The Role of Women in Early Christianity

### **The Women Who Followed Jesus**

The ancient world was "malecentered." Most cultures have been patriarchal.

Women were simply not counted in the first century Jewish world:

"...there must be ten men present to begin a synagogue service; the testimony of a woman was insignificant in court; and women were not allowed to study Torah." The Roman world had their own ways to push women to the side. [-1-]

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We will have a quick overview of the gospel material showing how women followed Jesus.

In addition, we will look at the role these women played in His ministry. In am using two excellent scholars: Carla Ricci and Richard Bauckham. [-2-] It is easy to miss the importance of women in the life and ministry of Jesus. Yet a close reading of the gospel material reveals that Jesus welcomed women into His circle.

Some of his methods went against the culture of His day. In fact, the most important point in this presentation is that historic Christianity (beginning with Jesus) has always been counter-cultural. The Resurrected Jesus was Revealed First to Women This is the most obvious literary witness pointing to the importance of women in the life and ministry of Jesus. The resurrection was revealed first to the women.

In all four gospels it was the women who first saw (or heard from an angel) that Christ had been raised from the dead. In addition, it was the women who were first given the commission to "go and tell." [-3-] So if you think about it.... Women were the first Christians. Women were the first preachers.

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This is quite important when you consider ancient culture, and we have already seen this to be the case in first century Judea:

- a woman's testimony was not valid in legal matters.
- Luke most clearly reports that the disciples did not believe the women and their report of the resurrection.

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When [the women] came back from the tomb, they told all these things to the Eleven...But they did not believe the women, because their words seemed like nonsense.

(Luke 24:11).

The men would have been seen as a possible threat of violence. At the same time, the women were simply going about their domestic duties of cleaning and dressing the body of Jesus after His death. While this is all true, Jesus could have easily appeared first to the disciples (as Luke reports that He eventually did later), simply walking through the walls of the house.

The gospel evidence seems to indicate that He intentionally appeared to the women first.

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Jesus Reached Out to Women... to Follow Him Here is a good reason for why we call it the "Synoptic Problem." A subtle, yet revealing text in Matthew's gospel describes the crowd when Jesus fed thousands of people:

The number of those who ate was about five thousand men, not counting women and children. Matt 14:21 [-4-]

This neglect of counting the women is easily missed by many readers (I read past it without much thought for years). Yet, there are numerous references to women interacting with, and following Jesus.

Luke makes an interesting comment that contrasts with Matthew's account:

Jesus traveled about from one town and village to another...The Twelve were with him, and also some women who had been cured of evil spirits and diseases: Mary (called Magdalene) from whom seven demons had come out; Joanna the wife of Chuza, the manager of Herod's household; Susanna; and many others. These women were helping to support them out of their own means. Luke 8:1-3 [-5-]

Only three women are named, but Luke says there were "many others." We know at least 9 named women who followed Jesus from the four gospels:

- Mary Magdalene
- Joanna

- Susanna
- Mary and Martha (of Lazarus)
- Mary, the wife of Clopas
- Mary, the mother of James (Joses)
- Mary (mother of Jesus) and
- Salome.

This short list of named women includes five named "Mary." [-6-]

Luke says there were "many others" who followed Jesus. Here is quick list of "other" women mentioned, but not named: - Peter's mother-in-law (Luke 4:38)

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- the woman with the issue of blood (Mark 5:25ff; Luke 8:43ff)
- the Canaanite woman with the demon-possessed daughter (Matt 15:22ff)
- the raising of the widow's only son (Luke 7:12ff)
- the woman who anointed Jesus, kissing His feet and wiping His feet with her hair (Luke 7:37ff; there were likely two very similar events) - the crippled woman bound for 18 years (Luke 13:11ff)

- the woman at the well (John 4:7ff)

- and the woman caught in adultery (John 8:3-11) [-7-].

It is fairly safe to say that at least some of these unnamed women would have followed Jesus to some extent, even if only when He was in their region. Given the historical caveats of how women were marginalized, it makes the inclusion of women in the life and ministry of Messiah Jesus even more

daring...and more important. "Many others" followed Jesus. (Luke 8:3)

3. Luke 8:1-3 makes it clear that women were included in the first followers of Jesus.

At the end of Luke's gospel the women find the empty tomb and angels say to them:

'He is not here, but has risen. Remember how he told you, while he was still in Galilee, that the Son of Man must be handed over to sinners, and be crucified, and on the third day rise again.' Then they remembered his words.

Luke 24:5-8

Luke again names three women:

- Mary Magdalene Joanna and
- Mary (mother of James) *Lk* 24:10 [10 min]

[Quote from Bauckham]

"[The reference above] must be to the earlier passion predictions in 9:22 and 9:44, spoken to 'only the disciples' (9:18) and to 'his disciples' (9:43). This should remove any suspicion that Luke does not consider the women to be disciples." [Bauckham, *Gospel Women*, p.113]

In other words, Luke is purposefully showing that women were following Jesus.

Luke's gospel has a special focus on women. He opens the ministry of Jesus in Luke 8 with the women, then ends his gospel with the women at the empty tomb. [-8-]

# Jesus Broke the Rules Regarding Women

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Jesus broke the rules of first century Judaism and the traditions of the Pharisees:

He and the disciples did not wash their hands.

- He allowed the disciples to pick grain on the Sabbath.
- He healed on the Sabbath.
- He went to social gatherings with
- "sinners" and was accused of being their friend.
- He touched lepers.

He touched a dead person. (Mark 5:41)

He touched a coffin with a dead
 body in it. (Luke 7:14)

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Perhaps more daring (and damning for the Pharisees), Jesus broke the rules regarding women:

He allowed women to follow Him,
even traveling with Him and the
men. (Luke 8:1-3)

He actively taught women as their rabbi. (Luke 10:38ff)

– He touched women. (Matt 8:15)

He allowed women to touch Him.
(Luke 7:38ff; John 12:3ff;
Matt 28:9)

## The Role of the Women Who Followed Jesus

What role did the women have as they followed Jesus? What were they doing? Cooking and waiting on the men? Or maybe teaching the children as they travelled? Once again, we turn to the text in *Luke* 8:1-3. The last phrase in these verses: These women were helping to support them out of their own means.

Jewish women would not normally travel with men outside their family. Single, non-family women... Married women...without their husband (Joanna, wife of Chuza).

The life they were called to was an unusual situation. Jesus called the men saying "follow me" which was a challenge to leave their home...their family...and occupation. Luke 8:1-3 is evidence that Jesus called the women to the same lifestyle, to "behave in a significantly countercultural way with regard to material resources." Luke's presentation points to the possible inclusion of the women when the seventy-two are sent out. [-9-]

## [14 min] Women in the Orbit of Paul

Was Paul against women in leadership? A close look might surprise you. Paul was a controversial figure in the primitive church. He says that he did not receive his gospel from men — specifically not from the apostles in Jerusalem. [*Galatians* 1:1; 1:11-12]

Did Paul welcome women into his orbit?

Women in the Book of Acts –
My first thought is to look at Luke's account of Paul in the Book of Acts.
This is a quick listing of the women (some are named, others not) shown

to be in Paul's orbit according to the book of Acts:

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a group of women in Philippi – 16:13 Lydia, a new convert, invited Paul to stay in her home – 16:14,15 the "church" met at Lydia's house – 16:40

"quite a few" leading women responded in Thessalonica – 17:4 in Berea "prominent Greek women" believed – 17:12 [-10 -] Damaris, a Greek woman in Athens

who believed – 17:34

"and a number of others," in 17:34 NIV seems to point to women Priscilla (wife of Aquila) is introduced – 18:2 the four daughters of Philip – 21:9 So we see in *Acts* that Luke presents many women in Paul's orbit.

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### – The Letters of Paul –

Now we need to look at the women listed as leaders of some kind in the letters of Paul. Rather than comb through the Pauline letters on my own, I have used Philip Payne's excellent work, *Man and Woman, One in Christ.* [-11-]

Priscilla, wife of Aquila, is most often mentioned first – Acts 18 (4x); Rom 16:3; 1 Cor 16:9; 2 Tim 4:19 [-12-] In *Romans* 16 Paul greets over 20

people, 12 of whom are cited with certain terms that distinguish them as leaders. Seven of the 12 are women. Phoebe is listed as a "deacon" – Rom 16:1 Junia, mentioned as an "apostle" – Rom 16:7

There is excellent scholarship showing that Paul refers to Junia as an "apostle." [-13-]

[and by the way, Eldon Epp, a MSS expert has demonstrated how Junia's name was changed for the first time to a man's name in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.] ----

Mary, Rom 16:6; Tryphena, Tryphosa and Persis, Rom 16:12 – all four are cited by Paul as women who "worked hard" for the gospel. This Greek term [*kopiao*] is used several times by Paul describing his own labor:

- 1 Cor 4:12; Gal 4:11; and especially
- 1 Thess 5:12-13. [Payne, p.67]

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This list from the other Pauline letters continues:

Euodia and Syntyche who "contended at [Paul's] side in the cause of the gospel," Phil 4:1-2 Nympha [Col 4:15] who hosted the church in her house.

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This is a list of ten women in Paul's orbit. Add the three named women in Acts along with the references to "quite a few" and "a number of others" that are not named. Like we see with Jesus, Paul had many important women in his orbit.

### [20 min]

### – Paul's Gospel Principles –

The historical problem with Paul's witness is found in 3-4 thorny passages that seem to be "antiwomen" in their presentation. These passages have been used through Christian history to support a negative (or at least "limited") view of women's involvement in church leadership.

Philip Payne, *Man and Woman* deals with all of these thorny Pauline passages. Payne's work is a good place to start. His text is 506 pages filled with excellent scholarly sources and footnotes.

#### All are One in Christ Jesus

Perhaps the most revolutionary principle taught by Paul (implied by Jesus) is that "all are one in Christ."

There is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither slave nor free, nor is there male and female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus. *Galatians* 3:28

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Although the "male and female" phrase is only found one time, it is implied in several other Pauline passages.

Consider the first part of this saying: "neither Jew nor Gentile." This, of course, is what first brought Paul into conflict with some of the other apostolic leadership – he would not bend on the Jew/Gentile stance before God. He stood his ground in the face of persecution. Gentiles should not be circumcised, nor made to follow the food laws laid out at the Jerusalem Council [Acts 15].

Paul did not think Gentiles should be required to follow the Law of Moses:

You who are trying to be justified by the law have been alienated from Christ; you have fallen away from grace. *Galatians* 5:4

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Paul's clear statement in Galatians 3:28 lays the foundation of equality – first with religion (Jew/Gentile), next with social status (slave/free or *poor/wealthy*), then with respect to gender (male/female).

More Examples of Equality Here are a few other texts worth looking at:

In the thorny passage on headship Paul makes it clear that "woman is not independent of man, nor is man independent of woman." *1 Corinthians* 11:8-12

In the passage on marriage where Paul states "Wives, submit

yourselves to your own husbands as you do to the Lord" [*Ephesians* 5:22], the preceding verse states, "Submit to one another out of reverence for Christ."

This is one example of around 20 uses by Paul of the Greek term allelous ("one another") in various forms: "love one another," "forgive one another," "honor one another." All of these "one another" admonitions are addressed to ALL Christians, Jew and Gentile, slave and free, men and women.

## The Logic of Equality

Typically Christianity does not support a theology that demands women must do something different or extra to come into faith.

I have never heard anyone suggest that women must do something different (or extra) to be baptized, or to attend church.

I have never heard anyone say or imply that God loves men more or differently, or that women should not be taught to read and study the scriptures (which was a first century Jewish practice).

- Can women be filled with the Holy Spirit?
- Can they share their testimony with a male or can they only share their faith with other women and children?
- The priesthood of believers? Is this only for men?

We assume equality with respect to salvation, baptism and participation of all other aspects of "community."

Why would we then assume that women MUST be excluded from various roles in leadership?

There is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither slave nor free, nor is there male and female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus. *Galatians* 3:28

[30 min] Are Women Supposed To Be Silent In Church? In the face of such evidence that Paul included women, there are two passages in Pauline writings that must be addressed:

- 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 and
- 1 Timothy 2:11-12. [-14-]

Both of these verses command women to remain silent or quiet [in church]. "In church" is clearly stated in the *1 Corinthians* text, but is only implied in *1 Timothy*:

Women should remain silent in the churches. They are not allowed to

speak, but must be in submission, as the law says...for it is disgraceful for a woman to speak in the church. *1 Corinthians* 14:34-35

The focus in this section is the manuscript [MSS] tradition of the *1 Corinthians* text. That evidence informs us on the second text.

# MSS Evidence of an Addition to the Text

Philip Payne offers an extensive review of the MSS evidence in "Man

and Woman" [pp.225-253] for anyone who wants to go deeper into the data. Payne seems to use Gordon Fee's presentation as a springboard. I will use Payne's overview (which has extensive footnotes) with a simple listing of the major points. [-15-]

Many NT scholars agree that
1 Cor 14:34-35 is an interpolation,
meaning it was not in the original
letter written by Paul, but was added
later by scribal copyists. (p.227)

The "Western" MS tradition is known to be some of the earliest copies of the New Testament.

Every "Western" manuscript has v34-35 AFTER v40. This alone is an indication of a manuscript issue. (p.228)

 A significant list of second and third century church fathers cite several verses from 1 Cor 14 without any acknowledgement of v34-35 is an indication that these verses were added into the Western MS tradition

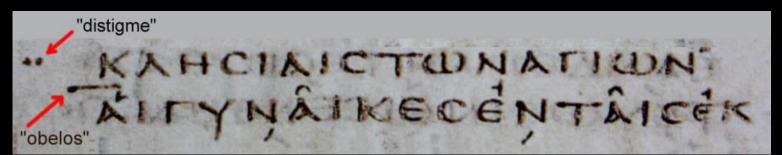
# sometime in the second century. (p.250-252) [-16-]

– There is a correction of Codex Fuldensis in 547AD, placing v34-35 in the margin with markings showing the reader/scribe where the verses had been prior to editing. This marginal marking makes it clear that Bishop Victor had good evidence that the verses had been added. (pp.246-250)

For me the evidence in the Codex Vaticanus, coupled with the meta-

message of Paul (Galatians 3:28), is the best evidence of interpolation. Vaticanus is an uncial MS in the Alexandrian text-type dated 325-350AD. It is possible that Vaticanus was one of the 50 Bibles Eusebius was ordered to have produced by Emperor Constantine. The story, as recreated by Theodore Skeat, is fascinating. [-17-]

The Codex Vaticanus has markers in the margin [see the image below] indicating that v34-35 are variant readings. (p.232-246) Payne has been published several times on MSS and textual analysis. He lays out the evidence for the



markers in Vaticanus and, in agreement with Fee, believes these markers are strong evidence of interpolation. (p.228)

Having seen for myself the internal conflict in *1 Corinthians* between Chapters 11-12 and 12:34-35, I was

fully amazed and convinced by the MSS evidence presented by Gordon Fee back in the 90's. I first read Payne in 2019. His work is thorough and clear.

### The Results of the MSS Evidence on "Women shall remain silent"

After laying out the evidence arguing for *1 Cor* 14:34-35 being an interpolation, Payne says that along with a few other scholars he thinks the text in 1 Timothy 2 was in the mind of the scribe(s) that initially added to the text. This has been my view since reading Fee in the 90's. [-18-]

Payne is attempting, in my opinion, to convince fellow evangelicals who lean more towards a fundamentalist, literalist and complementarian view!

He spends 153 pages going into the Greek to convince others who are not willing to listen. Payne offers extensive exegesis and commentary on the 1 Timothy 2 text to show that

## it should be read as an occasional letter.

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More importantly for me, there is now only a single verse in the entire NT requiring women to learn in quietness under the man's authority in church. It should be treated as a single verse in an occasional letter.

I found a blog where several evangelical bloggers make snarky comments about Payne's work. Their comments give me the impression that either: a) they are simply not formally trained scholars OR b) they were trained in a fundamentalist seminary where they were taught that the Bible supported women being subordinate to men. Also, they probably think that ANY mistake or error in the biblical manuscripts are a threat to faith. Amazingly, Philip Payne (a solid, well-published scholar) responds on this blog with sincere, courteous and lengthy replies. [-19-]

Unlike the detractors, Payne is a true gentleman AND a scholar.

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### Conclusion on Difficult Pauline Passages

There are several difficult passages in our NT. We have only mentioned two in this section. We need to remember that Paul says "now we see through a glass dimly" [Gk: "in enigma"] *1 Cor* 13:12.

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It appears to me that Paul is saying

there are things we will not fully understand...at least not in this life. We must learn to live with that reality. While I certainly appreciate biblical scholarship, sometimes the simple answer is the best answer. We should lean towards the "preponderance of evidence."

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Remember the meta-message. Both Jesus and Paul welcomed women into their circle of influence AND made spiritual service available to them. ALL general verses that speak of God's provisions, challenges, giftings and callings are done in a non-gendered style: *John* 3:16.

Acts 1:14 makes it clear that the women who had followed Jesus were present for the Great Commission. Then Peter quotes Joel 2:28-29 which includes women on the Day of Pentecost.

Finally, *Galatians* 3:26-28 ("...you are all God's children...all who are baptized into Christ...nor is there male and female, for you are all one in Christ").

#### NOTES:

1. *Mary Magdalene and Many Others: Women Who Followed Jesus*, Carla Ricci (Fortress Press 1994), p.23 for the quote regarding Jewish law. For the Roman world Ricci points to a text by Pliny the Elder where he mentions that medical writings by female doctors would be intentionally hidden, see p.20n1.

2. Gospel Women: Studies of the Named Women in the Gospels, by Richard Bauckham (Eerdmans 2002) and Jesus and the Eyewitnesses: The Gospels as Eyewitness Testimony (Eerdmans 2008) also by R. Bauckham. Bauckham cites Ricci 4-5 times in both of these works.

3. *Matt* 28:1-10; *Mark* 16:1-7; *Luke* 24:1-8; *John* 20:11-18. For "go and tell:" *Matt* 28:7; *Mark* 16:7; *John* 20:17.

4. The same Greek word [choris – "without"] is used in *Matthew* 15:38. Luke

simply counts the men and does not mention women at all, *Luke* 9:14. These texts show a "patriarchal and androcentric language-structure" that reveals an "absence of women and a silence applied, generally if not completely, to them." Ricci, p.20.

5. This is the text that led Ricci in her study.

6. Bauckham (*Eyewitnesses*, p.71) uses four ancient sources to estimate the most common names in first century Judea:
28.6% of the women were named either Mary or Salome, p.72. He comments on the difficulty of one "Mary":

"The persistent attempts...to explain the variations in Mark's lists of the women by postulating different sources are unconvincing and unnecessary." p.50n43 The most common names in first century Palestine came from the Hasmonean family that ruled Israel after the Maccabean revolt, p.74-75.

7. Although this famous story is not attested in the earliest MSS, it does appear that Eusebius mentions this story
[E.H. III.39.17] as appearing in *the Gospel to the Hebrews*. This was possibly an early version of Peter's testimony.

8. Inclusio: a literary device where something occurs in the beginning and at the ending of a document or passage, Gospel Women, p.186. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor takes Bauckham to task in his review [Revue Biblique, Vol. 114, No. 4 (OCTOBRE 2007), pp. 621-630] claiming "Bauckham simply does not know what an inclusio is" (p.625). O'Connor failed to see Bauckham's caveats along the way: "If this device... is intended" in Mark's gospel (p.125) and calling the device in John's gospel "quite elaborate" (p.393). Bauckham is introducing evidence and possibilities, not proof of eyewitness testimony. But his use of *inclusio* in *Mark* and John are contrasted with what

Bauckham says is "a distinctive feature of Luke's story (p.129 in the section subtitled "Luke's Inclusio of the Women").

9. The quote is Bauckham, *Gospel Women*, p.114. Bauckham sees the women included in the seventy-two, p.192.

10. "That the high-status women are mentioned first probably suggests that there were more of them that converted than men." *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*, Witherington, Ben [Eerdmans 1998], p.509n171. In this footnote (continued on p.510) Witherington states, "The antifeminist tendency in D is seen here..." This "antifeminist tendency" of the Western "D" manuscript tradition (this "western" text family is considered to be one of the oldest manuscript families) has been clearly shown by several scholars and is going to come up again in this whole discussion. See Witherington, Ben, **"The Anti-Feminist Tendencies of the** 'Western' Text in Acts." Journal of Biblical Literature, Vol. 103, No.1 (1984), pp.82– 84. Also online: JSTOR, https://doi.org/10.2307/3260315. [Look up other articles on the western text]

11. Payne, Philip, *Man and Woman, One in Christ*, (Zondervan 2009), pp.61-68.

This is an excellent text that can be used to research many aspects of Pauline literature, especially the thorny texts that deal with women.

12. It is not easy to pass by Priscilla. She is a very important player in Paul's ministry. There will be more on Priscilla in the remainder of this series. See Payne, *Man and Woman*, p. 64. Also, Bauckham, Richard, *Gospel Women: Studies of the Named Women in the Gospels* (Eerdmans 2002), p.213.

13. See Payne, pp.65-67 especiallyp.65n17 where he cites Eldon J. Epp's"masterful study" *Junia: The First Woman* 

Apostle (Fortress 2005). Epp shows that for the first thousand years it was not doubted that Junia was indeed a woman (Epp, Junia, p.34). Also see Bauckham, Gospel Women, pp.165-186. On the diminishment of Prisca see, "Is There an 'Anti-Priscan' Tendency in the Manuscripts? Some Textual Problems with Prisca and Aquila," Kurek-Chomycz, Dominika A., JBL Vol. 125, No. 1 (Spring, 2006), pp. 107-128. Kurek-Chomycz also points out the Western "D" MSS problems cited above.

14. Many scholars do not accept thePauline authorship of the Pastoral epistles[1 and 2 Timothy and Titus]. This debate

cannot be addressed here. I point the reader to three excellent scholars who present solid arguments for Pauline authorship: Kelly, J.N.D., A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles, 2nd ed. (Baker Book House 1983), pp.3-6, 21-34; Fee, Gordon D., 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, New International Biblical Commentary (Hendrickson 1988), pp.23-26; and Johnson, Luke Timothy, The First and Second Letters to Timothy (Yale 2008). I cannot find the Johnson text in order to give the page numbers, and apologetically I cannot find the notes I made 15 years ago in the divinity library of Duke University. Philip Payne argues that even if Luke was his scribe the letter is Pauline,

Man and Woman (Zondervan 2009), pp.291-294. Payne states that if the letter was not written by Paul, then it is "not inerrant," p.292. The term "inerrant" is confusing to me and does not make sense. I hold the OT and the NT to be "inspired" regardless of authorship. For an article that I agree with 99%, see "Why inerrancy doesn't matter," by Roger E. Olson.

15. Fee, Gordon, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NEW INTERNATIONAL COMMENTARY ON THE NEW TESTAMENT (Eerdmans 1987), pp.699-709.

16. My PhD work was on Clement of Alexandria. Using the index in the Ante-Nicene Fathers series, Vol.2 reprint (Eerdmans 2001), p.627-29, Clement quotes 1 Corinthians 211 times (from every single chapter in this letter) without citing 14:34-35. He also quotes from all six chapters 1 Timothy, yet Clement does not cite the thorny sister verses from 1 Timothy. Clement is a bit unusual among early church fathers: "silence" was a very important concept his theological/spiritual system, yet he never mentions these two verses that women should remain silent. I agree with Payne that the lack of using this verse, given the "enormous practical implications" (p.251)

is another indicator that these verses were added to the text and were not in the original letter.

17. Skeat, Theodore, JTS Vol.50, No.2 (October 1999), pp.583-625. Skeat recreates a story of Constantine ordering a monumental project and, using the historical evidence, illustrates how Eusebius must have changed his plans several times mainly due to lack of physical resources, for example not being able to get the requisite amount of vellum or calligraphers. Skeat believes Vaticanus was in the set of Bibles delivered to Constantine.

[https://www.jstor.org/stable/23968492]

18. I first learned the overall "occasional" reading of 1 Timothy back in my 1984 Exegesis class. That is the exegesis offered by J.N.D. Kelly, Gordon Fee, Ben Witherington III, *Letters and Homilies for* Hellenized Christians: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on Titus, 1-2 Timothy and 1-3 John, (IVP 2010), see especially pp.217-223. Philip Payne agrees with this view.

19. The Blog:

[https://evangelicaltextualcriticism.blogspo t.com/2010/01/is-1-cor-1434-35interpolation.html]. These men (I think I saw one woman that left comments) will not listen. As Christians, we do not worship the text or our theological views. Our faith is based on the teachings in the text, but our faith is not "in the text." Our faith is rooted in the physical resurrection of Jesus which the first century Christians had – they did not have a New Testament.