent in your church meetings. Why? Because God made Adam first, and afterwards he made Eve. And it was not Adam who was fooled by Satan, but Eve, and sin was the result. So God sent pain and suffering to women when their children are born, but he will save their souls if they trust in him, living quiet, good, and loving lives.

[1972] J. B. Phillips, ***The New Testament in Modern English. Revised Edition*** (London: Collins, 1972). (Revisions are underlined, see first edition 1959.)

A woman should learn quietly and humbly. Personally, I don't allow women to teach, nor do I ever put them in positions of authority over men—I believe **they should be quiet.** (My reasons are that man was created before woman. Further, it was Eve and not Adam who was first deceived and fell into sin. Nevertheless I believe that women will come safely through child-birth if they maintain a life of faith, love, holiness and **modesty.)**

[1976] Good News Bible. Today's English Version (Glasgow: Collins, 1976).

Women should learn in silence and all humility. I do not allow them to teach or to have authority over men; they must keep quiet. For Adam was created first, and then Eve. And it was not Adam who was deceived; it was the woman who was deceived and broke God's law. But a woman will be saved through having children, if she perseveres in faith and love and holiness, with modesty.

> Margin. will be saved through having children; *or* will be kept safe through childbirth. Margin. if she perseveres; *or* if they persevere.

[1978] The Holy Bible New International Version (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1978).

A woman should learn in quietness and full submission. I do not permit a woman to teach or to have authority over a man; she must be silent. For Adam was formed first, then Eve. And Adam was not the one deceived: it was the woman who was deceived and became a sinner. But women will be kept safe through childbirth, if they continue in faith, love and holiness with propriety.

[1988] The New Testament: A Translation by William Barclay (London: Arthur James, 1988, new edition).

It is a woman's duty to learn quietly and to live submissively. I do not allow a woman to teach or to have authority over men. A woman must keep quiet, for Adam was made first, then Eve. It was not Adam who was led astray. It was the woman who was led astray, and who became the victim of sin. But women will be saved by motherhood, if they continue to live faithfully and lovingly, modestly walking the way of holiness.

[1989] The Holy Bible. New Revised Standard Version (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

Let a woman learn in silence with full submission. I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over a man; she is to keep silent. For Adam was formed first, then Eve; and Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor. Yet she will be saved through childbearing, provided they continue in faith and love and holiness, with modesty.

[1989] The Revised English Bible (Cambridge: University Press, 1989).

Their role is to learn, listening quietly and with due submission. I do not permit women to teach or dictate to men; they should keep quiet. For Adam was created first, and Eve afterwards; moreover it was not Adam who was deceived; it was the woman who, yielding to deception, fell into sin. But salvation for the woman will be in the bearing of children, provided she continues in faith, love, and holiness, with modesty.

[1989] Heinz W. Cassirer, ***God's New Covenant. A New Testament Translation*** (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 1989).

In learning something a woman should do so in silence showing herself submissive in every way. No woman shall have leave from me to engage in teaching or to have authority over a man. No, her part is to keep silent. It was Adam who was formed first, not Eve. Besides, it was not Adam who was led astray; it was the woman who allowed herself to be led astray, and so fell into sin. Still, a woman will attain to salvation in virtue of becoming the mother of children, so long, that is, as women take their stand by the side of faith, and holiness, all linked with sobriety.

[1993] The Message. The New Testament in Contemporary Language (Colorado: Navpress, 1993)

I don't let women take over and tell the men what to do. They should study to be quiet and obedient along with everyone else. Adam was made first, then Eve; woman was deceived first—our pioneer in sin!—with Adam right on her heels. On the other hand, her childbearing brought about salvation, reversing Eve. But this salvation only comes to those who continue in faith, love, and holiness, gathering it all into maturity. You can depend on this.

[1996] Holy Bible. New Living Translation (Wheaton, ILL.; Tyndale House Pubs., 1996).

Women should listen and learn quietly and submissively. I do not let women teach men or have authority over them. Let them listen quietly. For God made Adam first, and afterward he made Eve. And it was the woman, not Adam, who was deceived by Satan, and sin was the result. But women shall be saved through childbearing and by continuing to live in faith, love, holiness, and modesty.

Footnote. Or will be saved by accepting their role as mothers, or will be saved by the birth of the Child.

[1996] The Net Bible: New English Translation of the Bible (Spokane WA: Biblical Studies Press, 1996)(Editor's Dragt V. 9). (For the entire text see the Internet: http://www.bible.org)

But she will be saved in spite of childbearing, if she continues in faith and love and holiness with self-control

F'n. *But she will be saved in spite of childbearing.* A somewhat veiled reference to the curse of Gen 3:16 in order to clarify that though the woman led the man into transgression (v. 14b), she will be saved spiritually despite this physical reminder of her sin. The phrase is literally "through childbearing," but this does not denote means or instrument here. Instead it shows attendant circumstances: "with, though accompanied by" (cf. BAGD, 180; Rom 2:27; 2 Cor 2:4; 1 Tim 4:14).

According to those who oppose the exclusion of women teaching and exercising authority in Christ's Church the above versions are false translations of the Greek. They would replace these translations with something like the following:

Encourage any of the women to learn in an attitude of calm attentiveness, instead of chattering during the time of teaching. And a related matter, as a pastor, my practice is not to allow a situation in which a wife lectures and presides over a husband. . . .Women will be saved by the means that came to us all, through that historic pregnancy, as they keep faith, and love, and holiness, with all purity.

Another translation reads:[1044]

> [11]Let a woman learn through instruction in silence in all submission (to the constituted authority). [12]But I am not allowing a woman to teach or to have authority over a man but to be in silence. [13]For Adam first was formed, then Eve. [14]And Adam was not deceived but the woman having been deceived became a transgressor. [15]But she will be saved through the child-bearing, if they continue in faith and love and holiness with self-control.

The words "through instruction" ought, like the words "to the constituted authority" to be placed in parentheses as there is no direct Greek words behind these additional English words.

The command to learn in silence should not be taken as a derogatory comment, as Simon ben Rabban Gamaliel explained,

> All my days I grew up among the sages, and I have found nothing better for a person than silence. Study is not the most important thing, but deed; whoever indulges in too many words brings about sin (Mishnah 17, Aboth).

Compare Proverbs 17:27-28.

> A man of knowledge uses words with restraint, and a man of understanding is even-tempered. Even a fool is thought wise if he keeps silent, and discerning if he holds his tongue.

Rabbi Abbahu in the Kiddushin urges a father to find a wife for his unmarried son by going "after the peaceful" (literally, silence). Further he informs Rabbi Judah, "As the Palestinians make a test: When two quarrel, they see which becomes silent first and say, This one is of superior birth."

Some have argued that 1 Timothy 2:8-15 is part of a household code and consequently is not part of Paul's instructions to Timothy on how he is to conduct himself "in the house of God, which is an assembly of the living God" (3:15).[1045] The fact that Paul is directing Timothy's life (cf. 1:4, where he was sent to Ephesus to stabilise the chaotic situation developing there) shows that Timothy is Paul's trouble-shooter in relation to churches. Now, if we see the so-called household codes as part and parcel of the ethos of the Christian community then there is no reason why Timothy should not be reminded how Christians are to conduct themselves inside and outside the church building/house/ synagogue. The comprehensive outlook of the Epistle shows that Timothy's influence will be felt between Christians and Christians in the formal church gathering (and its social services policy toward widows), and the wider relations between Christians and non-Christians (in prayers and evangelism). Compare, for instance, Paul's desire that men pray everywhere (1 Tim 2:8) which cannot be limited to one day in the week. This is a daily exercise. In 1 Timothy 4:6 Paul tells Timothy to pass on what he has written to the gathered male company, "These things placing before the brothers . . . ." We noted above[1046] that Paul in all his church epistles addresses the "brothers," never the "brothers and sisters." So here he is telling Timothy to convey his teaching to "the brothers" when they are met together as a church.

In any case it does not make sense to tell women to be silent *at home*, using 1 Corinthians 14:34-35, because it contradicts 1 Corinthians 11:5 where women are expected to pray or prophesy *at home* but not in the public worship service. But 1 Timothy 2:11-12 must, in the first instance, apply to the home setting because Paul does not say "I do not permit a

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[1044] Aída Dina Besançon Spencer, "Eve at Ephesus," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 17 (1974) 216, 219.

[1045] G. P. Hugenberger, "Women in Church Office: Hermeneutics or Exegesis? A Survey of Approaches to 1 Tim 2:8-15," *JETS* 35 (1992) 355ff. The church context is argued by Timothy J. Harris, "Why did Paul Mention Eve's Deception? A Critique of P. W. Barnett's Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2," *EQ* 62 (1990) 339-40.

[1046] See under 4.3.3 and Chart 19. Title: "Paul and the New Testament writers addressed their letters to men."

woman . . . to have authority over *men,*" which he would have said if it were a church situation. Rather, he says "over a man." And "man" here can only refer to her husband, which takes Paul back to the first married couple, Adam and Eve. He uses them as the representative husband and wife. In every marriage the husband is Adam and the wife is Eve. Adam was the first human being to be created, he points out, and given control of his world. He was given headship over God's creation. Eve came next, and came into a world already handed over to Adam. The implication is that she is to recognise her place in God's world and that Adam is her head, hence she cannot reverse their roles and become his teacher or have rule over him. The second lesson Paul draws out of the first married couple's creation is that the husband, Adam, was not deceived, but his wife, Eve, was an easy pushover by Satan. She was the first to sin.

Then, still thinking of the home situation, Paul says that the wife will be saved even though she may have to go through the birthpains her representative woman (Eve) brought on every woman. Because Eve continues to live in every woman, Paul switches in v. 15b from the single wife he had been thinking about up to this point, to all wives, "if *they* continue in faith, etc."

Now if in the home the wife is not allowed to teach her husband or rule him, then, by extension, she cannot teach him in the church. This means that the husband must do the teaching and ruling in the home and when he does so Paul's injunction is, let the wife learn with a deeply submissive attitude, aware of the Eve within her who took instructions from one other than her husband and was deceived by that teaching which led to such catastrophic consequences. She is to fear to let that situation repeat itself both for her own good and for the good of her husband, hence the need for her to adopt a deeply submissive attitude and role toward her husband. Paul puts it very strongly, "Let the wife learn in silence (=respectful, quiet disposition) with all submission." She is to take the place of a respectful learner and submit to her teacher with all deference.

Another attempt to weaken the headship principle in 1 Timothy 2:13-14 is to see the reference to Adam and Eve as only an illustration—a cautionary typology, an example of a pattern to be avoided.[1047] This view assumes that Paul is addressing a local difficulty where women, not men, have been deliberately targeted by false teachers and were in danger of being deceived, as Eve was, by the serpent. It also assumes that some Ephesian women have already been deceived and are teaching others, hence the prohibition on women teaching. If so, of what relevance is it to tell these women teachers not to teach *men,* but leave it open that they can teach other women and children? Also, of what relevance is it to tell these false female teachers that "Adam was first formed then Eve"?

[1047] Timothy J. Harris, "Why did Paul Mention Eve's Deception? A Critique of P. W. Barnett's Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2," *EQ* 62 (1990) 350, following A. Padgett, "Wealthy Women at Ephesus: 1 Timothy 2:8-15 in Social Context," *Interpretation* 41 (1987) 25, and David M. Scholer, "1 Timothy 2:9-15 and the Place of Women in the Church's Ministry," in *Women, Authority and the Bible* (ed. Alvera Mickelsen. Downers Grove, ILL: Inter-Varsity, 1986), p. 211. See the fuller treatment of these verses under 4.3.9.5.

APPENDIX C : "HAIR" IN THE BIBLE

Θρίξ is used to designate the substance "hair."[1048] It is the most common term to refer to human hair, but it also designates the covering of other animals such as a dog's coat, a pig's bristles, lion's and goat's hair, a horse's tail and mane, and sheep's wool. In contrast to this κόμη is rarely used for animals' hair (in *The Illiad* it is used of horses' [groomed?] hair). If it is to be distinguished from θρίξ then κόμη would appear to designate a category of hair within the larger term θρίξ. So θρίξ is the general and κόμη is the particular term.[1049]

The use of θρίξ in the LXX (42 examples) and New Testament (16 examples).

Category A. Animal hair, Exod 25:4; 35:6, 26 (goats' hair); camel's hair, Mt 3:4=Mk 1:6; sackcloth of hair, Rev 6:12.

Category B. Individual strands of hair, Exod 36:10 (gold threads of ephod); medical examples of hair follicles, Lev 13:3, 4, 10, 20, 21, 25, 26, 30, 31, 32, 36, 37; aim a stone at a strand of hair, Jud 20:16; promise: "not a single hair of his head will fall to the ground," 1 Kgs 14:45; 2 Kgs 14:11; 3 Kgs 1:52; 3 Macc 6:6; Lk 21:18; Acts 27:34; proverb: hairs of head for multitude, Ps 39 (40):12; Ps 68(69):4; providence: hairs of the head are all counted, Mt 10:30=Lk 12:7; metaphor for something insignificant: Prv 23:7; make one hair white or black, Mt 5:36.

Category C. All body hair, Lev 14:8, 9 (shave off all body hair for medical reasons).

Category D. Nazirite vow, Num 6:5, 18.

Category E. Men's hair: Jud 16:22 (Samson's); 2 Kgs 14:26 (Absalom's); Ezra 9:2 (Ezra's); Job 4:15 (Job's); Ps 67(68):21 (enemies' hairy heads); Sir 27:14 (hair stands on end, cf. Job 4:15); Dan 3:37 (hair of Daniel's three friends not singed); Dan 4:30 (Nebuchadnezzar's); Dan 7:9 (Ancient of Days); 2 Macc 7:7 (torture); Son of Man's white hair, Rev 1:14.

Category F. Men's beards: Ezra 9:3 (Ezra's beard).

Category G. Women's hair: Judith 10:3; 16:18 (Judith's); Est 4:17 (LXX addition)(Esther's); Ezek 16:7 (Jerusalem's); unknown woman wiped Jesus' feet, Lk 7:38, 44; Mary wiped Jesus' feet, Jn 11:2; 12:3; plaiting the hair, 1 Pet 3:3; army of locusts with hair like women, Rev 9:8.

Category H. Pubic hair (euphemism: "hair of the feet"), Isa 7:20.

The use of κόμη in the LXX (11 examples) and New Testament (1 example).

Lev 19:27, "You shall not make a round cutting of the hair of your head." The words "of the hair" are not in the MT.

Num 6:5, "all the days of his separation a razor shall not come upon his head . . . he shall be holy, grooming [the] hair, hair of [his] head all the days of his vow to the Lord." MT: "to increase the locks [פֶּרַע] of the hair of his head." The root פרע means "to sprout, progeny, sprout hair of head."

Judith 13:7, "She came close to his [Holofernes] bed, took hold of the hair of his head, and said, "Give me strength today . . . . then she struck his neck twice . . . and cut off his head."

Job 1:20, "So Job arose and rent his garments and shaved the hair of his head." MT does not have "the hair of." He shaved his head.

Job 16:12, "When I [Job] was at peace he distracted me. He took me by the hair [MT: "by the neck"] of the head and plucked it out."

[1048] I have not been unable to consult Stephen M. Reynolds, "Hair in Scripture: a Critique of Two Recent Studies and a Proposed Solution to the Problem," *The Reformation Review* 21:21 (Jan. 1974) 65-71.

[1049] Liddell & Scott list νήπλεκτιος, (Bion.) as meaning "with upbraided hair."

Job 38:32, “Or wilt thou reveal Mazuroth in his season, and the evening stars with his rays [lit. “hair”].” MT: “. . . his season, and Aysh for her sons dost thou comfort?”

Ezek 24:23, “and your hair [MT: turbans] shall be upon your heads.”

Ezek 44:20, “And they shall not shave their heads, nor shall they pluck off their hair. They shall carefully cover their heads.” MT: “And their head they do not shave, and the lock [פֶּרַע] they do not sent forth, they certainly poll their heads.”

Bel 36, “Then the angel of the Lord took him [Habakkuk] by the crown of the head, and carried him by his hair. With the speed of the wind he set him down in Babylon.”

3 Mac 1:18, “Young women who had been secluded in their chambers rushed out with their mothers, sprinkled their hair with dust, and filled the streets with groans and lamentations.”

3 Mac 4:6, “And young women who had just entered the bridal chamber to share married life exchanged joy for wailing, their myrrh-perfumed hair sprinkled with ashes and were carried away [into exile] unveiled.”

1 Corinthians 11:14-15, “Does nature not teach you that man, on the one hand, if he makes up hair, a disgrace it is to him? But if a woman, on the other hand, makes up hair, it is a glory to her, because the hair in place of a cloth-covering has been given [to her by nature].”

APPENDIX D: "QUIETNESS" [DISPOSITION] & "SILENCE" [VOCAL] IN THE GREEK BIBLE

The word ἡσυχία "quietness" occurs seven times in the canonical books of the Old Testament and a further five times in the pseudepigrapha literature of the LXX. In the New Testament ἡσυχία occurs four times and ἡσυχίος twice. The word ἡσυχία may not mean a quiet disposition in 1 Chr 4:40; 22:9; Prv 7:9 (and Acts 22:2?) unless the first two examples refer to the inhabitants of the land, and Prv 7:9 could conceivably (in Hebrew poetry) present the night as an agent being quiet, in which case all the examples refer to a *quiet disposition* and not to the *absence of noise* which the verb σίγαω conveys (as in 1 Cor 14:34).

1 Chr 4:40, "the land before them was vast and there was peace [εἰρήνη] and quietness."
1 Chr 22:9, "his name shall be Solomon, and I will give peace [εἰρήνη] and quietness to Israel in his days."
Ezk 38:11, "I will come upon them that are at ease and in tranquillity [ἐν τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ], and dwelling in peace [ἐπ' εἰρήνης]."
Job 34:29, "And he (God) will give quietness, and who will condemn?"
Prv 7:9, "when there happens to be the stillness of the night."
Jos 5:8, "when they had been circumcised they rested."
Prv 11:1, "A man lacking understanding sneers at citizens: but a sensible man is quiet."
Esth 4:17 [LXX addition], "I [Esther] abhor the symbol of my proud station, which is upon my head . . . I abhor it as a menstruous cloth, and I wear it not in the days of my tranquillity."
Sir 28:26, "Those who pay heed to slander will not find rest, nor will they settle down in peace."
1 Mac 9:58, "Then all the lawless plotted and said, 'See! Jonathan and his men are living in quiet and confidence.'"
2 Mac 12:2, "But some of the governors in various places, Timothy and Apollonius son of Gennaeus, . . . would not let them live quietly and in peace."
2 Mac 14:4, "Alcimus, who had formerly been high priest . . . . During the day he kept quiet."
Acts 22:2, "and they having heard that in the Hebrew dialect he was speaking to them, gave the more silence, and he saith,—"
2 Thess 3:12, "and such we command and exhort through our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness working, their own bread they may eat."[1050]
1 Tim 2:11-12, "Let a woman in quietness learn in all subjection, and a woman I do not suffer to teach, nor to rule a husband, but to be in quietness, for Adam was first formed, then Eve."
1 Tim 2:2, "I exhort, then, first of all, there be made supplications . . . for kings, and all who are in authority, that a quiet and peaceable [ἡσύχιον] life we may lead in all piety and gravity."

[1050] Note the confusion in G. P. Hugenberger, '. . . 2 Thess 3:12 where Paul similarly enjoins men to "silence" (RSV "quietness") without thereby implying a total ban on their speech' ("Women in Church Office: Hermeneutics or Exegesis? A Survey of Approaches to 1 Tim 2:8-15," *JETS* 35 [1992] 352). The inability to distinguish between 'quietness' as a disposition, and 'silence' as a vocal phenomenon, seems to be missed by many who see these two concepts as synonyms. See also D. Guthrie, *The Pastoral Epistles: An Introduction and Commentary* (London: Tyndale, 1957), p. 77. J. Nolland has captured the idea of 'quietness' as a disposition in his definition, 'peaceableness, malleability—the ability to fit in' ("Women in the Public Life of the Church," *Crux* 19/3 (1983) 18. Here the term is set in apposition to 'disorderly' or living in disobedience to the *paradosin* or tradition that Paul had handed down to them from Christ (2:6). The disobedient are those who *work their way round* (περιεργαζομένους) the Lord's command (3:11) instead of working with their own hands.

1 Pet 3:4, "In like manner, the wives, be ye subject to your own husbands . . . your pure behaviour . . . let it not be that which is outward . . . but—the hidden man of the heart, in the incorruptible thing of the meek and quiet spirit, which is, before God, of great price."

"SILENCE" [SOUND] IN THE BIBLE

The verb σιγάω occurs nineteen times in the Old Testament and Apocrypha and nine times in the New Testament.

Exod 14:14, "And Moses said to the people, '. . . stand and see . . . for as you have seen the Egyptians today, you shall see them again no more for ever. The Lord shall fight for you and you shall be speechless [חרשׁ hiph.].'"

Psa 31 (32):3, "Because I kept silent [חרשׁ hiph.] my bones waxed old from my crying all the day."

Ps 49 (50):21, "These things you did and I kept silent [חרשׁ hiph.]."

Ps 82 (83):1, "O God, who shall be compared with you? Be not silent [חרשׁ qal.], neither be still, O God."

Jud 18:9, "And the five men [spies] came to their brethren to Zara and Esthaol, and said to their brethren, 'Why sit you here idle? . . . yet you are silent [no Heb. word here]. Do not delay to go and enter the land to possess it.'"

1 Esdras 3:24, "'Gentlemen, is not wine the strongest, since it forces people to do these things?' When he had said this, he stopped speaking."

1 Esdras 4:12, "'Gentlemen, why is not the king the strongest, since he is to be obeyed in this fashion?' And he stopped speaking."

Tobit 6:1, "Say no more! Do not fear for them, my sister, . . . so she stopped speaking [weeping]."

Tobit 10:6-7, "But Tobit kept saying to her, 'Be quiet and stop worrying, my sister; he is all right.'"

Ps 38 (39):2, "I was dumb and humbled myself, and kept silent [חשׁה hiph.] from good *words*."

Ps 106 (107):29, "And he commands the storms, and it is calmed into a gentle breeze, and its waves are noiseless [חשׁה qal]."

Ecclesiastes 3:7, "a time to keep silence [חשׁה qal] and a time to speak."

Wisdom 8:12, "When I am silent they will wait for me, and when I speak they will give heed."

Sirach 13:23, "The rich person speaks and all are silent."

Sirach 20:7, "The wise remain silent until the right moment."

Amos 6:11 (10), "And he shall say, 'No one else.' And *the other* shall say, 'Be silent [חס] that you name not the name of the Lord.'"

Lam 3:49, "My eye is drowned *with tears,* and I will not be silent [דמה], so that there shall be no rest . . . ."

1 Macc 11:5, "They also told the king what Jonathan had done, to throw the blame on him; but the king kept silent."

Luke 9:36, "And a voice came out of the cloud saying, 'This is My Son—the beloved, hear him.' And when the voice was gone away, Jesus was found alone; and they were speechless. And in those days they divulged to no one anything of what they had seen."

Luke 20:26, "And he said to them, 'Give back, therefore, the things of Caesar to Caesar, and the things of God to God.' And they were not able to entrap him by his word before the people, and having marvelled at his answer they were speechless."

Acts 12:17, "And Peter was continuing knocking, and having opened they saw him and were astonished. And having beckoned to them with the hand to be silent, he declared to them how the Lord brought him out of the prison."

Acts 15:6-13 relates Peter's powerful speech to the apostles and elders against the Judaisers the effect of which was: "And all the multitude were speechless, and were attentive to Barnabas and Paul declaring the many signs and miracles God did through them among the Gentiles. And after they stopped speaking James replied saying . . . ."

Romans 16:25, "And to Him who is able to establish you, according to my gospel, and the preaching of Jesus Christ, according to the revelation of the secret, in the times of the ages having been kept silent, and now having been made manifest . . . ."

1 Cor 14:28, "and if there should be no interpreter, let him be silent in an assembly, and to himself [elsewhere] let him speak."

1 Cor 14:30, "And the prophets—let two or three speak, and let the others discern [its significance], and if to another sitting *anything* should be revealed, let the first be silent."

1 Cor 14:34, "Your women in the assemblies let them be silent because it has not been permitted to them to speak, but to be subject, as also the Law says."

In order to narrow down the nuance of σιγάω "silence" it would be necessary to examine other words for "silence" such as σιωπάω (11x in NT) which occurs 37 times in the Greek Bible mainly as a translation of חשה (qal and hiphil). Liddell & Scott give "to be silent, still, keep silence;" also "to keep secret, not to speak of, to make silent." In the imper. it means "Hush! Be still!"

The verb σιωπάω seems to be used frequently of someone actively keeping silent, as a deliberate act. Before the high priest "Jesus was [keeping] silent" (Mt 26:63).

APPENDIX E: "SUBMIT" AND "INSUBORDINATE" IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

The word ὑποτάσσω occurs thirty-nine times in the New Testament.

Luke 2:51, "And he [Jesus] went down with them, and came to Nazareth, and he was subject to them [his parents]."

Luke 10:17, "And the seventy turned back with joy, saying, 'Sir, and the demons are being subjected to us in your name.'"

Luke 10:20, "but, in this rejoice not, that the spirits are subjected to you, but rejoice rather that your names were written in the heavens."

Romans 8:7, "because the mind of the flesh is enmity to God, for to the law of God it doth not subject itself."

Romans 8:20 (2x), "for to vanity was the creation made subject—not of its own will, but because of Him who did subject it—in hope."

Romans 10:3, "for not knowing the righteousness of God, and their own righteousness seeking to establish, to the righteousness of God they did not submit."

Romans 13:1, "Let every soul to the higher authorities be subject, for there is no authority except from God,"

Romans 13:5, "Wherefore it is necessary to be subject [to the state] not only for the wrath, but also because of the conscience."

1 Cor 14:32, "and the spiritual gift of prophets to prophets are subject."

1 Cor 14:34, "Your women in the assemblies let them be silent, for it has not been permitted to them to speak, but to be subject, as also the Law says;"

1 Cor 15:27 (3x), "for all things he [God] did put under his [Jesus'] feet, and, when one may say that all things have been subjected, it is evident that he is excepted who did subject the all things to him,"

1 Cor 15:28(3x), "and when the all things may be subjected to him, then the Son also himself shall be subject to Him who did subject to him the all things, that God may be the all in all."

1 Cor 16:16, "And I entreat you, brothers, you have known the household of Stephanus . . . that you also be subject to such, and to every one who is working with us and labouring;"

Eph 1:22, "and all things He did put under [=subject] his feet, and did give him—head over all things to the Church, which is his body, the fulness of Him who is filling all in all."

Eph 5:21, "and be not drunk with wine . . . but be filled in the Spirit . . . subjecting yourselves one to another in the fear of God."

Eph 5:22, "The wives—to your own husbands *subject yourselves*, as to the Lord, because the husband is head of the wife, as also Christ is head of the Church," [in italics because the verb does not occur, but is carried over from the previous verse].

Eph 5:24, "but even as the Church is subject to Christ, so also are the wives to their own husbands in everything."[1051]

[1051] Some 'Christian feminists' concede that Eph 5:21-33 certainly reflects the general Jewish and Greco-Roman understanding of marriage in which wives were understood to have the responsibility to submit to their husbands in all things, as Ephesians 5:24 indicates. However, they argue, it is clear that this cultural understanding of marriage is significantly qualified for those in Christ, so that the passage teaches an overarching concept of mutual submission. In this context, *kephale* hardly means 'authority over,' especially in the leadership and authority-bearing sense for husbands over wives given to it by so many of the traditionalist and complementarian interpreters. But they also note that husbands are three times in Eph 5 told to love their wives which 'was not typical in first-century Mediterranean cultures'. Cf. David M. Scholer, "The Evangelical

Phil 3:21, ". . . the Lord Jesus Christ who shall transform the body of our humiliation to its becoming conformed to the body of his glory, according to the working of his power, even to subject to himself the all things."

Col 3:18, "The wives—be subject to your own husbands, as is fit in the Lord;"

Titus 2:5, "elderly women . . . teachers of good things, that they may make the young women sober-minded, to be lovers of *their* husbands, lovers of *their* children, sober, pure, keepers of *their own* houses, good, subject to their own husbands, that the word of God may not be evil spoken of."

Titus 2:9, "Slaves to their own masters are to be subject, in all things to be well-pleasing, not gainsaying, nor stealing . . . ."

Titus 3:1, "Remind them to be subject to principalities and authorities, to obey rule, to every good work to be ready . . . showing all meekness to all men."

Heb 2:5, "For not to messengers did He subject the coming world,"

Heb 2:8(3x), "'. . . all things You did put in subjection under his feet,' for in the subjecting to him the all things, nothing did He leave unsubjected, and now not yet do we see the all things subjected to him,"

Heb 12:9, "Then, indeed, fathers of our flesh we have had, chastening *us*, and we were reverencing *them*; shall we not much rather be subject to the Father of the spirits, and live?"

Jas 4:7, "be subject, then, to God; stand up against the devil, and he will flee from you."

1 Pet 2:13, "be subject, then, to every human creation, because of the Lord, whether to a king, as the highest, whether to governors, as to those sent through him, for punishment, indeed, of evil-doers, and a praise of those doing good."

1 Pet 2:18, "House-servants—be subjecting yourselves in all deference to *your* masters, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the surly."

1 Pet 3:1, 5, "In like manner, the wives—be subject to your own husbands, that even if certain are disobedient to the word, through the behaviour of the wives, without the word, they may be won, having observed your pure behaviour in reverence, whose adorning . . [is] . . the hidden man of the heart, in the incorruptible thing of a meek and quiet spirit, which is, before God, of great price, for thus once also the holy women who did hope in God, were adorning themselves, being subject to their own husbands, as Sarah was obedient [ὑπήκουσεν][1052] to Abraham, calling him 'Lord' [κύριον] of whom you became daughters, doing good, and not fearing any terror."[1053]

1 Pet 3:22, ". . . Jesus Christ, who is at the right hand of God, having gone on to heaven—angels and authorities and powers having been subjected to him."

1 Pet 5:5(2x), "Likewise, younger men, submit yourselves to older men, and all one to another subjecting yourselves; with humble-mindedness clothe yourselves, because God resists the proud."

Debate over Biblical 'Headship'," in *Women, Abuse, and the Bible.* eds., Catherine Clark Kroeger & James R. Beck (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1996), p. 43. It is clear from the thrice repeated command to husbands to love their wives that Paul is working through his own doctrine of Man's headship and expects the pre-Fall situation to prevail in the New Covenant. It is typical in the renewed headship of Man, even if it was not typical in first-century Mediterranean cultures.

[1052] Even Jesus, the Son of God, had to learn obedience [τὴν ὑπακοήν] (Heb 5:8) like his brothers, so that He might be like them in all respects, except sin.

[1053] In 1547 a Bible was published in London by Jhon [*sic*] Daye, edited with notes by Edmund Becke. On 1 Pet 3:7 he gave the very un-Christian advice: "He dwelleth wyth his wyfe according to knowledge, that taketh her as a necessary helper, and not as a bonde servante, or a bonde slave. And yf she be not obedient and healpful unto hym, endeavoureth to beate the feare of God into her heade, that thereby she maye be compelled to learne her dutie, and to do it."

The opposite of "subject" is "insubordinate" (ἀνυπότακτος) which occurs four times in the New Testament.

1 Tim 1:9, "having known this, that for a righteous man law is not set, but for lawless and insubordinate persons, ungodly and sinners , impious and profane,"

Titus 1:6, "if any one is blameless, of one wife a husband, having steadfast children, not under accusation of riotous living or insubordinate—for it is required of the overseer to be blameless."

Titus 1:10, "for there are many both insubordinate, vain-talkers, and mind-deceivers, especially those of the circumcision, whose mouth it is necessary to stop."

Heb 2:8, "'. . . all things You did put in subjection under his feet,' for in the subjecting to him the all things, nothing did He leave unsubjected, and now not yet do we see the all things subjected to him."

APPENDIX F: "PERMIT" IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

The verb occurs nineteen times in the New Testament.

Acts 26:1, "And Agrippa said to Paul, 'It is permitted to you to speak for yourself.'"

1 Cor 14:34, "Your women in the assemblies let them be silent, for it has not been permitted to them to speak, but to be subject, as also the Law says."

1 Cor 16:7, "but I hope to remain a certain time with you if the Lord may permit."

Heb 6:3, "And this we will do if God may permit."

Mark 5:13, "And immediately Jesus gave them [demons] permission, and having come forth, the unclean spirits entered into the swine."

John 19:38, "Joseph . . . asked of Pilate that he could take away the body of Jesus and Pilate gave permission."

Acts 27:3, "delivered up both Paul and certain others . . . to . . . Julius . . . on the next day also we landed at Sidon, and Julius courteously treating Paul permitted *him* to visit friends to receive *their* care."

Acts 21:37, 40, "chief captain . . . Paul; 'Is it possible for me to say something to you?' . . . and he permitted him ."

Luke 9:61, "And another also said, 'I will follow you, sir, but first permit me to take leave of those in my house.'"

Matt 8:21, "And another of his disciples said to him, 'Sir, permit me first to depart and to bury my father.'" (=Luke 9:59)

Matt 8:31, "If you [Jesus] cast us out, permit us to depart to the herd of swine;" and he said to them, 'Go.'" (=Luke 8:32 [2x])

Matt 19:8, "He [Jesus] said to them, 'Moses because of the hardness of your heart did permit you to divorce your wives, but it was not so from the beginning.'"

Mark 10:4, "And they said, 'Moses permitted us to write a bill of divorce and to put away.'"

Acts 28:16, "but Paul was permitted to remain on his own, with the soldier guarding him."

1 Tim 2:12, "And a woman I do not permit to teach, nor to rule a man, but to be in quietness."

Conclusion: The verb always implies permission is required before a thing is allowed.

APPENDIX G: *AUTHENTEIN* " TO RULE"

Ideally, the correct way to discover/recover the meaning of any word is to use the synchronic approach first. Given that Paul wrote 1 Timothy about AD 61-63 and given that the Greek linguistic crescent runs from Greece, through Asia Minor and Palestine and round into Egypt, a search of the literature (a) contemporary with 1 Timothy, and (d) written in Asia Minor/Palestine (where Paul acquired his knowledge of the Greek language) would be the natural starting-point. The search should then be extended all the way round the crescent treating each geographical area as a separate linguistic entity where necessary. Once this had been completed then the diachronic approach could be used. This time, working *backwards* in time from the date of 1 Timothy, because the development or semantic shift(s) of the Greek word can then be plotted and provide a "run-in" to the use of the word in the target literature, and a list of possible meanings could be drawn up for the word. Lastly, working *forwards* from AD 63 the further development or semantic shift(s) could be plotted against the previous two periods. This procedure has not been properly carried out in any study on αὐθεντεῖν to date, consequently we still require a further study along the lines outlined above before the meaning of αὐθεντεῖν can be determined and the issue closed.

The target verb αὐθεντέω occurs about 330 times in TLG (Thesaurus Linguae Graecae).[1054] Whatever the exact meaning of αὐθεντεῖν turns out to be, one thing is clear, and that is that it is an act that is inappropriate for a woman to perpetrate on a man. We can employ two criteria to determine the meaning of αὐθεντεῖν in the specific context of 1 Timothy 2:12.

First, in the specific context of 1 Timothy 2:12 the woman is not "to teach" (διδάσκειν) him, and she is not "to have authority over" (αὐθεντεῖν) him. It is not incompatible with her submission status (v. 11) if she teach (διδάσκειν) another woman or her children, but it is incompatible with her husband's headship status if she teaches him. Similarly, it is not incompatible if she performs "authority" (αὐθεντεῖν) on another woman, but if it is performed on a man, it is. Consequently since there is general agreement that there are meanings which are (a) inherently evil or sinful, such as "murder"[1055] and "domineer," and others which are (b) neutral; that is, something that may be appropriate for a man to do but not for a woman, such as "to rule" or "to teach," it would appear from the *theological context* of headship in 1 Timothy 2:12 that Paul has in mind a meaning that belongs to class (b). His meaning cannot lie in class (a) as these activities would be condemned in a man as much as in a woman. The theological context points to a meaning that would be appropriate for a man to perform but not for a woman.

The second criterion is that the meaning of αὐθεντεῖν must come from the verbal category not from the noun category.[1056] It should be pointed out that it is a precarious task to determine the meaning of a verb from the noun forms of the same root. The rule is that for semantic purposes, only exactly identical grammatical forms in TLG should be examined to determine the meaning of that form. In this case, all infinitives forms should be examined *in context* first. If the meaning is not clear from this study, then it should be widened to include verb forms. If this does not resolve the meaning, then, and only then, should non-verbal forms be examined. Many of the articles used in the discussion have been guilty of using non-verbal meanings to determine the meaning of Paul's use of the infinitive here. In what follows

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1054 Pre-computer studies on αὐθεντεῖν were carried out by C. D. Osburn and S. J. Panning. The plethora of new works that these early studies stirred up are referred to in D. M. Scholer's bibliographies.

1055 This meaning has now been seriously questioned by David K. Huttar, as it rests on a reconstructed Greek text, "ΑΥΘΕΝΤΕΙΝ in the Aeschylus Scholium," *JETS* 44 (2001) 615-625.

1056 This was the fundamental error in Kroeger's approach (Richard Clark Kroeger, & Catherine Clark Kroeger, *Rethinking 1 Timothy 2:11-15 in Light of Ancient Evidence.* [Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992], pp. 87-98).

we shall only consider the range of meanings that have been isolated *for the verb*, because the specific infinitive form, as used by Paul in 1 Timothy 2:12, does not occur before his time.[1057]

P. B. Payne localised the issue of "authority" to a dispute between Gentile libertarians and Jewish legalists. He concluded that because this conflict poses no problem today, the strictures laid down are no longer relevant.[1058] This approach fails to take into account *all* the headship creation theology texts (e.g., 1 Cor 11:2-16; 14:33-35) as contributing to the background to the issue raised in 1 Timothy 2:12. Clearly Paul is reasoning from his teaching on Man's headship and his choice of terms is dictated by that doctrine.

George W. Knight concluded that the meaning of αὐθεντεῖν was "to have authority over," but not "domineer," according to first century BC and AD documents.[1059] This meaning probably remains the most commonly accepted meaning for the word because it has more examples with this meaning than any other, and the lexicographer Hesychius of Alexandria (?late 4th cent AD) defines the infinitive αὐθεντεῖν as "to execute authority." He gives three meanings for the noun (1) one who executes authority, (2) one who does things with his own hand, and (3) a murderer. According to Wilshire, "Within Christian writings of the Roman period and among the Greek Church Fathers, the word αὐθεντέω takes on the predominant meaning of "authority" yet even here there are still scattered occurrences where the meaning is that of 'murder' or 'murderer.'"[1060] Only the meaning "authority" is found in the writings of Irenaeus (*ca.* AD 115-202), Origen (AD 185-253), Amphilochius (4th cent.) Asterius (4-5th cent.), Athanasius (4th cent.), Basil (4th cent.), Gregory of Nazianzus (4th cent.), Gregory of Nyssa (4th cent.), Pseudo-Justin Martyr (3-4th cent.), Palladius (4-5th cent.), Sozomenus (5th cent.), Eusebius (AD *ca.* 265-339), and John Chrysostom (AD 350-407). The only Church Father who uses αὐθεντεῖν to mean "murder" is Clement of Alexander (AD *ca.* 193-202). He uses it three times of "murder" (but it is not clear if this meaning is taken from the noun or the verb form) and two times of "authority." The evidence from the secular writers of the late Roman period is mixed: some using both meanings as in Clement. The same applies to writers contemporary with Paul (Apollonius Rhodius, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Josephus, Appian of Alexander, Philo. LXX-Wisdom). Another valid point made by Wilshire is that—

> Paul may be using some idiomatic or "regional" meaning possibly known to his audience but not known to use today. Though this is a possibility, the whole Pauline corpus would seem to support the conclusion that Paul and his secretaries are composing in generally current Greek words and commonly accepted meanings.[1061]

When Wilshire criticised Knight for positing "to have authority over" as the recognised meaning *of the verb* for first century BC and AD documents, he did so only after

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[1057] See Jerome D. Quinn, & William C. Wacker, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy* (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 2000), pp. 224-25: *"And to boss (authentein) her husband."* The ancient etymologists read two elements in the **authent-* terminology, scil. *autos* and either *hiêmi*, "to push, thrust" (thus Phrynichus) or (*h*)*anyô* (**hentês*) "one who realizes, achieves" (see Hesychius, *synetês synergos, cited by Chantraine,* DELG, p. 138; see p. 93, *anymi*). The latter is probably historically and scientifically correct. Yet one cannot discount the popular perception that the terms came from "push" (cf. the English "pushy"). As early as Euripides, *Suppliants* 442, the noun *authentês* is heard as meaning "master" or "the responsible author" (thus also Hermas, *Sim.* 9.5.6). . . . The use of *authentês* in the sense of *despotês* "ruler," was in the opinion of Phrynichus substandard Greek. However, the pressure from the verbal use was irresistable and spawned a number of later forms that designated or suggested authority and mastery (*authentria* means *kryria*; see Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon* 1.276.

[1058] P. B. Payne, "Libertarian Women in Ephesus: A Response to Douglas J. Moo's Article, '1 Timothy 2:11-15: Meaning and Significance," *Trinity Journal* 2 (1981) 169-97, esp. pp. 185-90.

[1059] George W. Knight, "ΑΥΘΕΝΤΕΩ in Reference to Women in 1 Timothy 2.12," *NTS* 30 [1984] 143-57, esp. p. 152. For an example of the meaning 'dominates' in the sense 'ignorance dominates' see Wilshire, *op. cit.,* p. 127.

[1060] Leland E. Wilshire, "The TLG Computer and Further Reference to ΑΥθΕΝΤΕΩ in 1 Timothy 2.12," *NTS* 34 (1988) 120-34, esp. p. 125.

[1061] Wilshire, *op. cit.,* p. 130.

examining four pages of examples of its use *as a noun.*[1062] This is not the way to arrive at the meaning of an infinitive.

Given Paul's teaching on the headship of man over woman (1 Cor 11:3) would the sight of a woman *in that culture* having any form of rule over her husband be considered something that ought not to be done? Because the word can cover a very wide range of self-determination actions such as the wilful act of a murderer and the conscious action to rule, it would appear that the *determination to impose one's will* (good or bad) on someone else, may lie at the heart of this word; in other words to take a forceful initiative.[1063]

Another meaning that is neutral, in the sense that it can have a good and evil connotation, is "restriction." Wilshire noted that this meaning occurred in 3 Macc 2:29 (*ca.* 100 BC).[1064] The Egyptian ruler *threatened to reduce* the civil and religious rights of the Jews to their former more limited rights. Given man's headship over his wife would it have been appropriate for her *to restrict* his rights over her?

If the term αὐθεντεῖν has a negative meaning of "inappropriate behaviour" (as more recent studies seem to indicate) this would suggest that a *self-initiated action* may lie at the heart of the word, which could have an appropriate and an inappropriate application. If a woman does it then it is wrong, *but only because it is not her position to initiate a decision affecting her husband's life,* whereas the husband can initiate an action that can affect his wife's life, but it would not necessarily be wrong because he is the head of his wife. So Paul's choice of this term may have been guided by the context of headship.

In this regard John Chrysostom's use of 1 Timothy 2:12 in his sermons on Genesis is interesting. He speaks of Eve teaching Adam once wickedly "or having authority over the man, this once, for she used authority wickedly this one time."[1065]

Other meanings attested by only one source are "owner" in the *Shepherd of Hermes;* "creator/owner" in *pseudo-Clement;* and "truth/power" in the *Sibylline Oracles.*[1066] It is not clear whether these meanings have been derived from nouns or verbs. If they are from non-verbals then Knight's meaning of "authority over" holds the ring, and if Knight is correct then "domineer" and its synonyms are wrong translations as in Berkeley (1959), NEB (1970), The Living Bible (1971), and REB (1996).

The meaning of "authority over" would be in agreement with the context of 1 Timothy 2:12 where the concept "to domineer" would be wrong for both men and women to indulge in. The context requires a non-sinful activity which would be right for a man to do but not for a woman, such as the paired activity "to teach" which is right for men but wrong for women to do *in relation to men,* but not wrong if done by her to her own sex or to children.

Despite Paul's teaching that the head of woman is man, there are those who would still argue that the women has the right to exercise authority/headship over men in the church.[1067]

The dual traits of staying at home and being silent in public were viewed by the non-Christian culture of Paul's day as virtues in a wife. Arising out of an observation on the relationship between the philosopher and the rich classes, Plutarch [AD 45—125] draws an analogy:

[1062] Wilshire, *op. cit.,* p. 124.

[1063] On the suggestion that the word can mean to initiate an action see A. C. Perriman, "What Eve Did, What Women Shouldn't Do: The Meaning of *authentein* in 1 Timothy 2:12," *Tyndale Bulletin* 44 (1993) 129-42.

[1064] Wilshire, *op. cit.,* p. 124.

[1065] In Genesis, sermons 1-9, MPG 54.595.1, as quoted by Wilshire, *op. cit.,* p. 131-32.

[1066] Wilshire, *op. cit.,* p. 130.

[1067] W. L. Liefeld, "Women, Submission and Ministry in 1 Corinthians, " in *Women, Authority and the Bible* (ed. A. Mickelsen; Downers Grove: Inter-Varsity, 1986), pp. 134-54; and A. F. Johnson, "Response," ibid. pp. 154-60. See the reply by W. Grudem, "Prophecy—Yes, But Teaching—No: Paul's Consistent Advocacy of Women's Participation without Governing Authority," *JETS* 30 (1987) 11-23.

> So it is with women also; if they subordinate themselves (ὑποτάττουσαι ἑαυτᾶς) to their husbands, they are commended, but if they want to control (κρατεῖν), they cut a sorrier figure than the subjects of their control. And control ought to be exercised by the man over the woman, not as the owner has control of a piece of property, but, as the soul controls the body, by entering into her feelings and being knit to her through goodwill. As, therefore, it is possible to exercise care over the body without being a slave to its pleasures and desires, so it is possible to govern a wife, and at the same time to delight and gratify her (142.33).[1068]

Now, while the Greek term for "control" here is κρατεῖν not αὐθεντεῖν, it would appear that the battle between the sexes was never far away in the secular world. But both Plutarch and Paul, who were contemporaries, realised that only where women voluntarily submitted to the will of their husbands could the marriage life be a happy one for both parties. In the case of Plutarch this depended on natural reason (the common good of each); in the case of Paul it depended on supernatural revelation of what constituted the "normal" relationship between the two sexes in God's design for both, which involved the concept of headship.

[1068] Plutarch, *Moralia* (16 vols; Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heineman, 1971), vol II, pp. 305-323.

APPENDIX H: WORDS FOR "MAN"

Hebrew is singularly rich in words which stand for the concept of Man. The main ones are *'âdâm* (462x), *'îsh* (939x), *'ênosh*, *geber* (*gibbôr*; *g^{e}bar*), *m^{e}tîm*, *na'ar*, *bâhûr*, *zâqên*. Some of these are terms descriptive of man from the point of view of age or maturity. For example *na'ar*, occurs over 230 times and is variously rendered child (51x), lad or boy (33x), young man or youth (54x), and servant (90x). There is also a separate feminine form outside the Pentateuch. Throughout the Pentateuch a female *na'ar*, is given a masculine form but pointed as a feminine noun, and is variously rendered young maiden (2x), maiden (15x), and damsel (34x). The feminine occurs a total of sixty-two times. The usual explanation is that at an earlier stage the masculine was regarded as a common form, like the Greek παῖς, and that the distinctive feminine form was a later development. Hebrew also has as many different words to describe woman.[1069]

Another form is *bâhûr*, which denotes a young man in the first maturity of his manly powers. It may refer to a young man who has reached a marriageable age. By contrast, the word *zâqên* describes a man who has passed considerably beyond the mid-point of manhood; whose strength and powers are on the decline, and may properly be called old, an elder, and therefore entitled to the respect and veneration due to his experience and wisdom of age. Its derivation is from the word for "beard." All the nations of the Ancient Near East seem to have attached a profound significance to the beard as the distinguishing symbol of manhood. The beard was a sacred object by which solemn oaths were sworn, and to insult it was the ultimate indignity that could be inflicted on a man. The "elders" throughout Ancient Near East civilisations formed a superior social or political tier and were representatives invested with legislative and judicial functions.

Non-Christian philosophers pondered deeply the significance of their physical world. On the significance of the beard Epictetus wrote:

> Can anything be more useless than the hairs on a chin? Well, what then? Has not nature used these in the most suitable way possible? Has she not by these means distinguished between the male and the female? . . . Wherefore, we ought to preserve the signs [*symbola*] which God has given; we ought not to throw them away; we ought not, so far as in us lies, to confuse the sexes which have been distinguished in this fashion.[1070]

If the beard is part of God's original design for man (as hair on a woman was designed to make her beautiful) then something may be lost in the world of symbols in his society by its removal. The daily exercise of removing this symbol probably has more to do with vanity than hygiene. Men simply want to look younger or retain their youthful look as long as possible into old age. To *look* venerable is no longer considered an asset. The old are considered fuddy-duddies and so any symbol of ageing is removed. Christian men ought to review the reasons why they continue to follow the ancient pagan fashion of removing the beard which was introduced by the Romans in 296 BC. It was not removed by God's people throughout the entire history of the OT and in was continued into the Church of the NT despite the fact that the Greeks and Romans had the opposite custom at the time.

The term for a full-grown man was *m^{e}tîm*. It is an archaic form occurring mainly in poetry and always in the plural. It may derive from the idea of "stretched out," i.e., come to the full grown state/stage. It is never used as a common gender in the sense of *the people*, but

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[1069] The terms for man are: *adam, ish, enosh, ashish, geber, zakar, methim, na'ar*. The terms for woman are: *issha, gebira/geberet, na'arah, neqeba, pilegesh, shiddah.* See Willem A. van Gemeren, . (ed. et al), *The New International Dictionary of Old Testament and Exegesis* (5 vols; Carlisle, Cumbria: Paternoster Press, 1996), I. 388.

[1070] Diss. 1.16.10, 14, quoted by Richard B. Hays in *First Corinthians* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1997), p. 189.

always *men*, and almost invariably associated with the thought of impotence, dependence, and hence with an implied feeling of contempt. It is probably the closest Hebrew gets to describing a dodderly old man who has ceased to have a meaningful input into society.

The term *geber* (*gibbôr*; *g^e^bar*) on the other hand, has the prevailing sense of man in his prime. He exudes strength and full-blown manhood, capable of heroic deeds; he has presence and authority. The term occurs about 64 times but always in poetic passages except for ten prose passages. It always occurs in the plural except for Deuteronomy 22:5. Hence it is really a poetic designation for man. The *gibbôr* was a master of men, just as the *g^e^bîrâh* is the mistress. The latter term, however, passed into an exclusively technical sense, being applied to the queen-mother (1 Kgs 15:3; Jer 13:18), who seems to have exercised some influence in political affairs, as can be seen in the case of Solomon's mother (1 Kgs 2:19). The queen had little or no political power.

The term *'ênôsh*, occurs about 42 times. It is a poetic form of אִישׁ occurring mainly in Job (18x), Psalms (13x) and Isaiah (8x).

The three most used Hebrew forms and their Greek (LXX) translations are:[1071]

		אָדָם	אִישׁ	אֲנָשִׁים	אֱנוֹשׁ	OTHER HEBREW TERMS
LXX	ἄνθρωπος (1049)	414	400	89	30	116x for 16 other forms
LXX	ἀνήρ (1391)	23	770	393	2	203x for 19 other forms

HEB/AV	husband[1072]	—	65	3	—
HEB/AV	man/men	462	939	463	31

The term *'îsh* (אִישׁ) occurs approximately 1586 times (sg. and pl.) in the OT.
The term *'âdâm* occurs approximately 551 times in the OT (all forms).
The two Greek terms most used for "man/men" in the New Testament[1073] are:

		man/men	husband	others	not translated
NT (AV)	ἄνθρωπος (559x)	552	——	3	4
NT (AV)	ἀνήρ (215x)	156	50	7	2

		woman/ women	wife/ wives		
NT (AV)	γυνή (221x)	129	92		
LXX	γυνή (*c.* 787x)	*c.* 330	*c.* 388	*c.* 69	

The NT distinguishes between the specific gender "male" (ἄρσην [9x[1074]]) and "female" (θήλεια [5x; Mt 19:4=Mk 10:4; Gal 3:28; Rom 1:26, 27]; LXX for נְקֵבָה).

The word γυνή (sg. and pl. forms) occurs approximately 787 times in the Greek OT and in 718 cases it translates אִשָּׁה/נָשִׁים; the other 69 cases translate other Hebrew terms for woman or where there is no Hebrew text (i.e., additions to the MT). Of the 718 cases 287 are

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1071 The statistics were calculated using Hatch & Redpath's *Concordance to the Septuagint.*

1072 Taken from Young's Concordance under 'husband'.

1073 The NT statistics are taken from J. B. Smith, *Greek-English Concordance to the New Testament.* (Scottdale: Mennonite Publishing House [Herald Press]/Eastbourne, ENG: Kingsway Publications, 1955). The LXX statistics are only approximate as they are taken from the translation of the Hebrew. Both in Heb. and Gk it is only the context, not the lexical form, that indicates what the marital status is, if any.

1074 The form occurs in Mt 19:4=Mk 10:6; Lk 2:23; Rom 1:27 (3x); Gal 3:28; Rev 12:5, 13.

translated by "wife" and 101 by "wives" in the AV. There are a further 214 cases where אִשָּׁה has been translated "woman"; and 96 cases where נָשִׁים has been translated "women"; making a total of 310 examples. It is very likely that we would have to use the same English translations for the LXX text in almost all these instances.

It should be noted that neither in Hebrew nor in Greek is there a specific word for "husband" or "wife." Married men and married women in these cultures are simply called "man" and "woman," and it is only the presence of the possessive pronouns and/or the context that will show if a marital status is involved. Some have unsuccessfully tried to argue that ἀνήρ almost always indicates a married man and that it must mean this in 1 Timothy 2:12 because ἀνήρ and γυνή are in close proximity. The statistics show that this suggestion cannot be forced on the terms. In any case, if Paul wanted to say that generically "man" was the head of "woman," as he does in 1 Corinthian 11:3, the two terms would *have to be* in close proximity. So the argument from "proximity" is inconclusive.[1075] It is to no avail to heap up examples where ἀνήρ and γυνή are found in close proximity and where they should be translated as "husband" and "wife" respectively, because we have already noted that neither Hebrew nor Greek have such specific terms. Jesus is called both ἀνήρ (Lk 24:19; Jn 1:30; Acts 2:22; 17:31; 2 Cor 11:2; Rev 12:2) and ἄνθρωπος, and even male (ἄρσεν)(Lk 2:23; Rev 12:1, 13).[1076] We have noted that the term ἄνθρωπος is not used as a synonym for "husband." Even Matthew 19:10 is not an exception ("If the case of the man [ἄνθρωπος] with the woman is so, it is not good to marry") because here the disciples are setting out the situation should the man marry. And if Jesus' teaching is to be the norm then, they concluded, it was better not to enter into marriage.

The argument that if Paul was stressing that headship was gender specific he ought to have used the terms "male" and female" (ἄρσην and θήλεια) would appear to have some force until it is put into operation in the case of children. Are infant male sons capable of exercising "headship"? Of course not! Until they have grown to a suitable age they will come under the authority of their parents, just as Jesus was submissive to his parents when he was twelve years of age. Consequently, Paul's choice of the terms ἀνήρ and γυνή was appropriate in that these terms are gender opposites, and mark them out as adult persons. The term ἀνήρ is set over against youth in classical literature, where ἀνήρ alone always means *a man in the prime of life,* especially a warrior. The several ages of man are given as: παῖς, μειράκιον, ἀνήρ and πρεσβύτης. It is appropriate that only when a youth comes to manhood that he should take on the responsibility of being a "head." If the age of an ἀνήρ can be driven downwards then so much the better because every ἀνήρ has Christ as his head. Presumably if a man was considered fit at 20 years of age to fight the Lord's battles (Num 1:3; cf. Exod 30:14) then God was his Head at that point if not earlier.

There is another term, "lord" or *ba'al,* which has a wide range of meanings one of which is to denote an owner of a woman (wife). It occurs with this meaning in the OT eleven times. It also occurs three times in the verb form with the same meaning (Deut 21:13; Jer 31:32; Isa 54:5). Another term is חָתָן which may possibly mean husband, but it has also been interpreted as son-in-law and bridegroom (Ex 4:25, 26 and only here).

[1075] See G. P. Hugenberger, "Women in Church Office: Hermeneutics or Exegesis? A Survey of Approaches to 1 Tim 2:8-15," *JETS* 35 (1992) 353, see n. 57 where he assumes that in 1 Cor 11:3-15 Paul is referring to wives and husbands and not men and women. But in 11:3 ἀνήρ cannot to limited to married men, so why should its use in the rest of the passage be limited to married men? 11:4 appeals to 'every man' not to cover his head, surely this cannot be restricted to married men.

[1076] See Jack Cottrell, "The Gender of Jesus and the Incarnation: A Case Study in Feminist Hermeneutics," *Stone-Campbell Journal* 3 (2000) 171-194, esp. pp. 179-185. When Jesus is called an *anthropos* it calls attention to his humanness as distinct from his divinity. When this term is used for *individuals,* it always refers to *males.* There are no exceptions. Cottrell gives a list of examples, where, in parallel passages ἄνθρωπος and ἀνήρ are interchangeable, but there are no cases where it is interchangeable with γυνη (woman). Jesus as *anthropos* means that he is a *male* human being.

The difference in Hebrew between the use of *adam* and *ish* is that the former means "man and not beast," whereas *ish* means "man and not woman."[1077] Thus Adam is called *adam* before Eve was created (eight times in Gen 2). The Greek prefers to use ἄνθρωπος to translates *adam.* (See further on this below.)

Paul refers to four kinds of flesh, "All flesh is not the same flesh, but there is one flesh of men (ἀνθρώπων), and another flesh of beasts, and another of fishes, and another of birds" (1 Cor 15:39). The term *adam* will refer to "the flesh of man" in distinction from the other three kinds of flesh.[1078] In this sense "man has no pre-eminence above a beast" (Eccl 3:19). Consequently *adam* will refer to the human species but primarily to the man who is put for the whole human family. The term *adam* is never used of the marital status, so that, while it may often refer to men in general it is never used on its own to refer to females as distinct from males, though it can be used of men in distinction from females.[1079] The female of the species will be included under the male (Gen 6:7; LXX and Heb uses the singular "the man" to refer to the whole of mankind which God will destroy with a flood); so that ἄνθρωπος will refer to the men and in some instances include those under his care, such as his wife and children (cf. Rom 5:18, "[judgment came] upon all men (ἄνθρωπος) to condemnation").

It is sometimes argued that the word *anthropos* "does not specifically denote gender,"[1080] but means "person." Yet in various New Testament passages it is used synonymously with *aner,* a word that means "male" or "husband" and not just person (see, e.g., Lk 6:6, 8; 8:27, 29). In John 3:3 *anthropos* is used to refer to Nicodemus; does this exclude his gender? Acts 19:35 makes it clear that in first-century Ephesus *anthropos* can be a subset of *aner:* "Men [*andres,* plural of *aner*] of Ephesus, what man [*anthropos*] is there among you . . ." Jesus called himself the "son of man" (τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου) which he could not have done had he not been born a male (cf. Phil 2:7-8). In Jn 7:22 Jesus says, "and on a Sabbath you circumcise a man (*anthropos*)." Here it excludes females. The term *anthropos* embraces baby boys (Jn 16:21) to grown men. It has no inherent reference to marital status (Jesus was single and calls himself the "son of man"). *It simply covers all males of any age or status.* On the other hand, the term *aner* refers to man in his maturity. It is never used of baby boys. Paul wrote, "It is good for a man (*anthropos*) not to marry" (1 Cor 7:1). Clearly, in this particular context *anthropos* could not be a reference to a married man. The term *anthropos* appears to view man in his singleness, as he came into the world, ignoring his age and/or marital status, but not his gender. There is no unambiguous use of it to refer to females as 'persons' in the LXX or NT.[1081]

1077 Cf. Lev 13:29, 'If a man or woman (אִישׁ אוֹ אִשָּׁה). . .'. The only instance in the OT of a parallel to *ish* (אִישׁ) when it means husband is 2 Sam 11:26, 'When Uriah's wife (אֵשֶׁת אוּרִיָּה) heard that her husband (אִישָׁהּ) was dead, she mourned over her husband (ba'al, בַּעְלָהּ).'

1078 Frequently man is set in opposition to beasts; cf. Gen 7:23; Ex 8:17; 9:25; 12:12; Num 3:13; 8:17; Jer 7:20; 27:5; 32:43; 36:29; 50:3; 51:62; Jon 3:7; Hab 1:14; Zeph 1:3; Hag 1:11.

1079 See Josh 11:14; 14:15; Jud 16:7 (Samson); Dan 10:18 Mt 8:9 (centurion); 9:9 (Matthew); 9:32 (dumb man); 12:10, 13; 13:24; 17:14; 19:5, 'For this cause a man (ἄνθρωπος) shall leave . . . and cleave to his wife' (cf. Eph 5:31); 19:10; 21:28; 25:24; 26:74; 27:32, 57; Jn 1:6 (John the Baptist); 4:28; 5:5; 7:22-23, 'on the Sabbath day you circumcise a man' (cf. Gal 5:3); 7:46 and 8:40 (Jesus); Acts 4:22; 9:33 (Eneas); 21:39, 'I am a man' (Paul); 5:19 (Adam's disobedience; cf. 1 Cor 15:21); 1 Cor 7:1, 'It is good for a man not to touch a woman'; 7:7; 15:47 (Adam); 2 Tim 2:2; Heb 5:1 (only men are made priests); 7:28; Jas 5:17 ('Elias was a man'); Rev 4:7 ('the third beast had the face of a man'); 9:7.

1080 Cf. Kroeger, *op. cit.,* p. 69.

1081 In J. N. Darby's rule on the use of the Greek article he noted: "Ο ἄνθρωπος would point out an object, the race viewed as one whole, where some specific individual was not meant (that is, if you please, one individual, real or ideal); it is always a subsisting thing to the mind, about which something is affirmed. Hence, as an objective personification of the idea, it has the article." His rule regarding the presence or absence of the article was: "whenever a word presents the *object* about which the mind is occupied, as objectively present to it, the article is used; whenever a word is merely characteristic, it is not" ("On the Greek Article," in *The Collected Writings of J. N. Darby,* edited by William Kelly [Kingston-on-Thames: Stow Hill Bible and Tract Depot, 1964], vol. 13, pp. 30-105, esp. p. 92).

The idea of woman being under the authority of man comes out in Romans 7:2, "For the ὕπανδρος (literally: "under-man" woman) has been bound by the law to the living man." The form ὕπανδρος is made up of ὑπό + ἀνήρ "under" plus "man." In the Hebrew this word translates תַּחַת אִישׁ "under man" in Num 5:20, 29. The LXX at 5:19-20 reads: "And the priest shall abjure her, and shall say to the woman, 'If no one has lain with you, and if you have not transgressed so as to be polluted, being under (the power of) your husband (ὑπὸ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν σεαυτῆς), be free from this water of the conviction that causes the curse. But if being under-man (ὕπανδρος) you have transgressed, or been polluted, and any one has lain with you, other than your husband . . . .' Then the priest shall abjure the woman by the oaths of this curse . . . ."

Numbers 5:29 (LXX), "This is the law of jealousy, whenever a woman, being under a man (ἡ γυνὴ ὕπανδρος οὖσα), transgresses and is defiled."

The same Greek word denoting a married woman occurs in Prov 6:24 ("to keep you from a woman under a man [ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ὑπάδρου]"), 6:29 ("so is he who goes in to a woman under a man [πρὸς γυναῖκα ὕπανδρον]"); Sirach 9:9 ("Never dine [alone] with another man's wife"); 41:21 ("Be ashamed . . . of gazing at another man's wife").

It has sometimes been argued that Paul's subordination texts (1 Tim 2:11-14; 1 Cor 11:2-15; 14:33-34) should be limited to the married persons in a domestic context and not to the general relation of men to women.[1082] This idea has been encapsulated in the following translation: "A married woman must learn in quiet and perfect submission. I do not permit a married woman to practice teaching or domineering over a husband. She must keep quiet."[1083]

This might sound like quibbling because in the culture of Paul's day unmarried women were practically unknown. It was considered a shame in Hebrew culture for a woman not to produce children. The more children she bore the more she was honoured in her own home but more especially in the community. Prolonged virginity was not a thing to boast about.

First, it is misleading to call these texts "subordination" passages. It is not an issue of subordination but rather of the outworking of the principle of the love-headship of man in 1 Corinthians 11:3, "the head of woman is man." That is the context in which these texts should be set and discussed.

Second, once the context that Paul set these texts in has been recognised then the problem of whether he is applying his teaching only to the married relation does not arise. It must apply to that situation. That can be taken for granted on the analogy of Christ and the Church. But the analogy of Christ and the Church itself is not one of marriage because, to follow the marriage analogy through, Christ has not yet consummated the marriage: the Church is still in the pre-nuptial state, so how can He be her head? It would appear from the experience of Joseph and Mary that in the betrothed period Joseph was technically married to Mary and, although their union was not consummated, it required a certificate of divorce to be released from the betrothed state.

Third, we have shown above (1.3) that until a daughter married, she remained in the house of her father in an obedience relationship to him (and her mother): her head was not her father. When he gave her away in marriage, he gave away his care of her to her husband. Therefore, from the moment a female enters this world she is under the direction of her parents until she marries when she then voluntarily accepts the headship of her husband. But from the moment a male enters this world, he has Jesus Christ as his head, not his earthly father. So there was never a time when a girl became independent of man's care, which seems

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[1082] G. P. Hugenberger, "Women in Church Office: Hermeneutics or Exegesis? A Survey of Approaches to 1 Tim 2:8-15," *JETS* 35 (1992) 350-60.

[1083] C. B. Williams, *The New Testament: A Translation in the Language of the People* (1937).

to be assumed in the suggestion that Paul's "subordination" texts apply only to the married state.

Fourth, if the injunction is limited to married women then it does not apply to virgins and widows. Presumably the suggestion is that unmarried women can pray, prophesy and speak in tongues in church until the day they marry, and then, for some unspecified reason they must never contribute to the upbuilding of the church from that day onwards until they are released from their marriage vow through the death of their husbands (Rom 7:1-2), and then they can contribute once again to the upbuilding of the Church.

What is there about the marriage union that abruptly cuts off the newly wed bride from ever exercising her spiritual gifts in the church again? What connection is there between this state of affairs and the reason Paul gives in 1 Timothy 2:13-14? In verse 13 he points to the priority of man in creation. If so, then he is prior to both the married and the unmarried woman. There is no logical connection. In verse 14 Paul points to the priority of the woman in sinning. Is the logic in the fact that she was a married woman when she sinned?

Fifth, to be consistent 1 Corinthians 14:33-35 would have to be translated: "As in all the assemblies of the saints, your married women in the assemblies should be silent. For it has not been permitted to them [i.e., to the *married* women] to speak, but to subject themselves, as also the Law says. And if anything they are wishing to learn, in the house of their own husbands let them question; for it is a disgrace for married women to speak in church." It is difficult to know why there is no disgrace felt when widows and unmarried women and girls speak in public, but there is disgrace when a married woman speaks. In this scenario it cannot be the fact that a female voice is heard, therefore the cause must be sought in the marriage union itself. In some mysterious way a married woman's voice carries disgrace when it is heard in the public meeting. Why?

Sixth, to be consistent 1 Corinthians 11:3 would have to be translated, "And I wish you to know that the head of every married man is Christ." What about the unmarried men? Is Christ not their head also?

Seventh, to be consistent 1 Corinthians 11:4 would have to be translated, "Every married man praying or prophesying having his head covered dishonours his head." Does this mean that unmarried men can cover their heads without bringing shame on Christ or their own heads?

Eighth, to be consistent 1 Corinthians 11:5 would have to be translated, "and every married woman praying or prophesying having her head uncovered is shaming her own head." Does this mean that unmarried women can uncover their heads without bringing shame on their own heads? If so, then unmarried women would be in the same category as married men!

Ninth, if 1 Corinthians 11:7 states that man is not to cover his head because he is the "image and glory of God," how can this be limited to married men? Do unmarried men not also reflect the "image and glory of God"? Or are they in the same category as women until they marry?

The theory that "man" (ἀνήρ) in the creation theology passages must refer to married men does not make sense, consequently "man" means the masculine gender in these places. Paul, as the Apostle to the Gentiles, uses the example of Adam and Eve not simply as a paradigm for husbands and wives but as a paradigm for all men and women in all ages. Peter, as the Apostle to the Circumcised, uses Sarah as a paradigm for all Christian women (1 Pet 3:6).

It is sometimes argued by those who want to blur the distinction between male and female to argue that where the NT refers to "men (ἀνήρ)" we are to assume that women are included. There is no unambiguous example of such a use. Indeed, it would appear that the NT writers used the term ἀνήρ specifically to mean "men (and not women)," and use γυναῖκες to mean "women (and not men)." There is no instance where "woman" (γυναῖκες) includes "men." Where men, women and children are referred to collectively they use the

term "crowd" (ὄχλος), just as we would do today. Compare the use of "men" (ἄνδρες), "women" (γυναικῶν), and "children" (παιδίων) in the feeding of the 5000 (Mt 14:21; cf. 15:38). Collectively they are called a "great crowd" (πολὺν ὄχλον) in Matthew 14:14, and the number "5000" (14:21) and "4000" (15:38) does not include women. They are specifically excluded in these counts. Even Jesus makes a mental note of the number of *men* (excluding women and children) he fed (Mt 16:9; Mk 8:19). But if we did not have Matthew 14:21b and had only the three versions of Mark (6:44), Luke (9:14) and John (6:10) we might have been forced to conclude that the term "men" (ἀνήρ) in these accounts *must* include women and children, because it is highly unlikely that there would have been no women and children in the crowds that followed Jesus. But Matthew's version shows that the term "men" in Mark, Luke and John specifically *excludes* women and children from the count in their stories even though there is no indication in Mark, Luke and John that the count includes only men. We have only the bare term "men" itself in Mark, Luke and John by which to infer this. And this inference is valid only if the term "men" has a regular gender-specific meaning. So while the term "crowd" is inclusive of all ages and genders, the term "men" is exclusive of "women," and the term "women" is exclusive of "men." Consequently, when we read in Acts 4:4 that the number of the believers came to "about 5000 men," we cannot infer from this that this number must have included women and children. The women and children will be in addition to this number—not included in it, because the count specifically uses the term "men."[1084] On the other hand, not every occurrence of "crowd" will necessarily include women and children. In Acts 1:15 we read:

> "Peter having risen up in the midst of the brothers (ἀδελφῶν), said (the multitude [ὄχλος] also of the names at the same place was, as it were, an hundred and twenty), "Men (Ἄνδρες), brothers (ἀδελφοί), it was necessary that this Scripture be fulfilled . . . concerning Judas . . . because he was numbered among us . . . . it is necessary, therefore, of the men (ἀνδρῶν) who did go with us during all the time in which the Lord went in and out among us . . . one of these [men] to become with us a witness of his rising again."

Here the term "crowd" has been defined by the context to exclude females and children.

THE TRANSLATION OF HA'ADAM AND 'ADAM

The Hebrew does not give the first male (Adam) a personal name until the second male (Cain) is born. So that from Genesis 1:26 to 4:1 הָאָדָם (*hâ'âdâm*) should be translated as "The Man" rather than "Adam." It is only from Genesis 4:25 onwards, after Cain is born, and when Adam "knew" his wife again, that the Hebrew calls him "Adam" (by dropping the prefixed article).

The Samaritan version follows the Hebrew except that at Genesis 2:7 (and only here before 4:1) it introduces the personal name ("Adam") for "The Man." This is probably a slip.

The Septuagint uses the indefinite "Man" (*anthropos*) up until God gives a command to the first man at Genesis 2:16, when it switches to using the personal name "Adam" until 5:5, apart from two occasions where it switches back to the impersonal "Man" (at 2:18; 51) since these are not regarded as referring to Adam personally.

Whereas the Hebrew regarded the genealogy in Genesis 5 as the genealogy of Adam (personal), the Septuagint read it as the genealogy of Man (impersonal).

The Septuagint omits the article (the cases are marked in the table below with an asterisk) before Adam when it is the subject of the verb.

[1084] Strangely, in Grimm-Thayer's *Lexicon* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901) this verse is quoted as an instance of the use of 'men', as an example where 'persons of either sex are included, but named after the more important.'

Genesis 6:1 throws light on Genesis 1:26 and 2:5 in that all three texts use ADAM in a generic sense, meaning “men.”

THE TRANSLATION OF HA'ADAM/'ADAM		HEBREW	SAMARITAN	LXX
Gen 1:26	Let us make ADAM (pl.) in our image	ADAM	ADAM	MAN
Gen 1:27	God created THE MAN in his own	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	MAN
Gen 2:5	And ADAM (pl.) did not exist to till the	ADAM	ADAM	MAN
Gen 2:7	And the Lord God formed THE MAN	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	MAN
Gen 2:7	and THE MAN became a living soul	HA'ADAM	ADAM	MAN
Gen 2:8	there he put THE MAN whom he	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	MAN
Gen 2:15	the Lord God took THE MAN	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	MAN
Gen 2:16	Lord God commanded THE MAN	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	ADAM
Gen 2:18	not good that THE MAN should be alone	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	MAN
Gen 2:19	brought them to THE MAN to see what he	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	ADAM
Gen 2:19	whatsoever THE MAN called every	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	ADAM*
Gen 2:20	THE MAN gave names to all cattle	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	ADAM*
Gen 2:20	but for *THE* MAN there was not found	*l*^{e}-ADAM	*l*^{e}-ADAM	ADAM
Gen 2:21	caused a deep sleep to fall on THE MAN	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	ADAM
Gen 2:22	the Lord God had taken from THE MAN	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	ADAM
Gen 2:22	brought her to THE MAN	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	ADAM
Gen 2:23	THE MAN said, This is now bone of my	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	ADAM*
Gen 2:25	both naked, THE MAN and his wife	HA'ADAM	ADAM	ADAM
Gen 3:8	THE MAN and his wife hid themselves	HA'ADAM	ADAM	ADAM
Gen 3:9	And the Lord God called to THE MAN	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	ADAM
Gen 3:12	THE MAN said, The woman whom You	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	ADAM
Gen 3:17	And to *THE* MAN he said, Because you	*l*^{e}-ADAM	*l*^{e}-ADAM	ADAM
Gen 3:20	THE MAN called his wife's name Eve	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	ADAM*
Gen 3:21	To *THE* MAN also and to his wife did	*l*^{e}-ADAM	*l*^{e}-ADAM	ADAM
Gen 3:22	THE MAN is become as one of Us,	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	ADAM*
Gen 3:24	So he drove out THE MAN	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	ADAM
Gen 4:1	And THE MAN knew his wife Eve	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	ADAM*
Gen 4:25	And ADAM knew his wife again	ADAM	ADAM	ADAM*
Gen 5:1	the book of the generations of ADAM	ADAM	ADAM	MAN
Gen 5:1	the day that God created ADAM	ADAM	ADAM	ADAM
Gen 5:2	and He called their name ADAM	ADAM	ADAM	ADAM
Gen 5:3	And ADAM lived 130 years	ADAM	ADAM	ADAM
Gen 5:4	And the days of ADAM after he begat	ADAM	ADAM	ADAM
Gen 5:5	And all the days of ADAM which he	ADAM	ADAM	ADAM
Gen 6:1	when THE MAN began to multiply	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	MAN
Gen 6:2	sons of God saw daughters of THE MAN	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	MAN
Gen 6:3	shall not always strive against THE MAN	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	MAN
Gen 6:4	came in to the daughters of THE MAN	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	MAN
Gen 6:5	the wickedness of THE MAN multiplied	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	MAN
Gen 6:6	repented that He had made THE MAN	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	MAN
Gen 6:7	Lord said, I will destroy THE MAN whom	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	MAN
Gen 6:7	from ADAM to beast, to creeper, to bird	from ADAM	from ADAM	MAN
Gen 7:21	and all flesh died . . . and all THE MAN	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	MAN
Gen 7:23	He blotted out . . . from ADAM to beast	from ADAM	from ADAM	MAN
Gen 8:21	never again curse . . . because of THE MAN	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	MAN
Gen 8:23	imagination of THE MAN's heart is evil	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	MAN
Gen 9:5	I will seek . . . from the hand of THE MAN	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	MAN
Gen 9:5	I will seek the life of THE MAN	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	MAN
Gen 9:6	Whoso sheds the blood of THE MAN	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	MAN
Gen 9:6	by THE MAN shall his blood be shed	*bâ*-ADAM	*bâ*-ADAM	MAN
Gen 9:6	for in the image of God He made THE MAN	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	MAN
Gen 11:5	which the sons of THE MAN built	HA'ADAM	HA'ADAM	MAN
Gen 16:12	He shall be a wild ass of ADAM	ADAM	ADAM	MAN
Exod 4:11	Who made a mouth for THE MAN?	*lâ*-ADAM	*lâ*-ADAM	MAN
Job 28:28	And God said to THE MAN, Lo the fear	HA'ADAM		MAN
Prv 27:19	so the heart of THE MAN reflects the	HA'ADAM		MAN
Prv 27:19	heart of THE MAN reflects THE MAN	*lâ*-ADAM		MAN
Ecc 1:3	What does THE MAN gain from all his	*lâ*-ADAM		MAN
Ecc 2:18	I must leave them all to THE MAN	*lâ*-ADAM		MAN
Ecc 2:22	What does THE MAN get for all his toil?	*lâ*-ADAM		MAN
Ecc 6:11	How does that profit THE MAN?	*lâ*-ADAM		MAN
Ecc 6:12	Who knows what is good for THE MAN?	*lâ*-ADAM		MAN

Ecc 6:12	Who can tell THE MAN what will	*lâ*-ADAM		MAN
Ecc 8:15	Nothing is better for THE MAN	*lâ*-ADAM		MAN
Jer 10:23	It is not for THE MAN to direct his steps	*lâ*-ADAM		MAN
Zep 1:17	bring distress on THE MAN	*lâ*-ADAM		MAN

In Genesis 1:26 God says, "Let us make Man (אָדָם) in our image and after our likeness." The occurrence of Man (אָדָם), without the prefixed article, is one of only two occurrences of this form in the first three chapters of Genesis. There are three possible ways of interpreting it. First, it could be the personal name for Adam which does not take the article in Genesis 4:2—5:5 (7 times). In which case God has a particular individual in mind when He expresses His desire.

Second, there is the possibility that God has a class of individuals in mind whom He envisages spreading over the earth and subduing it. This has the support of the second occurrence in 2:5, "And *adam* did not exist to till the ground." Hebrew does not have a plural form of *adam.* It is not likely that a single *adam* is envisaged in this statement. The first human pair ("male and female") are called *adam* immediately after their union as one flesh "on the day they were created" (5:2). It would seem that from Genesis 6 onwards the term "The Man" (הָאָדָם) serves as a species or *min* name for the human family: "when THE MAN began to multiply. . . ." The use of "The Man" in the period just before Noah's Flood confirms this.

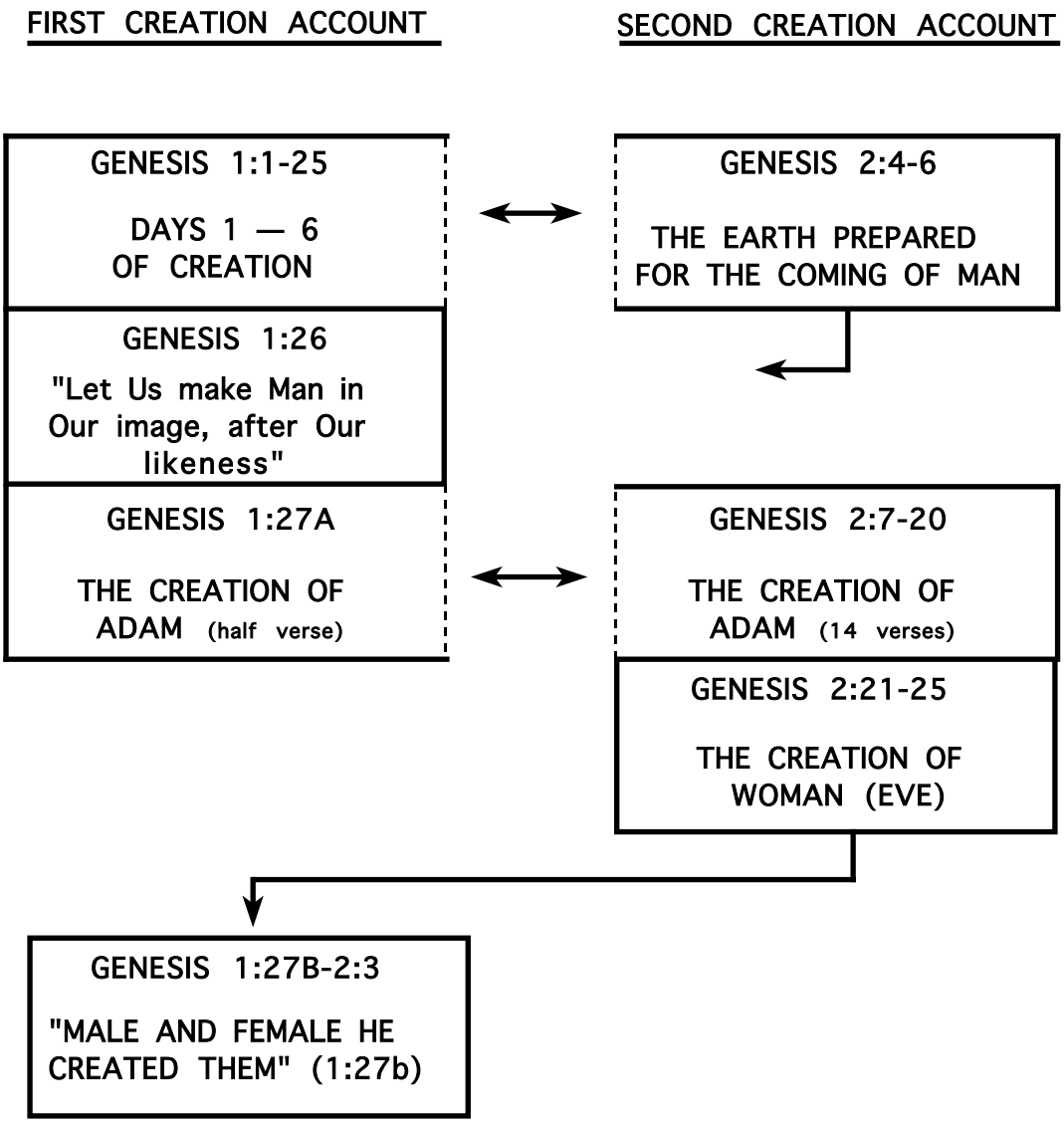
A third possibility is that both ideas are present: an individual Adam, who would multiply and produce after his kind, and in this way spread over the earth and subdue it. This would seem the most likely option because immediately after expressing the thought God created a single *adam*, when it was well within His powers to create as many *adams* as He needed to subdue the earth. However, it is probably best to translate the two cases of *adam* without the prefixed article in 1:26 and 2:5 as a longer term thought of envisaging a multitude of *adams* rather than as a direct reverence to Adam, on the grounds that a single man could not hope to subdue the earth. God then begins the task of producing a class of *adams* by creating Adam. God's concern on Day Six is with his creation, not with Man's comforts (i.e., man's need for a helpmeet which comes later on in the creation), hence God's focus is on Man at this point in time. This is brought out in Genesis 2:5, "and *adam* was not *present* to till the ground." In Genesis 2:5 the two large-scale factors that would alter the face of the dry earth and bring it to a state that would satisfy God were the presence of rain/irrigation and farmers (*adams*), here put in the collective singular *"adam"* but clearly standing for a class of agricultural workers, such as Adam, the first gardener, and Cain, his son, a "tiller of the ground."

Twice it is stated that the first Man, Adam, was created in God's image and likeness in the day he was created (Gen 1:26; 5:1). This is followed on both occasions by two statements: that God made a male and a female and, that he blessed them (presumably in a marriage ceremony uniting them).

Chronologically, there is a gap of time between the creation of Adam and the creation of Eve. They were not created together. Therefore, between Genesis 1:27a and 1:27b we should read Genesis 2:4-31, and then continue with 1:27b—2:3, as in the diagram below.

By piecing the total story together in this way we are presented with God contemplating the creation of Adam (either taken as a reference to the individual, or, more likely, to the "male" species) to whom He would give control of the earth. He then creates Adam in His own image and with the full capability to carry out what He designed him to do. Then we have to go to 2:8 to fill in what happened next which was, that God placed Adam in a specially prepared area within a wider, unattended land. Here God brings the animal creation under the authority of Adam, but at the end of the naming process there is no pairing for Adam, as there had been for all the other creatures. Each animal had its mate, male and female characterised each species. It was not until Adam "discovered" this that God made a major modification to his existence with the introduction of a mate—a wife.

Nothing is said of the image in which Eve was created, but it clearly was not the same image as Adam had been created in, because his purpose was to reflect His Maker's image. She was created with another, entirely different function in the Creator's mind, namely, to be Man's companion for life; and for that specific purpose her design was, and had to be, different. The resultant life-force produced from one of Adam's ribs was designated *'îshshâh* to show both her origin and destination. The married pair are named by God as *"adam"*(5:2b). For a moment a part of his body had been severed from him, but it was restored in the form of a wonderful companion. It was fitting that the restored unity, or "one flesh" should be called by his name. The unity both in name (pronounced by God, not Adam) and body (produced through a God-arranged marriage) reflected the "normal" pattern that God envisaged for mankind. And within that unit, or "one flesh," Adam was the head, or leader, or controller, by virtue of the "image and likeness" to God that marked him out as different from the female of the species.



The omission of any statement to the effect that woman was made in "the image and likeness" of God was noted by Paul in 1 Corinthians 11:7.[1085] There he explains why there is

[1085] Sometimes evangelical writers (e.g. Brian Edwards in, "Leadership in the Bible," in *Men, Women and Authority*, ed. Brian Edwards [Bromley. Kent: Day One publications, 1996], pp. 50-67, esp. p. 65) assume that woman was also made in "the image and likeness" of God. If so she would have all that man has including headship, but she

a different dress-code for men and women when they are engaged in spiritual activities ("praying or prophesying"). He (and/or his rabbinic tradition) examined Genesis 1—3 very carefully and noted the omission. He concluded: "For a man ought not to cover his head, since he is the *image and glory of God*; but the woman is the *glory of man*" (emphasis added). He (and his tradition) noted that while Man received his life force directly from the "breath of God," turning inert dust into life, the woman was created out of Man's living matter (or pre-existing live matter). In the case of Man, he was created out of pre-existing non-human matter (dust), and his "breath" comes directly from God's "mouth." In the case of Woman, she was created out of pre-existing human matter (Adam's rib), and her "breath" comes directly from Man, not from God's "mouth." So her manner of creation was not the same as his. He was made directly to serve God; she was made directly to serve Man, and in so doing to please her Creator.

Conscious of how Man and Woman came into existence and the way they were intended to relate to each other in a close, loving union, Paul avoids saying that she is "the image and glory of man." He goes no further than to say that she is "the glory of man." But when Adam's first son was born it is stated that Shem was born "in his [Adam's] own likeness, after his image" (5:3). But nothing is said about the image and likeness that his daughters were born in, presumably in the image and likeness of Eve. But lest this line of thinking leads to a denigration of woman's place or standing in God's creation it should be noted that when Adam and Eve were united by God , he blessed *both* and gave *both* of them "dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth." It is very probably this "dominion" that Paul refers to in 1 Corinthians 11:10 when he links this God-given "authority" to the covering of her head "because of the angels." All creation is made subject to Eve, *except her husband.* All creation is made subject to Adam, *including his wife.*

One scholar makes the following observation: ontological hierarchy is known from Ps 8:5-6 (cf. Sirach 17:3), where are told that God created man a little lower than the angels, and gave him dominion over creation. This hierarchy is confirmed in Hebrews, where the Psalm is quoted (2:7) and it is important to recall that the writer felt obliged to discuss the question of Christ's relationship to angels at some length. His argument is that by becoming man, the Son of Man, who is by nature far above any angel, elevated the elect, who have become His brothers by adoption, to a position higher than that of the angels, a status confirmed by Paul when he says that we shall judge them (1 Cor 6:3). The LXX translated Hebrew *tselem* by *eikon,* which conveys the same idea of "concrete image" as the Hebrew. Plato used *"eikon"* to refer to "a thing which has a genuine share in the reality depicted, to the point where it may even be identified with that reality." The other Hebrew term, *d'muth,* is translated in the LXX using terms that emphasise the visual (*homoiosis, eikon, idea*) and therefore superficial resemblance, adding weight to the OT consensus that *d'muth* cannot be regarded as a distinct entity in its own right.[1086]

It would seem to me that in Isaiah when God asks, "To whom then will you liken me, or to whom shall I be equal? says the Holy One . . .Who has created all these things [the stars] . . . ?" The expected answer is Yahweh, and only Yahweh. But we know from John 1:3 and Colossians 1:15-16 that Jesus was co-Creator. Therefore, when Genesis 1:26 says, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness," the inference is that man was created in the *image* (i.e., something solid, a body) and *likeness* of God, and this has reference to Jesus for whom God prepared a body (from all eternity?)(Heb 10:5), and Man was made in the likeness of *that* body. In Colossians 1:15 Jesus is described as being "in the image of the invisible God," and he is referred to as the "new Adam." In Romans 8:29 we are predestined to be conformed to the image of His Son. In Colossians 3:9-10 we put on the new man, renewed in knowledge

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does not have headship as part of her constitution, whereas, Man, Christ and God each have headship. She has the same moral image as Man and she is the "glory of man," not the "glory of God."

[1086] Gerald Bray, "The Significance of God's Image in Man," *TynBull* 42.2 (1991) 195-225.

according to the image of the One [God] who created him [Man] *in the beginning.* God can only create perfect beings. So God created Adam in the image and likeness of His own Son. This would take care of the very concrete imagery that is used in Genesis 1:26.

APPENDIX I: WORDS FOR "VEIL"

It has sometimes been suggested that there is a semantic connection between "veil" and "subdue." In other words that the veil was a symbol that the woman was under the authority of her husband.[1087]

The suggestion is that the Hebrew term "veil" (רְדִיד *r^e^dîd*) comes from the root רָדַד "subdue." While the two words do come from the same Hebrew root the suggested derivation is unlikely because the *literal* (as opposed to the figurative) meaning of the root is "to beat flat." The verb form occurs only four times in the OT.

At 1 Kgs 6:32 it means to "*spread out* gold over the cherubims" [Hiphil]. In Jud 19:11 the day was "spread out," i.e., nearly sundown [Qal]) from which the figurative meaning "to beat down, to subdue [to stretch out flat on the ground?]" one's enemy would come. See Isa 45:1, "to subdue nations before him"; and Ps 144:2, "who subdues my people under me."

But it is from the literal (not the figurative) meaning that the concrete noun idea of a wide wrapper has arisen. The noun occurs only twice in the OT, namely in Cant 5:7 and Isa 3:23. The object appears to have been a garment that a woman might wrap about the upper part of her body at night to keep warm. It may have been pulled up over the top of her head without hiding her face: "The watchmen found me . . . they beat me . . . they took away my cloak [*r^e^dîd*]" (Cant 5:7 [LXX τὸ θέριστρον μου]; "shawl" in Isa 3:23 [Heb.]). Liddell & Scott suggest that it is a "light summer garment." It is certainly not a veil.

Hebrew has a specific word for veil, namely, צָעִיף *tsâ'îph*, which is used only three times in the OT, namely, when Rebekah *veiled her face* from her future husband, Isaac (Gen 24:65, LXX τὸ θέριστρον περιεβάλετο), and when Tamar *veiled her face* (Gen 38:14, LXX περιεβάλε τὸ θέριστρον) to act the part of a prostitute to entrap Jacob, and then removed it afterwards (Gen 38·19, περιείλετο τὸ θέριστρον αὐτῆς). apparently a large wrapper or "light coverings for couches" [Isa 3:23 LXX θέριστρα]).

The normal word for a garment that was used to hide the face was κάλυμμα. However, of the 21 instances of its use in the LXX there is no instance of this word being used of a woman veiling herself. The statistics are as follows:

Eight times it translates the noun מִכְסֶה (from the Heb. verb כסה "to cover" as in Genesis 38:14, "and *covered* her with a veil"; Genesis 38:15 "she had *covered* her face"; Genesis 24:65, "she took a veil and *covered* herself"; Ex 10:5, "they shall *cover* the face of the earth," [cf. Num 22:5, 11; Ex 10:15]; Job 15:27, "he *covers* his face with his fatness" [cf. Job 9:24]; Ps 69:7(8), "shame has *covered* my face" [cf. Jer 51:51]); Ezek 12:6, "you shall *cover* your face" [cf. 12:12]).

The Hebrew noun מִכְסֶה occurs 14 times where it refers once to the "covering" or roof of Noah's ark (Gen 8:13); and the other 13 times of the "covering" or roof of the Tabernacle (with badger skins, etc.).

Three times κάλυμμα translates the noun מַסְוֶה (from the root סוה or סוּת which, apparently, does not occur as a verb form in the OT). The noun occurs only three times in the OT where it refers to the *veil* that Moses put on when he came down from Mount Sinai (Exod 34:33, 34, 35). It is interesting that the Hebrew writer uses a unique word for Moses' veil and so avoids the use of a feminine garment such as a woman's veil for the veil that Moses wore. This would harmonise with the commandment that men are not to wear women's clothes (Deut 22:5). Likewise the LXX avoids using θέριστρον (as does Paul) which denotes the distinctive feminine veil and they use the neutral—as regards gender associated—word κάλυμμα for a "covering" of any sort.

[1087] Cf. Henry Alford, *The Greek Testament: with a critically revised text: A digest of various readings . . . and a critical and exegetical commentary.* (4 vols. 3rd ed. London: Rivingtons, 1857), II, 1 Cor 11:10.

Only three times does κάλυμμα translates the noun מָסָךְ which occurs 25 times in the OT. 22 times the Hebrew refers to the *curtains* or *hangings* which hung around the Tabernacle. The other three Hebrew instances refers to a *covering* of some sort (2 Sam 17:19; Ps 105:39; Isa 22:8).

The three instances where κάλυμμα translates the noun מָסָךְ are Exod 27:16, "for the gate of the court a *curtain* of twenty cubits"; Exod 40:5, "the *curtain* of the door of the tabernacle"; and Num 4:25, "and the *curtain* for the door of the tabernacle."

It would seem that one of the functions of a κάλυμμα was *to hide* what is on the other side of it by means of hangings (vertical coverings) which acted as screens. Its other use is to cover over something (horizontal coverings) and so acting as a roof.

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CHARTS TO ACCOMPANY THE WORK "GOOD ORDER IN THE CHURCH"

Chart 1 "The difference between 'Obedience' and 'Headship' relationships"

Chart 2 "Authority structure in Creation" and "Authority structure in the Church"
Chart 3 "From Adam to Christ: The Three Love-Headships"
Chart 4 "The Two Accounts of the Creation of Adam"
Chart 5 "The OT Love-Headship Relationships"
Chart 6 "The NT Love-Headship Relationships"
Chart 7 Text and chart showing "Your will be done"
Chart 8 "The Three Love-Headships of 1 Corinthians 11:3" ('Your will be done')
Chart 9 "Three Models of Loveship" (1 Cor 11:3)('Your will be done')
Chart 10 "Hierarchy of Headships" ('Your will be done')
Chart 11 "The Church Model of Love-Headship" ('Your will be done')
Chart 12 "Feminist Model of Headship: 'Our will be done'"
Chart 13 "Paul's reordering of the three headships of 1 Corinthians 11:3"
Chart 14 "The difference that Christ's coming as God's Mediator made to the reordering of heavenly powers"
Chart 15 "The family unit in the Old and New Covenants"
Chart 16 "The qualifications for public office in the Church&emdash;Elders and Deacons"
Chart 17 "Christian Marriage and Headship"
Chart 18 "The significance of the uncovered head in the presence of God"
Chart 19 "Paul and the New Testament writers addressed their letters to men"
Chart 20 "The dangers facing the Church"
Chart 21 "A life pleasing to God"

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The term "sons of God" must be inclusive of wives in:

Lk 20:36 36 Οὔτὲ [οὐδὲ] γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν ἔτι δύνανται, ἰσάγγελοι γάρ εἰσι[ν]',[°] καὶ υἱοί εἰσι[ν]' °τοῦ Θεοῦ,[°] τῆς ἀναστάσεως υἱοὶ ὄντες.

For neither [not] are they able[pres pass ind] to DIE further, for they are like[equal to] angels[{=angel-like}]—and they are sons of {°•}God, being[pres act ptc] sons of the resurrection.

But see 2 Cor 6:18, "I will be a Father to you, and you shall be my sons and daughters, says the Lord Almighty." So God has kept the gender distinction in the spiritual world. The quote comes from Isa 52:11; Ezk 20:34, 41.

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http://www.headcovering.info/articles.html
This site contains contributions by individuals but there are no summaries, so that it is expensive in time to use.

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