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“PRISCILLA AND AQUILA INSTRUCTED
APOLLOS MORE PERFECTLY IN THE
WAY OF THE LORD” (ACTS 18)

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Tertius . . .

My perhaps-naïve assumption is that the editor's introduction is the least-read part of any journal. As a result, I should briefly reiterate my first introduction from the autumn 2014 issue—in case you missed it. My name is Jeff Miller. My wife Dana and I live, work, and minister in the

mountains of eastern Tennessee. I have become increasingly involved with CBE since attending their 2007 conference in Bangalore, India. My predecessor Bill Spencer and his editorial team of Aída Besançon Spencer and Deb Beatty Mel deserve sincere thanks for their decade of exemplary service. “Tertius” at the top of this page refers to Romans 16:22, where Paul’s amanuensis says, “I, Tertius, who wrote down this letter, greet you in the Lord” (NIV). I feel an affinity with Tertius; the work that associate editor Theresa Garbe and I do for *Priscilla Papers* is not terribly unlike the work Tertius did for Paul.

Moving on, the theme of this issue of *Priscilla Papers* is *Status Quaestionis*, a Latin phrase meaning “the state of the investigation.” It’s a sophisticated way to refer to the accumulated results of scholarship on a particular issue. This *Priscilla Papers* will give readers a sense of the *Status Quaestionis* regarding the biblical and theological case for evangelical egalitarianism. For clarity’s sake a few qualifying comments are in order. First, it must be noted that egalitarianism is broader than the biblical and theological arguments for it. This issue of *Priscilla Papers* makes no effort to capsulize other major aspects of egalitarianism, such as its psychological and sociological ramifications or its implications for vital matters

such as domestic abuse and human trafficking. Second, this volume’s authors are central figures in a decades-long debate and inevitably interact with complementarian persons and positions. Please recognize our authors’ unflinching tone as rightly arising from the passion which fuels it, and not from any antagonistic or uncharitable motives.



Among the writings of Bruce Metzger—the twentieth century’s most influential New Testament scholar—is the book, *Reminiscences of an Octogenarian*, which includes the chapter, “Vexations of an Author.” Some of Metzger’s vexing reminiscences involve editors. Having recently become an editor, I fear I too will frustrate authors. Indeed, this fear has already come true! And so, I here offer my first editorial *mea culpa*.

The previous issue of *Priscilla Papers* includes an article by Deirdre Brouer titled, “Tamar’s Voice of Wisdom and Outrage in 2 Samuel 13.” Its final sentence says of Tamar, “As a woman who fears the LORD, she is . . . honored within the messianic line of Judah (1 Chr 3:9-16, Matt 1:3).” This concluding reference to Matthew is an error, for Matthew’s messianic genealogy refers to the Tamar of *Genesis*, not the Tamar of Samuel. This was not Deirdre’s mistake—it was mine. Moreover, she caught my mistake early and pointed it out. I thought I had deleted it, but alas . . . Deirdre has graciously accepted my apology; I hope and trust you will do the same.

. . . greet you in the Lord.

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The Bible Teaches the Equal Standing of Man and Woman

PHILIP B. PAYNE

Is the Bible divided on the issue of gender? Many highly respected evangelical scholars believe there is a tension in the Bible between affirmations of gender equality and gender roles. Can we arrive at a consistent biblical position without doing violence to the text? Need one sacrifice good exegesis at the altar of systematic theology? Surely, good exegesis and good systematic theology go hand in hand. I have prayerfully wrestled for forty-one years with the texts' apparent contradictions on gender and can honestly say that the biblical texts themselves have transformed my understanding. From creation to new creation, the Bible's message about gender in the church and marriage consistently affirms the equal standing of man and woman.

Women in the Old Testament

Woman in the creation and after the fall

Genesis presents gender equality, rather than male leadership, as humanity's created state.¹ It teaches that man and woman are created equally in the image of God and together have dominion over the earth (Gen 1:26–27). Their equality is not limited to spiritual standing before God, but applies to their dominion over the earth. God blessed man and woman and charged them both in verse 28: "Be fruitful and multiply, fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over . . . every living thing that moves upon the earth."

The structure of the creation narrative climaxes in the creation of woman, fulfilling man's need for a partner corresponding to him (Gen 2:18, 20). The text describes woman being created to be the man's *'ezer kēnegēdō*, literally, "a strength corresponding to him." Unfortunately, the word *'ezer* here is often translated "helper," which, in English, implies a subordinate or servant. Never in the Bible, however, does *'ezer* suggest "helper" as in "servant," but almost always describes God as his people's rescuer, strength, or might.² The most authoritative biblical Hebrew dictionary lists biblical meanings of *'ezer* as "help, assistance, might, and strength," but not "helper."³ Three times *'ezer* describes a military protector.⁴ Nothing in the context of any of these passages warrants concluding that, as *'ezer*, either God or woman is subordinate to man.⁵

The second word, *kēnegēdō*, combines *kē* (as) + *negēd* (in front of) + *ō* (him) and so conveys "as in front of him." *Nāgīd*, a noun related to *negēd*, refers to the person in front and means, "the one declared (by Yahweh) to lead."⁶ Therefore, like *'ezer*, *kēnegēdō* is more appropriate to identify a superior or equal than a subordinate. Nothing in the expression *'ezer kēnegēdō* in Gen 2 implies God created woman as a subordinate helper for man. Quite the opposite, it highlights her strength to be an equal partner with man, rescuing him from being alone. She is his counterpart: his companion and

friend who complements him in exercising dominion over the earth. She fulfills him so that together they can be fruitful and care for the earth.

Likewise, nothing in the Genesis account of creation grants man priority in status or authority over woman,⁷ but throughout it emphasizes their equality. God makes woman from the man's rib, and the man recognizes, "This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh" (2:23), because they share the same substance (2:21–23). "Father and mother" are identified without hierarchical distinction (2:24). In marriage, they are "united" and "one flesh" (2:24). Both are naked and feel no shame; they share moral innocence (2:25). Together, they face temptation and disobey God's command (3:6). They both realize they are naked and sew coverings (3:7). Both hide from God (3:8), showing they were both ashamed that they had disobeyed God. Both pass the blame (3:12–13). God speaks directly to both, announcing specific consequences of their sin (3:9–13, 16–19). Both are responsible for their own acts. Thus, Gen 2–3 portrays gender equality, not an "order of creation"⁸ that grants men authority over women.

Male hierarchy over women is not in God's design. The first mention of male rule is in Gen 3:16, which identifies it as a direct result of the fall: "He will rule over you." Even prominent male hierarchists agree that this "is not a prescription of what should be."⁹ Like every other result of the fall, it is a negative change. To make this compatible with the theory of male headship in creation, hierarchists say Gen 3:16 is about the introduction of unloving rule, not male rule over women in general.¹⁰ The text, however, does not say that *only unloving* male rule is a result of the fall; it says that *male rule itself* is a result of the fall. Genesis 3:16 uses by far the most common word for "rule," not a word that naturally brings to mind bad rule. The word is even used for God's rule, which is certainly not bad rule! Both major biblical Hebrew dictionaries analyze every Old Testament instance of this word and list no negative meaning for it.¹¹ This word does not imply bad rule, but simply means "rule."

Since man's ruling over woman is itself a result of the fall, man must not have ruled over woman before the fall. The practical result of men ruling over women, even in the best of circumstances, is that women are deprived of the corresponding authority with men that God granted them in creation. Furthermore, because of their fallen nature, many men have used their positions of authority to abuse women. Christ, the seed of the woman God promised would crush the serpent's head (Gen 3:15), has overcome the fall. Consequently, we should resist the tragic consequences the fall introduced, including man's rule over woman, not foster them.

Women in the rest of the Old Testament

The Old Testament praises many women in leadership over men, including wives and mothers. It describes women in leadership

with God's blessing with no hint that their gender should disqualify them. The prophetess Miriam is sent by God "to lead" Israel (Mic 6:4; cf. Exod 15:20–21). Deborah is one of the judges "the LORD raised up" who "saved Israel from the hands of their enemies" (Judg 2:16, 18; 4:10, 14, 24; 5:1–31), a prophetess and the highest leader in all Israel (4:4–5). She, a wife and mother (5:7), had authority to command Barak, Israel's military commander, "Go!" (4:6, 14), and he went. They worked together well with shared authority: he as military commander, she as commander in chief. Queen Esther had sufficient influence to bring about the destruction of the house of Haman, along with 75,000 enemies of the Jews (Esth 7:1–10; 9:1–32). She, along with Mordecai, "wrote with full authority. . . . Esther's decree confirmed these regulations" (9:29–32). The Bible praises the Queen of Sheba (1 Kgs 10:1–13; 2 Chr 9:1–12) and the Queen of Chaldea (Dan 5:10–12). The Hebrew word for "queen" is simply "king" with a feminine ending. The Bible only praises and never criticizes only three people with this title from the root for "king": these three women. The records of the kings of Judah always note or name the queen mothers (cf. Jer 13:18; 29:2; 2 Kgs 24:15). They included Bathsheba, who was enthroned (1 Kgs 2:17–19), Maacah (1 Kgs 15:2, 10, 13), and Nehushta (2 Kgs 24:8).

Priests consulted the prophet Huldah on finding the lost book of the law and submitted to her spiritual leadership. Israel's leaders, including the king, the elders, the prophets, and the people, accepted her word as divinely revealed (2 Kgs 22:14–23:3; 2 Chr 34:22–32). The obedience of Israel's male leadership to God's word spoken through a woman sparked what is probably the greatest revival in the history of Israel (2 Kgs 22:14–23:25; 2 Chr 34:29–35:19).

Not one Old Testament text says that God permitted women to hold such political or religious authority over men only because of special circumstances, nor do they describe these cases as exceptions to a scriptural principle. Although two female monarchs of Israel, Athaliah (2 Kgs 11:1–3; 2 Chr 22:10–12) and Jezebel (1 Kgs 18:4), were wicked, so were most of Israel's kings. Scripture does not criticize them or any other woman leader of Israel on the grounds that their having authority over men is an inappropriate role for a woman. Instead, the Old Testament presents women in religious and political leadership as normal.

The only social or religious leadership position of significance that the Old Testament does not record women holding is that of priest. The obvious reason for this is the association of priestesses in some heathen cults with prostitutes or cultic sexual rites, which Deut 23:17 prohibits. God repeatedly forbade his people from giving an appearance of following the immoral practices of the surrounding nations,¹² and to have women priests would give that appearance. However, the Old Testament ideal was for the people of Israel to be "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (Exod 19:6). Isaiah 61:6 predicts a future when all God's people "will be called priests of the LORD, you will be named ministers of our God." God brought about the priesthood of all his people in the New Testament church (1 Pet 2:9).

Old Testament prophets revealed God's intentions for a greater prophetic role for women. Moses wrote, "Would that all the Lord's people were prophets, that the Lord would put his Spirit on them!" (Num 11:29). Joel announced God's desire: "I will pour out my Spirit on all people. Your sons and daughters will prophesy. . . . Even on my servants, both men and women, I will pour out my Spirit in those days" (Joel 2:28–29), a promise fulfilled at Pentecost (Acts 2:14–21).

God even used women in the greatest of all prophetic roles: speaking key portions of inspired Scripture. These include the songs of Miriam (Exod 15:21) and Deborah (Judg 5:2–31) and Hannah's prayer (1 Sam 2:1–10). God continued to speak through women in this way in the New Testament through the Song of Elizabeth (Luke 1:25, 42–45) and Mary's Magnificat, the first Christian exposition of Scripture (Luke 1:46–55). Quite the opposite of excluding women from leadership over men, God appointed women to both secular and sacred leadership.

Jesus and women

Jesus in all his words and deeds left us an example to treat women as equals with men, never subordinated or restricted in role (Matt 12:49–50; 15:38; 25:31–46; Mark 3:34–35; Luke 8:21; 11:27–28). His treatment of women as equals defied the judicial, social, and religious customs of his day. On judicial matters where women's rights were curtailed, such as regarding adultery and divorce, he treated men and women equally. In a society that regarded women as less intelligent and less moral than men, Jesus respected women's intelligence and spiritual capacity, as is evident in the great spiritual truths he originally taught to women such as the Samaritan woman (John 4:10–26) and Martha (John 11:25–26).

In a culture that frowned upon the religious education of women, Jesus encouraged women to be his disciples. For example, when Mary "sat at the Lord's feet listening," the posture and position of a disciple, Jesus affirmed her: "Mary has chosen the better part, and it will not be taken away from her" (Luke 10:38–42).¹³ It is generally agreed that disciples in Jesus's day were trained to carry on a rabbi's teachings, typically becoming teachers themselves, and the rabbis' disciples were always male. Jesus teaching both men and women disciples implies that he wanted women as well as men to be religious teachers.

Yet, does Jesus's choice of only men for the original twelve apostles, who had a revered leadership role in the early church, mean that he thereby excluded women from church leadership? No. Simply choosing men for the twelve apostles does not logically exclude women from church leadership any more than his choosing free Jews for the twelve apostles excludes Gentiles or slaves from church leadership. In any event, the two most influential early church leaders, James the brother of Jesus (Acts 15:13; Gal 11:19)¹⁴ and Paul, were not among the twelve apostles, but, like the woman Junia, were also apostles.¹⁵ Since apostles

other than the twelve held key church leadership positions, why should the twelve be our only standard for church leadership?

So, then, why did Jesus choose all men and no women for the original twelve apostles? Although the New Testament does not explain his reasons, Jesus probably chose men for two reasons: to avoid scandal and for symbolic parallel. If Jesus had included women in gatherings in the shadow of darkness, especially in the wilderness or in places like the garden of Gethsemane, this would have raised moral suspicions not only about Jesus, but also about these twelve, on whose integrity the church would depend. Furthermore, Jesus's appointment of twelve Jewish free men paralleled the twelve sons of Israel and reinforced the symbolism of the church as the "new Israel." Also, Jesus's choice of women disciples (see above) shows that he did not intend his choice of twelve male apostles to exclude women from church leadership.

Nor did Jesus prevent women from proclaiming the gospel to men. The first Christian missionary was a Samaritan woman: "Many of the Samaritans from that town believed in him because of the woman's testimony" (John 4:39; 28–42). The first person the resurrected Christ sought out and commissioned to announce the gospel of his resurrection and his coming ascension to God the Father was Mary Magdalene (John 20:14–18). Since "apostle" means "sent one," it is appropriate to say Christ appointed her an apostle to the apostles. Leadership for Christ, which he redefined as humble servant-leadership (e.g. John 13:3–17), is at least as appropriate for women as men.

Paul and women: champion of equality

Paul many times affirms the equality of man and woman by identifying women as laboring alongside men in ministry, by affirming many theological truths that entail the equality of men and women, and by explicitly affirming their equality.

Paul's affirmations of women in ministry

In Rom 16:1–16, Paul greets by name ten people he identifies as colleagues in Christian ministry. Seven of the ten are women: Phoebe, "deacon of the church of Cenchrea" (16:1) and "leader¹⁶ of many, including myself" (16:2); Junia, "outstanding among the apostles" (16:7¹⁷); Prisca, "my fellow worker in Christ Jesus" (16:3; cf. Phil 4:3); and Mary, Tryphaena, Tryphosa, and Persis "worked hard in the Lord" (16:6, 12). First Corinthians 16:16 urges believers "to be subject to every fellow laborer." First Thessalonians 5:12 identifies "those who labor among you" as "those who are over you in the Lord." It cannot be stressed enough that Paul is not simply listing these women as *believers*, but as *ministry leaders*. Paul greets many believers in this passage, but describes as ministry leaders only ten people, and seven of those are women. The three men are Aquila, Andronicus, and Urbanus. The first two are listed with their wives, highlighting their shared authority. Paul's naming such a high proportion of women leaders in an open society is unparalleled in the entire history of ancient Greek literature and

suggests a level of female leadership in the early church exceptional for its culture.

Paul's theological principles logically entail the equality of man and woman.

Paul affirms men and women are equally "in God's image," "in Christ," given dominion over the earth, and given the creation mandate and blessing. Much of his theology logically entails their equality: servant leadership, "mutual submission" in church and marriage, the oneness of the body of Christ, the priesthood of all believers, the gifts of the Spirit for all, liberty in Christ, inaugurated eschatology, the new creation, and "there is no male/female division" in Christ.¹⁸

Paul's explicit affirmations of the equality of man and woman

In two verses, Gal 3:28 and 1 Cor 11:11, Paul explicitly argues that women and men are equals in church life.

In Gal 2:11–3:28, Paul insists that unequal treatment in the church of a social group, including women, is contrary to the gospel. He denounces Jewish Christians, including the apostle Peter, for not treating Gentile Christians as equals and even refusing to eat with them. Paul argues that, since Christians' salvation identity is in Christ alone, it is contrary to the gospel to assign status or privilege in the church based on ethnicity, wealth, or gender: "There is no Jew/Greek division, no slave/free division, no male/female division, for you are all one in Christ Jesus." Since these are all social categories, and "in Christ Jesus" refers to the church, Gal 3:28's most obvious application is to social relations in the church. Peter sets an example of repentance for unequal treatment of a class of believers by affirming "our beloved brother Paul" and the wisdom of "all his letters" as "scripture" in 2 Pet 3:15–16.

Some say this passage is just about who can be saved and does not affect life in the church, but they misunderstand the passage's view of salvation and ignore its historical and cultural context and the implications of its wording.¹⁹ The passage inextricably links salvation to one's social life in the church. As in all Paul's writings, salvation in Christ cannot be divorced from life in the body of Christ, the church. In terms of cultural context, Gal 3:28 repudiates the ideas conveyed by the daily Jewish prayer thanking God for not being born a Gentile, a slave, or a woman, since these groups lacked the privilege of studying the law. Paul's repudiation of these distinctions must entail the opposite, namely, affirmation of the equal standing in the practical life of the church of each of these groups, for they are all one in Christ.

A close parallel to Gal 3:28 is 1 Cor 11:11: "However, neither is woman separate²⁰ from man, nor is man separate from woman in the Lord." Paul states this in the context of affirming that women, like men, may lead the key activities in public meetings of the church—prayer (the vertical dimension of worship) and prophecy (the horizontal dimension of worship)—as long as they do so in ways that do not repudiate marriage and Christian morality.²¹ Consequently, this denial of a separation between men and women

“in the Lord” must apply at least to these activities of church leadership. The first word in the verse, “however,” in Greek implies the sentence to follow is the passage’s most important point. Despite the contrasting hair style “coverings” (11:14-15) Paul commands in order to avoid symbolizing immorality, he highlights repudiation of gender-based separation in Christ as his most important point regarding public worship. This is why he welcomes both men and women to lead worship through prayer and prophecy.

Paul’s affirmations of the equality of husband and wife

First Corinthians 7, Paul’s most detailed treatment of marriage, specifies exactly the same conditions, opportunities, rights, and obligations for the woman as for the man in twelve distinct issues about marriage. In each, he addresses men and women as equals. He repeatedly uses symmetrically-balanced wording to reinforce this equality, as can be seen in the following twelve issues. Paul affirms that husband and wife mutually possess each other (v. 2). They have mutual conjugal rights (v. 3), mutual authority over the other’s body (v. 4), and mutual sexual obligations (v. 5). Both are told not to separate or divorce (vv. 10–13). Both consecrate the other and sanctify their children (v. 14). Both have freedom if deserted (v. 15). Both have a potentially saving influence on the other (v. 16). Both are free to marry (v. 28). Both may focus on Christ as single (vv. 32 and 34b) or on pleasing the other in marriage (vv. 33–34a and 34c). Paul even writes, “the husband does not have authority over his own body, but his wife does” (7:4). Richard Hays correctly observes how revolutionary this was: “Paul offers a paradigm-shattering vision of marriage as a relationship in which the partners are bonded together in submission to one another.”²²

Similarly, in Eph 5:21–22, the wife’s submission is explicitly one facet of mutual submission, each voluntarily yielding in love.²³ Paul’s call to both wives and husbands is to defer to and nurture one another. Christ is the model for all believers, wives as well as husbands (5:2). Paul defines what he means by Christ being “head” in verse 23 by equating it with “savior” through emphatic apposition: “Christ the head of the church, he the savior of the body.” What does Christ do as “savior”? Paul explains: “Christ gives himself” for the church (5:25) and “nourishes and cherishes” it (5:29). This shows that Paul is using “head” with the established Greek meaning “source,” here focusing on Christ as the source of love and nourishment of the church.²⁴ Paul calls husbands as “head” of the wife to follow Christ’s example as “head” by loving, nourishing, and cherishing their wives (5:25–29). This cherishing, nourishing love, not a hierarchy of authority, motivates her submission (5:23).

The Bible approves women leading in the home. Paul treats husbands and wives equally in relation to their children (Eph 6:1–2; Col 3:20) and tells wives to “rule their households” (literally, “be house despots,” 1 Tim 5:14). If this is not leadership in the home, what is?

Paul and women: champion of patriarchy?

Despite Paul’s many affirmations of gender equality, the idea persists that Paul is a champion of male rule in the church. Why?

Primarily because of popular interpretations of a few passages: 1 Tim 2:12 (“I do not permit a woman to teach or have authority over a man”); 1 Tim 3 and Titus 1 (male-only overseer requirements); and 1 Cor 14:34–35 (“Let women be silent in the churches”). The following analysis exposes the error of the popular interpretations of these verses and shows that Paul is a consistent advocate of gender equality.

1 Timothy 2:12

Does 1 Tim 2:12 prohibit women from teaching or having authority over men? Actually, no. Paul writes in 1 Tim 2:11–12, “Let women learn in all submission. I am not permitting a woman to teach and [in combination with this] to assume authority over a man.”²⁵ Grammatically, Paul’s prohibition applies to that ongoing circumstance with no specification of universality. Paul’s expression, “I am not permitting,” uses a verb that favors a presently ongoing prohibition over a universal prohibition, particularly in this first person present indicative grammatical form.

BDAG 150 identifies the meaning of its key verb as, “to assume a stance of independent authority.” The NIV 2011 revision properly translates it “to assume authority.” In every documented occurrence of this verb meaning “assume authority,” it refers to unauthorized assumption of authority. This verse does not use the New Testament standard word for “exercise authority.” Even the major hierarchist book’s study of this key word does not identify “to exercise authority” or “to have authority” in the range of meanings it carried in Paul’s day, but does include “to assume authority.”²⁶ Consequently, Paul is not prohibiting women from having authority over men. Rather, because of the ongoing crisis of false teaching in Ephesus, he prohibits women from unauthorized assumption of authority over a man.

Paul is not prohibiting two activities, women teaching *and* assuming authority over men; he prohibits one thing: women assuming authority to teach men. In this verse, the Greek *oude* joins the two elements “to teach” and “to assume authority” to convey a single idea, as is typical with Paul’s use of this conjunction.²⁷ Why does Paul prohibit women from assuming authority to teach men? He identifies two reasons. One, for women to assume authority to teach men without recognized authorization by the church was disrespectful to men, whom they ought to respect, since man was the source from whom woman came (2:13; cf. 1 Cor 11:8, 11–12). Two, some women were deceived by false teachers to follow after Satan (2:14; cf. 5:13–15). Paul had already prohibited false teachers from unauthorized teaching (1:3). Here, he similarly restricts women, the only group Paul identifies as deceived by them.

Paul in 1 Tim 2:12 is not prohibiting women in Ephesus like Priscilla (present in Ephesus in 2 Tim 4:19) from assuming properly delegated or recognized authority. After all, Acts approvingly notes she “explained to [Apollos] the way of God more accurately” (18:26 NASB). Although both Luke and Paul, following Greek custom, introduce Aquila and Priscilla listing the husband’s name first (Acts 18:2; 1 Cor 16:19), in every passage about their active ministry, they list Priscilla’s name first (Acts 18:18, 26; Rom 16:3), contrary to Greek convention. This makes it virtually certain that

she played a significant, if not the dominant, role in their ministry. Not surprisingly, then, in both Paul's most extensive lists of his colleagues in ministry, 2 Tim 4:19–21 and Rom 16:1–16, the first person he greets is Prisca, addressing her by the more respectful form of her name, which he always uses. Similarly, since Phoebe delivered the letter to the Romans as Paul's emissary (Rom 16:1–2), she naturally answered the Roman Christians' questions about it and thus was its first expositor, teaching adult men. All this shows that 1 Tim 2:12 must not prohibit women such as Priscilla and Phoebe, who had properly recognized authority, from teaching men. It simply prohibits women without recognized authority from assuming authority to teach a man.

Overseer requirements in 1 Timothy 3 and Titus 1

Does Paul require that all overseers be men? Actually, Paul encourages every believer to aspire to be an overseer: "Here is a trustworthy saying: Anyone who aspires to be an overseer desires a noble task" (1 Tim 3:1). In Greek, "anyone" is a gender-inclusive word, implying an open door to women as well as men. Would Paul encourage women to desire an office that is forbidden to them? Paul makes it clear that "anyone" is his continuing subject by reiterating "anyone" in verse 5 and identifying "anyone" as the subject of the parallel list for overseer qualifications in Titus 1:6. Contrary to most translations, there is not a single masculine pronoun in any of the church leader qualifications in 1 Tim 3:1–13 or Titus 1:5–9.²⁸

What about overseers being a "husband of one wife" in 1 Tim 3:2, 12 and Titus 1:6, which in Greek is literally, "man of one woman"? This text does not say merely "man" but "man of one woman"; the whole phrase must be understood together as an idiom. Some insist on extracting one word, namely, "man," and arbitrarily isolating it from its context as a new requirement that every overseer be a "man." But this is as nonsensical as arguing that since "hit and run" is a felony, "run" must also be a felony. Most scholars, including hierarchist scholars, understand "man of one woman" to exclude polygamists or sexually unfaithful men from being overseers.²⁹

Nevertheless, some insist that the passage also excludes women. Reading a double meaning into this idiomatic phrase, both an exclusion of polygamists and a universal requirement that overseers be men, is unwarranted and would make nonsense of most of Paul's other multi-word requirements for overseers. Must all overseers have their "own household" with slaves and multiple "children" old enough to "believe" and be in subjection "with all gravity"? Furthermore, since 1 Tim 3:11 identifies qualifications for women deacons, the same expression, "man of one woman," in the requirements for deacons in 3:12 must *not* exclude women. Thus, reading into "man of one woman" a requirement that overseers be male is arbitrary and unwarranted.³⁰

It is simply Greek convention to use grammatically masculine forms when referring to groups of people including men and women.³¹ One excellent pastor-professor who affirms patriarchy argues that it is common throughout the Bible for prohibitions addressing men also to apply to women. He states, "As is widely

recognized, . . . [i]n the absence of other constraints, norms which utilize male-oriented terminology ought to be construed, in general, as including both sexes in their purview."³² Jesus's interpretation of Deut 24 in Mark 10:12 confirms this. The principle of monogamy conveyed by "man of one woman" applies equally to men and women just as "you shall not covet your neighbor's wife" (Exod 20:17) applies equally to a husband or wife coveting a neighbor's spouse. Thus, the most accurate and literal translation of "man of one woman" is "monogamous" since it best conveys the Greek convention's inclusive meaning of masculine forms, and since this is the natural meaning of this idiom in verse 12.

1 Corinthians 14:34–35

So, then, 1 Tim 2 does not prohibit all women from teaching or having authority over men, and 1 Tim 3 and Titus 1 do not prohibit women from being elders. But does 1 Cor 14:34–35 command women to be silent in church? Yes. In fact, this is the only command that women be silent in the entire Bible. The plain meaning of these verses is repeated three times for maximum emphasis: "Let women be silent in the churches, for they are not permitted to speak . . . it is a disgrace for a woman to speak in church." Verse 35 prohibits even a respected woman, a wife, from the most justifiable kind of speech by a woman in church, namely asking questions out of a desire to learn. This clarifies that the prohibition is on all speech by all women in public assemblies of the church, not a limited restriction. This was the conventional wisdom in the ancient world widely held by Jews, Greeks, and Romans.³³ But how can Paul be a consistent defender of gender equality if he gave this command? Does that make Paul—and the Bible itself—inconsistent?

These verses have puzzled scholars for centuries, including early church fathers, because they explicitly contradict statements throughout this chapter that "all" may teach and prophesy (5, 24, 26, 31, cf. 39) and the affirmation of women prophesying in 11:5–6, not to mention Paul's support of gender equality elsewhere. They are also puzzling because their use of "the law" (14:34) is exceptional. Everywhere else Paul cites "the law," he quotes the Old Testament—but here he does not. Contrary to what verse 34 says, the law never commands women to be in submission, much less to be silent, in religious gatherings, but several times encourages women to proclaim God's word publicly. Psalm 68:11 (12 in the Masoretic Text) states, "The Lord announced the word; the women proclaiming [feminine plural] it are a great company." Because 1 Cor 14:34–35 contradicts biblical teaching in its immediate context and elsewhere, its unqualified prohibitions of women speaking in church have baffled readers for nearly two thousand years.

Scholars who assume 1 Cor 14:34–35 expresses Paul's command have, in an effort to make Paul (and the Bible) consistent, proposed an enormous number of interpretations to limit its threefold demand for silence, each contrary to its plain meaning. They try to narrow the prohibited speech to only a specific kind of speech, such as judging prophecies, disruptive chatter, tongues, teaching, or prophecy. These narrow interpretations do not fit the broad scope of a straightforward reading of the unqualified words for "be

silent” and “to speak.” Nor do they fit the example of prohibited speech verse 35 identifies: wives asking questions out of a desire to learn. Instead, these narrow interpretations of the prohibited speech *permit* the type of speech specifically *prohibited* in verse 35! Consequently, the meaning of “to speak” must *not* be limited to things such as judging prophecies, disruptive chatter, tongues, teaching, or prophecy. Furthermore, every attempt to limit the prohibited speech contradicts this passage’s threefold (and therefore maximal) unqualified demand for silence.

Since attempts to limit the prohibited speech fail, how, then, can one reconcile verses 34–35 with Paul’s many affirmations in this chapter and in chapter 11 of women prophesying, and his support of gender equality elsewhere? The best answer comes from the discovery that these verses did not originally belong in their current location after verse 33. This is evident in what the earliest manuscripts show to be the original location of this passage. Verses 34–35 follow verse 40 in all “Western” text Greek manuscripts,³⁴ but, in other manuscripts, they follow verse 33. It would have been totally out of character and convention for a scribe to move these verses from after verse 33 to after verse 40 or vice versa.

There is not a single manuscript of any of Paul’s letters containing any passage of comparable length that has been moved this far without an obvious reason. It was scribal custom, however, to write omitted text in the margin, such as the twenty instances of old uncial text in the margins of Matthew in *Codex Vaticanus*. It was also customary for scribes copying NT manuscripts to put text they found in the margin into the text where they thought it fit best, just like any secretary retyping an edited letter today will move marginal notes into the body of a letter. This custom is evidenced by the inclusion in NA28 of seventeen of these twenty instances of *Vaticanus* marginal text. Transcriptional probability, therefore, argues that someone first wrote this command that women be silent in the margin of a manuscript, and later copyists inserted it either after verse 33 or after verse 40.³⁵ After all, common sense demands that something customary is more likely to occur than something so extraordinary that no other instance exists.

As marginal text, its meaning is not constrained by its context and its purpose is harder to determine. Specifically, we do not know if this text in the margin is something Paul affirms or denies. This makes it inherently less stable ground for theological or practical argument. Perhaps it identifies the false prophecy Paul had in mind in his adjacent reference to “one who thinks he is a prophet” (v. 37). It is doubtful Paul himself penned 14:34–35, since a typical margin would not accommodate this much text in his large handwriting (Gal 6:11; 2 Thess 3:17), though he might have ordered his scribe to write it in the margin. Because the overwhelming cultural consensus prohibited women from public speech, almost any reader might have added 34–35 in the margin in order to keep Paul’s repeated encouragements to *all* to prophesy from applying to women. We can only conjecture who wrote it in the margin, why, and when, so both its authorship by Paul and, if so, whether he affirms or denies it, is in doubt. Therefore, this command that women be silent in church should not be used to establish normative theology or church practice. Indeed, it would

be most appropriate for Bible translations to put this marginal comment where it almost certainly originated: in the margin, preferably as a footnote.

Some may become alarmed at the prospect of putting these verses in the margin, thinking this may undermine faith in the reliability of the received text. However, this concern is unfounded. First Corinthians 14:34–35 is a unique case—the only passage in Paul’s letters where such a large block of text occurs in various manuscripts in locations this far away from each other with no adequate explanation. Consequently, this manuscript evidence for regarding it as marginal text does not support the marginal status of any other passage of Scripture.

Most scholars who affirm inerrancy³⁶ believe some passages were not originally in the text, even though they have been printed in many Bibles. The question, then, is not whether one should ever put verses in the margin, but whether it is justifiable to do so in this particular case. Even hierarchist scholars admit that some passages, including large ones like the narrative of the woman taken in adultery in John 7:53–8:11, do not belong in the text.³⁷ The command that women be silent in church shares many features with John 7:53–8:11 that suggest it does not belong in the text, either.³⁸ Furthermore, there are many more distinct evidences that the passage silencing women was added later than even the narrative of the adulteress.³⁹ In light of all this evidence, it is hardly surprising that J. A. Fitzmyer writes, “the majority of commentators today” regard 1 Cor 14:34–35 as a later addition, including leading evangelical text-critical scholars like Gordon Fee.⁴⁰

Even if Paul ordered his secretary to put verses 34–35 in the margin, the conflicts between the content of these verses and Paul’s teachings indicate that he probably did so to identify the content of the false prophecy he had in mind in his adjacent rebukes in verses 36–37: “did the word of God originate with you?” and “If anyone thinks he is a prophet or inspired, let him know that what I am writing to you is the Lord’s command.” No matter who wrote it or why, the near certainty that 1 Cor 14:34–35 was first written in the margin and the strong likelihood it is a later addition by someone other than Paul, make it a dubious basis for excluding women from speaking in church.

Conclusion

Scripture’s affirmations of the equality of men and women and its affirmations of women called by God to exercise authority alongside or over men are so clear and numerous that to attempt to deny them all is like a person caught in an avalanche thinking, “I will evade each rock or clump of snow as it comes, and none will hit me.” Just as the totality of an avalanche is inescapable, so the totality of what the Scriptures affirm about the God-given equal authority of men and women is inescapable. The Bible teaches both men and women to exercise authority humbly as the Spirit leads and as Christ commands. Biblical evidence for the equal standing of men and women in the life of the church is inescapable. It is not just the passages explicitly about women considered above. It pervades every “one another” passage and virtually every command and encouragement in the Bible—for its assertions and stories are for

all of us, and God wants us to live into them wholeheartedly and without reserve, not out of fear of crossing a man-made gender-role-boundary that is alien to the Bible's teaching.

Notes

1. Philip B. Payne, *Man and Woman, One in Christ* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2009), 41–54, shows the weakness of attempts to read male authority into Genesis 1–3.

2. Sixteen times: Exod 18:4; Deut 33:7, 26, 29; Ps 20:3 (2 Eng.); 33:20; 70:6 (5 Eng.); 89:20 (19 Eng.); 115:9, 10, 11; 121:1, 2; 124:8; 146:5; Hos 13:9. For more on the background of this expression, see Aida B. Spencer, *Beyond the Curse: Women Called to Ministry* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1985), 23–29.

3. Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann Jakob Stamm, *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (hereafter *HALOT*) 5 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1994–2000), 2 (1995): 811–12.

4. Isa 30:5; Ezek 12:14; Dan 11:34. Spencer, *Beyond the Curse*, 23–29, gives more detail.

5. *Contra* Raymond C. Ortlund Jr., “Male-Female Equality and Male Headship: Genesis 1–3,” in *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood* (Wheaton: Crossway, 1991), 95–112, 104.

6. Or “chief, leader, prince . . . officer . . . governor of a town . . . court official . . . head of a family . . . eminent person . . . cult official . . . the high priest . . . overseer . . . supervisor . . . the leader of Israel, appointed by Yahweh” according to *HALOT* 2:667–68. It is used of David's and Solomon's rule over Israel in 1 Sam 9:16; 13:14, and 1 Kgs 1:35.

7. Payne, *Man and Woman*, 41–54, critiques attempts to detect male authority in creation.

8. Nothing in Genesis teaches a “creation order” giving man authority over woman. God gave dominion to humankind over the earlier-created plants and animals. God giving leadership to one born later is a recurring theme contrary to the Ancient Near Eastern custom of primogeniture: Isaac over Ishmael, Jacob over Esau, Joseph over his older brothers, Moses over Aaron, David over his brothers, and so on. When Paul refers to woman coming from man (1 Cor 11:8, 12 and implicitly in 1 Tim 2:13), he does it to show the respect owed to one's source, whether woman or man (1 Cor 11:3, 12); cf. Payne, *Man and Woman*, 113–39, 402–50.

9. John Piper and Wayne Grudem, “Charity, Clarity, and Hope: The Controversy and the Cause of Christ,” in *Biblical Manhood*, 403–22, 409.

10. George W. Knight III asserts this is “rule” in an autocratic, unloving way” (“The Family and the Church: How Should Biblical Manhood and Womanhood Work out in Practice?” in *Biblical Manhood*, 345–57, 346); Piper and Grudem assert this is “fallen rulership” not “God-ordained headship” (“Charity,” 409), and Wayne Grudem, *Evangelical Feminism and Biblical Truth* (Sisters: Multnomah, 2004), 123 n. 45, 40, 43, “the kind of harsh rule implied in Genesis 3:16” Grudem should know it is unwarranted without lexical support to say this “rule” is “harsh,” for he admits two pages earlier (38 n. 27) his error in arguing without lexical support that another word from this same verse signifies a “hostile or aggressive desire.”

11. *HALOT* 2:647–48 and Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1906), 605.

12. E.g., Lev 18:3; 20:23; Ps 106:35.

13. See Richard Bauckham, *Gospel Women: Studies of the Named Women in the Gospels* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).

14. F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1952), 296, notes that the Clementine Homilies identify James “as ‘bishop of bishops’ and ruler both of the Jerusalem church and of all churches everywhere properly founded by Divine Providence.”

15. Paul defines an apostle as one who encounters the risen Christ (1 Cor 9:1; 15:8; Gal 1:1, 15–17), receives a commission to preach the gospel, and endures the labors and sufferings of missionary work (Rom 1:1–5; 1 Cor 1:1; 15:10; Junia was in prison with Paul, Rom 16:7) that bears fruit

(1 Cor 9:1; 15:10) and is certified by “signs, wonders and miracles” (2 Cor 12:11–12). While some translators represent this as a male name “Junias” in Romans 16:7, the evidence overwhelmingly favors the female “Junia.” The unanimous credible testimony of the church's first millennium identifies “Junia” as a woman. See the excellent work by Eldon J. Epp, *Junia: The First Woman Apostle* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 23–81.

16. *Prostatís* combines the Greek words meaning “in rank before” and “to stand.” Every meaning of every related NT word that could apply here refers to leadership. “To have an interest in” in Titus 3:8, 14, does not apply here. C. K. Barret, *The Epistle to the Romans* (New York: Harper & Row, 1957), 283, argues against interpreting this as “patron” since “Phoebe cannot have stood in this relation to Paul (since he was born free, Acts xxii, 28).” The NT, like Greek literature in general, normally conveys the idea “benefactors” or their deeds, with different words that combine the common Greek words “good” and “deed.” Cf. Lk 22:25; Acts 4:9, 10:38; BDAG 405; LSJ 712; Payne, *Man and Woman*, 62–63.

17. See especially Epp, *Junia*, 23–44, 69–78, and Bauckham, *Gospel Women*, 165–86.

18. See regarding these Payne, *Man and Woman*, 69–76.

19. Payne, *Man and Woman*, 79–104, identifies 42 factors in the cultural, historical, theological, and literary context of Gal 3:28 that it must not be divorced from life in the church.

20. Standard Greek dictionaries do not support the translation “independent.” Nor does “independent” convey the contrast “however” requires. Nor is it something distinctively true “in the Lord.”

21. See Payne, *Man and Woman*, 113–215, and Philip B. Payne, “Wild Hair and Gender Equality in 1 Corinthians 11:2–16,” *Priscilla Papers* 20, no. 3 (Summer 2006): 9–18.

22. Richard B. Hays, *First Corinthians* (Louisville: John Knox, 1997), 131.

23. Even according to hierarchist George W. Knight III, “Husbands and Wives as Analogues of Christ and the Church: Ephesians 5:21–33 and Colossians 3:18–19,” in *Biblical Manhood*, 165–78, 166–68.

24. Payne, *Man and Woman*, 117–37, shows that “source” was an established meaning of “head” (*kephalē*) in Greek, but that “authority” or “leader” was not.

25. Payne, *Man and Woman*, 319–97, defends the accuracy of this translation.

26. Henry Scott Baldwin, “An Important Word: αὐθεντέω in 1 Timothy 2:12,” in *Women in the Church: An Analysis and Application of 1 Timothy 2:9–15* (ed. Andreas J. Köstenberger and Thomas R. Schreiner; 2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2005) 49–51. The first documented occurrence of the word in 2:12 clearly meaning “exercise authority” is circa AD 370 (St. Basil, *The Letters* 69, line 45). In Paul's day, it could mean either “to dominate” or “to assume authority” that was not recognized or delegated. Payne, *Man and Woman*, 361–97, documents the occurrences and meanings of this verb and its use in 2:12.

27. Philip B. Payne, “1 Tim 2.12 and the Use of οὐδέ to Combine Two Elements to Express a Single Idea,” *NTS* 54 (2008): 235–53, and Philip B. Payne, “Οὐδέ Combining Two Elements to Convey a Single Idea: Further Insights,” in *Missing Voices: Broadening the discussion on men, women, and ministry* (Minneapolis: Christians for Biblical Equality, 2014), 24–34.

28. The American Bible Societies' *Contemporary English Version* (CEV) and the *Common English Bible* (CEB) correctly translate each list with no masculine pronouns.

29. E.g., Chrysostom, *Homily on 1 Tim 3:2*; Grudem, *Evangelical Feminism*, 80, citing Josephus and Rabbinic works. Grudem correctly argues that “man of one woman” is “not intended to rule out a single man (such as Jesus or Paul) from being an elder.” This necessarily entails that “man of one woman” cannot describe *all* elders, which contradicts Grudem's assertion (263 n. 107) that “husband of one wife” is a necessary qualification for “each” deacon and that it excludes women. Grudem incorrectly adds “each” where there is no such word in the Greek of 1 Tim 3:12. Douglas J. Moo, “The Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:11–15: A Rejoinder,” *TJ 2 NS* (1981): 198–222, 211, acknowledges that “man of one woman” need not exclude “unmarried

men or females from the office . . . it would be going too far to argue that the phrase clearly excludes women.” His following assertion, however, “it does suggest that Paul had men in mind while he wrote,” applies properly only to Paul having in mind the exclusion of polygamists or unfaithful men, not that he had in mind a requirement that all overseers must be men. Thomas R. Schreiner, “Philip Payne on Familiar Ground: A Review of Philip B. Payne, *Man and Woman, One in Christ: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Paul's Letters*,” *Journal of Biblical Manhood and Womanhood* (Spring 2010): 33–46, 35, acknowledges, “The requirements for elders in 1 Tim 3:1–7 and Titus 1:6–9, including the statement that they are to be one-woman men, does not necessarily in and of itself preclude women from serving as elders.”

30. Nothing else in the list has a double meaning. Cf. Payne, *Man and Woman*, 445–59.

31. E.g., with the same subject, “anyone” (*tis*), as here: Mark 8:34; 9:35; Luke 9:23; 14: 25–26; John 7:37–38; 9:31; 11:10; 12:26, 26, 47; 14:23; Rom 8:9; 1 Cor 3:12–15; 3:17; 5:11; 8:3, 10; 10:28; 14:24–25; 2 Cor 10:7; Gal 6:3–5; 2 Thess 3:14; 1 Tim 5:8; 6:3–5; 2 Tim 2:21; James 1:5–8; Rev 3:20.

32. Gordon P. Hugenberger, “Women in Church Office: Hermeneutics or Exegesis? A Survey of Approaches to 1 Timothy 2:8–15,” *JETS* 35, no. 3 (1992): 341–60, 360 n. 78.

33. Cf. Armin D. Baum, “Paul’s Conflicting Statements on Female Public Speaking (1 Cor. 11:5) and Silence (1 Cor. 14:34–35): A New Suggestion,” *Tyndale Bulletin* 65.2 (2014): 252–271.

34. Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (rev. ed.; NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014), 699; including Ambrosiaster, *circa* AD 375.

35. This is an application of the fundamental principle in determining the original text of Scripture, known as Bengel’s first principle. It states, “The text that best explains the emergence of all other texts is most likely original.” See J. C. F. Steudel, ed., *Gnomon of the New Testament* by John Albert Bengel (trans. James Bandinel; reprint Edinburgh: T & T. Clark, 1858), 1:13–19.

36. The Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy, article 10, states: “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. We further affirm that copies and translations of Scripture are the Word of God to the extent that they faithfully represent the original.” Similarly, article 6 states, “We affirm that the whole of Scripture and all its parts, down to the very words of the original, were given by divine inspiration.” It affirms the inspiration only of the *original* words, not later additions.

37. D. B. Wallace, “Reconsidering ‘The Story of Jesus and the Adulteress Reconsidered,’” *NTS* 39 (1993): 290–96; D. A. Carson, *The*

Gospel according to John, (PNTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 333, writes, “those [manuscripts] that do include it [John 7:53–8:11] display a rather high frequency of textual variants. . . . The diversity of placement confirms the inauthenticity of the verses.” Carson, however, inconsistently calls Fee’s application of these same principles to 1 Cor 14:34–35 “weak and speculative” in “Silent in the Churches: On the Role of Women in 1 Corinthians 14:33b–36,” in *Biblical Manhood*, 140–53, 142.

38. For example, it has a high frequency of textual variants, diversity of placement, contains word usage atypical of the book’s author, disrupts the narrative or topic of the passage, and has marginal symbols or notes indicating scribal awareness of a textual problem. Also, in both cases, the most important NT manuscript, *Codex Vaticanus*, has a symbol of a textual variant at the exact point these passages begin. Payne, *Man and Woman*, 232–56, explains these factors.

39. It makes alien use of vocabulary from this chapter. It conflicts with the goal of instruction in church. Its “just as the law says” does not fit Paul’s theology or style. It subordinates a weak social group that Paul champions. Its vocabulary mimics that of the later 1 Tim 2:11–15. In 1 Corinthians, only these verses are directed to people “in the churches.” Furthermore, it fits an obvious motive for this addition, to silence women. Payne, *Man and Woman*, 257–65, explains these aberrations.

40. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians* (New Haven: Yale, 2008), 500. Kim Haines-Eitzen, *The Gendered Palimpsest: Women, Writing, and Representation in Early Christianity* (New York: Oxford, 2012), 62, affirms this of “nearly all scholars now.” At least sixty-two textual studies argue this is a later addition. Cf. Payne, *Man and Woman*, 226–27, citing reasons for this, 225–67; Fee, *First Corinthians*, 780–92.



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The Evolution of Complementarian Exegesis

JAMIN HÜBNER

It is common to view the entire debate between complementarianism and egalitarianism in terms of which side has more biblical support. Both sides of the debate have an explicitly high view of scripture that gives biblical texts a central place of authority. Exegetical theology, then, is naturally given a tremendous amount of weight—as are hermeneutics and biblical interpretation.

It has become characteristic of one side of the debate to impugn the other side by propounding a changing base, particularly with regard to biblical interpretation. To show that egalitarians' interpretation of key biblical texts continually changes is to demonstrate that the egalitarian position is, after all, merely a product of contemporary thought, changing with the waves of culture. On the other hand, if it can be shown that complementarians' interpretation of key biblical texts has not changed over time, then this would indicate theological stability and a commitment to unchanging truth. So the argument goes. The preface to the 2006 reprint of the 1991 book, *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood*, states these assumptions clearly: "many of the evangelical feminist arguments have changed in the last decade whereas the complementarian defenses have not."¹

The point of this article is not to ask (or answer) whether this two-pronged line of reasoning is legitimate. Rather, for the sake of the argument, let us assume that it is and address the latter half of this reasoning: is complementarian interpretation of key biblical passages as stable as claimed? Or does complementarianism rest on a gradually-shifting exegetical base? This brief study will show that "the complementarian defenses" have not stopped changing—at least when it comes to the interpretation of key verses.

Susan Foh and 1 Timothy 2:11–12

In her 1979 book, *Women and the Word of God*, Susan Foh summarized her position on 1 Tim 2:11–12: "We have concluded that ... 1 Timothy 2:12 is intended to eliminate women from the office of elder (that is, women cannot occupy the official teaching-ruling office of the church)."² It is an unusually specific exegetical conclusion that any passage in the Bible was specifically "intended to eliminate women from the office of elder," for historically, those who forbid women elders have understood 1 Tim 2:12 as a basis for prohibiting women elders, not the specific prohibition itself.

Perhaps realizing the extremity of her interpretation, Foh changed her view a decade later in *Women in Ministry: Four Views*, saying with a softer approach, "Possibly Paul aims to disqualify women from the office of elder before he defines the requirements

of that office [in 1 Tim 3]," and "It is debatable whether this passage specifically excludes women from the office of elder or not."³ Although Foh's second interpretation is still problematic,

it is a significant change. If there is any biblical ban on women elders, it is important to know whether it is actual or potential. The theological distance between "this is a ban" and "this can be used for a ban" is vast. In any case, it is encouraging to see less dogmatism about the authorial intent of 1 Tim 2:11–12 when moving from Foh's former to revised

position. Needless to say, most complementarians today would not argue what Foh originally argued; they do not see 1 Tim 2:12 as a ban on women elders, but as providing the grounds for such a ban.

Douglas Moo and 1 Timothy 2:11–13

In 1980, Douglas Moo's article, "1 Timothy 2:11–15: Meaning and Significance," suggested that, as a general rule, women may be more easily deceived than men.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion 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.... While ambiguities remain, it is arguable that only this interpretation adequately accounts for the data given above.⁴

In 1981, Philip Payne published a critique of Moo's article.⁵ In Moo's response to Payne's critique, Moo shifted his position. In Moo's words,

The difficulties with viewing v 14 as a statement about the nature of women are real. I am now inclined to see the reference as a means of suggesting the difference between Adam and Eve in the fall—he sinned openly; she was deceived. With this in mind, Paul may be seeking to suggest the need to restore the pre-fall situation in which the man bears responsibility for religious teaching.⁶

Moo later affirmed and strengthened his revised position in *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood*:

It may be that Paul wants to imply that all women are, like Eve, more susceptible to being deceived than are men, and that this is why they should not be teaching men! While this interpretation is not impossible, we think it unlikely. For one thing, there is nothing in the Genesis accounts or in

Scripture elsewhere to suggest that Eve's deception is representative of women in general.⁷

In summary, then, Moo's position essentially evolved in three stages, first from (my words) "women are generally more easily deceived than men," then to "this may not be the case," and finally to "this is not likely the case." Again, while it is discouraging to see such instability (in what is claimed be a stable base), it is encouraging to see a complementarian scholar willing to revise an interpretation after scholarly dialogue.

Thomas Schreiner and 1 Timothy 2:11–13

Moo was not the last complementarian to change positions in interpreting 1 Tim 2:13. In his 1995 book, *Women in the Church: A Fresh Analysis*, Thomas Schreiner wrote that Paul prohibits women from exercising authority over men and teaching men "because of different inclinations present in Adam and Eve." He continued:

Generally speaking, women are more relational and nurturing and men are more given to rational analysis and objectivity. Women are less prone than men to see the importance of doctrinal formulations, especially when it comes to the issue of identifying heresy and making a stand for the truth. Appointing women to the teaching office is prohibited because they are less likely to draw a line on doctrinal non-negotiables, and thus deception and false teaching will more easily enter the church.⁸

In his 2005 version of the same essay, Schreiner's position has changed considerably.⁹ He states of his former view, "it seems that this view also strays from the text, even if one agrees that such differences exist between men and women. If Paul argued that women were deceived because of innate dispositions, the goodness of God's creative work is called into question."¹⁰ We can view this change as positive insofar as it avoids the error of asserting that women are more susceptible to sin and/or heresy than men.

Wayne Grudem on *authenteō* in 1 Timothy 2:12

In his 1998 essay, "An Open Letter to Egalitarians," Wayne Grudem confidently asserted that "Whenever we have seen this verb [*authenteō*] occur, it takes a neutral sense, 'have authority' or 'exercise authority,' with no negative connotation attaching to the word itself."¹¹ Six years later, in his 2004 publication, *Evangelical Feminism and Biblical Truth*, his position changed so that the term "is primarily positive or neutral."¹² Perhaps Grudem's view evolved in tandem with that of Schreiner, who said in 2005, "The recent studies of H. Scott Baldwin and Al Wolters show the term signifies a positive use of authority."¹³

It is unlikely that either position—*authenteō* as purely neutral or as "primarily positive or neutral"—is correct. The immediate context and a full lexical study of the term lend more support to a pejorative use of the term.¹⁴ Nevertheless, this development might be viewed as progress insofar as complementarian scholarship

has become more open about the possible range of meaning of *authenteō*.

Schreiner on "head" in 1 Corinthians

In 1991, Schreiner published the essay, "Head Coverings, Prophecies, and the Trinity." He gave three arguments to show that the term "head" (*kephalē*) in 1 Cor 11:2-16 means "authority" and not "source."¹⁵ In his 2005 essay in *Two Views on Women in Ministry*, however, he opened up to the possibility "that *kephalē* in some contexts denotes both 'authority over' and 'source.'"¹⁶

The significance of this change is difficult to overestimate! For decades, complementarian scholars vigorously argued against even the possibility that Paul could have meant "source."¹⁷ To concede this possibility as a viable option is substantial indeed. It is not difficult to understand the need for Schreiner's change, which conforms to the more tenable view.¹⁸

Schreiner on prophecy in Judges 4 and in the New Testament

In his above-mentioned 1991 essay, Schreiner argued "that Deborah did not prophesy in public" and "did not exercise her ministry in a public forum as [male OT prophets] did."¹⁹ But in *Two Views on Women in Ministry* (2005), this interpretation is questioned: "Previously I argued that women's gift of prophecy was not exercised as publicly as it was by men.... I now have some reservations about the validity of this argument."²⁰

In addition to this change regarding women prophets, Schreiner's position regarding NT prophecy in general also appears to have shifted. In 1991, he had concluded that "the gift of prophecy is not as authoritative as the gift of teaching."²¹ Yet, in 2005, he wrote:

Prophecy is a passive gift in which oracles or revelations are given by God to a prophet. Teaching, on the other hand, is a gift that naturally fits with leadership and a settled office, for it involves the transmission and explanation of tradition. I am not arguing that prophecy is a lesser gift than teaching, only that it is a distinct gift.²²

Before moving on, it is worth noting the irony of this claim, for it demonstrates a micro-level example of macro-level complementarian ideology. Complementarians claim that women are different and distinct from men, but not lesser—even though women are also said to have less authority than men. Similarly, Schreiner above claims that prophecy is considered "distinct" from teaching, but not "lesser"—even though prophecy is said to have less authority than teaching. In both cases, there is an assumption that one can isolate the attribute of authority from the nature of the person or thing itself. Space does not allow for a fuller discussion of this assumption, but many have shown this argument to lack support.²³ At any rate, it is interesting to read complementarian literature and witness the macro-level ideas of anthropology trickle down into (or simply dictate) the micro-level directions of NT ecclesiology and exegesis.

Conclusion

This incomplete survey has demonstrated that there exist both division and regular modification in interpretation of various relevant biblical texts concerning gender roles. One obvious implication is that complementarians should be careful in proclaiming to possess a sure foundation that evidently does not exist. As long as interpretations keep changing in substantial ways, interpreters ought to exercise all the more caution about wielding such interpretations to prohibit women from proclaiming the gospel to men.

The same wisdom applies to Christian egalitarians: humility is always required in the process of exegetical theology, and at times it may be necessary to backtrack in order to get on the right road. Thankfully, that has undoubtedly occurred in the last quarter-century for many evangelical egalitarian scholars. C. S. Lewis remarked, "We all want progress. . . . If you are on the wrong road, progress means doing an about-turn and walking back to the right road; and in that case the man [or woman] who turns back soonest is the most progressive."²⁴ For the sake of Christ and Christ's Kingdom, let us continue to strive for such progress.

Notes

1. J. Ligon Duncan and Randy Stinson, "Preface," in *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood: A Response to Evangelical Feminism* (ed. John Piper and Wayne Grudem; Wheaton: Crossway, 2006), xiii.
2. Susan Foh, *Women and the Word of God: A Response to Biblical Feminism* (Phillipsburg: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1979), 248.
3. Susan Foh, "A Male Leadership View," in *Women in Ministry: Four Views* (ed. Bonnidell Clouse and Robert Clouse; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1989), 81, 91. Unfortunately, Foh inconsistently reverts to her former position on p. 95: "We have concluded that . . . the intent of 1 Timothy 2:12 is to eliminate women from consideration for the office of elder, the teaching-ruling position of the church."
4. Douglas Moo, "1 Timothy 2:11–15: Meaning and Significance," *TJ* 1, no. 1 (1980): 70.
5. Philip B. Payne, "Libertarian Women in Ephesus: A Response to Douglas J. Moo's Article, '1 Timothy 2:11–15,'" *TJ* 2, no. 1 (1981): 170–98.
6. Douglas Moo, "The Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:11–15: A Rejoinder," *TJ* 2, no. 2 (1981): 204.
7. Douglas Moo, "What Does It Mean Not to Teach or Have Authority over Men? 1 Timothy 2," in *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood*, 185 (p. 190 in the 2006 reprint).
8. Thomas Schreiner, "An Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:9–15: A Dialogue with Scholarship," in *Women in the Church: A Fresh Analysis of 1 Timothy 2:9–15* (ed. Andreas Köstenberger, Thomas Schreiner, and H. Scott Baldwin; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995), 145.
9. This is noted in Benjamin Reaach, *Women, Slaves, and the Gender Debate* (Phillipsburg: Presbyterian and Reformed, 2012), 52, and in I. Howard Marshall, "Women in Ministry: A Further Look at 1 Timothy 2," in *Women, Ministry and the Gospel* (ed. Mark Husbands and Timothy Larsen; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2007), 67.
10. Thomas Schreiner, "An Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:9–15: A Dialogue with Scholarship," in *Women in the Church: An Analysis and Application of 1 Timothy 2:9–15* (ed. Andreas Köstenberger and Thomas Schreiner; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2005), 225 n. 210.
11. Wayne Grudem, "An Open Letter to Egalitarians," *Journal for Biblical Manhood and Womanhood* 3, no. 1 (March 1998), 3. Grudem dismisses the possibility that the term can have any nuance, not only a negative one.

12. Wayne Grudem, *Evangelical Feminism and Biblical Truth* (Colorado Springs: Multnomah, 2004), 317.
13. Thomas Schreiner, "A Response to Linda Belleville," in *Two Views on Women in Ministry* (ed. James R. Beck; rev. ed.; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2005), 108.
14. See Philip B. Payne, *Man and Woman, One in Christ: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Paul's Letters* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2009), ch. 20. See also my own forthcoming article, "Revisiting *Authenteō* in 1 Timothy 2:12," in *The Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters*.
15. *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood*, 119.
16. Schreiner, "Women in Ministry: Another Complementarian Perspective," in *Two Views on Women in Ministry*, 301.
17. E.g., Wayne Grudem, "Does *kephalē* ('Head') Mean 'Source' Or 'Authority Over' in Greek Literature? A Survey of 2,336 Examples," *TJ* 6, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 38–59; Grudem, "The Meaning Of 'Head' In The Bible, A Simple Question No Egalitarian Can Answer," *Journal for Biblical Manhood and Womanhood* 1, no. 3 (June 1996); Grudem, "The Meaning Source 'Does Not Exist,'" *Journal for Biblical Manhood and Womanhood* 2, no. 5 (December 1997); Grudem, "The Meaning of *kephalē* ('Head'): An Evaluation of New Evidence, Real and Alleged," *JETS* 44, no. 1 (March 2001): 25–65.
18. See Anthony Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000); Richard Cervin, "Does *kephalē* Mean 'Source' Or 'Authority Over' in Greek Literature? A Rebuttal," *TJ* 10, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 85–112; Andrew Periman, "The Head of a Woman," *JTS* 45 (1994): 602–22; Payne, *Man and Woman*, chs. 7–13. For a helpful appraisal calling for pause on all sides, see Alan Johnson, "A Meta-Study of the Debate Over the Meaning of 'Head' (*kephalē*) in Paul's Writings," *Priscilla Papers* 20, no. 4 (Autumn 2006): 21–28.
19. *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood*, 216 in the 1991 ed.
20. Schreiner, "Another Complementarian Perspective," 279.
21. *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood*, 217 in the 1991 ed.
22. Schreiner, "Another Complementarian Perspective," 279.
23. See Rebecca Groothuis, *Good News for Women* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1997), part I. Cf. Groothuis, "Equal in Being, Unequal in Role," in *Discovering Biblical Equality: Complementarity without Hierarchy* (ed. Ronald Pierce and Rebecca Groothuis; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2005), 301–33; Adam Omelanchuk, "The Logic of Equality," *Priscilla Papers* 22, no. 4 (Autumn 2008): 25–28; Omelanchuk, "Ontologically Grounded Subordination," *Philosophia Christi* 13, no. 1 (2011): 169–80. For a critique of this assumption as it exists in the debate over the doctrine of the Trinity, see Kevin Giles, *The Trinity and Subordinationism: The Doctrine of God and the Contemporary Gender Debate* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2002); Millard J. Erickson, *Who's Tampering with the Trinity? An Assessment of the Subordination Debate* (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2009); Giles, *The Eternal Generation of the Son: Maintaining Orthodoxy in Trinitarian Theology* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2012).
24. *Mere Christianity*, book 1, ch. 5.

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Egalitarians: A New Path to Liberalism? Or Integral to Evangelical DNA?

MIMI HADDAD

“Nescire autem quid ante quam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum.”
“To be ignorant of what occurred before you were born is to remain always a child.”
Cicero

The claim is often made that Christians who advance the shared leadership, authority, and ministry of men and women in the church and home do so only by circumventing the authority of scripture. Because of this claim, egalitarians are accused of theological liberalism. I was inspired to write this paper after an evangelical scholar confessed candidly to me that, though he was trained in a tradition that viewed egalitarian theology as pernicious, through a series of circumstances including a positive encounter with an egalitarian leader, he determined to study egalitarian theology more thoroughly. Cicero reminds us that a fair hearing of any position must include a full grasp of the historical context. This paper briefly considers historical material often overlooked by evangelicals in assessing the theological orthodoxy of egalitarians.

Defining terms

Egalitarianism: Egalitarians are Christians who affirm that scripture teaches the fundamental equality of men and women, both in being and service, so that gender is not a criterion by which to exclude women from public service or leadership in church, society, or home. As early as the late seventeenth century, Christians began publishing interpretations of scripture that supported women's public preaching and teaching. By 1930, more than fifty scriptural treatises supporting women's spiritual leadership had been circulating, from many branches of the evangelical church.¹ Egalitarians today echo the exegetical methods of these early egalitarians, concluding that women may serve in any position, including senior pastor; elder; deacon; board member; professor of any discipline; or president of a Christian college, seminary, denomination, or country. The criteria for service are holiness, giftedness, and calling—not gender.

Evangelicalism: Two resources offer insightful guidance for defining the theological identity of evangelicals: First is The Evangelical Theological Society Doctrinal Basis, written in 1949: “The Bible alone, and the Bible in its entirety, is the Word of God written and is therefore inerrant in the autographs. God is a Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, each an uncreated person, one in essence, equal in power and glory.”² Second is Bebbington's quadrilateral: a definition of evangelicalism formulated by David Bebbington and promoted by Mark Noll. In an effort to capture the depth and scope of evangelical history, Bebbington and Noll assessed the earliest usage of the term “evangelical.”³ They considered what evangelicals affirm theologically and also how evangelical theological ideals shaped daily life—in churches, denominations, and organizations. Their analysis of the evangelical movement gave way to Bebbington's quadrilateral:⁴ four theological

ideals that capture the DNA or fundamental theological focus of evangelicals which, (to quote Noll) “drove its adherents in their lives as Christians.”⁵ These ideals include:

- *Conversionism:* Because of sin, every life needs redemption.
- *Activism:* The expression of the gospel through effort. Activism generally takes two symbiotic forms—evangelism and social action.
- *Biblicism:* A particular regard for the Bible, for all spiritual truth is to be found on its pages.
- *Crucicentrism:* An emphasis on Christ's sacrifice on the cross.

These four qualities comprise the focus of evangelical theology and enterprise, which fueled the modern missionary movement and sweeping social reform. Evangelical missionaries tended to hold as inseparable the good news of the gospel and efforts to make life better for the poor and the abused. Evangelicals challenged injustice because they were biblicists of the highest order, and teachings of Jesus such as “treat your neighbor as you would want to be treated,” guided their social reform. They believed scripture was supremely authoritative; a consistent reading of the Bible and living out its teachings was thought to bring moral, theological, and social wholeness to communities. It was to scripture that evangelicals turned when resolving the challenges of each age, such as suffrage, slavery, and whether women may preach and teach or hold positions of authority beside men.

Bebbington's quadrilateral offers, I believe, the most complete definition of an evangelical, particularly in understanding why they gave women and also slaves positions of leadership, a freedom unknown to them in the culture in which they lived.

Liberalism: The term “liberal” is used to suggest that egalitarians place their feminist ideals—their demand for social equality with men in any sphere—ahead of a commitment to the authority of scripture. Rather than allowing scripture to shape culture, egalitarians are accused of giving secular culture greater authority than the Bible. The charge of “liberal” has typically implied that the teachings of scripture have been ignored in the wake of self-interest and cultural pressure. Consider two examples:

- Wayne Grudem, in his book *Evangelical Feminism: A New Path to Liberalism*, expresses deep concern “about the widespread undermining of the authority of Scripture in the arguments that are frequently used to support evangelical feminism.”⁶
- In 2008, the *Dallas Morning News* reported that after eighteen months of study, an all-male elder board gave a woman access to the pulpit for the first time in the forty-year history

of Irving Bible Church. The decision raised cries of concern among many Baptists. Chief among these was that of the Rev. Tom Nelson of Denton Bible Church. Nelson believed that his friends in Irving were on “dangerous” ground. “If the Bible is not true and authoritative on the roles of men and women, then maybe the Bible will not be finally true on premarital sex, the homosexual issue, adultery or any other moral issue,” he said. “I believe this issue is the carrier of a virus by which liberalism will enter the evangelical church.”⁷

Is there a necessary connection between egalitarianism and liberalism, as Grudem and Nelson have stated? To answer this question, consider the observation of Alvera Mickelsen, now in her nineties. She was raised in an evangelical setting, both church and home. Mickelsen attended Wheaton College and has been a member of a Baptist General Conference congregation through adulthood. She remembers hearing the female evangelist team Stockton and Gould preach in evangelical churches and institutions throughout the greater Chicago area, including on Moody Bible Radio. Alvera said with a chuckle, “You know, it wasn’t until 1950 that women preachers were considered liberal. Before that, no one thought twice about women preaching.”

Alvera’s hypothesis

If Alvera’s observation is correct, we would expect to see fewer women preaching and teaching in conservative Christian institutions after 1950, which indeed we do. Contrary to the claim that today’s egalitarians capitulate to secular feminist ideology, history offers another perspective. Examples abound of Christians whose egalitarian views are the result of a consistent reading of scripture, particularly with the rise of the modern missionary movement.

Even as early as the 1660s, a focus on the egalitarian teachings and practices of the NT church became popular among evangelicals, as seen in the writings and teachings of Margaret Fell Fox, an English Quaker and leading evangelical.⁸ What started with Fell Fox gained momentum in what is called the “Golden Era of Missions,” a movement in which new centers of Christianity flourished in the Americas, Africa, and Asia, leading to an unprecedented shift of Christian faith toward the Global South.⁹ This movement was led by evangelical women, who outnumbered men two to one. What is more, these women became founders and often the sole financial providers of missionary and humanitarian organizations, holding all positions of service and leadership. Significantly, the success of women and slaves serving in the most challenging circumstances globally gave the church ample reason to examine gender and ethnic bias biblically.¹⁰ World-renowned Bible scholars joined this conversation, including Dr. Adoniram Judson Gordon (1836–95), perhaps the most prominent evangelical pastor of his day. For Gordon, Pentecost was the “Magna Carta of the Christian church,” in which those who were considered inferior by birth inherited a new spiritual status through the power of the Holy Spirit. God’s gifting no longer rests on a “favored few, but upon the many, without regard to race, or age, or sex.”¹¹ As with Pentecost,

so today, all people regardless of class, ethnicity, or gender are one in Christ, with equal (ontological) value and therefore equal (teleological) spheres of service.

Gordon was joined by leading evangelicals such as Catherine Booth, cofounder of the Salvation Army. Like Gordon, Booth also engaged the whole of scripture, insisting that biblical texts be understood in their historic and cultural context. She wrote:

If commentators had dealt with the Bible on other subjects as they have dealt with it on this [gender], taking isolated passages, separated from their explanatory connections, and insisting on a literal interpretation of the words ... [oh] what errors and contradictions would have been forced upon the acceptance of the Church, and what terrible results would have accrued to the world.¹²

Perhaps the most systematic biblical assessment of gender was put forward by Katharine Bushnell (1856–1946), the youngest graduate of Chicago Women’s Medical College. After completing medical school, Bushnell worked briefly as a medical missionary in China, but returned home, eventually to lead the “Social Purity Department”¹³ of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)—an organization that typified the four theological priorities of Bebbington’s quadrilateral. Within the WCTU, Bushnell served as an evangelist and activist of the highest order,¹⁴ opposing the forced prostitution of girls and women in the United States and India. After two decades of rescuing girls from brothels, Bushnell believed that God was leading her to address the roots of sex slavery. This was the beginning of her theological reflection, which constitutes the pinnacle of her reforming work.

Bushnell observed that most religious traditions, including Christianity, interpret their sacred texts to create a gender-caste system based on the assumed innate depravity of females. It is not their character, giftedness, education, or devotion to God that renders females corrupt. It is their gender—a fixed and unchangeable condition. In such a system, virtue is believed to be the result of gender, and the character of females is deemed incorrigible, irredeemable, and therefore perpetually in need of male superiors. The Bible, the Koran, and the teachings of Hinduism have all too often been interpreted to make this case. For Bushnell, the devaluation of females was the root idea that subjugated females and drove the sex industry.

Bushnell and her colleagues perceived that religion provides the most exalted, convincing, and irreproachable devaluation of individuals, whereby their subjugation is justified. Because religious ideas have consequences, Bushnell believed any effort to dismantle the sex industry, though necessary, would inevitably fail without addressing the spiritual or philosophical presuppositions that fueled the sex industry. Of course, there is a great irony here: while religious leaders portray women as morally and intellectually feeble, God uses those who are considered weak to shame human pride. It was women’s acumen that exposed the flawed reasoning and shallow theology that devalued individuals because of their materiality. The example of such women suggests that effective

social reform is nearly always inseparable from a robust philosophical and theological deliberation. Again, biblicism and activism working in tandem to advance the gospel—few have accomplished this with greater elegance and vigor than Katharine Bushnell.

To expose the interpretive errors that led directly to the suffering and subjugation of women, Bushnell wrote:

A woman is of as much value as a man; and [people] will not believe this until they see it plainly taught in the Bible. Just so long as [Christians] imagine that a system of caste is taught in the Word of God, and that [men] belong to the upper caste while women are of the lower caste; and just so long as [we] believe that mere flesh—fate—determines the caste to which one belongs; and just so long as [we] believe that the “he will rule over you” of Genesis 3:16 is [prescriptive rather than descriptive of life in a fallen world] ... the destruction of young women into a prostitute class will continue.¹⁵

Bushnell was among the first to reason that male rule is *not* a biblical ideal. Rather, it is part of the chaos and domination resulting from sin, which Christians must dismantle and oppose. Male authority, privilege, and patriarchy are consequences of sin. They are therefore at odds with justice and the moral precepts of scripture, as Bushnell argued throughout her writings, which represent the first systematic biblical approach to gender justice.

In addition to providing an egalitarian hermeneutic, the activism of early evangelicals like Bushnell targeted institutionalized injustices by working toward the abolishment of slavery and by helping women gain the vote. Therefore, the egalitarian movement was a deeply biblical movement that began, not in the 1970s with secular feminists, but in the 1800s with evangelicals such as A. J. Gordon, Catherine Booth, Katharine Bushnell and others. It was on their shoulders that future generations of evangelicals stood in advancing the biblical foundations for women’s leadership. Consider the following four examples.

Frank E. Gaebelein (1899–1983)

A prominent evangelical theologian, educator, prolific writer, founder of Stony Brook Christian School, and one of the founders of *Christianity Today*, Frank Gaebelein was also an early member of the Evangelical Theological Society (ETS). Trained at Harvard, Gaebelein believed that faith should impact all of life, including the arts, literature, science, and social action.¹⁶ A strong supporter of civil rights and the equality of women, Gaebelein probably coined the phrase, “All truth is God’s truth.”

Gaebelein’s daughter, Gretchen Gaebelein Hull, now in her eighties, was a founding board member of Christians for Biblical Equality (CBE). As a child, Gretchen learned that it was her Christian duty to discover and develop her God-given abilities. When considering her childhood, she recalls no encounter with Christian teaching that suggested ministry or work was limited by gender. It was not until after the 1950s that CBE founders like

Gretchen Gaebelein Hull and Alvera Mickelsen observed a drift in the evangelical ethos that made gender the basis of Christian vocation. And it was this very shift in emphasis from “Christian vocation,” centered on God’s gifting and calling, to “gender vocation” that led evangelicals like Gretchen Gaebelein Hull, Catherine Clark Kroeger, Alvera Mickelsen, Roger Nicole, Gilbert Bilezikian, Stan Gundry, Alan Johnson, and others to inaugurate CBE—an organization that promotes the biblical foundations for the shared service and leadership of women and men.

J. Barton Payne (1922–79)

Former president of the ETS and professor of OT at Princeton, Bob Jones, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Wheaton College, and Covenant Seminary (Creve Coeur/St. Louis), J. Barton Payne was a vocal advocate of women in ministry. His son, Dr. Philip Barton Payne, a noted NT scholar and author of *Man and Woman, One in Christ*,¹⁷ recalls his father’s egalitarian commitment in this way:

My father argued that women were not excluded from any form of Old Testament ministry with the possible exception of priest. He argued that in that instance, it was the standard association of priestesses with temple prostitutes combined with the Old Testament principle that God’s people should avoid the appearance of evil practices that would reflect poorly on God that explains why there is no mention of priestesses approved by God in the Old Testament. He saw no solid basis in the account of creation in Genesis for a second class status for women. Not long before he died climbing Mt. Fuji, he gave an annual lecture at Presbyterian Theological Seminary in [Dehradun, India] in which he argued that women should not be excluded from any form of ministry in the church. The editor of the journal in which these annual lectures were always published refused to publish it since there was no advocacy of a contrasting opinion, even though they had published George Knight III’s advocacy of the other side the previous year.¹⁸

The Prairie Bible School

Founded in 1922 in the small town of Three Hills, Alberta, Canada, Prairie Bible School (PBS, now renamed Prairie Bible Institute) has for “more than eight decades ... helped prepare thousands of Prairie Bible School alumni to become faithful servants of Jesus Christ, reaching out to people in more than 114 countries around the globe.”¹⁹

Prairie Bible Institute’s Doctrinal Statement aligns with Bebbington’s quadrilateral in making clear the school’s commitment to biblical authority: “We believe the Old and New Testament Scriptures as originally given by God are divinely inspired, inerrant, trustworthy, and constitute the only supreme authority in all matters of doctrine and conduct.”²⁰ PBS’s doctrine clearly differentiated it from liberal feminist theology. Nevertheless,

this supremely evangelical institute gave women strategic positions of leadership on their board of directors, as professors of theology and Bible, as principal of PBS's high school, and as preachers both during their summer conferences and on Sunday mornings in PBS's auditorium, the Tabernacle—the largest religious auditorium in Canada.

From the time PBS opened its doors to eight students in 1922, women's spiritual leadership was endorsed by Prairie's first principal, L. E. Maxwell (1895–1984). The school grew to become the most prestigious missionary training school for evangelicals in Canada. During Maxwell's fifty-eight-year presidency, his passion for evangelism and his respect for the authority of scripture drew thousands of evangelicals to Three Hills.

Maxwell was not only passionate about training students as missionaries, he was equally determined to include women in every aspect of the Great Commission. According to Dr. Robert Rakestraw, a 1967 graduate of PBS and retired professor of theology at Bethel Seminary in Saint Paul, Minnesota:

Maxwell was one of the most zealous advocates of missions. He was also an outspoken advocate of women preaching and teaching at all levels. If you were in favor of missions you had to be egalitarian. I remember Maxwell preaching on Psalm 68:11, the great company of women who published the glad tidings. For L. E. Maxwell, the cause of Christ was shared by both men and women alike.²¹

Maxwell claimed to have located over 300 biblical passages that support the leadership of women. Together with his long-time colleague Ruth Dearing, they published a book on this topic entitled, *Women in Ministry: An Historical and Biblical Look at the Role of Women in Christian Leadership*.²²

What is more, the 1960 PBS yearbook, *Prairian*, was dedicated to a female graduate who had distinguished herself as a missionary in China. In that yearbook Maxwell described the challenges Louisa Vaughan faced as a missionary to China. Citing her victory through prayer and faith, Maxwell wrote:

It was some forty years ago that I heard Miss Louisa Vaughan of China speak on John 14:13-14. She recited her heartbreaking experience with [discouragement].

Like a flash of light to her dark unbelieving heart came the words: "Whatsoever ye shall ask in My Name, that will I do. . . . If you shall ask anything in my name, I will do it."

She said, "My burden rolled away as I realized that I had nothing to do but to ask, and Christ would fulfill His promise, 'I will do it.'"

Through mighty faith and prayer Miss Vaughan saw revival work advanced in China during the following years. She was used of the Spirit to bring Ding Le Mei through for God. Never man spake like this woman. Ding Le Mei became "the Moody of China." Miss Vaughan conquered wherever she went on her knees—in His Name.

My own father-in-law, Don Halladay, attended PBS from 1958–61. After graduation, he and his wife, Wanda Halladay, worked for thirty-seven years as missionaries in Brazil. Both Rakestraw and Halladay were students of Ruth Dearing, who not only taught Bible at PBS, but also preached frequently in chapel.

Dearing held positions of leadership at PBS for fifty-nine years, as a member of the faculty of Bible, theology, and doctrine; as a board member; and as principal of Prairie's high school. High school teachers, male and female alike, reported to her. It was Maxwell who first hired Dearing, initially inviting her to teach at Prairie's high school. Because of her prominent administrative abilities, she was promoted to vice principal, then principal—a position she held for eighteen years. Holding a degree in religious education from Seattle Pacific College (today's Seattle Pacific University), Dearing was invited by Maxwell to teach introductory Bible to PBS's freshman college class. She eventually became a full-time faculty member at Prairie Bible College.

In 1928, Ruth Miller joined the PBS Bible faculty and was invited to preach from the pulpit of Prairie's Tabernacle on Sunday morning, like Dearing and other PBS faculty. Women were also frequent platform speakers, especially during summer conferences sponsored by PBS. Conferences included women such as Gladys Aylward and Helen Roseveare who addressed enormous audiences enraptured by their experiences as world leaders in Christian missions.

Prairie's female graduates were as pioneering as Dearing and Miller. They too courageously ventured alone to distant and dangerous places around the world, a fact touted in *Prairian* yearbooks. To inspire the service of graduating students, the 1958 *Prairian* gave a realistic view of dangers embraced by female missionaries. Aimed at shaming a few men to joining them, the following solicitation was entitled, "Opportunities for Young Women!"

There are still some areas where refrigerators and washing machines are scarce, where the food becomes monotonous, where rough trekking through mosquito-infested jungles and bridgeless rivers is common, where people do not want the Gospel and think they do God a service if they kill you.

It is still possible to endure loneliness and apparent frustration amid heat, filth and stench. Probably you will not marry, as the percent of men going to the mission fields is very small.

But, if you have given your life to Jesus and can trust Him to supply your needs (or give you grace to die joyfully), we will be glad to consider your application as one of the four hundred urgently needed on the W.E.C. [World Evangelization Crusade] fields.

This is an opportunity to prove the Omnipotent God! If there are still some old-fashioned young men who feel called to serve the Lord in hard places, with no earthly security, they too may apply.

PBS was unabashedly evangelical in its high view of scripture; its devotion to evangelism; and its commitment to preparing students as missionaries, evangelists, pastors, Bible expositors, and Christians ready to give their lives for the gospel. Gender bias was eclipsed by the Great Commission, and it was to this that PBS, under the leadership of Maxwell, devoted itself. Serving in more than 114 countries, Prairie graduates, both men and women, recognized that much of the world was unacquainted with Christ. What did it matter if a woman carried the good news to these souls for whom Christ died? Roused by Maxwell's "Great was the company of women who brought the glad tidings" (Ps 68:11), women and men set their sights on leading the world to Christ, and gender was no deterrent because the task was great, the harvest was ripe, and the workers were few.

Fredrik Franson (1852–1908)

Perhaps no other individual was more compatible with the evangelical ethos of PBS and its founder L. E. Maxwell than Fredrik Franson, founder of The Evangelical Alliance Mission (TEAM). Born in Sweden in 1852, Franson immigrated to the United States and came to faith in Nebraska in 1872. After an encounter with D. L. Moody, Franson was unsurpassed in his zeal for evangelism and missions, driven by the belief that Christ's return was imminent. A passionate dispensationalist, Franson traveled extensively, training missionaries on four continents, while also publishing popular biblical treatises and establishing strategic partnerships with other like-minded evangelicals such as A. B. Simpson and Hudson Taylor. Ultimately, Franson is credited for founding not only TEAM, but also the Danish Mission Confederation, the Swiss Alliance Mission, the Barnea Alliance Mission, the Finnish Alliance Mission, the Swedish Evangelical Mission in Japan, and the Swedish Alliance Mission.

Franson, like Maxwell, was an ardent supporter of women missionaries. Determined to make known the biblical basis for women's evangelistic service beside men, Franson wrote "Prophesying Daughters" in 1896. Relying on a whole-Bible approach, "Prophesying Daughters" is striking for its cohesive, original, and concise survey of scripture. From Genesis through the epistles, Franson celebrated scripture's consistent support for women's spiritual leadership. Fundamental to "Prophesying Daughters" is the goal of confronting gender prejudice in order to free women for evangelism. He "labeled as heretics those who grounded a doctrine on one or two passages in the Bible, without reading the references in their context."²³ "Prophesying Daughters" opposed a selective reading of scripture, showing that the main biblical themes include, rather than exclude, women's leadership. Franson also offered an assessment of the gender teachings, not only of the early church fathers, but also of reformation leaders such as Martin Luther. Ultimately Franson perceived no ministry in which women may not lead. He was no gradual emancipationist, and his biblical scholarship had one focus—to give God's gifts to women expansive opportunities on any mission field. Hence, in the introduction to "Prophesying Daughters," he wrote:

What the Bible says about the woman's place in evangelistic work and prophesying is a very important question, especially in our day, when ... so many doors are open for missionary work. Many of China's 400 million inhabitants thirst for the Gospel.... In Japan reception of the Gospel is so great that it has been said that [those] who would see [unbelief] in Japan must hurry out there. Thousands of witnesses are needed.... In India there are 250 million and in Africa about as many who have the right to receive from us the glad tidings of Jesus Christ which we know.... The field is thus very large, and when we consider that nearly two thirds of all converted persons in the world are women ... the question of woman's work in evangelization is of highest importance.... If there is no prohibition in the Bible of public service by women, either in political franchise ... then we stand face to face with the fact that the devil has succeeded in excluding nearly two thirds of the total number of believers—damage to God's work so great that it can scarcely be described.²⁴

According to Franson, the whole of scripture endorses women's preaching and teaching, beginning with Genesis. He noted that the "help" (*ezer*) woman offers man in Gen 2:18 is primarily spiritual "influence." He then asked, if woman was persuasive in leading Adam to sin, how much more might her influence be used to "remove sin from the world,"²⁵ in leading men to the gospel?

Similarly, the prophets Deborah and Huldah influenced Israel's decision-makers—the kings, priests, and other prophets.²⁶ In this way, prophets like Deborah and Huldah led the entire nation of Israel. For Franson, the whole of scripture reveals women as part of a great company (predicted in Ps 68:11) who declare the glad tidings of God's victory over sin and death. For this reason, women were prominent at Pentecost as Joel prophesied (Joel 2:28). And a woman—Anna—was also the first to announce the birth of the Christ and was the only prophet active at the time of Christ's presentation at the temple (Luke 2:36).²⁷ The Samaritan woman was also part of that great company of women. After meeting Christ (John 4:28), that same day she "persuaded the whole town to seek the Savior."²⁸ Like the Samaritan woman, Mary Magdalene carried the glad tidings of the risen Lord to the disciples. News that "was preached to the farthest boundary of the earth, was first proclaimed by a woman, and not only to the eleven,"²⁹ but to those who were also with them, the other women (Mark 16:10, Luke 24:9).

If Jesus was not ashamed to include a woman in his work, why should we be afraid to do so? Neither was Paul unwilling to work beside women like Priscilla the teacher, Phoebe the deacon, and Junia, whom both Chrysostom and Theophilus understood to be a female apostle.

If scripture as a whole points to Christ, can we afford to overlook the women of scripture who declared the good news

of Jesus? Yet their voices have been stopped by those who rely upon two passages (1 Tim 2:11-15, 1 Cor 14:34) “without reading them in context.”³⁰ While Franson stops short of a thorough explanation of 1 Tim 2:11-15 or 1 Cor 14:34, he argues that scripture stands against any exclusion of women’s teaching and prophetic leadership, particularly in the teachings and service of Christ and Paul. If female teaching itself was forbidden, then Franson notes:

The instruction which Prisca gave to Apollos would also be against God’s command, and Paul’s order to women to be “good teachers” (Titus 2:3) would be abrogated, and then women’s work in Sunday schools, in public schools, and in the teaching they convey through books and articles in religious papers would all be forbidden.³¹

“The danger of founding a doctrine on a single text, without comparing it with hundreds of other texts that speak of the same theme, cannot be emphasized enough,”³² said Franson. “If a sister can more easily bring souls to the Savior . . . then she sins if she does not use those gifts that God has given her.”³³ And, the results of this are disastrous in light of eternity. A sense of urgency comes with the fact that there are so many “people in the water about to drown.”³⁴ Franson writes:

A few men are trying to save [the drowning], and that is considered well and good. But look, over there a few women have untied a boat also to be of help in the rescue, and immediately a few men cry out . . . ‘No, no, women must not help, rather let the people drown.’ What stupidity! And yet this picture is very fitting. Men have, during all these centuries, shown that they do not have the power alone to carry out the work for the salvation of the world: therefore, they ought to be thankful to get some help.³⁵

Like today’s egalitarians, Franson’s commitment to evangelism and scriptural authority was fundamental to his egalitarian advocacy. What is more, his biblical defense of women’s leadership employs the same methods of interpretation used by egalitarians today, even though today’s egalitarians are accused of succumbing to liberalism. Perhaps our neglect of historic individuals like Franson, Maxwell, Dearing, and others contributes to this problem. It was only in 2009 that “Prophesying Daughters” was made available on the Internet. It had formerly been sequestered in the archives of an Evangelical Covenant publication, *The Covenant Quarterly*.

Conclusion

Prior to the 1950s, biblicism and conversionism compelled early evangelicals to welcome women as Bible teachers, preachers, board members, and as innovators of mission organizations and Bible institutes. A high view of scripture and a commitment to evangelism also propelled the Golden Era of Missions, in which

women vastly outnumbered men. Women’s gospel leadership posed no challenge to biblical authority; they threatened only human bias that circumvented scripture’s support for women’s equal service and leadership in Christian mission.

An openness to the gift of women among evangelicals changed dramatically during the Fundamentalist-Modernist Controversy, with its concern for higher critical methods and a disregard for the authority of scripture. Bible institutes sought to distance themselves from any intellectualism that smacked of higher critical methods. The Northwestern Bible Training School (today’s University of Northwestern–Saint Paul), for example, responded to the threat of modernism by eliminating courses on “archaeology, history, and the ancient languages.”³⁶ Instead, some evangelicals relied on a literal or “plain reading of the text” as their principal interpretive method. By abandoning rigorous intellectual engagement, not only theologically but in other fields as well, fundamentalists and no small number of evangelicals lost their capacity to impact culture through the academy, an observation made by Dr. Charles Malik in his opening address at the dedication of Wheaton’s Billy Graham Center in 1980.³⁷ According to Malik, it will take decades to recover the intellectual ground and social engagement surrendered by fundamentalists and evangelicals after 1950.³⁸

A plain reading of scripture, accompanied by a neglect of history, culture, and the ancient languages, also had devastating consequences on women’s leadership. Some biblical passages pertaining to women’s leadership pose interpretive challenges that require a thorough knowledge of ancient history, culture, and language. One such passage is 1 Tim 2:11–15, with its unusual Greek verb *authentēin* and its suggestion that women are saved through childbearing, to say nothing of its apparent conflict with Paul’s established practice of advancing the gospel beside female leaders such as Junia, Priscilla, Phoebe, Chloe, and Lydia. The Fundamentalist-Modernist Controversy led to a shallow reading of scripture, divorced from the academic rigor and social engagement that had characterized an earlier generation of evangelicals, thus diminishing the influence evangelicals might have intellectually, spiritually, and socially.

One needs only to browse the archives of an evangelical college or university founded prior to 1950 to read journals and correspondence from female graduates serving on global mission fields.³⁹ Their writings are filled with an explicit commitment to biblical authority and evangelism—ideals that exemplify an earlier evangelical faith. In reflecting on their legacy, one wonders if the early evangelicals might view our generation as liberal for placing the priorities of evangelism behind our obsession with so called “gender roles” that truncate the leadership of women, thereby diminishing the good news of Christ.

Egalitarians do not comprise a new path to liberalism. Rather, egalitarians are devoted to the authority of scripture, and to many of the same biblical interpretative methods of an earlier generation. Egalitarians do, however, differ from complementarians in their interpretation of passages like 1 Tim 2:11–15 or 1 Cor 14:34. Let us recognize that evangelicals (both egalitarian and

complementarian) arrive at opposing interpretive conclusions even while upholding the authority of scripture. An accusation of theological liberalism must be balanced against actual facts, beginning with the history of evangelicals as a whole.

I end with a troubling observation. Over the last fifteen years, I have encountered too many Christian college students who seem more concerned with “gender roles” than with discerning their God-given gifts and calling. A preoccupation with gender differences (what sociologists call “gender essentialism”) also appears in popular evangelical literature in which passive beauties await male rescue. This preoccupation exhibits an anemic expression of Christian faith, apparently unaware of its own feebleness, as Malik predicted. How vastly different were the lives of evangelicals like Catherine Booth, A. J. Gordon, Katharine Bushnell, Amanda Smith, Fredrik Franson, and L. E. Maxwell, with their determination to prove God omnipotent in dire circumstances. I would rather be among that great company of women Franson celebrates and which scripture compels us to emulate with impunity.⁴⁰

Notes

1. Charles O. Knowles, *Let Her Be: Right Relationships and the Southern Baptist Conundrum over Woman's Role* (Columbia: KnoWell, 2002), 85. See also the writings of Margaret Fell Fox at <http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/book/search?author=fell%2C+margaret&amode=words&title=&tmode=words&c=x>.

2. <http://etsjets.org/?q=about>.

3. Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield, and the Wesleys* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2003), 19ff.

4. David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s-1980s* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979), 3. See also Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, 16.

5. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, 19.

6. Wayne Grudem, *Evangelical Feminism: A New Path to Liberalism* (Wheaton: Crossway, 2006), 11.

7. Sam Hodges, “Woman's Turn in Pulpit at Irving Bible Church Brings Buzz, Beefs,” *Dallas Morning News*, Aug 25, 2008.

8. Margaret Fell Fox's best-known egalitarian treatise is *Women's Speaking Justified, Proved and Allowed of by the Scriptures* (London, 1666). See <http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/fell/speaking/speaking.html>.

9. Dana L. Robert, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2005), ix.

10. Knowles, *Let Her Be*, 85ff.

11. A. J. Gordon, “The Ministry of Women,” *The Missionary Review of the World* 17 (1884): 911.

12. Catherine Booth, “Female Ministry; or, Women's Right to Preach the Gospel,” in *Terms of Empowerment: Salvation Army Women in Ministry* (London, 1859; reprint, New York: The Salvation Army Supplies Printing and Publishing Department, 1975), 19–20. See <http://www.cresourcei.org/cbooth.html>.

13. The Women's Christian Temperance Union's Social Purity Department aimed its efforts at freeing girls and women from forced prostitution throughout the world.

14. See a timeline of Bushnell's life here: http://godswordtowomen.org/gwtw_bushnell_timeline.pdf.

15. Katharine Bushnell, *Dr. Katharine C. Bushnell: A Brief Sketch of her Life and Work* (Hertford, England: Rose and Sons Salisbury Square, 1930), 14. See http://godswordtowomen.org/bushnell_brief_sketch.pdf.

16. To grasp the breadth of Gaebelein's erudition, see Talbot School of Theology's list of his publications: www.talbot.edu/ce20/educators/protestant/frank_gaebelein.

17. Philip B. Payne, *Man and Woman, One in Christ: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Paul's Letters* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2009).

18. Comments emailed to the author by Dr. Philip Payne on Oct 16, 2008.

19. <http://prairie.edu/document.doc?id=58> (p. 6).

20. See <http://prairie.edu/document.doc?id=312>.

21. Mimi Haddad interviewed Robert Rakestraw in his home in Saint Paul, MN, in Aug 2008.

22. L. E. Maxwell and Ruth C. Dearing, *Women in Ministry: An Historical and Biblical Look at the Role of Women in Christian Leadership* (Christian Publications, 1995).

23. Fredrik Franson, “Prophesying Daughters,” *The Covenant Quarterly* 34, no. 4 (November, 1976): 25.

24. Franson, “Prophesying Daughters,” 25.

25. Franson, “Prophesying Daughters,” 25.

26. Franson, “Prophesying Daughters,” 26.

27. Franson, “Prophesying Daughters,” 28.

28. Franson, “Prophesying Daughters,” 29.

29. Franson, “Prophesying Daughters,” 30.

30. Franson, “Prophesying Daughters,” 35.

31. Franson, “Prophesying Daughters,” 35.

32. Franson, “Prophesying Daughters,” 36.

33. Franson, “Prophesying Daughters,” 39.

34. Franson, “Prophesying Daughters,” 29.

35. Franson, “Prophesying Daughters,” 29.

36. William Vance Trollinger Jr., *God's Empire: William Bell Riley and Midwestern Fundamentalism* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 94. Riley was also president and founder of the World Christian Fundamentals Association. As such, he favored a “plain reading of the Bible,” as the fundamentalist interpretive method, rather than harnessing history, archaeology, and the ancient languages to grasp the fullest meaning of scripture.

37. See <http://wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/BGCdedication.htm>.

38. See further, Mark Noll, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995).

39. For a more thorough study of the support evangelicals gave women's leadership, see Janette Hassey, *No Time for Silence: Evangelical Women in Public Ministry around the Turn of the Century* (Minneapolis: CBE, 1986).

40. “Remember your leaders, who spoke the word of God to you. Consider the outcome of their way of life and imitate their faith” (Heb 13:7 NIV).

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The Genesis of Confusion: How “Complementarians” Have Corrupted Communication

KEVIN GILES

In the previous edition of Priscilla Papers, my article, “The Genesis of Equality,” outlined the prevailing view that the Bible’s opening chapters make substantial or essential equality of the two sexes the creation ideal, and that the subordination of women is entirely a consequence of the fall. I further noted that Pope John Paul II made this interpretation of Gen 1–3 binding on Roman Catholics. In this essay, I move on to discuss four key terms—“role,” “equality,” “difference,” and “complementary”—which “complementarians” consistently utilize to give a different interpretation of Gen 1–3 and of other biblical texts important to their cause. Again, I bring in the Roman Catholic voice to give a wider perspective.¹

In the mid-1960s, I studied at Moore Theological College Sydney, a large, evangelical and Reformed seminary. In my four years there I became well-grounded in the Bible and learned to think theologically, thus equipping me for a lifetime of ministry and teaching the Bible. As a self-confident young man, I was delighted to learn that God had given “headship”/leadership to men. I enthusiastically became a “complementarian,” to use a term of more recent origin. I remained so for nearly ten years until, after months of careful study, I concluded that the case for women’s subordination rests primarily on one possible interpretation of one text (1 Tim 2:8–15), and this seemed insufficient ground for subordinating half the human race. Moore College still teaches male “headship”/leadership and is strongly opposed to the ordination of women.² However, on reading their current “Vision, Mission and Values” statement, on the man-woman relationship one might not realize this. The statement says they believe in,

Gender Complementarity: Affirmation of the fundamental equality and mutual dependence of men and women as image bearers of God, while recognising proper differences in roles and responsibilities in life and Christian ministry.³

To the uninitiated, this affirmation sounds completely acceptable. Who could deny that men and women are fundamentally equal and mutually dependent yet have different “roles and responsibilities”? However, what this statement of faith is actually saying is this: Moore College is committed to the “complementarian” position. This involves believing that the Bible teaches that, before the fall, God gave the man authority over the woman. The “headship” given in God’s good creation is therefore universal and transcultural. “Complementarians” express this idea by speaking of differing “roles.” There is nothing exceptional in Moore’s doctrinal statement. I have seen dozens of almost identical opaque and innocuous sounding statements published by other seminaries, Bible Colleges and Christian organizations, especially in the United States.⁴

Such carefully worded statements can be called “political speak,” “spin,” or the manipulation of language in the cause of ideology. Evangelical theologian Kevin Vanhoozer, speaking on the ideological use of language, says, “Those who control how language is used control the most powerful instrument for shaping human consciousness.”⁵ By use of carefully chosen words, “complementarians” put their case so that it sounds reasonable and

harmless. Carefully choosing words to conceal what is actually being taught and to surreptitiously further one’s own agenda, I believe, is morally wrong. One important responsibility of theologians is to bring clarity to the issues they address, in part by carefully defining and consistently using key terms. To write theology in order to conceal seems to me perverse. Should not Christians communicate with each other openly and honestly?

The origins of this obfuscating language

For long centuries, how the man-woman relationship was to be understood was openly stated and crystal clear. God had made men “superior,” women “inferior.”⁶ Woman was created second, after man, thus women are second in rank. Eve sinned first in the Garden, thus women are more susceptible to sin and error and in need of male leadership. It is difficult to find a book written on the relationship of the sexes before the middle of the twentieth century, by a Christian or a non-Christian, that does not speak of men as “superior,” women as “inferior.”⁷

Only in the late 1960s, with the advent of “Women’s Lib,” did this terminology and its underlying understanding of men and women come under challenge and begin to collapse. This new cultural affirmation of the equality of the sexes put many evangelicals, convinced that the traditional position was prescribed by the Bible, under considerable pressure. This cultural pressure increased when significant evangelical leaders (F. F. Bruce, Leon Morris, Kenneth Kanzer, Roger Nicole, etc.) began arguing that the Bible teaches the equality of the sexes. In this critical hour, one of the most creative conservative Reformed theologians of the twentieth century, George Knight III, stepped forward with an answer. In his 1977 seminal book, *New Testament Teaching on the Role Relationship of Men and Women*, he rejected the customary language of “superior” and “inferior,” arguing instead that men and women are “equal but different” because God has assigned to each sex different “roles.”⁸ These differing “roles,” he added, were given in creation before the fall. As such, they are permanently binding and transcultural ideals. This wording sounded acceptable to the modern ear; who could deny that men and women are different in significant ways and tend to have different “roles”—women bear and feed babies and in most homes do the majority of the household work while men put out the garbage, fix things, and watch sports on television! Despite the novelty of his cleverly worded argument, Knight called it “the traditional” or “the historic” position. So appealing was this reformulated and reworded argument for women’s subordination, and its application to the few texts on which he built his case, that virtually every evangelical who has written after him in support of the permanent subordination of women has adopted it.

Only one major addition to Knight’s innovative theological work has occurred since he devised it. In a brilliant initiative, John Piper and Wayne Grudem, editing the 1991 symposium, *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood, A Response to Evangelical Feminism*,⁹ renamed the new post-1977 case for the permanent subordination of women, “the complementarian position.” Simultaneously and pejoratively, they named those they

were opposing, “evangelical feminists.” In socially and theologically conservative Christian circles, to call someone a “feminist” implies a counter-Christian and unbiblical view of the sexes. Because of the universal adoption of these key terms by “complementarians,” communication between the contending parties disintegrated.

“Role”

Grudem’s book, *Countering the Claims of Evangelical Feminism*, opens with mention of “the controversy over the Bible’s teaching about men and women’s roles.”¹⁰ Most “complementarians” likewise tell us that this bitter divide among evangelicals is about gender roles. In contrast, for egalitarians the controversy is over whether the Bible permanently subordinates women to men.

No word is more frequent or important in the “complementarian” case for the permanent subordination of women than “role.” The “complementarian” understanding of the relationship of the sexes can be accurately summed up as, *men and women are equal in being but differentiated in role*.¹¹ The first affirmation of the Danvers Statement, which definitively spells out the “complementarian” position, says that man and woman are made in God’s image and are thus “equal before God as persons.” The second affirmation says, “Distinctions in masculine and feminine *roles* are ordained by God as part of the created order.”¹²

The French word *rôle*, referencing the part an actor plays on stage, came into English at the turn of the twentieth century. In the 1930s, functionalist sociologists began using the term to speak of the contributions various people make to a well-functioning society. It was, however, only in the early 1960s that the word began to be widely used to speak of characteristic behavior of people in a given social context, such as the role of teacher or nurse. In such usage, the premise always is that roles can change.

It is important to note that the word “role” is rarely found in theological books and commentaries before 1975, and never before the turn of the twentieth century. The idea that God has given men and women differing “roles” finds no mention, for example, in early books discussing the ordination of women such as those by Fritz Zerbst (1955), Charles Ryrie (1958), and Peter Brunner (1971).¹³ The word does occasionally appear in Larry Christenson’s *The Christian Family*,¹⁴ first published in 1970, but here we find no trace of the idea that men and women have been given different “roles” in creation or that one’s “role” speaks of who rules and who obeys. Credit for introducing the word “role” to euphemistically and cryptically speak of the rule of men and the subordination of women goes to the above-mentioned George Knight III. In 1976, when I was writing my little book, *Women and Their Ministry*,¹⁵ I had on my desk Knight’s essay, published in *Christianity Today* in April of that year, which was later incorporated into his book.¹⁶ My book referred to this article only twice¹⁷ because I concluded his extensive use of the non-biblical word “role” as the controlling term to interpret what the Bible said on the sexes was a creative construct with no antecedents which corrupted rather than elucidated the exegetical enterprise. I thought no one would follow him in interpreting what the Bible says on the sexes almost exclusively in terms of differing “roles.” How wrong I was!

Today, the word “role” is an intrinsic element of the “complementarian” position, for it allows them to argue that “role differences” between men and women do not indicate the inferiority of women. “Men and women are ‘equal,’” they say time and time

again, citing examples such as the ship’s captain and the crewman, the officer and the private in an army, and the manager and the worker. In each of these examples the paired parties have different roles, but the one who has the obeying role is in no way personally less than or inferior to the one who has the commanding role. This is true because, in the examples given, the roles can change and the higher position invariably has some basis in competence, training, age, etc. However, these carefully chosen illustrations in fact do not parallel what “complementarians” are teaching. In these examples the roles can change; they are not intrinsic to the person. The private can become an officer, and the officer can be demoted. In contrast, exact parallels to the “complementarian” usage of “role” are to be found in classic aristocracy, race-based slavery, and in apartheid, where one’s permanent “role” is prescribed by birth. In these cases, “difference in role” speaks of an *essential and unchangeable* difference, predicated on the premise that some are born to rule and some obey. The rulers and the ruled are not social equals and never can be. This hierarchical ordering is person-defining and given at birth. In “complementarian” literature, this is exactly how men and women’s “roles” are understood. Men are born to rule, women to obey. A change in “role” is impossible. Women do not only *function* subordinately; they *are* the subordinate sex.

This novel usage of the word “role” by complementarians cannot be justified for four reasons.

First, the Bible never suggests that men and women are simply acting out male and female “roles”; nor does it support the idea that God has given distinctive “masculine and feminine roles.”¹⁸ In the most widely used English translations of the Bible, neither “role” nor the idea it conveys is found. The opening chapter of the Bible teaches that we are, by God’s creative will, men or women. I thus agree with complementarian OT scholar Werner Neuer, who says, “In cause of truth we should give up talking about the ‘roles of the sexes’”¹⁹ when interpreting what the Bible says on the male-female relationship.²⁰ To interpret biblical texts using a word alien to biblical thinking can only lead to reading our own views into scripture. A classic example of such eisegesis is when “complementarians” describe Adam’s and Eve’s sin as “role reversal.”²¹ It was not. It was disobedience to the clear command of God. Paul speaks of Christ on the cross overcoming Adam’s disobedience, not Adam’s failure to be head over Eve (Rom 5:19).

Second, the Bible does not teach that God has decreed that men and men only are to be leaders, to have the “headship role.” In Gen 1 God gives to man and woman the ruling “role.” They are alike commissioned to rule over God’s world. True, men are normally the leaders in ancient Israel, as we would expect in a patriarchal context, but God raises up Deborah, a married woman, to lead Israel as a judge and prophet (Judg 4:4). And God appoints other women in the OT age to speak to his people as prophets (Exod 15:20, Mic 6:4, Isa 8:3, Neh 6:14, cf. Luke 2:36–38). In the NT age we find a woman apostle (Rom 16:7),²² women prophets (Acts 2:17–18, 21:19, 1 Cor 11:5, cf. Rev 2:20), and women house church leaders (Col 4:14, Acts 12:12, 16:14–15). Rather than “roles,” Paul speaks of men and women having differing “ministries” (*diakoneō*) or “grace-gifts” (*charismata*, 1 Cor 12:4), none of which are restricted to one sex.

Third, the use of “role” in “complementarian” literature is foreign to the discipline of sociology. The word “role,” properly understood, speaks of the function assumed or part played in a particular situation.²³ Roles change over time and in differing contexts. Thus in everyday usage we ask, for example, who in the home has the

“role” of gardening, washing clothes, managing the finances, etc. And today we often speak of how men’s and women’s “roles” have changed. For “complementarians,” in contrast, the word “role” has nothing to do with routine behaviors that can change. It speaks rather of permanently ascribed *power relations* that are predicated on one’s sexual identity. Men have the “role” of leading (“headship”); women, the “role” of obeying—and this can never change. When a scholar obfuscates in order to further an agenda, we must strongly object.

Fourth, to insist that men have been given *by birth* the ruling “role” and women the obeying “role” implies that women are in some way inferior to men. Their subordinate “role” defines them as women. Simply because they are women, and for no other reason, women for all of their lives are the subordinate sex. They are not in any substantial sense equal with men. Genesis 1:27–28 contradicts this conclusion.

The Roman Catholic Church and gender “roles”

In Pope John Paul II’s encyclical, *Mulieris Dignitatem: On the Dignity and Vocation of Women*,²⁴ the word “role” appears only three times in 111 pages. The paucity of usage of this especially common modern-day word in a booklet on the relationship of the sexes is noteworthy and is a striking contrast with conservative evangelical “complementarian” literature where no other term is more common. In speaking of the leadership of women in the apostolic church, he says women “played an active and important *role* in the life of the early church, in building up from its foundations the first Christian community—and subsequent communities—through their own *charisms* and their varied service.”²⁵ In this sentence, “role” is used appropriately of what women did, their ministry.

Neither the Pope’s encyclical nor his many other writings, as far as I can see, ever use “role” to speak of who rules and who obeys. We would not expect him to do so, for he explicitly taught the creation-given “essential equality of man and women.”²⁶ For him, the rule of the man over the woman is entirely a consequence of the fall, and to be opposed by Christians.²⁷

“Equality”

“Complementarians” emphasize their belief in *the equality of the sexes*—men are not superior, nor women inferior. This is also what evangelical egalitarians believe. What then is the debate about? The answer is that the word “equal” is not given the same content by both sides. For “complementarians” to say men and women are “equal” means that they are spiritually equal or equal *before God*, not that they are social equals on earth. They are “equal,” but men are to rule, women to obey. Grudem makes this point quite explicitly, arguing that to say that men and women are “equal” does not mean they are “equal in authority.” Men, he says starkly, are “superior” in authority.²⁸

Thus the “complementarian” assertion of gender “equality” is without substance in social relationships. It is the counterpart of the white master in the Old South speaking of the “equality” of the black slave. When I hear Christians who uphold male leadership affirm

the “equality” of the sexes, I cannot help but recall the words of the ruling animals in George Orwell’s classic story, *Animal Farm*: “All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others.”

The word “equal,” when used of people in a social setting, does not mean “identical,” as it does when used in mathematics. Men and women are not the same: if they were we would not have two sexes. In its common social meaning the word “equal” speaks of human beings having the same worth, the same human potential, and thus to be given the same opportunities.

Social equality is, of course, an ideal—an ideal that resists realization in a fallen world. Some are richer, stronger, cleverer, bigger, and more powerful. In a world marked by sin, inequality prevails. In particular, women are prone to lack substantive equality because men are on average physically stronger and can assert their will, and when bearing and nurturing children women cannot always fully support themselves. Thus, over the course of time, men tend to acquire more social and political power.

Grudem’s rhetorical assertion that for egalitarians the “fundamental” principle is, “if different, then not equal, and if equal then not different,”²⁹ makes absolutely no sense to an egalitarian. Egalitarians unequivocally affirm male-female differentiation *and* the substantial or essential equality of the two sexes. We believe men and women are equal *and* different. Social equality and sexual differentiation are both God-given and not contradictory ideas. The words “equality” and “difference” are not antonyms. The antonym of “equality” is “inequality.” In the social use of “equal,” only people who are different in one or more ways can be accorded equality. Two identical things are said not to be equal but “the same.”

What is immediately apparent in these two contrasting understandings of “equality” is that one has limited practical outcomes in everyday life, and the other has far reaching outcomes. For the “complementarian,” women’s equality is limited to what might broadly be called “the spiritual sphere.” Despite being “equal,” they must submit to their husbands in the home, and they cannot lead or preach in church. For long centuries women were excluded from leadership in the public domain as well because it was believed women were not men’s equal. “Complementarians” say they believe that women are “equal” with men, but they do not concede that they are relationally equal. With this limited conception of “equality” in mind, Christians in the past have argued with Bible in hand that women should not be allowed to vote, to pursue higher education, to enter certain professions, to hold public office, to earn the same as men for the same work, to use God-given gifts of leadership in the church, or to be full partners in marriage, sharing decision making and responsibility. “Complementarians” who hold to this limited definition of “equality” believe that it is up to male theologians to tell women where they are not “equal” with men in social and relational contexts. The alternative understanding of gender equality held by most other Christians, including evangelical egalitarians, presupposes that women are full human beings, equal before God, that they are socially and relationally equal to men in all spheres of life, and that it is up to them to discern their own gifts and calling. God has made them women, not men, but God’s Word does not make them the subordinate sex.

What makes the limited understanding of male-female “equality” so fraught at this present time for “complementarians” is that, in Western society, women have been accorded unqualified social and political equality. They are now presidents, prime ministers, judges, generals, doctors, academics, pastors and whatever else their gifts and circumstances permit. What is more, the achievements of women have made it impossible to believe that women do not have the intelligence, morality and leadership potential given to men.

The Roman Catholic Church on gender “equality”

Pope John-Paul II has prescribed what all Catholics are to believe about the sexes, noting that the Bible speaks unambiguously of the “essential equality” of the two sexes,³⁰ “their fundamental” equality in marriage,³¹ their equality in “the salvific and sanctifying action of the Spirit,”³² and their “total equality with respect to the gifts of the Holy Spirit.”³³ For him, “the essential equality” of the sexes is taught in Gen 1–2, while ch. 3 presents the rule of the man over the woman as a consequence of the fall and displeasing to God.³⁴

In an insightful study of Pope John Paul II’s teaching on the sexes, Sister Sara Butler points out that, for the Pope, the fact that man and woman are both created in the image and likeness of God implies that there is *one human nature/being* that they both possess fully.³⁵ Human nature is not “divided or shared between the sexes, but possessed whole by each, though not in identical ways.”³⁶ This grounding of male-female equality in the one nature/being of man and woman is a significant step forward in this debate. It helpfully relates human equality and divine equality by using established theologically synonymous terms, “nature” and “being,” which speak of what unites and is common among the three divine persons. It excludes the limiting of equality by suggesting that one sex lacks something ontological which is possessed only by the other.

“Difference”

Almost every “complementarian” book presents egalitarians as denying male-female differentiation. Raymond Ortlund, for example, says evangelical egalitarians teach “an unqualified equation of the sexes.” Harold O. J. Brown says the logic of the evangelical egalitarian position is “total sexual equivalence.” Robert Yarbrough says egalitarians “obliterate our God-given gender distinctions.” Grudem says, “the fundamental egalitarian error is constantly to blur” male-female distinctions.³⁷

These strident charges that evangelical egalitarians deny sexual difference leaves one perplexed. In over forty years of involvement in the debate about the status and ministry of women, I have never known an evangelical egalitarian to deny sexual differentiation—in person or in print. From the early 1970s, those who have argued that the Bible makes the equality of the sexes the creation-given ideal have stressed that our maleness and femaleness is God-given and good.

Of central importance in the early articulation of the evangelical egalitarian position are Richard and Catherine Kroeger. They helped found Christians for Biblical Equality (CBE), of which Catherine was the first president. Affirming the widespread conclusion that acknowledging male-female differentiation was an issue at Corinth and that this is why Paul wanted women to cover their heads and men uncover their heads when leading in prayer and prophecy, they say:

Against such blurring of sexual differentiation the Apostle Paul speaks out: it is good to be a man, it is good to be a woman. He defined sexual identity in terms of God’s loving creation of men’s and women’s need for one another. To repudiate or obliterate the identity God has bestowed on us as sexual beings is a “disgrace,” a remnant of pagan religion the Corinthians had so recently left.³⁸

My own 1977 above-mentioned book, *Women and Their Ministry*, emphatically endorses both male-female equality and differentiation, and I have never wavered from this belief. In numerous publications and public forums I have affirmed creation-based sexual differentiation, for which no fellow egalitarian has ever taken me to task.

Most substantial evangelical books arguing for gender equality have extended sections on sexual differentiation. An emphatic example is Stanley Grenz’s and Denise Kjesbo’s, *Women in the Church*. They assert, “Humans can exist only as male and female. And this primary sexual distinction is deeper than mere physical features related to reproduction.”³⁹ They then outline “the basic differences between the sexes suggested by recent research in the human sciences.”⁴⁰ Another informed evangelical endorsement of sexual differentiation is Elaine Storkey’s, *Created or Constructed? The Great Gender Debate*. She argues that the four basic biblical affirmations about man and woman are: difference, sameness/similarity, complementarity, and the potential for union.⁴¹ It is simply bizarre to argue that evangelical egalitarians deny what is so clearly enunciated in the prologue to the Bible—“male and female he created them” (Gen 1:27)—and so observable in everyday life. How could anyone believe in “total sexual equivalence,” whatever that is? In every case, when I have had the chance, on hearing this charge, I have asked “complementarians” to come forward with one example where an egalitarian has denied male-female differentiation, and I have had not one example supplied.

What is going on, we must ask? Why do “complementarians” emphatically claim that evangelical egalitarians deny sexual difference without offering *any* evidence, and in the face of the emphatic denial by evangelical egalitarians? The answer, I suggest, is that the word “difference” does not bring to mind the same things for both sides in this debate.

For evangelical egalitarians, the word “difference” means “not the same,” “other than,” “not identical.” Thus to affirm sexual difference is to affirm that humankind is always male *or* female and this division in the one species is innate, person-defining and behaviorally significant. Sexual differentiation does not stand in tension with affirmations of social equality. Two people, according to this view, can be different—one a man, one a woman—yet substantively equal; that is, not identical but have the same dignity, the same worth, the same intelligence, and the same leadership potential.

For “complementarians,” on the other hand, one thing above all else indelibly differentiates men and women: in creation, before the fall, God set the man over the woman. Men are to command, women to obey. This difference in authority is, for the “complementarian,” *the most important thing* in setting men and women apart. The man’s God-given pre-eminent authority defines him in distinction to the woman. *This is what makes him a man, not a woman.* Thus when “complementarians” hear egalitarians

denying that the Bible sets the man over the woman as the God-given ideal, they hear this as a denial of what is essential to their understanding of what it means to be a man, or in their literature, a denial of “biblical manhood.” They sense that their passionate belief is under threat—and it is.

Difference and self-identity go hand in hand. What gives human beings their sense of identity is what differentiates them from other people: their sex, parents, family, nationality, ethnicity, language, education, appearance and religion (or lack of it). Self-identity commonly carries with it some feeling of superiority, even if this is rarely acknowledged and actively suppressed. However, when our identity is threatened, feelings of superiority can easily come to the surface and be articulated, often in politically nuanced language. Most strong affirmations of “difference” are to be understood in this light. Those who hold power and feel threatened define themselves by asserting their *difference* from another race, language group, political party, social class, or sex. Thus when white supremacists say, “We whites are different from blacks,” they are in fact claiming that whites are in some way superior to blacks. It may be difficult and painful for many evangelicals to accept, but it would seem that the sharp division between evangelicals on male-female differentiation may be explained in the above terms. For some, to say men are different from women implies far more than simply saying men and women are not the same in every way. It is a claim that God has bestowed on men something not given to women—namely, the leadership “role.” To affirm the substantial equality of the sexes is to deny this claim and refute the assumption that God in creation has given to men primacy in the male-female relationship.⁴²

Consider the common “complementarian” slogan used to sum up the male-female relationship; “equal *but/yet* different.”⁴³ The adversative conjunction (“but”/“yet”) tells us in coded language that “complementarians” believe that woman’s “difference” qualifies the equality she has. They cannot say with evangelical egalitarians that men and women are equal *and* different. The term “different” does not reduce or qualify the term “equal”; rather, both are true.

We thus have two understandings of what primarily differentiates men and women. For evangelical egalitarians, male-female differentiation is rooted in God’s creative activity that gives to men and women differing bodies, differing chromosomes, differing contributions in procreation, and statistically differing characteristics. For them, sexual differentiation is a creation given and it is good. In contrast, “complementarians” locate sexual differentiation primarily in differing authority. What makes a man a man is his God-given “headship/leadership” over women. For them, to deny that God has given “superior authority” to the man is to deny what is most fundamental to male-female differentiation. Every “complementarian” book tells us what primarily differentiates men and women, albeit in cryptic terminology. To Grudem’s credit he explicitly and openly admits, to say men and women are “equal” does not mean that women are “equal in authority” with men. Men are “superior” in authority.⁴⁴

The “complementarian” understanding of male-female differentiation is untenable for at least three reasons. First, in the primary and definitive statement on the sexes given in Gen 1:27–28, man and woman are alike given authority over God’s creation. Neither is given authority over the other. Most Protestant and all Roman Catholic commentators agree that Gen 1–3 makes the rule of the man over the woman entirely a consequence of the fall

(Gen 3:16). Second, as we have noted above, the Bible gives many examples of God appointing women to be leaders of his people. And third, we see women with extraordinary leadership ability, and never more than in our age. I do not believe the world is flat, even if a few verses can be found to suggest this, because observation forces me to believe that the world is spherical. Likewise I do not believe that God has appointed only men to lead, even if a few verses can be interpreted to suggest this, because observation forces me to conclude that women have been given by God undeniable leadership ability. Everywhere I look, I see intelligent, well educated, articulate women giving wonderful leadership in the church and the world. *Leadership ability does not differentiate men and women.*

Studies on the differences between men and women have discovered that, when it comes to behavioral differences, more men than women or vice versa may excel at something, but in no case do all men or all women excel over the other sex in every or even most instances. The statistical variations are significant but small. The vast majority of men and women fit into an overlapping range of scores. What this means is that there are vastly more similarities than differences in male-female behavior. Another way to put this is that the variation *between* women and men as two categories is far less than the variation *among* men or *among* women.⁴⁵ Thus the statistical differences in behavior between the sexes in no way support the theory that men only or women only can or should perform certain roles.

Before leaving this matter, let me stress that in affirming that God made humankind in two forms, male and female, egalitarian evangelicals do not allow male-female differentiation to eclipse what is common to the two sexes; both are made in the image and likeness of God and both are given dominion over creation. Egalitarians affirm *both* male-female equality and differentiation without limiting one or the other.

The Roman Catholic Church on gender “difference”

Pope John-Paul II is adamant that the “essential equality of the sexes” in no way challenges or denies that God has made two sexes. He writes of the “Creator’s decision that the human being should always and only exist as a woman or a man.”⁴⁶ He locates sexual differentiation primarily in the bodies given to men and women.⁴⁷ These differing bodies, the Pope argues, express the human spirit.

Sister Sara Butler summarizes the Pope’s teaching on the sexes in his various writings, by means of the following six points: “In the first place the Pope affirms the unity of human nature.... Human nature is not divided or shared between the sexes, but is possessed whole by each, though not in identical ways.”⁴⁸ “Second, the Pope affirms the body.” For him, “the body expresses the person.” “Having a body belongs to us being human, belongs to our single human nature.”⁴⁹ Third, “in the concrete, however, human nature exists only in one or the other sex, in women or men.” “The two sexes are two ways of being a body, two incarnations of human nature.” One’s sex defines “a personal mode of being in the world.”⁵⁰ To be male or female, both for the married and the single, is “part of one’s concrete personal identity.”⁵¹ “Fourth, man and woman are created for each other. They complement each other in a way that is mutual and reciprocal. They are partners, somewhat like our two hands.” Being a person “involves existing in relationship.”⁵² Fifth, our differing bodies have “nuptial meaning.” They call us “to interpersonal communion” with the other sex.⁵³ Sixth, “only a man

and a woman, as sexual counterparts, can be wife and husband to each other; only they, together, can generate new life.” Their differing bodies make this possible.⁵⁴ In conclusion, Butler says, “the Pope offers a positive evaluation of sexual difference-in-equality.”⁵⁵ This account of male-female equality and differentiation is certainly more profound than much of what is seen in evangelical literature.

“Complementarian”

Because God made humankind man *and* woman (Gen 1:27–28), virtually all theologians agree that man and woman *complete* what it means to be human; the two sexes are complementary. Man alone or woman alone is not humanity in its completeness. Since the earliest descriptions of the evangelical egalitarian position in the mid-1970s, egalitarians have unambiguously affirmed the *complementarity* of the sexes. Egalitarians were therefore flabbergasted when for the first time, in 1991, those who were arguing for the permanent subordination of women by appeal to the Bible began calling themselves “complementarians.” Prior to this they had named their point of view the “traditional” or “hierarchical,” position. They again chose a positive word, in this case one regularly used by egalitarians, and made it their own. No one would guess that those who call themselves “complementarians” are evangelicals committed to the permanent subordination of women!

Grudem, in his 2006 book, *Countering the Claims of Evangelical Feminism*, tells us how his side came to use the words, “complementary” and “complementarian.”⁵⁶ He says the first time those arguing for a hierarchal relationship between men and women used the word “complementary” was on November 17, 1988, in the Council for Biblical Manhood and Womanhood’s founding document, the Danvers Statement.⁵⁷ He says, that as far as he knows, “it had not been previously used in this controversy.”⁵⁸ It had indeed, as I will show below. In the Danvers Statement, the stance taken is not called the “complementarian” position. Grudem tells us that he and John Piper, in editing the 1991 symposium, *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood: A Response to Evangelical Feminism*, “coined” the term “complementarian” as a self-designation of their position.⁵⁹ In other words, they invented it. In this book, the editors admit that, in designating their understanding of what the Bible teaches on the sexes the “complementarian” position, they were seeking to establish a new term for what had hitherto been called the “traditional” or “hierarchical” position.⁶⁰ From this point on, virtually every book written by an evangelical in support of the creation based subordination of women has designated the stance taken as the “complementarian” position and constantly spoken of the man-woman relationship as “complementary.”

In my 1993 review of *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood*, I objected to what I called “this novel” name for the hierarchical position, stating that it deliberately “confuses things” because “egalitarians can also gladly call themselves complementarians.”⁶¹ I argued that if the word “complementarian” is to be used, a distinction needs to be made between hierarchical-complementarians who envisage men standing over women, and egalitarian-complementarians who envisage men and women standing side by side.

Grudem’s claim that, prior to November 1988, the term “complementary” had not been used in this debate is factually incorrect. Egalitarian evangelicals had long before this date embraced this term as the best way to designate the male-female

relationship. Paul Jewett, in his seminal 1975 book, *Man as Male and Female*, argued for “a model of partnership ... where man and woman are properly related when they accept each other as equals whose difference is mutually complementary in all spheres of life and human endeavour.”⁶² In my 1977 book I argued that the church needs for its well-being both men *and* women in leadership, for the church is impoverished when more than half of its members are excluded from leadership. I did not explicitly use the term “complementary,” but I did speak of “the distinctive contribution that is made by men and women” in the church and in marriage.⁶³ What is more, I repeatedly described ministry in the church and marriage as a “partnership” where each sex adds to what the other brings. I was surprised on re-reading the book that I had not explicitly used the word “complementary,” for the idea was presupposed in all that I said. However, in my 1985 book, *Created Woman: A Fresh Study of the Biblical Teaching*, I explicitly wrote of the “complementarity of the sexes” and constantly described their relationship in this way.⁶⁴

In 1983, the English egalitarian evangelical scholar Mary Evans, in her important study, *Women in the Bible*, continued this trend, using the term “complementary” to designate what the Bible teaches on the sexes.⁶⁵ In 1985, another English evangelical, Elaine Storkey, in *What’s Right with Feminism*, similarly spoke of the sexes “complementing” each other.⁶⁶ From this time on, the word was commonly used by egalitarian evangelicals. Thus CBE’s 1989 “Statement on Men, Women, and Biblical Equality,” now available in thirty-four languages, implies the complementarity of the sexes throughout and speaks explicitly of their “complementarity.”⁶⁷

Moving forward, Ronald Pierce and Rebecca Merrill Groothuis named their 2004 scholarly egalitarian symposium, *Discovering Biblical Equality: Complementarity without Hierarchy*. They well support the claim that,

From the time of the first wave of the modern women’s movement at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, many have argued that women should participate equally with men precisely *because* they bring complementary gender qualities to marriage, ministry and society.⁶⁸

There is now no turning back. Both sides believe “complementary” captures something basic to their position. One side believes man and woman standing side by side *complete* what it means to be human, they are *egalitarian-complementarians*; the other side believes that men complete what is missing in women by providing the leadership they need, they are *hierarchical-complementarians*.

The Roman Catholic Church and gender “complementarity”

Pope John Paul II also long predates Grudem and Piper in designating the male-female relationship a “complementary” one. He began his regular use of this term as early as 1979.⁶⁹ The Pope’s frequent use of the term “complementary” to speak of the male-female relationship led Sister Prudence Allen to make a detailed study of how he used this word.⁷⁰ She argues that a clear distinction needs to be made between “fractional” or “partitive” complementarity, which suggests women lack something only men can supply, and “integral” or “synergistic” complementarity, which presumes men and women are complete human beings in themselves yet together in their difference contribute to each other’s

lives. An example of “integral” or “synergistic” complementarity is a well-working committee or a healthy co-equal marriage where the sum of the parts is more than the parts on their own. Classic examples of “fractional” or “partitive” complementarity are seen in master-servant, teacher-pupil, and parent-child relationships. Allen concludes that the Pope understands male-female complementarity in the “integral” or “synergistic” sense. In a later article, Sister Sara Butler comes to the same conclusion, arguing that the Pope’s teaching on complementarity implies the essential equality of the two sexes.⁷¹ Man and woman are full human beings in two bodies, and in their difference each contributes something to the other that makes their partnership more than the sum of the parts. She argues that “a theory of complementarity that entails hierarchical relations of power and value or polar opposition” between the sexes has not been the teaching of the *magisterium* for the past twenty-five years.⁷²

Catholic theologians have advanced the debate by bringing to light that “complementary” can speak either of the synergistic nature of the male-female relationship or of what is lacking in women that men provide. “Complementarians” have a “fractional” or “partitive” understanding of relational complementarity: Men supply what women lack, namely leadership. Robert Saucy expresses this point of view. He says the male-female relationship is a “complementary relationship ... the man has the responsibility of leadership ... in the church as well as the family.”⁷³ In contrast, evangelical egalitarians think of complementarity in terms of enrichment and synergy. Together, men and women bring to everything more than either alone can bring. On this view, whenever and wherever the two sexes are free to contribute fully as men or women, humanity is expressed in its *completeness*. This is true in all social settings and most profoundly in marriage, the most intimate of complementary relationships. The best of marriages are those where each sees the other as a full human being, each takes responsibility for the marriage and all that it involves, and all decisions are made conjointly. A synergistic or integral understanding of complementarity of the sexes indicates why women should be encouraged to exercise leadership in the church. The body of Christ is impoverished when leadership is given by men only or by women only. On this principle, we may presume, Paul concluded that the leadership *charismata* are given non-discriminately to men and women (Rom 12:3–7, 1 Cor 12:4–31, Eph 4:11).

I conclude this discussion on the self-designation “complementarian” by urging my fellow evangelicals who believe that God has subordinated women to men in creation before the fall to be honest in putting your case. Nowhere is this more needed than in the name you choose for your point of view. Please decide on a title that plainly indicates what you believe and clearly distinguishes your position from the one you oppose!

Why has communication broken down?

Finally, we must ask, why has this conflict over terms occurred? Why is it that “complementarians” use words that obfuscate rather than clarify? I suggest the debate is actually about power—who rules over whom and who determines doctrine. When those who hold power sense their power is threatened and evaporating, they become aggressive and combative. All they want is to win, and any argument that may help them is used. As the contest moves forward, the stakes and the militancy heighten. We see examples of this in the battle over slavery in the United States and with apartheid in South Africa;

evangelicals led the opposition to emancipation, quoting the Bible profusely. In both these examples, the case mounted by evangelicals to hold power is now repudiated by everyone.

Such clinging to power is exactly what we are seeing today. Not only has the so-called biblical case for male “headship” not won the day among biblical scholars, but also the very idea that God has appointed men to lead has become untenable. Women make excellent leaders. When women are subordinated to men, they are disadvantaged and often maltreated. When women are empowered and emancipated, our communal life is all the richer, but when women are disempowered and oppressed, our communal life is all the poorer.

Faced with these facts and ever-growing opportunities for women to become leaders in the church and society, “complementarians” have desperately sought euphemistic terminology that will help them win the day. The day has come for plain speaking! The bitter debate among evangelicals is not about male and female “roles,” or male and female “differentiation,” or the “complementarity” of the sexes. One issue and one issue only is in dispute: whether God in creation has permanently subordinated women to men. Or, in David Pawson’s plain speech, whether God has decreed that *Leadership is Male*.⁷⁴

Notes

1. I thank Denise Cooper-Clarke, Paul Collier and Elaine Storkey for their helpful suggestions regarding this article. I put the word “complementarians” in quotation marks because evangelical egalitarians also endorse the complementarity of the sexes.

2. For a sympathetic outline of Moore College theology and the Sydney Anglican Diocese, see Michael Jensen, *Sydney Anglicans: An Apology* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2012). Michael is the son of former Archbishop of Sydney, Peter Jensen, and when he wrote this book he was a lecturer at Moore College. He says Sydney’s headship teaching is “a line in the sand” that cannot be crossed and, for many, the “single issue” defining Sydney Anglicans (126).

3. <http://www.moore.edu.au/vision-mission-values>.

4. One notable exception is the English evangelical David Pawson, who honestly names his book, *Leadership is Male*, and in outlining the “complementarian” case makes no attempt to hide what he is teaching (Crowborough, UK: Highland, 1988).

5. *Is There a Meaning in this Text? The Bible, the Reader, and the Morality of Literary Knowledge* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1998), 167.

6. Daniel Doriani, “The History of Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2,” in *Women and the Church: A Fresh Analysis of 1 Timothy 2:9–15* (ed. A. Köstenberger, T. Schreiner and S. Baldwin; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995), 258, says the historic position was predicated on the idea that women were ontologically inferior to men. Yet contemporary “complementarians” consistently say they do not endorse the ontological inferiority of women.

7. See Kevin Giles, *The Trinity and Subordinationism: The Doctrine of God and the Contemporary Gender Debate* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2002), 145–55.

8. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1977). Knight also introduced the problematic idea that, just as the Son of God is eternally subordinated to the Father, so too are women permanently subordinated to men. See Kevin Giles, *Jesus and the Father: Modern Evangelicals Reinvent the Doctrine of the Trinity* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2006), 145–55.

9. (Wheaton: Crossway, 1991).

10. Wayne Grudem, *Countering the Claims of Evangelical Feminism* (Colorado Springs: Multnomah, 2006), 9.

11. Grudem, *Countering the Claims*, 255. Grudem here takes the “equality” of women to mean “equal [in] value, honor, personhood, and

importance,” and difference in “role” or function to mean “unequal in authority.”

12. Grudem, *Countering the Claims*, 304-7. Italics added.
13. Zerbst, *The Office of Woman in the Church* (trans. A. G. Merkens; St. Louis: Concordia, 1955); Ryrie, *The Place of Women in the Church* (London: Macmillan, 1958); Brunner, *The Ministry and the Ministry of Women* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1971).
14. (Minneapolis: Bethany), 1970.
15. *Women and Their Ministry: A Case for Equal Ministries in the Church Today* (Melbourne: Dove Communications, 1977).
16. “Male and Female Related He Them,” *Christianity Today* 20, no. 14 (April 9, 1976): 13-17.
17. *Women and Their Ministry*, 89 n. 7, 103 n. 7.
18. Danvers Statement, Affirmation 2.
19. *Man and Woman in Christ in Christian Perspective* (trans. G. Wenham; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1990), 30.
20. Neuer, *Man and Woman in Christ*, 29.
21. Raymond Ortland, “Male-Female Equality and Male Headship: Genesis 1-3,” in *Recovering Biblical Manhood*, 107.
22. Eldon J. Epp, *Junia: The First Woman Apostle* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2005).
23. Consider, for example, the definition given in *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology* (ed. N. Abercrombie, S. Hill and B. Turner; London: Penguin, 2000), 301. “The concept [role] assumes that, when people occupy a sociological position, their behavior is determined mainly by what is expected of that position, rather than by their own individual characteristics.”
24. (Homebush, New South Wales: St Paul, 1988).
25. John Paul II, *On the Dignity of Women*, 98. Italics added.
26. John Paul II, *On the Dignity of Women*, 24.
27. John Paul II, *On the Dignity of Women*, 22-27, 37-40.
28. Wayne Grudem, *Evangelical Feminism and Biblical Truth* (Sisters: Multnomah, 2004), 106.
29. Grudem, *Evangelical Feminism and Biblical Truth*, 411.
30. John Paul II, *On the Dignity of Women*, 24, 59.
31. John Paul II, *On the Dignity of Women*, 38.
32. John Paul II, *On the Dignity of Women*, 60.
33. John Paul II, *On the Dignity of Women*, 76.
34. John Paul II, *On the Dignity of Women*, 33-45.
35. “Embodiment: Women and Men, Equal and Complementary,” in *The Church Women Want: Catholic Women in Dialogue* (ed. E. A. Johnson; New York: Herder and Herder, 2002), 35-44.
36. Butler, “Embodiment,” 38.
37. Ortland, “Male-Female Equality,” 99; Brown, “The New Testament Against Itself,” in *Women and the Church*, 200; Yarbrough, “The Hermeneutics of 1 Timothy 2:9-15,” in *Women and the Church*, 193; Grudem, *Countering the Claims*, 68.
38. “Sexual Identity in Corinth: Paul Faces a Crisis,” *Reformed Journal* 28 (June 1978): 12.
39. Stanley J. Grenz and Denise Muir Kjesbo, *Women in the Church: A Biblical Theology of Women in Ministry* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1995), 158.
40. Grenz and Kjesbo, *Women in the Church: A Biblical Theology*, 159.
41. Storkey, *Created or Constructed* (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster, 2000), 115-17.
42. See further, W. E. Connolly, *Identity/Difference: Democratic Negotiations of Political Paradox* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); S. Hekman, “Identity Crises: Identity, Identity Politics, and Beyond,” in *Feminism, Identity and Difference* (ed. S. Hekman; London: Frank Cass, 1999), 3-26.
43. “Equal but different” is the name for the Sydney Anglican organization and journal that promotes male headship/leadership in the Sydney Diocese. *Men and Women, Equal yet Different* is the title of Alexander Strauch’s book (Littleton: Lewis and Roth, 1999).

44. Grudem, *Evangelical Feminism and Biblical Truth*, 106.

45. See Mary Stewart Van Leeuwen, “Opposite Sexes or Neighboring Sexes: What do the Social Sciences Really Tell Us?” in *Women, Ministry and the Gospel: Exploring New Paradigms* (ed. M. Husband and T. Larsen; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2007), 171-99; Van Leeuwen, “Social Science Studies Cannot Define Gender Differences,” *Priscilla Papers* 27, no. 2 (Spring 2013): 12-19.
46. John Paul II, *On the Dignity of Women*, 7.
47. John Paul II, *On the Dignity of Women*, 63-72.
48. Butler, “Embodiment,” 38.
49. Butler, “Embodiment,” 39.
50. Butler, “Embodiment,” 39.
51. Butler, “Embodiment,” 41.
52. Butler, “Embodiment,” 39.
53. Butler, “Embodiment,” 40.
54. Butler, “Embodiment,” 40.
55. Butler, “Embodiment,” 41, 38.
56. Grudem, *Countering*, 13-15.
57. Grudem, *Countering*, 304-7, 537-40.
58. Grudem, *Countering*, 13.
59. Grudem, *Countering*, 13.
60. Grudem, *Countering*, 14.
61. Kevin Giles, *EQ* 65, no. 3 (1993): 8.
62. Jewett, *Man as Male and Female*, 14.
63. Giles, *Women and Their Ministry*, 13.
64. (Canberra, Australia: Acorn, 1985), 22.
65. (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1983), 132.
66. (London: SPCK, 1985), 154.
67. <http://www.cbeinternational.org/content/statement-men-women-and-biblical-equality>.
68. (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2005), 17.
69. Sister Prudence Allen sent me a copy of her unpublished paper on the use of the term “complementary” by Pope John Paul II. She found 150 examples in his writings, most of which refer to the complementarity of the sexes.
70. “Fuller’s Synergetics and Sex Complementarity,” *International Philosophical Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (1992): 3-16. See also her essay, “Man-Woman Complementarity: Catholic Inspiration,” *Logos* 9, no. 3 (2006): 87-108.
71. Butler, “Embodiment,” 45-59.
72. Butler, “Embodiment,” 36.
73. “Paul’s Teaching on the Ministry of Women,” in *Women and Men in Ministry* (ed. R. L. Saucy and J. K. TenElshof; Chicago: Moody, 2001), 310.
74. This is the title of Pawson’s 1988 book, cited in note 4 above.

KEVIN GILES, an Australian, has served as an Anglican parish minister for over forty years. He has been publishing on the substantial equality of the sexes since 1975 and is a foundation member of CBE International. He holds a doctorate in New Testament studies and has published books on the church, church health, ministry in the apostolic age, the Book of Acts, gender equality and the Trinity, besides numerous scholarly and popular articles.



Book Review

Global Evangelicalism: Theology, History and Culture in Regional Perspective

Edited by Donald M. Lewis and Richard V. Pierard (IVP Academic, 2014)

REVIEWED BY HERBERT D. MILLER

Global Evangelicalism is an important contribution to historical and theological studies because of its scope and accessibility. The book is made up of an introduction, ten essays which are divided into three sections, and a glossary and index. The first section deals with basic theoretical issues, such as defining evangelicalism, describing its theological impulses, and its relationship to globalization. The second section is the heart of the book and is composed of five regional case studies of evangelicalism. The third and shortest section comprises two chapters discussing important contemporary issues relevant to evangelicalism—ecumenism/inter-denominationalism and gender.

The purposes of the book are to provide a general introduction to evangelicalism and offer a global survey of the topic. The editors have two audiences in mind—“in house” readers and interested outsiders. I understand “in house” readers to include both evangelical scholars and evangelicals who are not academics. Those who do not have confessional evangelical commitments will still find the book to be a rigorous primer on the history of evangelicalism.

The first section deals with theoretical issues. In ch. 1, Mark Noll¹ appropriates Bebbington’s Quadrilateral as the most useful definition of evangelicalism to date. These four “key ingredients”—conversion, biblicism, activism, and crucicentrism—provide the necessary framework for a substantive and organized description of the regional case studies to come later. For those readers who want to move beyond the aims of the book and offer comparative analyses of the regional case studies, the Quadrilateral provides the thematic unity to accommodate that goal. Additionally, Noll discusses the contestable terms “fundamentalism,” “Pentecostalism,” and “charismatics,” as they relate to evangelicalism. In ch. 2, Wilbert Shenk describes the theological impulses that have gone along with evangelical expansion, including personal piety, the voluntary nature of religious commitment, and missions. In ch. 3, Donald Lewis discusses globalization and how evangelicalism has both benefited from this phenomenon and creatively critiqued it.

The second section contains the five chapters that comprise the book’s global survey: Europe and North America (John Wolffe and Richard Pierard); Africa (Ogbu Kalu); Latin America (C. René Padilla); Asia (Scott Sunquist); and Australasia and the Pacific Islands (Stuart Piggins and Peter Lineham). The general structure of each chapter is first to offer a historical description of the origin and expansion of Christianity in the region, and then follow it with observations about the strengths and weaknesses of evangelicalism in the present. In addition to learning a great deal about the diversity of evangelicalism in these regions, I took away two enduring, but not all that surprising, themes. First, evangelicalism in the two-thirds world is the main catalyst for the global expansion of the movement. Second, global evangelicalism struggles to cultivate the work of Christian unity across denominational lines.

The third section fittingly begins with David Thompson’s chapter (#9) about ecumenism and inter-denominationalism. Noting that “global evangelicalism today has no great enthusiasm for or sense of urgency about bringing separated churches together” (269), Thompson brings this ambivalence into sharper theological focus. I found his and the following chapter on gender to be fruitful starting points for critical analyses of global evangelicalism.

Readers of *Priscilla Papers* will be interested in Sarah Williams’s chapter (#10) on evangelicals and gender. Williams teaches history of Christianity at Regent College in Vancouver, British Columbia. As she sees it, the basic problem with contemporary gender critiques of historical evangelicalism is that “the autonomy of the past has been collapsed” (271), and we have analyzed past events with current notions of gender as the guiding convictions. Citing historical examples that challenge overly simplistic binaries of the public and private spheres of life, Williams shows that historians often overlook evidence when they “rely on too narrow a definition of what constitutes leadership and influence in Christian communities” (276). Williams successfully shows that, in the history of evangelicalism, women have had an enduring leadership presence—though muted compared to our contemporary definitions of leadership. Contemporary evangelical egalitarians, expectedly, will not be content to replicate these muted expressions of leadership in current Christian practice. Those of us who have a normative commitment to gender equality in ministry can use Williams’s chapter to show that current egalitarian practices model faithful developments of an already existing evangelical tradition.

Global Evangelicalism is an important book for historians and theologians. It will most likely find its home in upper-level undergraduate and seminary classes; however, the book could also be used for church small groups. Regional specialists will probably quibble with a person or event not reported. But overall the book is an impressive contribution to the study of evangelicalism as a global Christian movement that reflects the beauty and diversity of the body of Christ.

Notes

1. In the interest of full disclosure, at the time of writing this review, Mark Noll was on the reviewer’s dissertation committee at the University of Dayton.

HERBERT D. MILLER is a PhD candidate in theology at the University of Dayton, where he is writing his dissertation on the 1837 oral debate between Alexander Campbell and the Catholic Bishop John Purcell.



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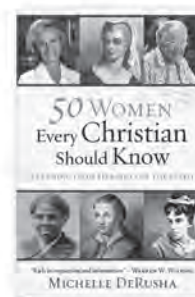
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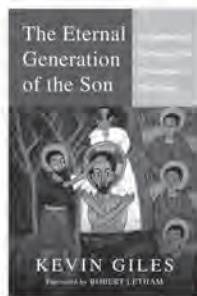
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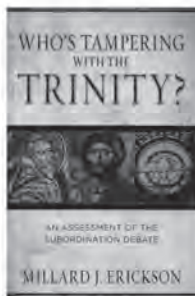
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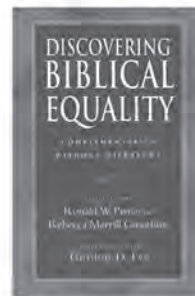
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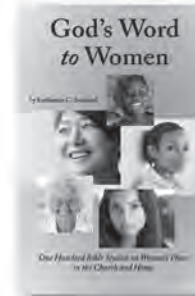
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