

1 Corinthians 14:34-35:

The Words of Paul or a Later Addition?

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Abstract

This study addresses the text-critical problem of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35. It examines whether the assertion that women should be silent and subordinate in the churches was an original part of Paul's first letter to the Corinthians or a later addition. Resolving this matter is significant as 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 is the cornerstone for all debates concerning the role of women in the Christian church. The first chapter of this study addresses the external evidence. It explores the ancient manuscripts that contain 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 and early Christian and patristic writings. The latter two chapters focus on the internal evidence. They examine the likelihood of Paul writing 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 and consider the possibility of the verses being transposed or added.

This study will argue that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was a non-Pauline addition. The verses were most likely written in the margin of a manuscript and subsequently inserted into the text of First Corinthians in two different places. It seems that Paul did not author 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 as the verses fit awkwardly in their literary context and do not reflect Paul's typical view of women. The attitude toward women in 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 conforms with that in the pseudo-Pauline writings, and the verses closely resemble 1 Timothy 2:11-14. Therefore, it seems probable that a Christian around the beginning of the second century wrote 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 in the margin of a manuscript alongside Paul's instructions on orderly worship (1 Cor. 14:26-40).

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Introduction

The First Epistle to the Corinthians is a letter that was written by the Apostle Paul during the middle of the first century (approximately 54 C.E.) to the Christians living in the city of Corinth.¹ Set within Paul's discussion on orderly worship (1 Cor. 14:26-40), 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 asserts that women must remain silent in the churches, be subordinate, and ask their husbands anything they wish to learn at home: ³⁴ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις σιγάτωσαν, οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπεται αὐταῖς λαλεῖν· ἀλλὰ ὑποταστέσθωσαν, καθὼς καὶ ὁ νόμος λέγει. ³⁵ Εἰ δέ τι μαθεῖν θέλουσιν, ἐν οἴκῳ τοὺς ἰδίους ἄνδρας ἐπερωτάτωσαν, αἰσχρὸν γάρ ἐστιν γυναικὶ λαλεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ.² These verses appear in two different locations in ancient manuscripts. They follow verse 33 in some texts (e.g., $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$, A, B) yet appear after verse 40 in others (e.g., D, F, G).³ The displacement of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 in the manuscript tradition, and the seeming contradiction between these verses and what Paul writes elsewhere, have led biblical scholars to dispute whether they were an original part of Paul's first letter to the Corinthians or a later addition.

There is currently no scholarly consensus on whether Paul authored 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 as part of First Corinthians, and there are respected scholars on both sides of the dispute. For instance, D. A. Carson regards the non-Pauline interpolation theory as “remarkably weak.”⁴ He contends that “verses 34-35 are authentic and were included after verse 33 when the epistle left Paul's hand.”⁵ Likewise, the feminist theologian Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza claims that we cannot exclude the verses on text-critical grounds. She thus contends that it is “more sound to accept them as original Pauline statements and then explain

¹ David E. Garland, *1 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic Publishing Group, 2003), 19-20.

² Barbara Aland, et al., *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012), 547.

³ Barbara Aland, et al., *The Greek New Testament*, 4th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993), 601.

⁴ D. A. Carson, “Silent in the Churches: One the Role of Women in 1 Corinthians 14:33b-36,” in *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood*, ed. John Piper and Wayne Grudem (Wheaton, Illinois: Crossway, 1991), 140-153 (145).

⁵ Carson, “Silent in the Churches,” 145.

them within their present context.”⁶ Kirk R. MacGregor similarly maintains that Paul included 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 as part of his original letter. Yet, he suggests that the verses refer to a Corinthian assertion. They do not present the words and sentiments of Paul.⁷

On the other side of the dispute, Gordon D. Fee argues that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was a non-Pauline addition. He suggests that someone, possibly influenced by 1 Timothy 2:9-15, added the verses as a note in the margin of an early manuscript. The verses were then interpolated into the main body of Paul’s first letter to the Corinthians.⁸ Philip B. Payne shares this view of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 as “a reader-added marginal comment (‘gloss’).”⁹ He argues that this theory “fits the external and internal evidence far better than any other thesis.”¹⁰ The text-critic Bart D. Ehrman also holds this position and regards 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 as a non-Pauline interpolation.¹¹

This study will re-examine the textual evidence and suggest whether 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was an original part of Paul’s first letter to the Corinthians or a later addition. Such research is significant as these verses are central to discussions concerning the role of women in the Christian church. Also, determining whether Paul wrote 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 is important for understanding his attitude towards women and gender roles. This study is further significant as it will highlight whether the social views of women in the generations after Paul affected the transmission of Paul’s writings.

⁶ Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins*, 2nd ed. (London: SCM Press, 1995), 230.

⁷ Kirk R. MacGregor, “1 Corinthians 14:33b-38 as a Pauline Quotation-Refutation Device,” *Priscilla Papers* 32, no.1 (2018): 23-28.

⁸ Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1987), 705.

⁹ Philip B. Payne, “Is 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 a Marginal Comment or a Quotation? A Response to Kirk MacGregor,” *Priscilla Papers* 33, no. 2 (2019): 24-30.

¹⁰ Philip B. Payne, *Man and Woman, One in Christ: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Paul’s Letters* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 2009), 267.

¹¹ Bart D. Ehrman, *Misquoting Jesus: The Story Behind Who Changed the Bible and Why* (New York: Harper Collins, 2005), 183-184.

To investigate whether 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was originally part of Paul's letter or a later addition, I will utilise contemporary methods of textual criticism. Text critics consider several factors when examining the textual history of New Testament writings. All evidence falls within one of the following categories: 1) External Evidence or 2) Internal Evidence. The latter type of evidence entails intrinsic probabilities and transcriptional probabilities.¹² This study will examine both the external and internal evidence. Such an approach will ensure that this research is extensive and leads to a well-justified conclusion.

The first chapter of this study will focus on the external evidence. Therefore, it will examine the manuscript tradition for First Corinthians and the works of early Christian and patristic writers.¹³ The chapter will first highlight the manuscripts that feature 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 and observe the location of the verses within these witnesses. It will then discuss several noteworthy manuscripts and whether they suggest that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was an original part of Paul's letter. The latter part of the chapter will explore early Christian and patristic writings for references to 1 Corinthians 14:34-35.

The subsequent two chapters will focus on the internal evidence. The second chapter of the study will examine the intrinsic probabilities. Metzger comments that these probabilities "depend upon considerations of what the author was more likely to have written."¹⁴ Therefore, this chapter will discuss the likelihood of Paul writing 1 Corinthians 14:34-35. It will first examine whether the verses fit within their literary context and the structure of Paul's argument. It will then focus on whether 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 conforms with Paul's views of the law and his attitude toward women. Lastly, the chapter will address

¹² Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 208.

¹³ Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament, Third Edition* (London: United Bible Societies, 1971), XXV-XXVI.

¹⁴ Metzger, *Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, XXVI-XXVIII.

the quotation refutation device theory, which posits that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 cites a Corinthian assertion.

The third chapter will centre on the transcriptional probabilities. Metzger asserts that these probabilities “depend upon considerations of palaeographical details and the habits of scribes.”¹⁵ This chapter will thus consider the most likely actions of those reading, editing, and copying Paul’s first letter to the Corinthians. It will first focus on determining the most likely explanation for the different locations of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 in ancient manuscripts. This section will question whether the verses were transposed from one location to another or added in different places. Attention will then turn to the pseudo-Pauline epistles and Christian views on women in the generations after Paul.

Based on my examination of the external and internal evidence, I will be arguing that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was a later addition, not the words of Paul. I suggest that the verses were first written as a note in the margin of a manuscript and then inserted into the main text in two different locations. Since 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 appears in manuscripts and patristic writings from the end of the second century and reflects a later Christian attitude towards women, I argue that the gloss was likely written and interpolated into First Corinthians during the first part of the second century.

It seems that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was an addition to Paul’s letter, as the verses appear in different places in ancient manuscripts, which is typical for textual additions. More significantly, 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 does not fit in its literary context, nor does its content accord with ideas Paul presents elsewhere in his writings. Also, the most likely explanation for the two positions of the verses is that they were first written in the margin of a manuscript and then interpolated into the text of First Corinthians in different places. Moreover, a post-

¹⁵ Metzger, *Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, XXVI-XXVII.

Pauline Christian likely authored 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 as the attitude toward women in the verses conforms with that in the pseudo-Pauline epistles, and they closely resemble 1 Timothy 2:11-14.

Chapter 1: The External Evidence

External evidence is the most significant form of evidence when making judgements on the textual history of passages in the New Testament, as it is objective and tangible.¹⁶ Therefore, examining the external evidence is the best starting point for text-critical studies. As Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland write, “Criticism of the text must always begin from the evidence of the manuscript tradition.”¹⁷ This chapter will thus examine the manuscripts containing 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 and allusions to the verses in early Christian and patristic writings. Such research will show whether extant manuscripts and early Christian writings present 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 as an original part of First Corinthians or as a later addition.

1.1. The Displacement of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35

All extant manuscripts for First Corinthians include 1 Corinthians 14:34-35. No manuscripts present the fourteenth chapter of Paul’s letter without the verses prohibiting women from speaking in the churches.¹⁸ Many of the interpolations text-critics have identified in the New Testament are absent from multiple ancient manuscripts. For example, most biblical scholars maintain that the *Pericope Adulterae* is not an original part of the Gospel of John.¹⁹ This narrative is absent from notable witnesses, such as Codex Sinaiticus (Ⲱ) and Codex Vaticanus (B).²⁰ Additionally, Matthew 17:21, Mark 16:9-20, and Luke 22:43-44 are suspected additions that do not feature in all manuscripts.²¹ It thus seems typical for added verses to be missing from at least some copies. Since no manuscripts omit 1

¹⁶ Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts, *Fundamentals of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2015), 101.

¹⁷ Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism*, trans. Erroll F. Rhodes, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1989), 280.

¹⁸ Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 666.

¹⁹ Metzger, *Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 219-221.

²⁰ Chris Keith, “Recent and Previous Research on the Pericope Adulterae (John 7.53-8.11),” *Currents in Biblical Research* 6, no. 3 (2003): 377-404 (378).

²¹ Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 55, 175-176, 278.

Corinthians 14:34-35, there seems no initial reason to doubt that Paul authored the prohibition against women speaking in the churches as an original part of his letter.

However, within the manuscript tradition for First Corinthians, 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 appears in different places. The verses feature after verse 33 in a couple of papyri ($\mathfrak{P}^{46}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{123}$), some uncials ($\aleph$, A, B, Ψ , 0150, 0243), and multiple minuscules (6, 33, 81, 104, 256, 263, 365, 424, 436, 459, 1175, 1241, 1319, 1573, 1739, 1852, 1881, 1912, 1962, 2127, 2200, 2464). They also appear in this position in Syriac (p, h, pal), Coptic (sa, bo, fay), Armenian, Ethiopic, Georgian, and Slavonic manuscripts. However, 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 occasionally features after verse 40 in some uncials (D, G) and old Latin witnesses (ar, b, d, f, g).²² The manuscripts that place the verses after verse 40 primarily belong to the so-called Western text tradition.²³ In his work on *Interpolations in the Pauline Letters*, William O. Walker contends that the “varied location” of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 “raises some question regarding its original inclusion in the text.”²⁴ Indeed, the displacement of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 indicates that post-Pauline editors may have added the verses to First Corinthians in different places. This matter will be discussed in greater detail later in this study.

It is significant to note that other supposed interpolations in the New Testament appear at various locations in ancient manuscripts. For example, the *Pericope Adulterae* is most often at John 7:53-8:11. However, it sometimes features after Luke 21:38, John 7:44, or John 21:25. Carson argues that this “diversity of placement confirms the inauthenticity of the verses.”²⁵ Similarly, the description of an angel strengthening Jesus and his sweat tumbling to the ground like drops of blood often appears at Luke 22:43-44. Yet, family 13 manuscripts

²² Aland, *Greek New Testament*, 601.

²³ Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 699.

²⁴ William O. Walker, *Interpolations in the Pauline Letters* (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 70.

²⁵ D. A. Carson, *The Gospel According to John* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991), 333.

and some lectionaries reposition these verses after Matthew 26:39.²⁶ It thus seems characteristic for passages of added text to feature at different places in manuscripts. Therefore, the appearance of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 after verse 33 in some versions while featuring after verse 40 in others indicates that, like the *Pericope Adulterae* and Luke 22:43-44, the statement prohibiting women from speaking in the churches was possibly an addition to First Corinthians and not an original part of Paul's letter.

1.2. Papyrus 46

One early manuscript featuring 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 is $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ (see figure 1 on page 9 and figure 2 on page 10). A few scholars propose a second-century date for this papyrus.²⁷ Yet, many suggest that it derives from the first part of the third century.²⁸ MacGregor notes that $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ contains the beginning of 1 Corinthians 14:34 followed by a section of damaged papyrus, which he claims is “precisely the space needed” for the middle of the verse.²⁹ On the subsequent leaf is the end of verse 34 and verse 35. Following his observation of the manuscript, MacGregor argues that $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ originally featured the text of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 in its entirety. He maintains that the presence of the verses in a manuscript as early as $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ is “sufficient to establish 1 Cor. 14:34-35 as almost certainly belonging to the original composition.”³⁰

The readable parts of verse 34 and verse 35 in $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ state that wives should ask their husbands anything they wish to know at home and that it is shameful for women to speak in church. Therefore, it seems likely that the missing part of verse 34 would originally have said

²⁶ Aland, *Greek New Testament*, 297.

²⁷ Philip W. Comfort and David P. Barrett, *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts* (Wheaton, Illinois: Tyndale House Publishers, 1999), 203, 206.

²⁸ Pasquale Orsini and Willy Clarysse, “Early New Testament Manuscripts and Their Dates: A Critique of Theological Palaeography,” *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 88, no. 4 (2012): 443-474 (461-462), and Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 159.

²⁹ MacGregor, “1 Corinthians 14:33b-38 as a Pauline Quotation-Refutation Device,” 23.

³⁰ MacGregor, “1 Corinthians 14:33b-38 as a Pauline Quotation-Refutation Device,” 23.

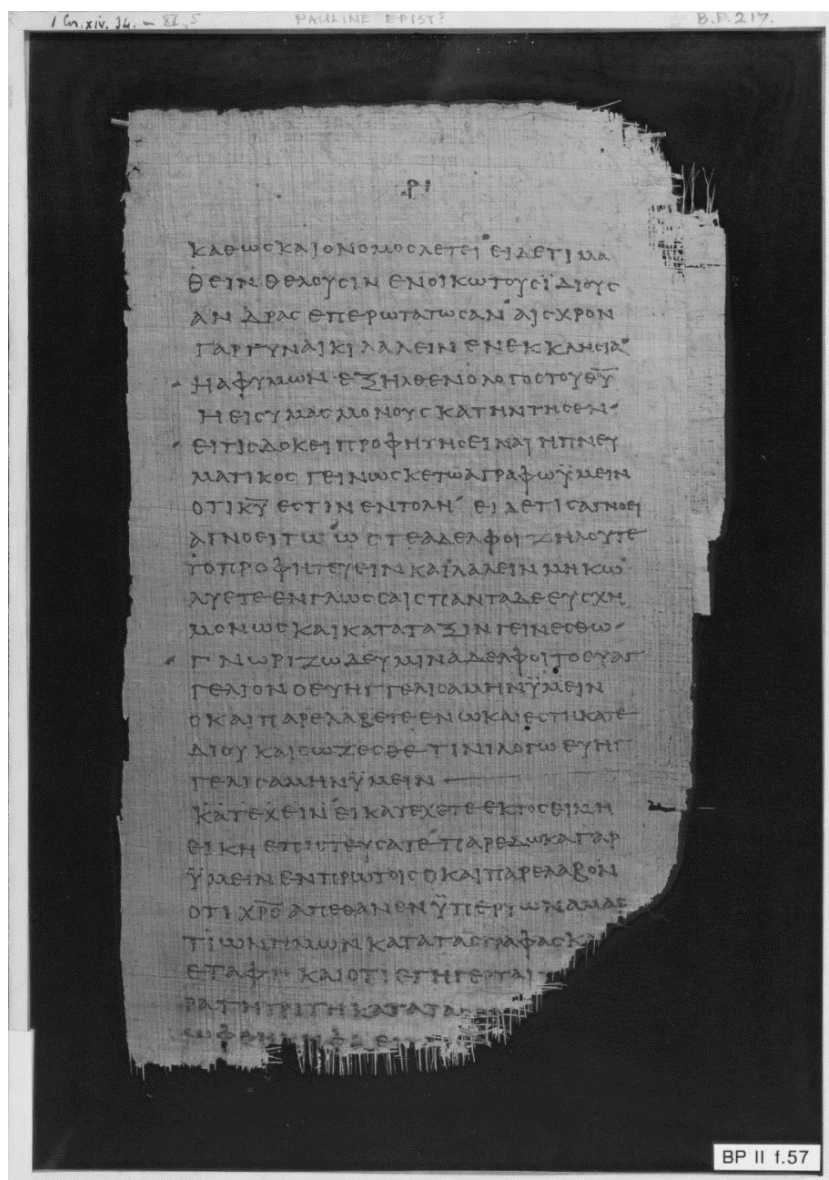


Figure 2: P⁴⁶ (1
Corinthians 14:34-15:5).³²

1.3. Codex Vaticanus

Another important manuscript featuring 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 is Codex Vaticanus (B), which is an ancient manuscript that dates to the fourth century.³³ Biblical text critics consider this codex “one of the most valuable of all the manuscripts of the Greek Bible.”³⁴ The manuscript features the Old Testament, the New Testament, and the writings of the

³² “P46: 1 Corinthians 14.34-15.5; 15.6-15,” Chester Beatty, accessed January 18, 2022, https://viewer.cbl.ie/viewer/image/BP_II_f_57/1/.

³³ Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 159, and Metzger, *Text of the New Testament*, 47.

³⁴ Metzger, *Text of the New Testament*, 47.

Apocrypha, excluding the books of Maccabees.³⁵ In the margin of the New Testament part of Codex Vaticanus are several pairs of dots resembling an umlaut and many small horizontal lines. Sometimes these markings appear alongside each other. Payne identifies twenty-eight instances where two dots (a “distigme”) appear next to a horizontal line. He suggests that on eight occasions, this line is an obelos rather than a simple parargraphos. Payne maintains that a distigme alongside an obelos signals an addition in the adjacent text. He thus contends that the distigme-obelos in the margin near the final line of 1 Corinthians 14:33 indicates that the scribe of Codex Vaticanus considered the prohibition against women speaking in the churches in 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 as an addition (see figure 3 on page 11).³⁶

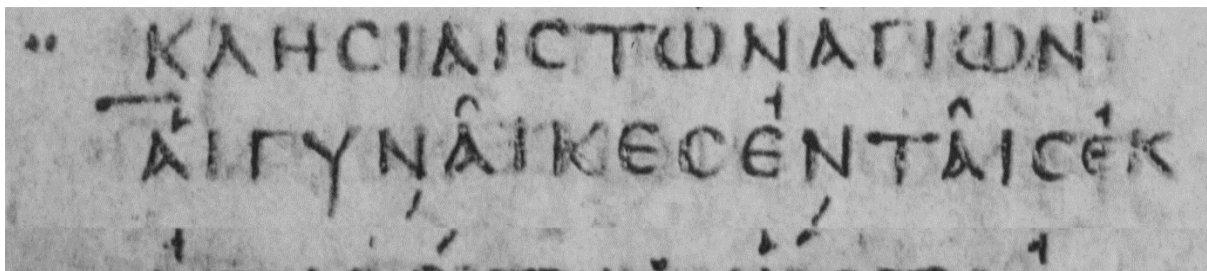


Figure 3: A distigme-obelos by 1 Corinthians 14:33 in Codex Vaticanus.³⁷

Payne strives to show that distigmai are ancient text-critical symbols that mark textual variants. He notes that Codex Colberto-Sarravianus (LXX G), a manuscript from the fifth century, similarly features pairs of dots near where there are variant readings. For example, two dots appear in the margin near Deuteronomy 15:11 where the statement “and to the one who is distressed” (καὶ τῷ ἐπιδεδωμένῳ), which appears in other manuscripts for the LXX, is missing.³⁸ However, in his article addressing the problems with Payne’s discussion on the

³⁵ Metzger, *Text of the New Testament*, 47.

³⁶ Philip B. Payne, “Vaticanus Distigme-Obelos Symbols Marking Added Text, Including 1 Corinthians 14:34-5,” *New Testament Studies* (2017): 604-625 (604-606, 610).

³⁷ Payne, “Vaticanus Distigme-Obelos Symbols Marking Added Text,” 611.

³⁸ Payne, “Vaticanus Distigme-Obelos Symbols Marking Added Text,” 607.

markings in Codex Vaticanus, Jan Krans contends that the pairs of dots may not necessarily “convey anything beyond personal notes or reminders.”³⁹ He rightly highlights that there are many variants in the New Testament, so it is not difficult to align the pairs of dots with specific ones. Yet, a few distigmai appear where there are no recognised variants.⁴⁰ Therefore, the distigmai in Codex Vaticanus may not necessarily have the purpose of signalling that there are variant readings in the adjacent text.

A significant aspect of Payne’s argument is that the distigmai in Codex Vaticanus date to around the time the manuscript was written.⁴¹ However, there is uncertainty concerning the date of the markings as an editor sketched over the text and re-enforced the fading ink around the Late Middle Ages. They drew over most of the manuscript, only excluding the parts they thought were incorrect.⁴² In his study on the external evidence for 1 Corinthians 14:34-35, Curt Niccum contends that this editor of Codex Vaticanus possibly compared the text with other manuscripts and noted places of variation or agreement in the margin. Therefore, the distigmai may date to around the sixteenth century, in which case Codex Vaticanus “does not attest a fourth-century omission” of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35.⁴³

However, Payne and the Vatican’s senior palaeographer Paul Canart defend their early dating of the distigmai. Having examined the codex through a powerful lighted magnifying lens, they contend that many of the pairs of dots “unambiguously match the original apricot colour of unreinforced text on the same page of the codex.”⁴⁴ The distigma by 1 Corinthians 14:33 is one of the markings that is seemingly original as there is “a small

³⁹ Jan Krans, “Paragraphos, Not Obelos, in Codex Vaticanus,” *New Testament Studies* 65 (2019): 252-257 (253).

⁴⁰ Krans, “Paragraphos, Not Obelos, in Codex Vaticanus,” 253.

⁴¹ Payne, “Vaticanus Distigma-Obelos Symbols Marking Added Text,” 605.

⁴² Metzger, *Text of the New Testament*, 47.

⁴³ Curt Niccum, “The Voice of the Manuscripts on the Silence of Women: The External Evidence for 1 Cor. 14:34-5,” *New Testament Studies* 43 (1997): 242-255 (245).

⁴⁴ Philip B. Payne and Paul Canart, “The Originality of Text-Critical Symbols in Codex Vaticanus,” *Novum Testamentum* 42, no. 2 (2000): 105-113 (107).

protrusion toward the left,” which “reveals a colour more nearly the apricot of the original text than the chocolate brown of the reinforcement.”⁴⁵ Krans challenges Payne and Canart’s argument as he notes that “the dots show various colours, and are so small that conclusions cannot be certain.”⁴⁶ I agree that the discovery that there is a small protrusion of apricot ink is not adequate evidence to affirm that the distigme by 1 Corinthians 14:33 dates to the fourth century.

Additionally, Payne argues that on eight occasions in the New Testament of Codex Vaticanus, a distigme appears next to an obelos. He notes that the scribe commonly used obeloi to mark added text. In the margin near their copy of Isaiah, the scribe states clearly that “the [lines] marked with an obelos contain [text] not in [the] Hebrew [text]” (οἱ ὠβ’ οὐκ’ π’ εἰρ’).⁴⁷ Payne argues that obeloi, which signify added text, are graphically different to paragraphoi, which are paragraph markers. According to Payne’s measurements, the obeloi in the codex are approximately 1.1mm longer than the undisputed paragraphoi. Also, the obeloi protrude 3.0mm into the margin while the paragraphoi extend 1.6mm. The line by 1 Corinthians 14:33 extends 3.0mm into the margin. Payne writes that the “greater extension into the margin brings them closer to the adjacent distigme, associating them with the standard Vaticanus symbol marking the location of textual variants.”⁴⁸

However, in his article questioning whether Codex Vaticanus contains distigme-obelos markings, Richard G. Fellows argues that Payne “has made systematic measurement errors.”⁴⁹ Having measured the lines himself, Fellows notes that Payne’s measurements of the total length of the obeloi are mostly larger than his. Yet, his measurements of the undisputed

⁴⁵ Payne and Canart, “Originality of Text-Critical Symbols,” 110.

⁴⁶ Krans, “Paragraphos, Not Obelos, in Codex Vaticanus,” 254.

⁴⁷ Payne, “Vaticanus Distigme-Obelos Symbols Marking Added Text,” 608.

⁴⁸ Payne, “Vaticanus Distigme-Obelos Symbols Marking Added Text,” 610.

⁴⁹ Richard G. Fellows, “Are there Distigme-Obelos Symbols in Vaticanus,” *New Testament Studies* (2019): 246-251 (247).

paragraphoi are smaller. Fellows also notes that Payne’s measurements of how far the obeloi extend into the margin are all but one larger than his.⁵⁰ Therefore, Fellows contends that “the bar at the start of 1 Cor 14:34 is indistinguishable from other paragraphoi,” and that “Payne’s counter-arguments result from errors of measurement and method.”⁵¹ Fellows’ study casts doubt on whether the obeloi Payne identifies are graphically different from the paragraphoi. If the lines appear the same, it is impossible to know whether they mark added text or just paragraph divisions.

Payne’s key argument is that “the two-dot-plus-bar ‘distigme-obelos’ symbols in Vaticanus signal added text,” and thus the distigme-obelos by 1 Corinthians 14:33 suggests that the scribe considered 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 an addition, not an original part of Paul’s letter.⁵² However, as I have already shown, the purpose of the pairs of dots and the horizontal lines in the codex remains unclear. Also, if the marking by 1 Corinthians 14:33 is text-critical, it could indicate that some manuscripts feature “your” (ὑμῶν) after “the women” (αἱ γυναῖκες), not that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was an addition.⁵³ Therefore, contrary to Payne, I contend that Codex Vaticanus does not shed much light on whether Paul wrote 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 as an original part of his letter or whether it was a later addition.

1.4. Codex Fuldensis

Codex Fuldensis (F) is a Latin New Testament manuscript commissioned and edited by bishop Victor of Capua in the sixth century.⁵⁴ Victor was an outstanding textual scholar who knew of interpolations such as John 5:7-8.⁵⁵ Consequently, text critics regard Codex

⁵⁰ Fellows, “Are there Distigme-Obelos Symbols in Vaticanus,” 247-251.

⁵¹ Fellows, “Are there Distigme-Obelos Symbols in Vaticanus,” 251.

⁵² Payne, “Vaticanus Distigme-Obelos Symbols,” 604.

⁵³ Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 547.

⁵⁴ Ulrich B. Schmid, “The Diatessaron of Tatian,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 115-142 (119).

⁵⁵ Philip B. Payne, “Fuldensis, Sigla for Variants in Vaticanus and 1 Cor 14. 34-5,” *New Testament Studies* 41 (1995): 240-262 (241).

Fuldensis as “one of the oldest and most valuable manuscripts of the Vulgate.”⁵⁶ Several scholars write that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 does not follow verse 33 in the codex but that the verses were “added in the margin by the first hand.”⁵⁷ However, this does not seem to be the case. 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 comes after the siglum “hd” (*hinc deorsum*) at the end of verse 33 in the main text. There is a passage of text in the bottom margin that contains verses 36-40 and ends with the symbol “hs” (*hinc sursum*) (see figure 4 on page 17).⁵⁸ Although Codex Fuldensis contains 1 Corinthians 14:34-35, the various markings and block of text in the bottom margin raise questions about the place of the verses in Paul’s letter.

In his article on Codex Fuldensis, Payne argues that the paragraph in the bottom margin is there to replace 1 Corinthians 14:34-40 in the main text. He suggests that bishop Victor instructed the scribe to rewrite the end of chapter 14 in the margin without verses 34-35. Payne observes that the Roman numeral LXIV follows verse 33, and LXV appears near verse 40. These numerals seem to identify verses 34-40 as one literary section. Therefore, Payne suggests that the sign “hd” “shows that the marginal gloss must begin at the start of that section, and the end of the gloss coincides exactly with the end of that section.”⁵⁹ The text in the margin thus replaces 1 Corinthians 14:34-40 in the main text and excludes the prohibition against women speaking in the churches.⁶⁰

Additionally, Payne rejects the idea that Victor was aware of the Western positioning of the verses and sought to relocate 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 to after verse 40. He suggests that if the bishop wanted to move 1 Corinthians 14:34-35, he could have “used the same set of

⁵⁶ Eberhard Nestle, *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament*, trans. William Edie and Allan Menzies, 2nd ed. (London: Williams and Norgate, 1901), 122.

⁵⁷ Hugh A. G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 56, and Metzger, *Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 565.

⁵⁸ Payne, “Fuldensis, Sigla for Variants in Vaticanus and 1 Cor 14. 34-5,” 243.

⁵⁹ Payne, “Fuldensis, Sigla for Variants in Vaticanus and 1 Cor 14. 34-5,” 243.

⁶⁰ Payne, “Fuldensis, Sigla for Variants in Vaticanus and 1 Cor 14. 34-5,” 243.

sigla that is now in the text” and put “hd” after verse 40 and verses 34-35 “in the margin instead of five verses.”⁶¹ Payne also comments that the scribe could have used more basic symbols to signify that the verses are to go after verse 40, such as arrow-shaped markings like those in Codex Sinaiticus. Therefore, if Victor had wanted readers to incorporate 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 after verse 40, he could have indicated this more simply. Payne thus contends that the best explanation for the symbols and marginal note in Codex Fuldensis is that Victor wanted to remove verses 34-35 from the manuscript as he believed they were an interpolation.⁶²

I agree with Payne that the symbols in Codex Fuldensis may mean that readers should skip 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 in the main text and read the note in the bottom margin directly after verse 33. It seems possible that the siglum “hd” after verse 33 serves to guide readers to the marginal note while the siglum “hs” directs attention back to the main text. However, MacGregor rightly highlights that “it is a standard principle of textual criticism to prefer a manuscript’s original reading over a correction proposed by a later corrector.”⁶³ Whatever Victor thought of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35, the verses appeared in the codex before the amendments, which suggests that they featured in the scribe’s manuscripts. Ultimately, I argue that Codex Fuldensis does not help determine whether Paul authored the prohibition against women speaking in the churches or whether they were an addition. It is almost impossible to know Victor’s exact reasons for the amendments or his intentions.

⁶¹ Payne, “Fuldensis, Sigla for Variants in Vaticanus and 1 Cor 14. 34-5,” 244.

⁶² Payne, “Fuldensis, Sigla for Variants in Vaticanus and 1 Cor 14. 34-5,” 244-245.

⁶³ MacGregor, “1 Corinthians 14:33b-38 as a Pauline Quotation-Refutation Device,” 23.

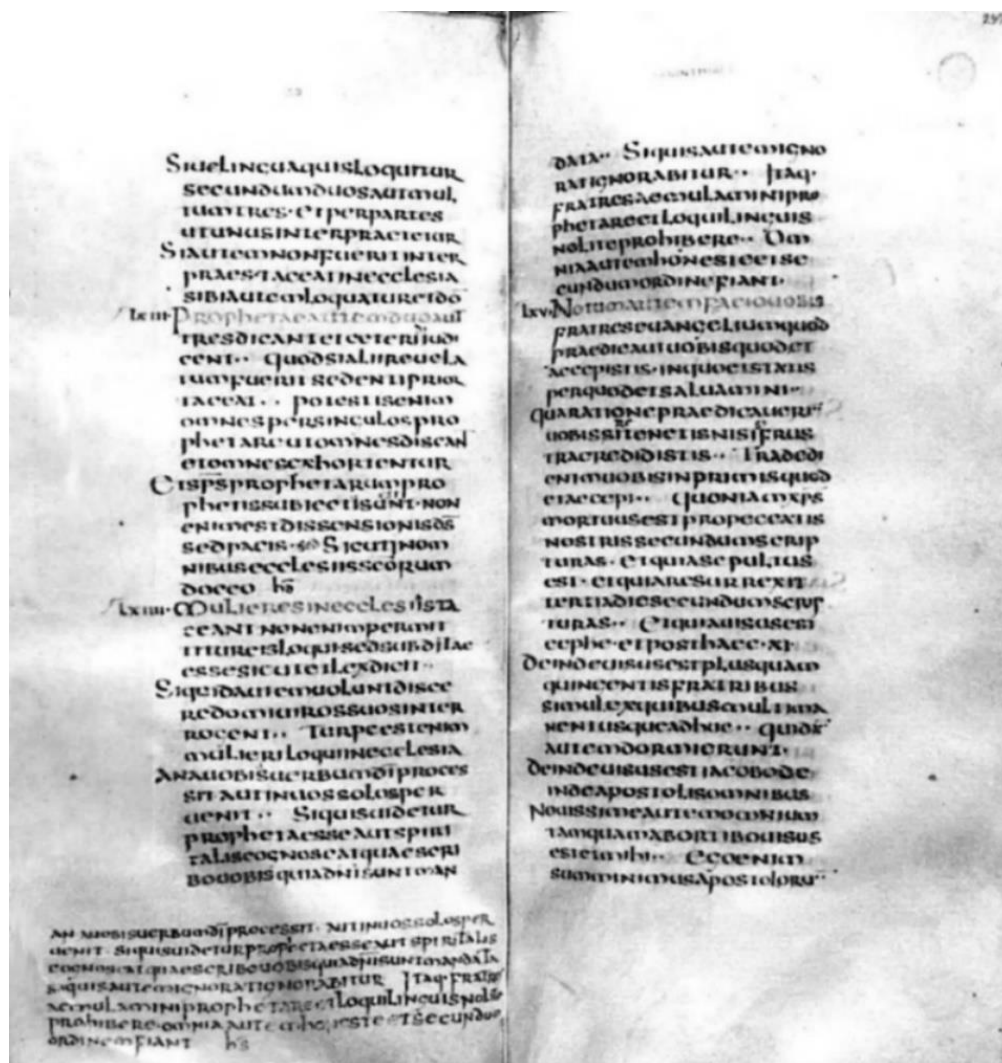


Figure 4:
Codex
Fuldensis.⁶⁴

1.5. Minuscule 88

Minuscule 88 is a Greek manuscript that dates paleographically to the twelfth century.⁶⁵ This manuscript features 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 at the end of chapter fourteen. There are two slashes after verse 40 before the verses instructing women to be silent in the churches. There are also two slashes above the final words of verse 33 (see figure 5 on page 19). These markings most likely mean that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 should be read after verse

⁶⁴ "Codex Fuldensis," Jeremy Norman's History of Information. com, accessed January 18, 2022, <https://www.historyofinformation.com/image.php?id=2803>.

⁶⁵ Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 161.

33 and not at the end of the chapter.⁶⁶ Antoinette Clark Wire suggests that the scribe of minuscule 88 had two exemplars, one with the verses after verse 33 and a Western text with them after verse 40. She argues that they wrote 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 after verse 40 while following their exemplar with the verses at the end of the chapter. Yet, when the scribe turned to their other manuscript, they realised they should have put the verses after verse 33. Therefore, they drew the slashes to indicate their alternative placement.⁶⁷

Payne opposes Wire's argument as minuscule 88 does not resemble a Western text elsewhere. Payne identifies two plausible possibilities: "1) that ms. 88 was copied from a non-Western manuscript with vv. 34-5 after v. 40 or 2) that ms. 88 was copied from a non-Western manuscript without vv. 34-5."⁶⁸ He argues that there is no evidence to suggest that a non-Western manuscript existed with 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 after verse 40. Yet, there is some evidence for the existence of a manuscript without the verses (e.g., Codex Vaticanus, Codex Fuldensis, and patristic writings). Therefore, Payne contends that "the most logical explanation of the features of ms. 88 is that it was copied from a Greek manuscript without 1 Cor 14.34-5."⁶⁹ When the scribe realised they had not written the prohibition against women speaking in the churches after verse 33, they added the verses at the next logical place, which was at the end of the chapter.⁷⁰ It is plausible that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was an addition if there were manuscripts without the verses.

However, contrary to Payne, I suggest that minuscule 88 may have been copied from a manuscript that was not typically Western yet contained 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 after verse 40. Several contemporary text critics question and reject the traditional notion of text types as

⁶⁶ Payne, *Man and Women*, 249.

⁶⁷ Antoinette Clark Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets: A Reconstruction through Paul's Rhetoric* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 151.

⁶⁸ Philip B. Payne, "MS. 88 as Evidence for a Text Without 1 Cor 14:34-5," *New Testament Studies* 44 (1998): 152-258 (154).

⁶⁹ Payne, "Text Without 1 Cor 14:34-5," 156.

⁷⁰ Payne, "Text Without 1 Cor 14:34-5," 155.

many manuscripts do not fit clearly within an established text group.⁷¹ Thus, although there are no extant manuscripts that are so-called non-Western with 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 after verse 40, we cannot rule out that there once was. As with Codex Fuldensis, it is almost impossible to know the precise explanation for the positioning of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 and the markings in minuscule 88. Therefore, this manuscript does not shed much light on whether there were manuscripts without the verses or whether they were an original part of First Corinthians.

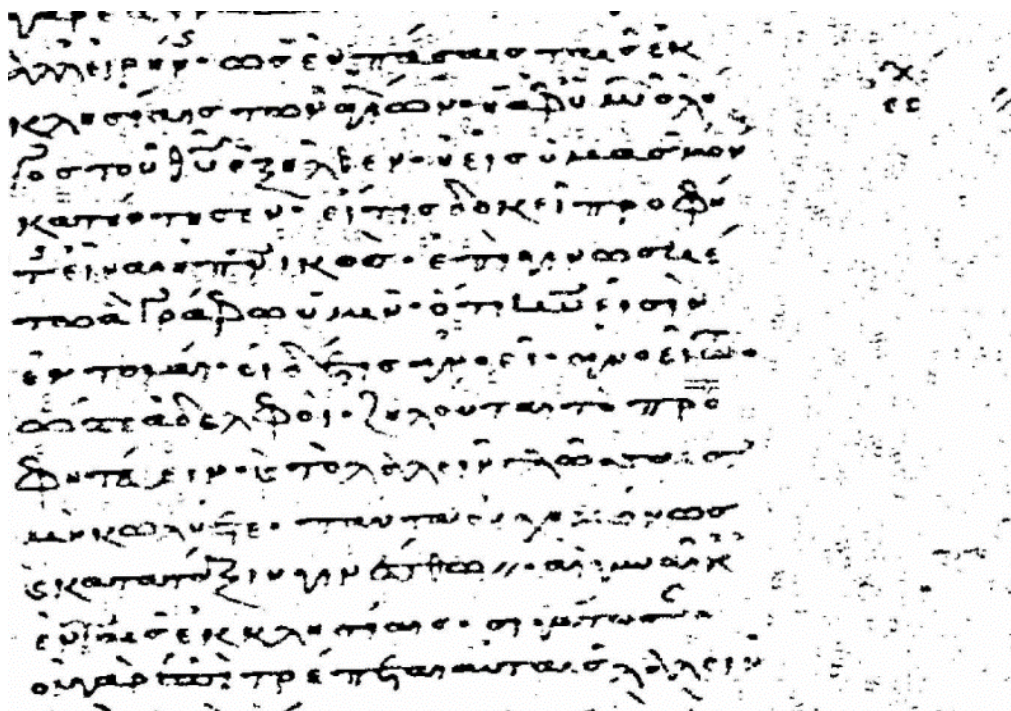


Figure 5:
Minuscule
88.⁷²

1.6. Early Christian and Patristic Texts

Early Christian and patristic writings also provide evidence for determining whether 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was an original part of Paul's first letter to the Corinthians. The *Acts of Paul* is a fictionalised narrative of Paul's ministry that dates to the second century.⁷³ This text

⁷¹ J. K. Elliott, "Recent Trends in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament: A New Millennium, a New Beginning?," *Babelao* 1 (2012): 117-136 (128).

⁷² "GA 88," The Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts, accessed January 18, 2022, https://manuscripts.csntm.org/Manuscript/Group/GA_88.

⁷³ Joy A. Schroeder, *Deborah's Daughters: Gender Politics and Biblical Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 10.

describes a woman prophesying and speaking in a Christian gathering: “The Spirit came upon Myrta so that she said, ‘Brethren... Paul the servant of the Lord will save many in Rome and will nourish innumerable people with the word and he will become manifest above all the faithful, and greatly will the glory... come upon him so that there will be great grace in Rome.’”⁷⁴ Peter W. Dunn suggests that the author of this text did not have “1 Cor. 14:34-35 in his copy, for he depicts a woman prophesying in the assembly, when otherwise he seems quite determined to show that the practice of the Corinthians follows Paul’s teaching to the letter.”⁷⁵ Indeed, the author may have described a woman speaking in the assembly as their copy of First Corinthians did not contain 1 Corinthians 14:34-35. However, another possibility is that they did not take note of the verses.

Additionally, some early Christian theologians do not reference 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 in their writings. Justin Martyr was a Christian apologist during the second century. Within his writings, there are multiple allusions to the letters of Paul. For example, Edgar J. Goodspeed identifies ten references to First Corinthians in *Dialogue with Trypho*.⁷⁶ However, Justin Martyr does not directly cite 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 or suggest that women should remain silent and subordinate in the churches. In *The First Apology*, Justin Martyr discusses church services and behaviour during worship. He writes, “Then we all stand up together and offer up our prayers, and, as we said before, after we finish our prayers, bread and wine and water are presented. He who presides likewise offers up prayers and thanksgivings, to the best of his ability, and the people express their approval by saying ‘Amen.’”⁷⁷ There is no

⁷⁴ J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 383.

⁷⁵ Peter W. Dunn, “The Influence of 1 Corinthians on the Acts of Paul,” *Society of Biblical Literature* 132, no. 35 (1996): 438-454 (452).

⁷⁶ Edgar J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten: Texte mit kurzen Einleitungen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1914), 378.

⁷⁷ Justin Martyr, “The First Apology,” in *Saint Justin Martyr: The First Apology, The Second Apology, Dialogue with Trypho, Exhortation to the Greeks, Discourse to the Greeks, The Monarchy or The Rule of God* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1948), 107.

mention of women remaining silent in this discussion. Therefore, it seems that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 possibly did not feature in Justin Martyr's version of First Corinthians as it was a later addition.

Similarly, there are no references to 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 in the writings of Irenaeus of Lyons. In *Against Heresies*, the Christian apologist cites First Corinthians just over one hundred times.⁷⁸ On one occasion, Irenaeus refers to 1 Corinthians 11:4-5: "For in Epistle to the Corinthians, he hath spoken accurately of prophetical gifts, and recognises men and women as prophesying in the Church."⁷⁹ This comment shows that Irenaeus interprets 1 Corinthians 11:4-5 to mean that women can prophesy and thus speak in the churches. Dunn argues that Irenaeus' reading of these verses "combined with his silence about 1 Cor 14:34-35 in his extant corpus suggests that his copy of the epistle also lacked these verses."⁸⁰ Indeed, the mention of women prophesying in the churches but not the prohibition against women speaking, implies that Irenaeus was unaware of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35. Consequently, the works of this patristic writer suggest that the verses were possibly a later addition and absent from some early copies of First Corinthians.

Moreover, Clement of Alexandria was a Christian writer during the late second and early third centuries.⁸¹ In his work *Paedagogus*, Clement discusses the correct conduct of women in the Christian church: "Woman and man are to go to church decently attired, with natural step, embracing silence, possessing unfeigned love, pure in body, pure in heart, fit to pray to God. Let the woman observe this, further. Let her be entirely covered unless she happen to be at home... For this is the wish of the Word, since it is becoming for her to pray

⁷⁸ Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, trans. John Keble (Oxford: James Parker, 1872), 591-592.

⁷⁹ Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 3.11.9 (237).

⁸⁰ Dunn, "The Influence of 1 Corinthians on the Acts of Paul," 453.

⁸¹ John Ferguson, *Clement of Alexandria* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1974), 13-17.

veiled” (*Paed.* 3:11).⁸² The insistence upon women to cover themselves when praying to God alludes to 1 Corinthians 11:5, in which Paul claims that “any woman who prays or prophesies with her head unveiled disgraces her head.”⁸³ Similarly, the reference to women “embracing silence” may seem an allusion to 1 Corinthians 14:34-35.

However, Payne highlights that in *Paedagogus*, Clement writes that both men and women should embrace silence in church, not just women. He thus argues that this writing seems “incongruent with a text including verses 34-35.”⁸⁴ I suggest that the reference to women and men embracing silence may be an allusion to 1 Corinthians 14:27-30. In these verses, Paul says that those speaking in tongues should remain silent if there is no one to interpret and that people should keep quiet if someone nearby receives a revelation. Since verses 27-30 order both men and women to stay silent in certain situations, *Paedagogus* 3:11 could very well refer to these verses, not 1 Corinthians 14:34-35. Therefore, Clement does not appear to cite the prohibition against women speaking in the churches in his writing. It thus seems that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 may have been a later addition to Paul’s letter.

Nevertheless, the verses are cited in the writings of Tertullian, an active writer at the end of the second century and beginning of the third century.⁸⁵ In his text, *On Baptism*, Tertullian argues that the *Acts of Paul* is the work of an Asian presbyter, not Paul. He suggests that Paul, having written 1 Corinthians 14:34-35, cannot have authored the text that speaks of a woman teaching and baptising others.⁸⁶ Tertullian writes, “For how credible it would seem, that he who has not permitted a woman even to learn with over-boldness, should

⁸² Clement of Alexandria, “The Instructor,” in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library: A Collection of All the Works of the Fathers of the Christian Church, Prior to the Council of Nicaea*, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1867), 113-342 (328).

⁸³ All biblical quotations are from the NRSV unless stated otherwise.

⁸⁴ Payne, *Man and Woman*, 251.

⁸⁵ David E. Wilhite, “Introduction: Reading Tertullian Reading Paul,” in *Tertullian and Paul*, ed. Todd D. Still and David E. Wilhite (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing), XVII-XXIV (XVIII).

⁸⁶ Armin D. Baum, “Authorship and Pseudepigraphy in Early Christian Literature: A Translation of the Most Important Source Texts and an Annotated Bibliography,” in *Paul and Pseudepigraphy*, ed. Stanley E. Porter (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 11-64 (52-53).

give a female the power of teaching and of baptising! ‘Let them be silent,’ he says, ‘and at home consult their own husbands.’”⁸⁷ In this passage, Tertullian directly quotes 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 and identifies the verses as the words of Paul. Therefore, his version of First Corinthians must have featured the prohibition against women speaking in the churches. It thus seems that the verses were either an original part of Paul’s letter or an early addition to the manuscript tradition.

There is a similar reference to 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 in the writings of Origen of Alexandria. Origen was a Christian theologian and writer in the early third century.⁸⁸ He discusses the prohibition against women speaking in the churches in his commentary on First Corinthians (*Fragments on 1 Corinthians* 74):

In short let a woman learn from the man who is her own, taking ‘man’ in its generic sense, as the counterpart of woman. For it is improper for woman to speak in an assembly, no matter what she says, even if she says admirable things or even saintly things; that is of little consequence since they come from the mouth of a woman. A woman speaking in an assembly – clearly this abuse is denounced as improper, an abuse for which the entire assembly is responsible.⁸⁹

The statement that women should learn from their men and remain silent in the churches as it is unacceptable for them to speak is a clear reference to 1 Corinthians 14:34-35. Also, the assertion that women cannot speak of saintly matters, indicates that Origen does not interpret 1 Corinthians 11:5 to mean that women can prophesy in the churches. It is clear that Origen’s version of Paul’s first letter to the Corinthians contained 1 Corinthians 14:34-35. Therefore, either Paul authored the verses as part of his letter, or they were added to the text of First Corinthians by the beginning of the third century.

⁸⁷ Tertullian, “On Baptising,” in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325*, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1872), 231-256 (252).

⁸⁸ Joseph W. Trigg, *Origen* (London: Routledge, 1998), 3-5.

⁸⁹ Karen Jo Torjesen, “Reconstruction of Women’s Early Christian History,” in *Searching the Scriptures: A Feminist Introduction*, ed. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1993), 290-310 (306).

1.7. *The Significance of the External Evidence*

There is no scholarly consensus on whether the external evidence shows 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 to be an original part of Paul's first letter to the Corinthians or a later addition. Niccum comments that there is no manuscript "evidence of an original omission of 1 Cor. 14:34-5."⁹⁰ Conversely, Payne contends that "there is significant textual evidence that 1 Cor. 14:34-35 was not originally in the text, including early manuscripts that support the omission."⁹¹ I maintain that the external evidence does not show whether 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was an original part of Paul's letter or an addition.

The presence of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 in all extant manuscripts and the references to the verses in some early patristic writings suggest that the prohibition against women speaking in the churches was an original part of Paul's first letter to the Corinthians. However, 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 appears at different locations in manuscripts, occurs alongside markings in several texts, and is not alluded to in some early Christian writings. These factors suggest that the verses were possibly an addition to the text of First Corinthians. If 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was a later addition, the external evidence can help determine when the verses were inserted into the manuscript tradition. Some patristic texts from the second century do not refer to the prohibition against women speaking in the churches. Yet, $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ and the writings of Tertullian and Origen show that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 featured in at least some manuscripts around the beginning of the third century. Consequently, if 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was originally a marginal note, I argue that the verses must have become part of First Corinthians by the end of the second century.

⁹⁰ Niccum, "Voice of the Manuscripts." 254.

⁹¹ Payne, *Man and Woman*, 227.

Chapter 2: The Intrinsic Probabilities

Intrinsic probabilities are significant as they involve considering what the author of a text was most likely to have written. Observing whether passages of text conform with the language, style, and opinions the author presents elsewhere can help judge whether they were an original part of the text. This chapter will examine whether 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 fits within its immediate context and contains ideas that coincide with what Paul writes elsewhere. Such research will show the likelihood of Paul asserting that women should be silent in the churches and subordinate in his first letter to the Corinthians.

2.1. *The Literary Context of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35*

In her work on *Women Praying and Prophesying in Corinth*, Jill E. Marshall suggests that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 fits well within Paul's discussion on orderly worship (1 Cor. 14:26-40). She contends that verses 26 and 40 form an *inclusio* that denotes a literary section. In verse 26, Paul says, "Let all things be done for building up" (1 Cor. 14:26). Later, in verse 40, he explains that "all things should be done decently and in order" (1 Cor. 14:40). Therefore, Paul suggests that the community can build up the church by acting in a decent and orderly manner. Marshall comments that between verses 26 and 40, Paul instructs the community on how to maintain order. He tells those who speak in tongues to remain silent if there is no one to interpret (1 Cor. 14:27-28), urges prophets to keep quiet if others are prophesying (1 Cor. 14:29-33), and orders women to remain silent and ask their husbands any questions they have at home (1 Cor. 14:34-35).⁹² This interpretation of 1 Corinthians 14:26-40 suggests that verses 34-35 fit within the structure of Paul's argument and were an original part of First Corinthians.

⁹² Jill E. Marshall, *Women Praying and Prophesying in Corinth: Gender and Inspired Speech in First Corinthians* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 207.

Conversely, Payne argues that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 interrupts “the flow of Paul’s argument” and breaks the chiasmus that is present without them.⁹³ He demonstrates this chiastic structure as follows:

A. Order: Order everything to build up the church (1 Cor.14:26).

B. Tongues: Two or three people can take turns speaking, and someone must interpret. People should remain silent if there is no interpreter (1 Cor.14:27-28).

C. Prophets: Two or three prophets can speak, and others can weigh what is discussed. People should remain silent if someone else receives a prophecy and take turns in prophesying. Prophets are in control of themselves (1 Cor. 14:29-32).

D. Climax: God is a God of peace, not disorder. (1 Cor.14:33, 36).

C’. Prophets: Prophets must acknowledge that what I write is the command of the Lord. If not, they will be ignored. People should strive to prophesy (1 Cor.14:37-39a).

B’. Tongues: People are free to speak in tongues (1 Cor.14:39b).

A’. Order: Everything should be done in an orderly manner (1 Cor.14:40).⁹⁴

Since this chiasmus appears with the omission of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35, Payne contends that the verses were not an original part of Paul’s first letter to the Corinthians.⁹⁵

⁹³ Payne, *Man and Woman*, 254.

⁹⁴ Payne, *Man and Woman*, 254.

⁹⁵ Payne, *Man and Woman*, 254.

Additionally, Payne observes that the verses within the chiastic structure relate to the theme of orderly worship in the assembly. The climax of the chiasmus emphasises that God is a God of peace, not disorder (1 Cor. 14:33, 36). Before and after this climax, Paul gives instructions on prophesying (1 Cor. 14:29-30, 37-39a), speaking in tongues (1 Cor. 14:27-28, 39b), and stresses the importance of orderly conduct in the church (1 Cor. 14:26, 40). Therefore, Payne asserts that the inclusion of the prohibition against women speaking in the churches disrupts the symmetry of the chiastic structure. 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 adds a new instruction after the climax that does not relate to the matter of prophets discussed before the mid-point. Therefore, Payne maintains that the verses must have been an addition as they break the “consistent literary structure.”⁹⁶

However, I contend that the chiasmus Payne identifies does not convincingly affirm that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was an addition to Paul’s first letter to the Corinthians. In his article on the criteria for identifying a chiasmus, John W. Welch claims that “the more evident an arrangement, the greater the degree of chiasticity.”⁹⁷ The structure Payne identifies is not readily apparent when reading the passage, and thus it is a weak chiasmus. Welch also writes that “the elements on both sides of the proposed focal point should be nearly equal, in terms of number of words, lines, or elements.”⁹⁸ Payne’s chiasmus is unbalanced as it features several more words before the centre point than after. Therefore, I argue that the chiastic structure he identifies in 1 Corinthians 14:26-40 is not clear and balanced enough to affirm that verses 34-35 were an addition to First Corinthians.

Nevertheless, I maintain that Paul’s argument in 1 Corinthians 14:26-40 makes better sense without verses 34-35. Verses 26-32 instruct the Corinthians on how to worship in a

⁹⁶ Payne, *Man and Woman*, 255.

⁹⁷ John W. Welch, “Criteria for Identifying and Evaluating the Presence of Chiasmus,” *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 4, no. 2 (1995): 1-14 (5).

⁹⁸ Welch, “Presence of Chiasmus,” 8.

decent and orderly fashion. The following verse explains that orderly worship is significant as it fits with the ordered character of God and is found in “all the churches of the saints” (1 Cor. 14:33). In verse 36, Paul questions whether the Corinthian church sees themselves as superior, so they do not have to follow his instructions on orderly worship: “Or did the word of God originate with you? Or are you the only ones it has reached?” The following four verses clarify that the instructions are the commands of God, and so “all things should be done decently and in order” (1 Cor. 14:37-40). Therefore, Paul’s argument flows without the prohibition against women speaking in the churches. I suggest that if Paul authored verses 34-35, they would appear with his instructions on speaking in tongues and prophesying, not after the assertion that God is a God of peace and order (1 Cor. 14:33).

Additionally, 1 Corinthians 14:39 indicates that verses 34-35 were not an original part of Paul’s argument on orderly worship. The verse states, “So, my brothers and sisters, strive to prophesy, and do not forbid speaking in tongues” (1 Cor. 14:39). In this verse, Paul revisits his previous instructions and emphasises that it is good to prophesy and speak in tongues when Christians come together. I suggest that if Paul had authored the prohibition against women speaking in the churches in verses 34-35, he would have reaffirmed that women must be silent in verse 39. Therefore, it seems that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was not an original part of Paul’s argument.

Moreover, several known interpolations do not fit well in their literary context. For example, there is an awkward connection between the original ending of the Gospel of Mark (Mk. 16:8) and the eleven verses often added to the end of the text (Mk. 16:9-20).⁹⁹ Mark 16:8 tells of the women fearfully fleeing Jesus’ tomb after receiving news from a young man in white that Jesus had risen: “They went out and fled from the tomb, for terror and

⁹⁹ Metzger, *Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 124.

amazement had seized them, and they said nothing to anyone, for they were afraid.” The additional verses that follow state that the resurrected Jesus “appeared first to Mary Magdalene” (Mk. 16:9), and so she “went out and told those who had been with him, while they were mourning and weeping” (Mk. 16:10). Therefore, while Mark suggests that the women were afraid so did not speak of Jesus’ resurrection to anyone, the portion of added text argues that Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalene, and she went and told people. Thus, the longer ending fits awkwardly at the end of Mark’s Gospel.

Similarly, the *Pericope Adulterae* seems intrusive in its main position at John 7:53-8:11. Johannes Beutler argues that “the pericope about Jesus and the woman taken in adultery appears like a meteorite in the narrative flow of John’s Gospel.”¹⁰⁰ He rightly notes that the narrative features between passages addressing Jesus’ interactions with the Jews in the temple of Jerusalem.¹⁰¹ Prior to John 7:53, the Gospel of John describes Jesus travelling secretly to Jerusalem during the festival of Booths and teaching in the temple. The chief priests and Pharisees send officers to arrest Jesus, yet the officers chose not to (Jn. 7:10-52). The *Pericope Adulterae* then appears (Jn. 7:53-8:11). Following this narrative, the Gospel tells of Jesus talking with the Jews and the Pharisees in temple (Jn. 8:12-59). Therefore, the *Pericope Adulterae* appears in an awkward position. It thus seems characteristic for added text to break the flow of the text to which it is added. Since 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 fits awkwardly in its literary context, it seems that it was not an original part of Paul’s first letter to the Corinthians.

2.2. The Reference to the Law

¹⁰⁰ Johannes Beutler, *A Commentary on the Gospel of John* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2017), 226.

¹⁰¹ Beutler, *Commentary on the Gospel of John*, 226-227.

1 Corinthians 14:34 states that women should be silent in church and subordinate “as the law also says” (καθὼς καὶ ὁ νόμος λέγει). Throughout his letters, Paul appeals to the law and cites specific texts from the Old Testament to support his points.¹⁰² For example, in 1 Corinthians 9:9, Paul writes, “For it is written in the law of Moses, ‘You shall not muzzle an ox while it is treading out the grain.’” This verse quotes Deuteronomy 25:4. Similarly, 1 Corinthians 14:20-22 states, “In the law it is written, ‘By people of strange tongues and by the lips of foreigners I will speak to this people, yet even then they will not listen to me,’ says the Lord.” Paul here cites Isaiah 28:11. However, in 1 Corinthians 14:34, the phrase “as the law also says” is not accompanied by an excerpt from the Old Testament.

Some scholars suggest that in 1 Corinthians 14:34-35, there is an allusion to the statement in Genesis 3:16 that husbands shall rule over their women.¹⁰³ Alternatively, Carson argues that the verses refer to Genesis 2:20b-24. This passage tells of the creation of woman from the rib of man. Carson notes that Paul mentions Genesis 2:10b-24 elsewhere when discussing the role of women as it emphasises that the first man came before the first woman, so females must be subject to males (e.g., 1 Cor.11:8).¹⁰⁴ Yet, in his writings, Paul typically makes it clear which Old Testament passage he is referencing. If he is alluding to Genesis 3:16 or Genesis 2:20b-24 in 1 Corinthians 14:34-35, it would likely be more obvious. Therefore, the reference to the law in 1 Corinthians 14:34 does not conform with how Paul appeals to the law elsewhere in his writings. It thus seems that the verses were possibly a later addition and not the words of Paul.

Additionally, the appeal to the law in 1 Corinthians 14:34 seems inconsistent with Paul’s understanding of the law. In his letters, Paul affirms that God provided the law (e.g.,

¹⁰² Payne, *Man and Woman*, 258.

¹⁰³ C. K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 2nd ed. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1971), 330.

¹⁰⁴ D. A. Carson, “Silent in the Churches,” 152.

Rom. 7:12, 14, 22), yet he repeatedly emphasises that those who believe in Christ maintain a new relationship with it. He makes statements such as “Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law” (Gal. 3:13) and “you are not under law but under grace” (Rom. 6:14). In Paul’s view, Christ has replaced the law as the focus of faith and ethics.¹⁰⁵ Consequently, he does not typically refer to the law when discussing how Christians behave. He addresses it when writing about matters such as the importance of faith (Rom. 1:17; 4:17; 8:36; 9:33), unrighteousness (Rom. 2:24; 3:10), salvation (Rom. 11:26; 1 Cor. 1:31; 2:9), and Christ’s suffering (Rom. 15:3). The reference to the law in 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 to enforce a rule for Christians in the churches is thus uncharacteristic of Paul.¹⁰⁶ It seems unlikely that Paul would state that women should be silent in the churches and subordinate “as the law also says” (1 Cor. 14:34).

Moreover, there are several instances in First Corinthians where Paul could have referred to the law to establish rules about ethical behaviour and church practices, but he does not. Payne rightly highlights that Paul could easily have appealed to the law when discussing “sexual immorality (1 Cor 5:1-7; 6:12-20), problems related to marriage (ch. 7), to food offered to idols (ch. 8), or to idolatry (ch. 10).”¹⁰⁷ I agree that Paul not referencing the law in these instances shows that he was distancing himself from the law and his Pharisaic legalism.¹⁰⁸ Therefore, the reference to the law in 1 Corinthians 14:34 to enforce a rule about the participation of women in the churches does not seem Pauline.

2.3. 1 Corinthians 11:5

In 1 Corinthians 11:5, Paul asserts that “any woman who prays or prophesies with her head unveiled disgraces her head.” This verse implies that women can pray and prophesy in

¹⁰⁵ Payne, *Man and Woman*, 259.

¹⁰⁶ Payne, *Man and Woman*, 259.

¹⁰⁷ Payne, *Man and Woman*, 260-261.

¹⁰⁸ Payne, *Man and Woman*, 260-261.

the assembly. Paul appears to see no issue with women actively participating and speaking during church services so long as they dress their heads appropriately.¹⁰⁹ Several scholars argue that there is an evident contradiction between 1 Corinthians 11:5 and 1 Corinthians 14:34-35.¹¹⁰ While the former verse speaks of women vocally participating in the assembly, the latter verses prohibit women from behaving in such a manner. The contradiction between these passages suggests that Paul did not write them both. Since there are more reasons to doubt the originality of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 than 1 Corinthians 11:5, it is arguable that Paul did not author the prohibition against women speaking in the churches in his first letter to the Corinthians.

Scholars who maintain that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was an original part of First Corinthians strive to solve the contradiction between this passage and 1 Corinthians 11:5. For example, in her work titled *In Memory of Her*, Fiorenza asserts that there is no conflict between the verses if we recognise that the prohibition in 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 does not apply to all women. Instead, it denies the “speaking and questioning of wives in the public worship assembly.”¹¹¹ Fiorenza notes that in 1 Corinthians 7:34, Paul claims that young unmarried women can devote themselves entirely to God, and thus they are “holy in body and spirit.” Yet, married women tend to be distracted by worldly and family matters (1 Cor. 7:34). Therefore, she contends that Paul allows the “pneumatic participation of such ‘holy’ women” in the churches “but argues in 14:34f against such an active participation of wives.”¹¹² If Fiorenza is correct that there is no contradiction between 1 Corinthians 11:5 and

¹⁰⁹ Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 518.

¹¹⁰ Lee A. Johnson, “In Search of the Voice of Women in the Churches: Revisiting the Command to Silence Women in 1 Corinthians 14:34-35,” in *Women in the Biblical World: A Survey of Old and New Testament Perspectives*, ed. Elizabeth A. MacCabe (Maryland: University Press of America, 2009), 136-152 (137), and Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 702.

¹¹¹ Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 231-233.

¹¹² Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 231.

1 Corinthians 14:34-35 as they refer to different women, it is arguable that Paul authored both passages.

Jerome Murphy-O'Connor opposes Fiorenza's position by noting that in the patriarchal world of the first century, young unmarried women tended to face more restrictions than those who were married. He suggests that "no daughter could be accorded a freedom denied to her mother," and thus if wives must remain silent, so must unmarried women.¹¹³ This argument is convincing, yet it is important to consider that Christians at the time of Paul may not have shared the view that married women should have greater freedom than unmarried virginal women. I propose an alternative argument against Fiorenza's position. I highlight that in 1 Corinthians 7:32-33, Paul explains that married men, like married women (1 Cor. 7:34), are not solely concerned with the affairs of God as they are anxious to please their wives. Despite making this assertion, Paul does not restrict the participation of married men in the churches. Therefore, I challenge the idea that Paul bans wives from speaking as they are concerned with matters other than God. It seems improbable that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 only denies the speaking of wives, and thus there remains a contradiction between these verses and 1 Corinthians 11:5. Such a contradiction suggests that Paul did not write 1 Corinthians 14:34 in his first letter to the Corinthians.

Other scholars solve the seeming contradiction between 1 Corinthians 11:5 and 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 by positing that they refer to different settings. Russell C. Prohl argues that in 1 Corinthians 11:5, Paul speaks of women praying and prophesying in "a closed meeting of the congregation."¹¹⁴ However, he suggests the prohibition in 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 applies to women in church services that may include unbelievers and outsiders. 1

¹¹³ Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *Keys to First Corinthians: Revisiting the Major Issues* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 266.

¹¹⁴ Russell C. Prohl, *Woman in the Church: A Restudy of Woman's Place in Building the Kingdom* (Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1957), 34.

Corinthians 14:22-23 mentions unbelievers coming together with those who believe.

Therefore, Prohl suggests that the church setting in which 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 orders women to be silent is one with “the initiates, the communicants, but also the catechumens, the uninstructed, the unbaptised.”¹¹⁵ However, I agree with Barrett that there is no evidence to suggest that “the speaking referred to in xi. 5 takes place in a private house-gathering, and not in the church assembly.”¹¹⁶ Therefore, I maintain that there is a contradiction between the verses, which indicates that Paul did not author them both.

Some scholars solve the difficulty between the passages by arguing that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 does not prohibit all speech. They suggest that the Greek verb *λαλεῖν* refers to the asking of foolish and inappropriate questions. Grant R. Osborne writes that “the problem of 14:34 deals with a specific difficulty in the Corinthian situation, namely with the tendency of the women to interrupt the dialogue section of the service with rude, unedifying questions.”¹¹⁷ Similarly, F. F. Bruce contends that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 serves to prevent women from asking questions they could easily discuss with their husbands at home.¹¹⁸ If Osborne and Bruce are correct that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 only prohibits disruptive questions, there is no contradiction between these verses and 1 Corinthians 11:5.

However, Barrett considers the view that *λαλεῖν* refers to the asking of questions and uninspired chatter as not “worthy of serious consideration.”¹¹⁹ Although *λαλεῖν* frequently denotes “chatter” in classical Greek, the term does not have this meaning in the Pauline epistles. For example, in 1 Corinthians 14:2-3, the verb signifies inspired speech: “For those who speak in a tongue do not speak to other people but to God... those who prophesy speak

¹¹⁵ Prohl, *Woman in the Church*, 34.

¹¹⁶ Barrett, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 331.

¹¹⁷ Grant R. Osborne, “Hermeneutics and Women in the Church,” *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 20, no. 4 (1977): 337-352 (344).

¹¹⁸ F. F. Bruce, *1 and 2 Corinthians* (Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1971), 135.

¹¹⁹ Barrett, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 331-332.

to other people for their upbuilding and encouragement and consolation.”¹²⁰ Therefore, if Paul wrote 1 Corinthians 14:34-35, the verb *λαλεῖν* would not simply denote uninspired and disruptive chatter. If 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 prohibits all forms of speech, the verses conflict with 1 Corinthians 11:5 and its discussion of women praying and prophesying in the assembly.

There seems no reasonable explanation of how the passages can both feature in First Corinthians without contradiction. Although several scholars have suggested there is no contradiction as the passages refer to different women, situations, or types of speech, these arguments are unconvincing. Therefore, I contend that the conflict between 1 Corinthians 11:5 and 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 suggests that Paul did not write both passages. It is unlikely that Paul wrote in First Corinthians that women can pray and prophesy but also that they must remain silent in the churches. Therefore, it seems that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was a non-Pauline addition to Paul’s first letter to the Corinthians.

2.4. 1 Corinthians 7:1-16

In 1 Corinthians 7:1-16, Paul instructs men and women on marriage. He states:

- a) “The husband should give to his wife what is due her and likewise the wife to her husband” (1 Cor. 7:3).
- b) “The wife does not have authority over her own body, but the husband does; likewise, the husband does not have authority over his own body, but the wife does” (1 Cor. 7:4).
- c) “If any brother has a wife who is an unbeliever and she consents to live with him, he should not divorce her. And if any woman has a husband who is an unbeliever and he consents to live with her, she should not divorce the husband” (1 Cor. 7:12-13).

¹²⁰ Payne, *Man and Woman*, 222.

- d) “The unbelieving husband is made holy through his wife, and the unbelieving wife is made holy through the brother” (1 Cor. 7:14).
- e) “Wife, for all you know, you might save your husband. Husband, for all you know, you might save your wife” (1 Cor. 7:16).

Johnson correctly observes that in these verses, “Paul takes great pains to balance his instruction to both males and females.”¹²¹ The apostle presents husband and wife as equal partners. He does not instruct men to rule over their wives or tell women to be submissive to their husbands. Therefore, the assertion in 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 that women must remain silent and subordinate in the churches does not fit with the attitude Paul presents towards women in 1 Corinthians 7:1-16.

2.5. Romans 16

In the final chapter of his letter to the Romans, Paul commends a woman called Phoebe, who he identifies as “a deacon of the church at Cenchreae” (διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Κενχρεαῖς) (Rom. 16:1). The Greek word διάκονος translates as “servant” or “deacon.”¹²² Therefore, Paul may simply be commending Phoebe for serving her church in a helpful but unofficial manner. However, the assertion that Phoebe is a deacon “of the church” (τῆς ἐκκλησίας) suggests that she holds an official position. As Douglas J. Moo comments, “the qualification of *diakonos* by ‘of the church’ suggests... that Phoebe held at Cenchreae the ‘office’ of ‘deacon.’”¹²³ Additionally, the use of the masculine form of διάκονος indicates that Paul is referring to the office of deacon and not simply labelling Phoebe as a helper at her

¹²¹ Johnson, “In Search of the Voice of Women in the Churches,” 137.

¹²² Sakae Kubo, *A Reader's Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1975), 147.

¹²³ Douglas J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996), 914.

church.¹²⁴ The identification of Phoebe as a female deacon in Romans 16:1 suggests that Paul saw no issue with women participating in the churches.

Additionally, Paul requests the Romans to receive Phoebe with warmth: “Welcome her in the Lord as is fitting for the saints, and help her in whatever she may require from you, for she has been a benefactor of many and of myself as well” (Rom. 16:2). This verse implies that Paul may have sent Phoebe to the Romans. In Philippians 2, Paul writes that he will send Epaphroditus (Philip. 2:25) and that the community should “welcome him... in the Lord with all joy...” (Philip. 2:29). The resemblance between Romans 16:2 and Philippians 2:29 suggests that Paul sent Phoebe as he did Epaphroditus. It thus seems that Paul was happy for Phoebe to teach and represent him in Rome.

Moreover, many scholars suggest that Phoebe was the person who delivered Paul’s letter to the Romans.¹²⁵ In the Greco-Roman world, people often sent their letters by giving them to someone who was heading in the same direction.¹²⁶ Therefore, if Paul was sending Phoebe, it is plausible that she was also the bearer of his letter to the Romans. Allan Chapple contends that Phoebe not only delivered the letter but she was also tasked with “reading it aloud to those meant to hear it.”¹²⁷ Indeed, in the Greco-Roman world, the deliverer of a letter was often responsible for reading it to those receiving it.¹²⁸ Therefore, Romans 16 suggests that Paul sent a woman to deliver his message to the Romans.

In Romans 16:3-16, Paul offers personal greetings and thanks to several people. Nine of the twenty-six people he addresses are women. Peter Lampe observes that of these nine

¹²⁴ Thomas R. Schreiner, *Romans* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 1998), 787.

¹²⁵ Allan Chapple, “Getting *Romans* to the Right Romans: Phoebe and the Delivery of Paul’s Letter,” *Tyndale Bulletin* 62, no. 2 (2011): 195-214 (197).

¹²⁶ Peter M. Head, “Named Letter-Carriers Among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri,” *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 31, no. 3 (2009): 279-299 (283-285).

¹²⁷ Chapple, “Getting *Romans* to the Right Romans: Phoebe and the Delivery of Paul’s Letter,” 212.

¹²⁸ E. Randolph Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing: Secretaries, Composition and Collection* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 2004), 184-185.

women, Paul praises six for their work: Prisca (Rom. 16:3), Mary (Rom. 16:6), Junia (Rom. 16:7), Tryphaena and Tryphosa (Rom. 16:12), and Persis (Rom. 16:12). Yet, of the seventeen men Paul mentions, he only praises three for being particularly active in the churches: Aquila (Rom. 16:3), Andronicus (Rom. 16:7), Urbanus (Rom. 16:9).¹²⁹ This observation that Paul praises more women for their active participation is significant as it shows that he was supportive of Christian women and acknowledged their work in the churches. I thus suggest that Paul likely did not write 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 and restrict the activities of women in the Christian church and community.

One of the nine women Paul greets is Junia: “Greet Andronicus and Junia, my relatives who were in prison with me; they are prominent among the apostles, and they were in Christ before I was” (Rom. 16:7). The phrase “among the apostles” (ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις) could mean that Junia is not an apostle herself, but that she is “well known to the apostles.”¹³⁰ However, many scholars suggest that, in Romans 16:7, Paul identifies Junia as an outstanding apostle. Cynthia Westfall writes, “Junia is a woman who receives a powerful commendation from Paul. Not only does he call her an apostle, but also she was a believer longer than Paul was.”¹³¹ Whether Paul intends to characterise Junia as someone well known by the apostles or as an apostle herself, he suggests that her role in the Christian community is profound. Paul’s appreciation of Junia and her work in Romans 16:7 seems inconsistent with the instruction that women must be silent and subordinate in the churches in 1 Corinthians 14:34-35. Therefore, it appears that the verses were not authored by Paul.

2.6. Galatians 3:28

¹²⁹ Peter Lampe, “The Roman Christians of Romans 16,” in *The Romans Debate*, ed. Karl. P Donfried (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 1991), 216-230 (222).

¹³⁰ Eldon Jay Epp, *Junia: The First Woman Apostle* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 69.

¹³¹ Cynthia Long Westfall, *Paul and Gender: Reclaiming the Apostle’s Vision for Men and Women in Christ* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 2016), 270.

In his letter to the Galatians, Paul writes, “For in Christ Jesus you are all children of God through faith. As many of you as were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ. There is no longer Jew or Greek; there is no longer slave or free; there is no longer male and female, for all of you are one in Christ Jesus” (Gal. 3:26-28). The three pairs stated in the verses present the main categories that divided society in the first century: nationality (Jew or Greek), social status (slave or free), and sex (male or female).¹³² Bruce rightly notes that in Galatians 3:27-29, Paul takes these “three distinctions... and affirms that in Christ they are all irrelevant.”¹³³ Most significantly, Paul suggests that women are equal to men in Christ and the Christian community. Therefore, the apostle’s attitude toward women in Galatians 3:28 does not coincide with that in 1 Corinthians 14:34-35.

Additionally, many biblical scholars maintain that, in Galatians 3:26-28, Paul is quoting a credal proclamation spoken at baptisms. The explicit reference to baptism in verse 27 and parallel statements in other early Christian writings (1 Cor. 12:13, Col. 3:9-11) support the idea that the verses are a baptismal formula. This theory can also explain why the first-person pronoun “we” (ἑσμεν) occurs in Galatians 3:25 while the second-person pronoun “you” (ἐστε) features in verse 26.¹³⁴ The baptismal formula Paul presents in Galatians 3:26-28 is significant as it suggests that baptised men and women are equal. Johnson rightly comments, “If Paul had brought the Corinthians into the community under the aegis of this egalitarian statement, his restrictive charge to the women in 1 Cor 14:34-35 is even more difficult to reconcile with the rest of his message.”¹³⁵ Indeed, Paul’s suggestion that those

¹³² Lesly F. Massey, *Women in the Church: Moving Toward Equality* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company, 2001), 39.

¹³³ F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1982), 187.

¹³⁴ Martinus C. de Boer, *Galatians: A Commentary* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2011), 245-246.

¹³⁵ Johnson, “In Search of the Voice of Women in the Churches,” 138.

baptised in Christ are equal does not align with the assertion that women should be silent and subordinate in 1 Corinthians 14:34-35.

Moreover, it is significant to note that by stating that there is no “male and female... in Christ Jesus” (Gal. 3:28), Paul is not suggesting that there are no identifiable men and women in the Christian community. As Ronald Y. K. Fung asserts, Galatians 3:28 “does not mean, as was believed in later Gnosticism, that in the new era mankind is restored to the pristine androgynous state.”¹³⁶ Paul writes that “there is no longer Jew or (οὐδὲ) Greek,” yet “there is no longer male and (καὶ) female” (Gal. 3:28).¹³⁷ The use of “and” (καὶ) indicates that Paul is not implying that there are no biological sexes in the Christian community, but that males and females are equal socially and spiritually. I agree with Robin Scroggs that Paul is “passionate in keeping the reality of the distinctions,” but he “will not suffer any value judgement to be drawn on the basis of the distinction.”¹³⁸ Therefore, it seems that Paul did not write 1 Corinthians 14:34-35, which implies that women should remain silent in the churches and subordinate simply because they are female.

2.7. *Paul's Eschatological View and Women*

To investigate whether Paul authored 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 it is significant to examine his eschatological understanding and how it impacts his view on women. Throughout his letters, Paul presents his belief that Jesus will return and that the present world will end at some point. He frequently speaks of the Second Coming (e.g., 1 Thess. 2:19 and 1 Cor. 4:5; 11:26) and the eschaton (e.g., 1 Thess. 4:13-18 and 1 Cor. 15:24). Many scholars contend that Paul sees the Parousia as imminent. For example, Albert Schweitzer

¹³⁶ Ronald Y. K. Fung, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1988), 75.

¹³⁷ C. Marvin Pate, *The End of the Age Has Come: The Theology of Paul* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1995), 208.

¹³⁸ Robin Scroggs, “Paul and the Eschatological Woman,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 40, no. 3 (1972): 283-303 (283).

states, “From his first letter to his last, Paul’s thought is always uniformly dominated by the expectation of the immediate return of Jesus.”¹³⁹ This position is based on verses such as the following: 1) “To wait for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead—Jesus, who rescues us from the coming wrath” (1 Thess. 1:10); 2) “For the present form of this world is passing away” (1 Cor. 7:31); and “I am confident of this, that the one who began a good work in you will continue to complete it until the day of Jesus Christ” (Phil. 1:6).¹⁴⁰

Some scholars contend that since Paul thought the end was looming, he did not deem it necessary to uphold societal roles. For example, Sara Parks, Shayna Sheinfeld, and Meredith J. C. Warren argue that Paul “considered everyday concerns like gender roles or having children to be distractions, not worth wasting time on, since the current social reality was about to come to an abrupt end.”¹⁴¹ They highlight that in his first letter to the Corinthians, Paul discourages people from partaking in the tradition of marriage: “From now on, let even those who have wives be as though they had none... For the present form of this world is passing away” (1 Cor. 7:29-31). Therefore, Parks, Sheinfeld, and Warren contend that Paul was not anxious about maintaining conventional societal roles and practices as he was expecting the eschaton.¹⁴² Their view suggests that Paul would not have authored 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 to prevent women from speaking in the churches.

Alternatively, I contend that Paul was not concerned about maintaining societal roles as he thought the new age of Christ had already emerged into the current world. In 2 Corinthians 5:14-17, Paul explains that following the death and resurrection of Christ, there is a new creation for believers: “So if anyone is in Christ, there is a new creation: everything old has passed away; look, new things have come into being” (2 Cor. 5:17). Therefore, I agree

¹³⁹ Albert Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* (London: A and C Black, 1931), 52.

¹⁴⁰ Schweitzer, *Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*, 52-53.

¹⁴¹ Sara Parks, Shayna Sheinfeld, and Meredith J. C. Warren, *Jewish and Christian Women in the Ancient Mediterranean* (London: Routledge, 2022), 162.

¹⁴² Parks, Sheinfeld, and Warren, *Women in the Ancient Mediterranean*, 162.

with Garland that in 1 Corinthians 7:29-31, “Paul does not argue, ‘The end might come tomorrow with its terrible afflictions; therefore, do not get married.’ He argues instead, ‘The end has broken into the present, and it requires a re-evaluation of all that we do in a world already on its last legs.’”¹⁴³ I thus suggest that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was likely not an original part of Paul’s letter as it does not conform with his view that all old perceptions and traditions have passed.

Moreover, Paul emphasises that Christ is at the centre of this new creation, which is no longer bound to the laws or structures of the old world.¹⁴⁴ In 2 Corinthians 5:15-16, Paul writes that following the resurrection of Christ, “we regard no one from a worldly point of view.” Murray J. Harris argues that in this verse, Paul explains that no one in Christ faces judgement for their “national origin, social status, intellectual capability, physical attributes, or even charismatic endowment and pneumatic displays.”¹⁴⁵ Indeed, Paul seems to suggest that believers who are part of the new creation will no longer face judgement for their human characteristics. Therefore, it seems unlikely that Paul would write that it is shameful for women to speak in church and that they must be subordinate. 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 does not reflect Paul’s view that Christian believers are free of worldly judgement.

2.8. The Quotation Refutation Device Theory

Some scholars contend that Paul wrote 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 as an original part of his letter, yet the verses quote a Corinthian assertion. They maintain that verses 34-35 contain an excerpt from a Corinthian letter, and verse 36 presents Paul’s opposition. According to this argument, the notion that women cannot speak in church is non-Pauline. N. M. Flanagan and E. H. Snyder argue that Paul permits women to prophesy (1 Cor. 11:5) and considers them

¹⁴³ Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 327.

¹⁴⁴ Scroggs, “Paul and the Eschatological Woman,” 287.

¹⁴⁵ Murray J. Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2005), 427.

equal to men (Gal. 3:28). Thus, in his first letter to the Corinthians, he challenges their claim that women must remain silent in the churches (1 Cor. 14:34-35).¹⁴⁶ Adopting a similar view, MacGregor asserts, “It is one of the most tragic ironies in the history of biblical interpretation that the very text Paul penned to guarantee the unrestricted ecclesiastical participation of women has often been unwittingly yet effectively falsified to deny women this right.”¹⁴⁷

The scholars who deem 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 as a quotation highlight that Paul authored his first letter to the Corinthians after receiving a report from Chloe’s people (1 Cor. 1:11) and a written letter (1 Cor. 7:1). Therefore, he often references opinions held in the Corinthian community and responds to them.¹⁴⁸ The following verses are generally accepted to contain Corinthian statements and opinions:

- a) “What I mean is that each of you says, ‘I belong to Paul,’ or ‘I belong to Apollos,’ or ‘I belong to Cephas,’ or ‘I belong to Christ’” (1 Cor. 1:12).
- b) “‘Food is meant for the stomach and the stomach for food,’ and God will destroy both one and the other” (1 Cor. 6:13).
- c) “Now concerning the matters about which you wrote: ‘It is well for a man not to touch a woman.’ But because of cases of sexual immorality, each man should have his own wife and each woman her own husband.” (1 Cor. 7:1-2).
- d) “Now concerning food sacrificed to idols: we know that ‘all of us possess knowledge.’ Knowledge puffs up, but love builds up.” (1 Cor. 8:1).
- e) “‘Food will not bring us close to God.’ We are no worse off if we do not eat, and no better off if we do” (1 Cor. 8:8).¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ N. M. Flanagan and E. H. Snyder, “Did Paul Put Down Women in 1 Cor. 14:34-36?,” *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 11, no. 1 (1981): 10-12 (11), and MacGregor, “Pauline Quotation-Refutation Device,” 24.

¹⁴⁷ MacGregor, “Pauline Quotation-Refutation Device,” 26.

¹⁴⁸ Flanagan and Snyder, “Women in 1 Cor. 14:34-36,” 11.

¹⁴⁹ Flanagan and Snyder, “Women in 1 Cor. 14:34-36,” 11, and MacGregor, “Pauline Quotation-Refutation Device,” 26.

Since there are multiple examples of Paul quoting Corinthian views, scholars consider it highly possible that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 reflects a Corinthian attitude towards women, not Paul's.¹⁵⁰

However, in his commentary on First Corinthians, Fee opposes the position that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 is a quotation. He argues that we cannot simply assume that members of the Corinthian church were silencing women and had addressed their view on the behaviour of women in a letter.¹⁵¹ Additionally, Fee notes that “there is no precedent for such a long quotation that is also full of argumentation.”¹⁵² Indeed, the quotations scholars have identified in First Corinthians all contain fewer than fifteen words. However, 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 contains thirty-six Greek words. It thus seems too long to be a quotation. I suggest that if Paul were quoting a Corinthian statement, he would just have mentioned that “women should be silent in the churches” (1 Cor. 14:34), as this is what the thirty-six words are ultimately trying to convey. He would not have included the reference to the law or the suggestion that women are to ask their husbands anything they would like to know at home. Therefore, I contend that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 is not a quotation. The verses were either the words of Paul or a later Christian.

Supporters of the quotation theory also turn to 1 Corinthians 14:36 to defend their position. This verse contains the masculine plural *μόνους*, which can mean “men only.” The plural pronoun “you” (*ὁμᾶς*) is genderless when on its own. However, alongside *μόνους*, it becomes masculine and can translate as “you men.” Consequently, MacGregor reads 1 Corinthians 14:36 as, “Or did the word of God originate with you men, or to you men only has it come?”¹⁵³ He argues that since verses 34-35 specifically address women and verse 36

¹⁵⁰ Flanagan and Snyder, “Women in 1 Cor. 14:34-36,” 11, and MacGregor, “Pauline Quotation-Refutation Device,” 25.

¹⁵¹ Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 705.

¹⁵² Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 705.

¹⁵³ MacGregor, “Pauline Quotation-Refutation Device,” 25.

refers to men, Paul evidently sought to condemn the Corinthian men who claimed that women must remain silent in the churches.¹⁵⁴

However, it is significant to note that Greek writers used masculine forms when referring to groups featuring men and women. Therefore, ὑμεῖς could possibly mean “you people,” and ὑμεῖς μόνους could translate as “you people only.” MacGregor himself acknowledges that ὑμεῖς μόνους may not necessarily refer only to men. He recognises that verses 29-33 address the whole Corinthian church, and so if verses 34-35 were a later addition, ὑμεῖς μόνους would certainly mean “you people only.”¹⁵⁵ I thus contend that the Greek in 1 Corinthians 14:36 does not prove that verses 34-35 contain a Corinthian assertion. The verse can only support the quotation-refutation device theory if interpreted in a specific way.

2.9. The Significance of the Intrinsic Probabilities

My examination of the intrinsic probabilities is significant as it suggests that Paul did not author 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 as part of his first letter to the Corinthians. The verses do not fit well in the context of Paul’s writing as they interrupt the flow of his argument on orderly worship (1 Cor 14:26-40). Additionally, the reference to the law in verse 34 does not coincide with Paul’s use of the law elsewhere. There is also a clear contradiction between 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 and 1 Corinthians 11:5, in which Paul claims women can prophesy and thus speak in the assembly so long as they cover their heads. Moreover, the verses do not resemble the attitude toward women Paul presents elsewhere in his letters. In Romans 16, Paul speaks positively of women who are active in the Christian community and hold significant positions in the church. He also emphasises that men and women are equal in Christ (Gal. 3:28). Moreover, the verses are too long to be a quotation of a Corinthian

¹⁵⁴ MacGregor, “Pauline Quotation-Refutation Device,” 25.

¹⁵⁵ MacGregor, “Pauline Quotation-Refutation Device,” 25.

assertion. The intrinsic probabilities thus suggest that Paul may not have written 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 as an original part of First Corinthians.

Chapter 3: The Transcriptional Probabilities

Transcriptional probabilities relate to the tendencies of scribes and the various explanations for textual variants. Investigating how a text may have been altered can help determine the original reading. Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Anthony Hort comment that “the value of the evidence obtained from transcriptional probability is incontestable. Without its aid textual criticism could rarely attain any degree of security.”¹⁵⁶ This chapter will consider whether 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was transposed from one place to another or added in two places. It will also observe the development of Christian views of women in the generations after Paul and the similarities between 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 and 1 Timothy 2:11-14. This research will show whether it is reasonable to suppose that someone added 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 to Paul’s letter.

3.1. *Transposition or Addition*

There are a few possible explanations for the different positions of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 in ancient manuscripts. An important principle in textual criticism is that the version of a text that can best explain the emergence of all other forms is most likely the original.¹⁵⁷ In his commentary on First Corinthians, Fee suggests that either (1) Paul wrote the verses after verse 33 and they were transposed to after verse 40; (2) Paul wrote the verses after verse 40 and they were transposed to after verse 33; or (3) Paul did not author the verses, they were an early marginal gloss which was inserted into the letter at different locations.¹⁵⁸ Examining which of these explanations is most probable can help shed light on whether 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was an original part of First Corinthians or a later addition.

¹⁵⁶ Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Anthony Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1882), 1. 24.

¹⁵⁷ Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 699.

¹⁵⁸ Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 699.

Some scholars argue that Paul wrote 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 after verse 33, and a later editor transposed the verses to the end of the chapter. The most common explanation for the Western placement of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 after verse 40 is that someone deemed this position more appropriate. For example, James Hurley argues that “the transposition of 14:33b-35 is obviously for the purpose of easier reading.”¹⁵⁹ Similarly, Carson comments that “to put verses 34-35 after verse 40 is still to leave some awkwardness, but at least the awkwardness of breaking up what appears to be a cohesive unit of thought is alleviated.”¹⁶⁰ Alternatively, Ben Witherington argues that an editor moved the verses to after verse 40 as they “assumed that they were about household order, not order in worship.”¹⁶¹

The problem with the argument that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was transposed is that verses were not typically rearranged in manuscripts. While it was common for later editors to make minor word changes and rephrase clauses, they rarely transposed sections of text to improve the reading of passages.¹⁶² Not only was transposition uncommon, but there is no obvious explanation as to why someone would have moved the verses. Moving 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 to the end of the chapter does not significantly improve the sense and reading of the passage. Also, I agree with Fee that it is unlikely “someone in the early church would have been troubled by the placement of these words in the text, since all who do comment on it never speak to its placement as a difficulty.”¹⁶³ However, it is significant to acknowledge that although it was uncommon for verses to be transposed and that there is no apparent reason for the transposition, it remains possible that someone moved 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 for an unknown reason at some point. Therefore, I contend that the verses were possibly transposed

¹⁵⁹ James B. Hurley, *Man and Woman in Biblical Perspective* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1981), 185.

¹⁶⁰ Carson, “Silent in the Churches,” 143.

¹⁶¹ Ben Witherington III, *Conflict and Community in Corinth: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995), 288.

¹⁶² Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, 1. 24.

¹⁶³ Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 700.

from after verse 33 to after verse 40, but I do not think it is the most likely explanation for the two positions of the verses.

Another explanation for the different positions of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 is that the verses were a marginal note that was subsequently inserted into the main text of First Corinthians in two places.¹⁶⁴ Scholars who support this explanation suggest that at least two copies were made of the manuscript featuring the gloss. One scribe interpolated the verses after verse 33, yet someone else added them after verse 40. Certain factors may have led to the insertion of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 at these points. A scribe may have noticed that verse 28 and verse 30 contain commands relating to silence, so they added the gloss after verse 33 as it was the first point where another command about silence could fit. A different scribe may have added the verses after verse 40 as there is a break in the text. Therefore, scholars suggest that two traditions emerged, one with 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 after verse 33 and another with the verses after verse 40.¹⁶⁵

It was common for marginal notes to be interpolated into the main body of texts. In the Gospel of John, the author tells of a pool in Jerusalem that attracted many people suffering from illness or paralysis (Jn. 5:2-3). Some manuscripts contain an explanation as to why these people dwelled at the pool: “For an angel of the Lord went down from time to time into the pool and stirred up the water; whoever stepped in first after the stirring of the water was made well from whatever disease that person had” (Jn. 5:4). However, this verse is absent from several early manuscripts, such as $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$, $\aleph$, B, and D, and it appears in many different forms.¹⁶⁶ Zachary J. Cole argues that “John 5:4 appears to be an explanatory gloss

¹⁶⁴ Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 699, and Payne, *Man and Woman*, 230.

¹⁶⁵ Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 699, and Payne, *Man and Woman*, 230-231.

¹⁶⁶ Metzger, *Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 209.

by a later scribe who tried to add some detail that John appeared to leave out.”¹⁶⁷ Indeed the explanatory content of John 5:4 and its absence from notable manuscripts, suggests that someone likely wrote the verse in the margin of a manuscript. It was later interpolated into the main text.

Additionally, in most modern versions of the New Testament, 1 John 5:7-8 states, “There are three that testify: the Spirit and the water and the blood, and these three agree.” However, some manuscripts feature the *Comma Johanneum*, which is a statement that suggests that the Spirit, water, and blood signify the Trinity: “There are three that testify in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit” (1 Jn. 5:7).¹⁶⁸ This phrase is absent from all but four extant Greek manuscripts.¹⁶⁹ Metzger regards the *Comma Johanneum* as a gloss that “arose when the original passage was understood to symbolise the Trinity (through the mention of the three witnesses: the Spirit, the water, and the blood), and interpretation which may have been written first as a marginal note that afterward found its way into the text.”¹⁷⁰ Indeed, it seems plausible that someone reading 1 John 5:7-8 perceived the Spirit, water, and blood as representing the Trinity, so wrote the *Comma Johanneum* in the margin of a manuscript. The gloss was, at some point, inserted into the main text.

Since it was common for marginal notes to be interpolated into texts, it seems plausible that someone wrote 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 as a note in the margin of an early manuscript and the verses were subsequently inserted into the text of First Corinthians. One could suggest that someone added the marginal note after verse 33, and a later editor moved the verses to after verse 40. Yet, as aforementioned, verses were rarely transposed in New

¹⁶⁷ Zachary J. Cole, “Myths about Copyists: The Scribes who Copied our Earliest Manuscripts,” in *Myths and Mistakes in New Testament Textual Criticism*, ed. Elijah Hixson and Peter J. Gurry (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2019), 132-151 (146).

¹⁶⁸ KJV.

¹⁶⁹ Metzger, *Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 715.

¹⁷⁰ Metzger, *Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 715-716.

Testament manuscripts. Therefore, the most likely explanation for the different positions of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 is that someone wrote the verses in the margin of a manuscript which was then copied by at least two scribes. Those copying the manuscript inserted the gloss into the main text in different positions. Therefore, two traditions developed very early, one with the verses after verse 33 and one with the verses after verse 40. It is impossible to know for certain how 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 ended up in different positions. Nevertheless, the theory that the verses were a marginal note which was added to the text in different places seems the most likely explanation.

3.2. Post-Pauline Christian Attitudes Towards Women

There are thirteen letters in the Pauline corpus. However, biblical scholars often attribute just seven of these works to Paul and consider the other six pseudonymous. The majority of scholars agree that Paul did not author the pastoral epistles, which are 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus. There is also doubt concerning Paul's authorship of Ephesians, Colossians, and 2 Thessalonians. These six writings differ from the undisputed works of Paul in style, vocabulary, and theology.¹⁷¹ Many scholars suggest that the pseudo-Pauline epistles were composed during the latter part of the first century and the early part of the second century.¹⁷² Therefore, these writings can provide insight into how the early Christian church and community developed in the generations after Paul.

The letters to the Ephesians and Colossians indicate that post-Pauline Christians embraced traditional Greco-Roman household codes. These writings encourage Christian households to maintain a hierarchical and patriarchal structure. Ephesians 5:22-24 states, "Wives, be subject to your husbands as to the Lord, for the husband is the head of the wife

¹⁷¹ Bart D. Ehrman, *The New Testament: A Historical Introduction to the Early Christian Writings*, 6th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 438-457.

¹⁷² Parks, Sheinfeld, and Warren, *Jewish and Christian Women in the Ancient Mediterranean*, 291.

just as Christ is the head of the church. Just as the church is subject to Christ, so also wives ought to be, in everything, to their husbands.” Fiorenza comments that this “instruction to the wives... clearly reinforces the patriarchal marriage pattern and justifies it Christologically.”¹⁷³ Indeed, the verses imply that it is just as important for women to be subject to their husbands as it is for the church community to be subject to Christ. There is a similar instruction to wives in Colossians 3:18: “Wives, be subject to your husbands, as is fitting in the Lord.” The texts of Ephesians and Colossians thus show that Christians in the generations after Paul thought that wives should remain under the rule of their husbands (cf. 1 Cor. 7:1-16). I highlight that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 reflects this post-Pauline attitude toward women as the verses instruct women to be subordinate and silent in the churches.

Additionally, the pastoral epistles show that as the Christian church developed, it adopted a patriarchal structure. The letters suggest that men are to head their families and lead the “household of God” (1 Tim. 3:15). The instructions on appointing bishops and elders in 1 Timothy and Titus indicate that men are to fulfil these important roles, not women (1 Tim. 3:1-7, Tit. 1:6-9). The texts explain that those appointed must be the husband to one wife (1 Tim. 3:2, Tit. 1:6) and skilled at managing their household (1 Tim. 3:4, Tit. 1:6).¹⁷⁴ The pastoral epistles also assert that women should not teach or have authority over any man (1 Tim. 2:12). These writings thus indicate that by the second century, women held a subordinate position in the churches. Hays correctly comments that “there was a conscious effort to restrict the roles played by women in the first-generation Pauline churches.”¹⁷⁵ Since 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 limits the participation of women in the churches, it seems plausible

¹⁷³ Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 269.

¹⁷⁴ Winsome Munro, *Authority in Paul and Peter: The Identification of a Pastoral Stratum in the Pauline Corpus and 1 Peter* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 99.

¹⁷⁵ Richard B. Hays, *First Corinthians: Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2011), 247.

someone wrote the verses in the margin of a manuscript around the time the pastoral epistles were composed.

More significantly, 1 Timothy 2:11-14 shows that post-Pauline Christians thought women should remain silent during worship: “Let a woman learn in silence with full submission. I do not permit a woman to teach or to have authority over a man; she is to keep silent. For Adam was formed first, then Eve, and Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor.” There is an evident resemblance between this text and 1 Corinthians 14:34-35. They both present the verb ἐπιτρέπω (“to permit”) to emphasise that women are not permitted to speak.¹⁷⁶ Also, I note that the passages similarly refer to scripture to explain why women should remain silent. The reference to Genesis 2-3 in 1 Timothy 2:13-14 coincides with the appeal to the law in 1 Corinthians 14:34. These resemblances suggest the passages were written at a similar time. I thus propose that a post-Pauline Christian wrote 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 near the beginning of the second century and that the verses were not an original part of First Corinthians.

Some scholars suggest that the community of Christians who wrote the pastoral epistles also authored the assertion in 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 that women should not speak in church. In his commentary on First Corinthians, Hays argues that the “passage is best explained as a gloss introduced into the text by the second- or third-generation Pauline interpreters who compiled the pastoral epistles.”¹⁷⁷ Similarly, in *Authority in Paul and Peter*, Winsome Munro argues that the prohibition against women speaking in the churches in 1 Corinthians is a post-Pauline pastoral addition. She suggests that there was a “redactional

¹⁷⁶ Payne, *Man and Woman*, 262.

¹⁷⁷ Hays, *First Corinthians: Interpretation*, 247.

overworking of the Pauline letters” to imbue the writings with the character of the pastorals.¹⁷⁸

Other scholars suggest that it was not necessarily the composers of the pastoral epistles who added 1 Corinthians 14:34-35, but someone who knew of 1 Timothy 2:11-14 and supported the attitude towards women in the pastoral writings. For example, Fee suggests that a copyist added 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 as a marginal gloss to reconcile Paul’s letter with 1 Timothy 2.¹⁷⁹ Similarly, Victor Paul Furnish contends that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 “originated as the marginal notation of some later scribe who, recalling the instruction of 1 Timothy 2:11-12 and finding nothing comparable in 1 Corinthians, added a similar provision near the end of Paul’s discussion of Christian worship.”¹⁸⁰ Given the similarities between 1 Timothy 2:11-14 and 1 Corinthians 14:34-35, it seems possible that someone reading Paul’s instructions on orderly worship (1 Cor. 14:26-40) recalled the passage in 1 Timothy, so added a note claiming that women should remain silent in the churches. Alternatively, the opinion that women should not speak in the churches may have become so widespread that someone wrote 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 without specific knowledge of 1 Timothy 2:11-14.

3.3. *Reasons for Silencing Women in the Churches and Writing 1 Corinthians 14:34-35*

The apparent purpose of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 is to silence women in the churches. In the Greco-Roman world, women were commonly discouraged from speaking in public. In *Politics*, the Greek philosopher Aristotle writes that “silence gives grace to women.”¹⁸¹ Likewise, in his treatise on marriage, Plutarch emphasises that “a wife should speak only to her husband or through her husband.”¹⁸² He explains that “the words of a modest woman

¹⁷⁸ Munro, *Authority in Paul and Peter*, 19.

¹⁷⁹ Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 699.

¹⁸⁰ Victor Paul Furnish, *The Moral Teaching of Paul* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1979), 92.

¹⁸¹ Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 1.5.8 (64-65).

¹⁸² Plutarch, “Advice to the Bride and Groom,” in *Plutarch’s Advice to the Bride and Groom and A Consolation to His Wife: English Translations, Commentary, Interpretive Essays, and Bibliography*, ed. Sarah B. Pomeroy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 5-13 (10).

must never be public property. She should be shy with her speech as with her body, and guard it against strangers.”¹⁸³ Therefore, Christians around the beginning of the second century likely instructed women to remain silent in the churches to adhere to social norms and give their adversaries no reason to criticise them. 1 Timothy 5:14 (“...give the adversary no occasion to revile us”) shows that early Christians were concerned about their reputation and avoiding criticism. It is thus understandable why someone would have written 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 in the margin by Paul’s instructions of maintaining order in the churches.

Additionally, in the Greco-Roman world, religious movements that did not conform to social norms were often opposed. For example, the cult of Isis emancipated women by emphasising that they had equal power to men.¹⁸⁴ However, since it threatened Greco-Roman decency and patriarchy, the cult faced repeated opposition.¹⁸⁵ On five different occasions between 59 and 48 B.C.E., the Roman Senate ordered the destruction of the alters and statues belonging to the cult of Isis.¹⁸⁶ Also, in 28 B.C.E., the emperor Augustus banned the adoration of Egyptian gods, including Isis, within the Roman pomerium.¹⁸⁷ Following Augustus, emperor Tiberius suppressed the Isis cult in 19 C.E.¹⁸⁸ Given the opposition the cult of Isis faced for not conforming with traditional Greco-Roman patriarchy, it makes sense that Christians in the generations after Paul thought women should remain silent and subordinate and that someone wrote 1 Corinthians 14:34-35.

3.3. *The Significance of the Transcriptional Probabilities*

¹⁸³ Plutarch, “Advice to the Bride and Groom,” 9-10.

¹⁸⁴ James S. Jeffers, *The Greco-Roman World of the New Testament: Exploring the Background of Early Christianity* (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1999), 251.

¹⁸⁵ Elizabeth A. McCabe, *An Examination of the Isis Cult with Preliminary Exploration into New Testament Studies* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2008), 48.

¹⁸⁶ Horst R. Moehring, “The Persecution of the Jews and the Adherents of the Isis Cult at Rome A.D. 19,” *Novum Testamentum* 3, no. 4 (1959): 293-304 (293).

¹⁸⁷ McCabe, *Examination of the Isis Cult*, 46.

¹⁸⁸ Moehring, “The Persecution of the Jews and the Adherents of the Isis Cult,” 294.

My assessment of the transcriptional probabilities is significant as it demonstrates that it was uncommon for verses to be transposed in ancient manuscripts. Therefore, the most likely explanation for the different positions of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 is that the verses were first written in the margin of a manuscript and later added to the main text in two places. John 5:4 and 1 John 5:7-8 show that marginal comments were often interpolated into texts. Also, 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 presents a similar attitude toward women as the pseudo-Pauline epistles, and there are multiple similarities between these verses and 1 Timothy 2:11-14. Therefore, it seems likely that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 contains the words of a post-Pauline Christian, not those of Paul.

Conclusion

This study sought to resolve the textual problem of whether 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was an original part of First Corinthians or a later addition. It is evident that there is no one clear solution to the matter. Nevertheless, following my assessment of the textual evidence and consideration of different arguments, I conclude that Paul did not write 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 as part of his first letter to the Corinthians. I contend that an early Christian reader, possibly influenced by the attitude toward women in the pseudo-Pauline epistles and 1 Timothy 2:11-14, likely wrote the prohibition against women speaking in the churches in the margin of a manuscript for Paul's letter. It seems this manuscript was copied multiple times, and 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was inserted into the main text in different places. While one scribe added the verses after verse 33, someone else inserted the verses after verse 40.

Examining the external evidence revealed that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 features in all extant manuscripts containing Paul's first letter to the Corinthians. However, within the manuscript tradition, the verses appear in different locations and are sometimes accompanied by various markings. Therefore, the external evidence does not confirm whether 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 was an original part of Paul's letter or an addition. Nevertheless, the presence of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 in $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ and the writings of Tertullian and Origen show that the prohibition against women speaking in the churches was featured in manuscripts by the end of the second century.

Analysing the intrinsic probabilities highlighted that 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 does not fit well in the context of Paul's writing as the verses interrupt the flow of his argument on orderly worship (1 Cor 14:26-40). Also, the appeal to the law in 1 Corinthians 14:34 does not conform with Paul's typical use or understanding of the law. More significantly, the attitude toward women in 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 does not seem Pauline. In his writings, Paul

suggests that women can prophesy during worship (1 Cor. 11:5), have significant roles in the Christian church (Rom. 16), and that men and women are equal in Christ (Gal 3:28). Also, 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 seems too long to be a Corinthian quotation. Therefore, the intrinsic probabilities suggest that Paul likely did not write the prohibition against women speaking in the churches as part of First Corinthians.

Moreover, examining the transcriptional probabilities showed that the most likely explanation for the different locations of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 is that someone originally wrote the prohibition against women speaking in the churches in the margin of a manuscript. Those who copied this manuscript added the verses to Paul's letter in different positions. The examples of John 5:4 and 1 John 5:7-8 show that it was usual for those copying texts to integrate marginal notes. Additionally, the attitude toward women in 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 conforms with that in the pseudo-Pauline epistles, and the verses closely resemble 1 Timothy 2:11-14. Christians in the generations after Paul were also very concerned about conforming to Greco-Roman norms to avoid criticism and protect their reputation. Therefore, it seems highly probable that a Christian around the beginning of the second century authored 1 Corinthians 14:34-35.

The idea that Paul did not write 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 as part of his letter is significant as it means that Paul did not author either of the passages in the Pauline corpus that suggest women should remain silent and subordinate in the churches. Additionally, it would be mistaken to understand Paul as misogynist due to 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 and interpret what he states elsewhere in his letters through the lens of these non-Pauline verses. Moreover, this research shows that social attitudes toward women in the generations after Paul influenced the transmission of his writings. Therefore, biblical scholars should pay attention to other passages concerning women that may have been altered or interpolated.

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