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Regarding Women: Philo and Paul as Two Women in a Stoic World

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REGARDING WOMEN: PHILO AND PAUL AS TWO MEN IN A STOIC WORLD

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GEORGE FOX EVANGELICAL
SEMINARY IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
(THEOLOGICAL STUDIES)

BY
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PORTLAND, OREGON
FEBRUARY 2009

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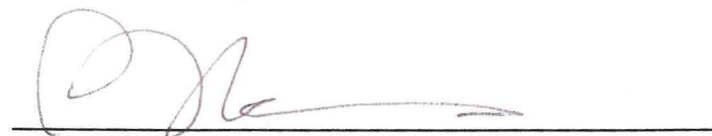
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We, the undersigned, certify that we have read this thesis and approve it as adequate in scope and quality for the degree of Master of Arts in Theological Studies.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Steve Delamarter", is written over a horizontal line.

(Steve Delamarter)

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Roger Nam", is written over a horizontal line.

(Roger Nam)

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the views and lives of Philo of Alexandria and the Apostle Paul in regard to women in creation, the fall of humanity, and life. Particularly, it looks at the influence of Stoic thought upon Philo's and Paul's view of women. We recognize that the common culture and thought of the time greatly shapes human beings and so we acknowledge the influence that Hellenization had upon these men. They utilized the accepted philosophies of their time to develop their theologies and teach their audiences. We address the low philosophical view of women held in Greek philosophy. However, we will also note the times when the men discard or transcend Stoic thought, demonstrating Judaic, Christian, or a practical value for women. We find this in Philo's writings on the Therapeutae. For Paul, this is demonstrated in his respect for and relationships with various women in ministry, as well as his transcendence of Stoic thought in the household codes.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To John and family and Dr. Steve Delamarter: I could not have done this thesis without your support, encouragement, and critiques! Thank you to my second reader, Dr. Roger Nam. I would also like to thank the staff at George Fox Evangelical Seminary for all that they have taught me over the past two and a half years. Dr. MaryKate Morse, Dr. Steve Delamarter, Dr. Dan Brunner, Dr. Larry Shelton, Dr. Randy Woodley, and Dr. Kent Yinger, you have taught me to be sharper and braver. From my husband, I have learned to love. From my family, you have taught me to live. To my dear friends who are like family, you are so many colors of God! From you all I see more and more.

“Now to him who by the power at work within us is able to accomplish abundantly far more than all we can ask or imagine, to him be glory in the church and in Christ Jesus to all generations, forever and ever. Amen” (Eph 3:20-1 NRSV).

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Philo and Paul were two men who lived in the same world. Philo lived c. 20 C.E.-50 C.E.¹ Paul's life is more difficult to date, but it is thought that he was martyred between c. 64-67 C.E.² They were contemporaries. Because of the relationship of some of Paul's writings to those of Philo, it has been argued by various scholars that Paul may have found inspiration and/or influence from Philo's writings.³ Philo was of Alexandria⁴ and Paul was of Tarsus --a traveling missionary in his later years, after his call to Christianity.⁵

Both men were a part of their Hellenized culture and sought to contextualize their faith to their audiences. Philo sought to demonstrate the superiority of Judaism, by demonstrating that it was the epitome of Greek philosophy. Through his writings, he urged his readers to live rational, moral lives, offering to them the keys to avoiding a pleasure-driven life. Philo showed the people who God was through Greek philosophy, as this was the accepted and revered way of thinking.⁶ Quite quickly, Philo's ability to contextualize his culture to his theology gained the audience of the early church, whereas Jews were not to take notice of his work until the 16th century.⁷ Paul's goal was to help his audience, Jews and Gentiles, understand the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Paul's goal

¹ William Fairweather, *Jesus and the Greeks* (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924), 164.

² Raymond E. Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament*. The Anchor Bible Reference Library (NY: Doubleday, 1997), 436.

³ Craig. A. Evans, *Noncanonical Writings and New Testament Interpretation* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1992), 84.

⁴ Samuel Sandmel, *Philo of Alexandria: An Introduction* (NY: Oxford U., 1979), 54-55.

⁵ John McRay, *Paul: His Life and Teaching* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2003), 21-22.

⁶ Larry R. Helyer, *Exploring Jewish Literature of the Second Temple Period: A Guide for New Testament Students* (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity, 2002), 334.

⁷ Helyer, 334.

appeared to be to practically navigate the concerns, misunderstandings, and problems of the new church, wisely adapting to each situation as he saw fit.⁸ Philo's goals and teachings were practical, as well. He married Greek philosophy to his extensive understanding and knowledge of the Pentateuch and shared this with educated Alexandrian Jews. From Philo's writings, the Jews could know how to live in their Hellenized world.⁹

Philo and Paul lived in a Hellenized culture with its Greek philosophy,¹⁰ and like all people, were affected by the ideas and mores of their time. Thus, in this thesis, we will explore to what extent Philo's and Paul's theologies of women in creation and the fall of humanity were affected by their Hellenized culture. What we will show is that Greek philosophers often had a very negative view of women and that this is seen in the way Philo and Paul wrote about women. But we will also recognize that although inequality between men and women was the societal norm,¹¹ Philo and Paul may have found it difficult to actualize these norms in all circumstances. For although they used the common categories of thought for their time, they also used concepts that are distinctly Jewish and Christian, demonstrating that they were not completely congruent in their categories of thought and the way they treated, lived, and spoke of women in other situations. Finally, it will be argued that Philo and Paul were really not so different in their views and theology of women, for they both came from the same Hellenized world and they both utilized Hellenized concepts, at times, in their writings. However, we will also note that both men, although using Stoic categories in their theological

⁸ John McRay, *Paul: His Life and Teaching* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2003), 45.

⁹ Helyer, 312.

¹⁰ Helyer, 311;334.

¹¹ John T. Bristow, *What Paul Really Said About Women: An Apostle's Liberating Views on Equality in Marriage, Leadership, and Love* (San Francisco: Harper, 1988), 24.

interpretations of women in creation and the fall of humanity, also used other lines of thought, not being completely bound to Stoicism. They utilized Stoic rhetoric in various situations to express their ideas, but some of their ideas transcended Stoic boundaries, being uniquely Jewish and/or Christian.

CHAPTER 2

PHILO ON WOMEN IN CREATION, THE FALL, AND LIFE

Background on Philo

Philo of Alexandria was a Jewish man who lived in a Hellenized world; his life, philosophies, and writings, reflect his choice to fuse two cultures: Judaism and Hellenism. At a time when Jews were living in the Diaspora, Philo sought to show the Hellenized world and Jews that Judaism was intelligent and logical; the epitome of Greek philosophy.¹² To his people, he synthesized the Greek ideals and philosophies, using midrashic discourse, biblical exegesis, and a homiletic style; melding Greek thought to his great understanding of the Pentateuch, to teach his people philosophy and religion; to teach his people how to live in their world.¹³

Philo's thoughts reflected his current Hellenistic culture: he wrote in Greek, not Hebrew, the language of his people. There is little evidence that he knew Hebrew. His only use of the language was to demonstrate the etymology of various Hebrew names from the Scriptures. Yet, he clearly spent much time in the Septuagint, demonstrating a deep knowledge of the Scriptures and an understanding for Jewish midrash interpretation. His audience was likely educated, Greek speaking, Alexandrian Jews.¹⁴

He was born c. 20 C.E. and died c. 50 C.E.¹⁵ During his short life-time, he wrote a great number of brilliant works, expressing an originality and lucidity in his musings, as well as a high value of the Father God and morality. For these qualities of brilliant

¹² Sandmel, 54-55.

¹³ Erwin R. Goodenough, *An Introduction to Philo Judaeus*, 2nd ed., ed. Jacob Neusner (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1962), 35.

¹⁴ Goodenough, 10.

¹⁵ Fairweather, 164.

writing and values that were important to Christianity, as well as his ability to contextualize to the revered philosophy of the times, the Christian world would embrace his works soon after his death.¹⁶ It was not until the sixteenth century that the wider Jewish community would recognize his worth.¹⁷ And as Helyer describes, “Though forced by necessity and a sense of duty to fulfill throughout his adult life civic responsibilities to the Jewish community as well as the larger Gentile community of Alexandria, his real love was the pursuit of integrating faith and learning.”¹⁸

Philo on Women in the Creation and the Fall of Humanity: An Introduction

Philo, using his great knowledge of the Pentateuch and his immersion to Greek philosophy, interprets Genesis 1-3 on the subjects of women in creation and the fall of humanity. His main works include: *On Account of the World's Creation* and *Questions and Answers on Genesis*. Other works, such as *The Life of Moses* and *Allegories* also contain portions of insight that reflect his viewpoints on women in creation and the fall of humanity. However, we shall focus upon *On Account of the World's Creation* and *Questions and Answers on Genesis*, as these describe in detail his central themes of the passage, offering a good generalization of his reflections.¹⁹ After exploring these Philonic writings, we will delve more deeply into how his Greek philosophies affected his perception of women in these passages, just as we will see in the following chapter that Stoicism affected Paul's view of women. We will look at Philo's Stoic concept of a

¹⁶ Kenneth Schenk, *A Brief Guide to Philo* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2005), 1-3.

¹⁷ Peder Borgen. “Philo of Alexandria,” in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, ed. Michael E. Stone., 233-282, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 280.

¹⁸ Helyer, 312.

¹⁹ Schenk, 14-16.

gender gradient²⁰ and his view of the two Adams and the creation of Eve in order to help us understand why Philo viewed women in the way that he did. We will also discuss whether or not Philo was able to actualize his Stoic philosophies on women, making the conclusion that he, at times, deviated from his Stoic categories of thought. This will become clear as we consider his high regard for the Therapeutae women in *The Contemplative Life*²¹ and as we consider his life situation.

Philo on the Creation of Eve (and the Two Adams)

Regarding the addition of woman to the world, Philo writes,

But since no created thing is constant, and things mortal are necessarily liable to changes and reverses, it could not but be that the first man too should experience some ill fortune. And woman becomes for him the beginning of blameworthy life.²²

And from this opening we begin to understand Philo's Stoic views of women and creation and the fall. The creation of woman was the fall of man, or as Philo words it, "the beginning of blameworthy (υπαίτιου)²³ life."²⁴ Philo interprets Genesis 2:7 in light of Plato's Stoic creation story of the first person.²⁵ Plato believed that the first man was asexual, a being made up of male and female. God took a side of Adam, splitting the whole person into two parts. So one side was masculine and one side was feminine. And these two sides were purely spiritual. Before woman was made, man lived in an ideal

²⁰ Gender gradient is a concept to be defined later in the chapter.

²¹ Philo Judaeus, *The Contemplative Life*, vol. 9 of *Philo of the Loeb Classical Library*, trans. F.H. Colson and ed. G.P. Goold (1941; repr., London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1985), 113-115.

²² Philo Judaeus, *On Account of the World's Creation*, vol. 1 of *Philo of the Loeb Classical Library*, trans. F.H. Colson and G.H. Whitaker, ed. G.P. Goold (1929; repr., London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1991), 119.

²³ Philo *On Account of the World's Creation* 118.

²⁴ Philo *On Account of the World's Creation* 119.

²⁵ Arkady Kovelman, "Continuity and change in Hellenistic Jewish Exegesis and in Early Rabbinic Literature," *Review of Rabbinic Judaism* 7 (2004): 133.

state as a purely spiritual being. When woman was made, and the two sides were split, becoming two persons of the opposite gender, they became more sensually oriented.²⁶ The ideal man was the spiritual man. The fallen man was the one who desired pleasure as the result of a woman.

Further, Philo believed that two Adams were created, one in Genesis 1 and the other in Genesis 2. The first man, who was created in Genesis 1, was the one created in the image of God. He is the perfect, spiritual man, the “heavenly man”.²⁷ God breathed into him intellect, His own image. This man remains the archetype of perfection. The second man created in Genesis 2 is a second Adam. This second Adam’s *mind* was made in the image of God, but not his body. He is from the dust, whereas the heavenly man is from the breath of God. And this second Adam gave into desires of a sensual nature.²⁸ We will find relationships between Philo and Paul on this concept of two Adams in the later chapters. For now, we recognize Philo’s use of Stoic concepts and categories to understand the creation and the fall stories and the place of woman in that story. Later, we will see that although Philo uses Stoic categories, his concepts of women are *not* completely Stoic. We learn that his use of Stoic categories is a path to further his audience’s understanding of Jewish thought.

Philo’s On Account of the World’s Creation

We find a number of themes in Philo’s, *On Account of the World’s Creation*, that express his Stoic views on women. (1) The main idea of the text is that Eve, representing

²⁶ Kovelmann, 134.

²⁷ Craig. A. Evans, *Noncanonical Writings and New Testament Interpretation* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1992), 84.

²⁸ Helyer, 328.

the emotions/desires, causes the mind of man, Adam, to fall. She is deceived by the serpent, which represents pleasure.²⁹ Other themes include (2) Philo's idea of gender differences: males are naturally ruled by their mind and women are naturally ruled by their emotions. Therefore, women are less intelligent and noble. (3) Sexual desire is dangerous when not for procreation and is a problem brought by woman. (4) Marriage is for procreation, love, affection, and connection. 5) Yet, pleasure is a problem, as a whole.³⁰ Philo's assumption seems to be that woman is made less in the image of God than man.³¹

In Philo's, *On the Account of the World's Creation*, a commentary both allegorical and literal,³² he explains how humanity's fall began. Eve, who was weak in the mind, called inward senses (λόγον ὁ νοῦς),³³ and ruled by her feelings and desires, called outward senses (αἰσθήσεις),³⁴ believes the deceptive serpent, who represents pleasure. Eve then leads astray her husband, who, although stronger in the inward senses, falls to his wife's plea for pleasure. From here, humanity becomes flawed. Death has come as a result of Eve's seduction to pleasure; her deception, towards which her weakness of mind has led her. And now Adam, who represents the inward senses, has a fallen mind. He too has fallen to sexual seduction and is no longer the innocent being he once was.³⁵

Philo's overarching theme in these two works, of inward versus outward senses, is a central concept in all of his writings that give attention to the fall of humanity and to

²⁹ Sandmel, 54-55.

³⁰ Philo *On Account of the World's Creation* 125-126.

³¹ Helyer, 322.

³² Sandmel, 32.

³³ Philo *On Account of the World's Creation* 130.

³⁴ Philo *On Account of the World's Creation* 130.

³⁵ Philo *On Account of the World's Creation* 120.

women. He says, “ἐν ἡμῖν γὰρ ἀνδρὸς μὲν ἔχει λόγον ὁ νοῦς, γυναικὸς δ’ αἰσθησίς...”³⁶ This reads: “in us mind corresponds to man, the senses to woman...”³⁷ Humanity falls to pleasure, represented by the serpent.³⁸ They succumb to their outward senses, which are weakened because the inward senses (the mind) have fallen.³⁹ Women, especially, are weak in their inward senses, prone to being emotional, fainting, and a lack of sound judgment; ruled by their desires, their outward senses. Men, too, are weakened in their inward senses by the fall, and must beware of being ruled by their passions: women can make them fall, for they are weak-minded, more irrational.⁴⁰ Man’s first guilt was for following the woman and giving into sensual pleasure.

Therefore, we see two other themes that emerge from Philo’s overarching theme of the fall of the mind (inward sense) to the passions (outward sense). The first is that the fault of the fall rests upon Eve, the woman. The second is a paradigm of gender differences: men are more intelligent, sensible, morally upright, and less prone to seeking pleasure (ἡδονή),⁴¹ than women. Women are less intelligent, reasonable, and noble, slipping more easily into a search for pleasure. As Philo says, “...for in us mind corresponds to man, the senses to woman; and pleasure encounters and holds parley with the senses first, and through them cheats with her quackeries the sovereign mind itself.”⁴² Yet, Philo has hope for men, that they may, in this lifetime, do their best to master their

³⁶ Philo *On Account of the World’s Creation* 130.

³⁷ Philo *On Account of the World’s Creation* 131.

³⁸ Philo *On Account of the World’s Creation* 125-126.

³⁹ Philo *On Account of the World’s Creation* 131.

⁴⁰ Philo *On Account of the World’s Creation* 131.

⁴¹ Philo *On Account of the World’s Creation* 130.

⁴² Philo *On Account of the World’s Creation* 131.

outward sense with their inward sense. Thus, there is still a part of man's mind that holds divine reason, which comes from God.⁴³

Other themes include the concept that pleasure of the body is dangerous. It leads to "...the beginning of wrongs and violation of law, the pleasure for the sake of which men bring on themselves the life of mortality and wretchedness in lieu of that of immortality and bliss."⁴⁴ As well, "Pleasure does not venture to bring her wiles and deceptions to bear on man, but on the woman, and by her means on him."⁴⁵ Philo's writing here implies that women are more apt to fall to pleasure. But marriage between men and women is necessary as a whole; it brings love, affection, connection, and procreation.⁴⁶ As Philo writes, "Love supervenes, brings together and fits into one the divided halves, as it were, of a single living creature, and sets up in each of them a desire for fellowship with the other with a view to the production of their like."⁴⁷ Philo's reflection that marriage does bring these positive qualities is one of the places we see him *not* using Stoic concepts. However, despite this, Philo finds ideal the ability to abstain from sensual desires.⁴⁸

Philo takes up a considerable amount of space discussing the problem of pleasure; it is an errant focus of men not ruled by their inward, but by their outward sense. He finds desire between man and woman to cause "...bodily pleasure, that pleasure which is the beginning of wrongs and violation of law."⁴⁹ Further than the problem of pleasure, Eve's creation is blamed to be the beginning of man's fall for pleasure, as she awakens in him

⁴³ Sandmel, 54.

⁴⁴ Philo *On Account of the World's Creation* 121.

⁴⁵ Philo *On Account of the World's Creation* 131.

⁴⁶ Philo *On Account of the World's Creation* 121.

⁴⁷ Philo *On Account of the World's Creation* 121.

⁴⁸ Philo *On Account of the World's Creation* 121.

⁴⁹ Philo *On Account of the World's Creation* 121.

sexual desire. We see Philo digress from Judaism in his viewpoint that the body is bad and the spirit/mind is good. Here we see Philo's adoption of Hellenistic thought, that is, dualism, into his Jewish theology.⁵⁰ He viewed man's desire for sexual pleasure as resulting from the creation of the woman. This brought man's downfall.⁵¹ As Horowitz says, "Philo saw the union of first man with first woman as a departure from man's previous clinging to God."⁵² This viewpoint, then, was a divergence from the view that became common in later rabbinic literature, that man and woman together completed the image of God.⁵³

Philo finds Eve's lack of sense to question the serpent to be a sin, in and of itself.

He writes:

It is said that in olden time the venomous earthborn crawling thing could send forth a man's voice, and that one day it approached the wife of the first man and upbraided her for her irresoluteness and excessive scrupulosity in delaying and hesitating to pluck a fruit most beauteous to behold and most luscious to taste, and most useful into the bargain, since by its means she would have power to recognize things good and evil. It is said that she, without looking into the suggestion, prompted by a mind devoid of steadfastness and firm foundation, gave her consent and ate of the fruit, and gave some of it to her husband; this instantly brought them out of a state of simplicity and innocence into one of wickedness: whereat the Father in anger appointed for them the punishments that were fitting.⁵⁴

From this point, Philo sees that Adam and Eve have lost the opportunity for perfection of virtue, which would have led to a happy, long life, but now they would live a short life, full of heartache and struggle, which is a worthy recompense for their sin. Before their sin (and before woman's creation), Philo saw that man's life was full, in a

⁵⁰ Maryanne C. Horowitz, "The Image of God in Man –Is Woman Included?" *Harvard Theological Review* 72, no. 3-4 (July-October, 1979): 193.

⁵¹ Horowitz, 192.

⁵² Horowitz, 192.

⁵³ Horowitz, 192.

⁵⁴ Philo *On Account of the World's Creation* 124-125.

garden of trees and plants with souls and reason that produced fruits of virtue, where there was no sickness or corruption in the world.⁵⁵ The first man's life was beautiful and spiritual before the first woman was created. These philosophically low views of women come from Philo's Stoic influences.

The Ills to Befall Humankind

Humanity is now doomed to become "...slaves to a passion grievous and hard to heal at once had experience of the wages paid by Pleasure (ἡδονης)."⁵⁶⁵⁷ The woman's punishment is to experience great "travail pains,"⁵⁸ such as those in childbirth. She will experience trouble in raising children and in the sicknesses of herself and those whom she loves. According to Philo, this suffering is the "deprivation of liberty, and the authority of the husband at her side, whose commands she must perforce obey."⁵⁹ So she is subject to her husband, the woes of life, and pain in childbearing.

The man's punishment relates to the earth and toil. He now has to work hard for food. The earth requires constant work in order to produce sustenance.⁶⁰ This is a common understanding of the man's curse, throughout history of Jewish and Christian interpretation.

⁵⁵ Philo *On Account of the World's Creation* 121.

⁵⁶ Philo *On Account of the World's Creation* 132.

⁵⁷ Philo *On Account of the World's Creation* 133.

⁵⁸ Philo *On Account of the World's Creation* 133.

⁵⁹ Philo *On Account of the World's Creation* 133.

⁶⁰ Philo *On Account of the World's Creation* 133-135.

All humanity is doomed to a short life of troubles in which they may or may not fall prey to their desire for pleasure (ἡδονῆς)⁶¹. They are subject to death physically and spiritually. And all of it was the woman's fault.

Questions and Answers on Genesis

Philo's, *Questions and Answers on Genesis*, is found in an Armenian translation.⁶² The original book in Greek was divided into six books, but the Armenian translation contains a mere four.⁶³ Only portions of the Greek text have been discovered, therefore, it is the later Armenian translation that is utilized. This portion of text is one of the six parts of Philo's, *The Allegory*, containing readings that overlap in content with *Questions and Answers on Genesis*.⁶⁴

Philo writes in the style of commentary, going verse by verse. He offers both a literal and an allegorical, mystical understanding for parts of the books of *Genesis* and *Exodus*.⁶⁵ We will be focusing upon Genesis chapter three, the fall of humankind.

As Philo wrote in, *On Account of the World's Creation*, (1) he sees the world before the fall as perfect and people without pride. He says that they were naked and not ashamed because of this, "...because of the simplicity of their morals and because they were by nature without arrogance; for not yet had presumption been created."⁶⁶ He also thought they were naked because the climate before the fall of the world was mild

⁶¹ Philo *On Account of the World's Creation* 132.

⁶² Schenk, 15-16.

⁶³ Schenk, 15-16.

⁶⁴ Sandmel, 79.

⁶⁵ Goodenough, 49.

⁶⁶ Philo Judaeus, *Questions and Answers on Genesis*, vol. 11 of *Philo of the Loeb Classical Library*. trans. from the Ancient Ralph Marcus and ed. G.P. Goold. (1953; rep. London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1981), 18.

enough to do no harm to them and that all creation is naked in its own way. Lastly, they needed no clothing because “they suffered no harm from any of its parts, it being closely related to them.”⁶⁷ The world was safe for them. (2) After the fall, the soul was filled with sin. One of the results of this sin was that humanity could no longer understand all languages. As well, they were likely larger in proportion and had stronger and more acute minds for learning and philosophy before the fall.⁶⁸ Philo includes his views of the world before the fall to help his readers understand the juxtaposition of what was (pre-fall) and what now (post-fall) exists; what the world was like before Eve brought sin.

Another question that Philo answers in his question and answer style commentary is why the serpent went to deceive the woman, rather than the man. He says,

And woman is more accustomed to be deceived than man. For his judgment, like his body, is masculine and is capable of dissolving or destroying the designs of deception; but the judgment of woman is more feminine, and because of softness she easily gives way and is taken in by plausible falsehoods which resemble the truth.⁶⁹

He goes on to say that she should have seen the serpent’s nature, but she was blinded by her “more feminine mind,”⁷⁰ Eve’s sin, by these words, was her feminine mind, which led her to deception. Here, as in *On Account of the World’s Creation*, we find this theme of sin being the fault of Eve and woman as having a more easily deceived mind, as she is weak in her inward sense, the mind.⁷¹ Philo’s use of inward and outward senses as a description of male and female is a Stoic concept to be explored shortly.

⁶⁷ Philo *Questions and Answers on Genesis* 18.

⁶⁸ Philo *Questions and Answers on Genesis* 19.

⁶⁹ Philo *Questions and Answers on Genesis* 20.

⁷⁰ Philo *Questions and Answers on Genesis* 20.

⁷¹ Philo *Questions and Answers on Genesis* 28.

Philo's Stoic View of Women

It is difficult here to characterize Philo's view of women as anything other than a "philosophically low view of women," and for the purposes of our study we will employ this label to characterize his view. He views women as bearers of the lesser sense, the outward sense, and this might best be understood by his overall conceptions of gender. Colleen Conway argues that Philo's operating view of the cosmos is hierarchical. Gender is understood as a "fluid, shifting, and relative category."⁷² Conway further states that,

Likewise, he operates with a conception of divinity that is fluid, shifting, and relative. In fact, Philo's sense of the divine/human scale is integrally linked to his sense of a male/female gradient. At the same time one became more or less of a man, one became more or less divine with respect to other creatures.⁷³

Philo's low philosophical view of woman, influenced by his use of Stoic categories of thought, contributes to his understanding of blame upon the woman for the first sin. He has obtained these views from his Stoic background. His understanding of the gender gradient, as described by Conway, is a "universal principle" amongst the educated Hellenistic world in which he lived and drew influence for his philosophies.⁷⁴ We will use Conway's description of a "gender gradient" in the future to describe Philo's understanding of the male and female upon a continuum. The gender gradient, then, can be described as a continuum where the masculine represents the more divine, rational side of the continuum and the feminine represents the lesser side. The lesser side is less divine, less rational, and more pleasure-seeking. A male can be more masculine, and thus more divine/rational. A male can also move towards the feminine end of the gradient,

⁷² Colleen Conway, "Gender and Divine Relativity in Philo of Alexandria," *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 34, no. 4 (2003): 473.

⁷³ Conway, 473.

⁷⁴ Conway, 473.

becoming more feminine and thus less divine/rational. A female, as well, can move up or down Philo's gender gradient, theoretically.⁷⁵

In Philo's culture, the view of biological sex was that the perfect male human was the superior of all of the species and below him were levels of other less perfect/complete males and even further below this was the female human who was the imperfect and incomplete version of man. Below the female human was the rest of the animal kingdom.⁷⁶ As Aristotle once said, "In human beings the male is much hotter in nature than the female... It is due to this... that the perfecting of the female embryos is inferior to that of male ones, (since their uterus is inferior in condition)."⁷⁷ The physician, Galen, in the second century C.E., after Philo, but affected by Stoic categories, demonstrates this theory in his writing, as well, saying, "Now just as mankind is the most perfect of all animals, so within mankind the man is more perfect than the woman, and the reason for his perfection is his excess of heat, for heat is Nature's primary instrument."⁷⁸ Conway explains Galen's viewpoint as the male's reproductive organs being properly heated, while the females are not.⁷⁹ Aristotle and Galen viewed woman as by nature formed in an inferior fashion.⁸⁰ Further, with respect to Philo and others' Hellenistic viewpoints on gender, they spoke of changing male to female not as an anatomical transformation, but as males taking on female virtues. To be more masculine meant to quit vices and override female-labeled characteristics. One of the most important virtues was self-control and the

⁷⁵ Conway, 473-474.

⁷⁶ Conway, 474.

⁷⁷ Aristotle, *On the Generation of Animals*, trans. Arthur Platt, vol. 5 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), under "Book IV, 1," <http://etext.library.adelaide.edu.au/a/aristotle/generation/book4.html> (accessed November 26, 2008).

⁷⁸ Galen, *On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body*, trans. Margaret T. May, vol. 1 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell U., 1968), 2.630.

⁷⁹ Conway, 474.

⁸⁰ Conway, 474.

ability to lead others into self-control. Lustful desire and “unbridled sexual passion”⁸¹ were viewed as female characteristics. Characteristics like “courage, honor, justness, and scorn of luxury were important indicators of masculinity.”⁸² Without these qualities a man was moving towards a more feminine place along the continuum of the gender gradient. He was soft, effeminate, and so possessing a corrupted spirit.⁸³ Feminine behavior was passive. Male behavior was active. Philo, then, as a whole, viewed ignoble characteristics and the lower parts of the soul as female faults. A woman could only achieve more nobility by becoming more male-like. Virginity, manliness, and spirituality were all viewed in relationship to maleness. From woman came sexual degradation. It was woman’s creation that first awakened sexual desire in male man, causing negative results, as mentioned earlier.⁸⁴

We will take a brief look at a passage from Philo’s *Questions and Answers on Exodus*. This will further help us to understand his Stoic viewpoints adopted from men like Aristotle. He states:

For progress is indeed nothing else than the giving up of the female gender by changing into the male, since the female gender is material, passive, corporeal and sense-perceptible, while the male is active, rational, incorporeal and more akin to mind and thought.⁸⁵

From this passage is found the understanding that human hierarchy within gender is active. To become more pious is to become more masculine.⁸⁶ Therefore, Philo viewed

⁸¹ Conway, 474.

⁸² Conway, 479.

⁸³ Conway, 479.

⁸⁴ Horowitz, 191-192.

⁸⁵ Philo Judaeus, *Questions and Answers on Exodus*. vol. 12 of *Philo*, Supplement 2 of the Loeb Classical Library. trans. from the Ancient Armenian Version of the Original Greek by Ralph Marcus and ed. G.P. Goold. (1953; repr., London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1987), 15-16, 1.8.

⁸⁶ Conway, 479.

women as lowly males and this affected his interpretations of creation and the fall of humanity.

Answering the question of why the woman was the first to touch and eat of the fruit and the man afterwards, Philo answers, "According to the literal meaning, the priority (of the woman) is mentioned with emphasis. For it was fitting that man should rule over immortality and everything good, but woman over death and everything vile."⁸⁷ Here, again, we have a case of Philo's philosophical view of gender, passed to him by the Stoics. There is a low philosophical view of woman and blame placed upon females in general. Philo's Stoic views on women are further witnessed whenever he discusses why Adam was the one to speak first, saying, "It was the more imperfect and ignoble element, the female, that made a beginning of transgression and lawlessness, while the male made the beginning of reverence and modesty and all good, since he was better and more perfect."⁸⁸ According to the Stoic understanding of women, women are the cause of sin because they are the less perfect creature.

As for woman's lack of intelligence, Philo answers the question of why God asks Adam the question of "Where art thou?"⁸⁹ in Genesis 3:9 and not the woman. He says,

But the woman he did not consider it fitting to question, although she was the beginning of evil and led him (man) into a life of vileness. But this passage also has a more apt allegory. For the sovereign and ruling element in man, having reason, when it listens to anyone, introduces the vice of the female part also, that is, perception."⁹⁰

According to Philo, the woman simply did not have the rationality required to answer God's question. This is why God spoke to Adam and not Eve.

⁸⁷ Philo *Questions and Answers on Genesis* 22-23.

⁸⁸ Philo *Questions and Answers on Genesis* 25.

⁸⁹ Philo *Questions and Answers on Genesis* 25.

⁹⁰ Philo *Questions and Answers on Genesis* 26.

In terms of the curses, Philo believed that the order of who is cursed (serpent, woman, and then man) is a perfect allegory of a fall to pleasure: snake as pleasure, the woman, with her outward sense is seduced by pleasure, and finally man listens to his outward, rather than inward sense. Thus, the final fall of the mind occurs. In literal terms, the snake is the perpetrator for the overall fall of humanity, so his curse is first. According to Philo, The woman's curse, is not so much a "curse," but a natural part of life: "This experience comes to every woman who lives together with a man. It is (meant) not as a curse but as a necessity."⁹¹

Philo's theme of outward versus inward senses is again accentuated in this work. He says,

In the allegorical sense, however, woman is a symbol of sense, and man, of mind. Now of necessity sense comes into contact with the sense-perceptible; and by the participation of sense, things pass into the mind; for sense is moved by objects, while the mind is moved by sense.⁹²

Philo continues this theme of outward versus inward further in his commentary.

Once again, as well, we see Philo's views that passion and pleasure are negative. "...the movement of pleasure seems to be somewhat slippery and smooth..."⁹³ He explains their reason for hiding from God in the garden as a figurative statement demonstrating man's running to his sensuality and wickedness for refuge.⁹⁴ In this comment, is the underlying result of woman's sin; it brought man's sin. Adam can now have female characteristics applied to him in his Stoic paradigm of the "gender

⁹¹ Philo *Questions and Answers on Genesis* 28.

⁹² Philo *Questions and Answers on Genesis* 22.

⁹³ Philo *Questions and Answers on Genesis* 24.

⁹⁴ Philo *Questions and Answers on Genesis* 25.

gradient.”⁹⁵ Man can give into his outward sense, leading to the fall of his inward sense, the mind.

Conclusions on Philo's Works related to Women in Creation and the Fall

Philo's views of the fall are allegorical and literal in *On Account of the World's Creation* and *Questions and Answers on Genesis*. Before the fall (and the creation of woman), the world held no sickness, enmity, or doubtful virtue. Yet, the creation of the woman brought a weakness: her gender is more easily prone to following her emotions, rather than her intelligence. And the intelligent man's guilt is that he followed her, a weak-minded woman. The woman was seduced by pleasure, the serpent. Therein we see this theme of pleasure beguiling the outward senses, which lead to the fall of the inward senses. Humanity receives its curses, woman to be subject to her husband and pains in childbirth and life, man to an enmity with the earth.

Man must now fight to attain and maintain virtue, which he can have through the divine spark of intelligence that he was born to own, as long as he does not fall prey to the weakness of his emotions or that of a woman's, which will lead to the destruction that desire for pleasure brings. And these interpretations of the Genesis passages we find to be made through Philo's Stoic lens, his purposeful appropriation of Greek philosophy to Judaism.

Philo and Women

What we have in Philo thus far is a philosophical position with regard to the capacities of the genders. And it is clear that Philo's philosophical system reflected a low

⁹⁵ Conway, 473.

view of women's capacity for virtue. What we cannot do from his writings alone is substantiate the radical claim that Philo was a practicing misogynist. We will take care to maintain the distinction between philosophical position and day-by-day practice, both here in our discussion of Philo and later in our discussion of Paul.

We have very little evidence of how Philo treated the women in his life, although we do know that he was likely married.⁹⁶ But from Philo's *On the Contemplative Life*, we do have his writings on the Therapeutae, a sect of Jewish monastic women who belonged to an ascetic community. The name, Therapeutae (θεραπεύται), originates with the meaning of healing from the word, θεραπεύω, but Philo meant it more in the sense of worshippers.⁹⁷ These women were said to, "...participate fully in the sect's life of study, prayer, and contemplation."⁹⁸ It is uncertain whether or not this ascetic community was real or a product of Philo's inspired idealistic society.⁹⁹ Philo describes this community of women as such:

I have discussed the Essenes, who persistently pursued the active life and excelled in all or, to put it more moderately, in most of its departments. I will now proceed at once in accordance with the sequence required by the subject to say what is needed about those who embraced the life of contemplation... The vocation of these philosophers is at once made clear from their title of Therapeutae and Therapeutrides, a name derived from θεραπεύω, either in the sense of "cure" because they profess an art of healing better than that current in the cities which cures only the bodies, while theirs treats also souls oppressed with grievous and well-nigh incurable diseases, inflicted by pleasures... or else in the sense of

⁹⁶ Kenneth S. Guthrie, *The Message of Philo Judaeus of Alexandria* (London: Luzac & Co., 1907), 7; Helyer, 312. Guthrie's writing assumes Philo had a wife. Helyer, on the other hand, mentions there is no known writing by Philo of a wife or children.

⁹⁷ F.H. Colson, "Introduction to De Vita Contemplativa," vol. 9 of *Philo of the Loeb Classical Library*, 104-11, ed. G.P. Goold (1941; repr., London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1985), 109.

⁹⁸ Sharon L. Matilla, "Wisdom, Sense-perception, Nature, and Philo's Gender-gradient," *Harvard Theological Review* 89, no. 2 (1996): 107.

⁹⁹ Ross S. Kraemer, *Women's Religions in the Graeco-Roman World: A Sourcebook* (1988, repr., NY: Oxford U., 2004), 28.

“worship,” because nature and the sacred laws have schooled them to worship the Self-existent who is better than the good...¹⁰⁰

We learn from Philo’s words on the Therapeutae that, despite Philo’s gender gradient, which he had developed from his understanding and synthesis of Greek philosophy to the Jewish religion, the Therapeutrides women fulfilled many of his ideals for maleness. From this short passage we learn that Philo viewed these women as philosophers, healers, and contemplatives. These qualities involve rationality, intelligence, and morality; qualities on the masculine end of Philo’s gender gradient. Philo did see the possibility for women to move upward towards a higher form of maleness.¹⁰¹ The biological sex of male and female was not Philo’s only factor for understanding. Rather, Philo defined certain qualities as male, so that even women could move upward along the gradient.¹⁰² Women could be “virgins,” people who were rational and asexual.¹⁰³ Thus, one could argue that Philo had hopes that a woman could have traits that he considered to be positive and ideal. We also see that Philo, although certainly very conservative in his views of womanly social roles,¹⁰⁴ did find exceptions to be a possibility, as evidenced in his descriptions of the Therapeutae.

Although Philo does not mention specifically that these women contained masculine characteristics, his high, respectful view of the Therapeutae women demonstrates to us that Philo may not have held completely to the general Stoic categories on women. He spoke highly of these women, describing them with characteristics that he considered weighted upon the masculine end of his gender gradient.

¹⁰⁰ Philo *The Contemplative Life* 114-115.

¹⁰¹ Whether or not the Therapeutae were a conscious or unconscious exception to his Stoic views of women is another discussion.

¹⁰² Matilla, 106-109.

¹⁰³ Matilla, 106-109.

¹⁰⁴ Conway, 472-473.

Philo's writings on the Therapeutae are an example of Philo possibly moving from a *theory* of women to a day-to-day example of women who fulfilled his philosophical ideals for humanity.

Conclusions

Philo synthesized Stoic views with his Jewish religion. As a result, he pulled in the philosophically low views of women that Greek philosophy contained. From his writings we learn that Philo viewed maleness and femaleness along a gradient. To be male was to have a number of capacities considered to be valuable and highly moral to Philo. To be effeminate was to contain negative character traits. Thus, we see why Philo provides such a negative portrayal of Eve. However, we do consider that Philo may have found his Stoic view difficult to implement in life itself. He was, after all, not an asexual being, as his ideal women, the Therapeutrides. Rather, he was likely a married man.¹⁰⁵ We also know that he did write of the Therapeutrides as holding male-like characteristics, according to his described gender gradient. Thus, Philo did not hold completely to strict Stoic categories. He saw exceptions in practice and in his writings.

¹⁰⁵ Guthrie, 7.

CHAPTER 3

PAUL ON WOMEN IN CREATION, THE FALL, AND LIFE

Background on the Life of Paul the Apostle

The Apostle Paul is thought to have been born around the time of Jesus' birth.

This is due to Acts 7:58, which mentions him as a young man (νεανίας) when he was present at Stephen's stoning. However, this is not certain, as the word, νεανίας, can refer to a man aged from 18-40 years.¹⁰⁶

He was of Jewish heritage, raised in the Diaspora in the city of Tarsus. Tarsus was located in what is today the southeastern coast of Turkey. The city was large in his time. Paul was also of Roman citizenship. This citizenship, in his case, was obtained by birth. Thus, Paul stood in two worlds, as a young man, pursuing the religious studies of his people and yet living in a Graeco-Roman world engulfed in Stoic ideals. His great understanding of Judaism and the impact of Graeco-Roman culture would meld with his developing theologies about the Lord Jesus Christ, after his calling to serve Jesus.¹⁰⁷

The name, Paul, was his Roman given name and the name, Saul, his Jewish one. He was probably known in Gentile circles as Paul and in Jewish ones as Saul.¹⁰⁸ He considered himself a Hebrew, which in those times meant that he held to his Jewish heritage. He was of Benjamin's tribe.¹⁰⁹ Although his credentials were notable within Jewish communities, he was said to have been sickly and unimpressive in person. He was a Pharisee trained by the great Gamaliel and held to his Pharisee background, even after

¹⁰⁶ McRay, 33.

¹⁰⁷ McRay, 21-22.

¹⁰⁸ McRay, 33.

¹⁰⁹ McRay, 28-29.

his call to Christianity. Gamaliel, his teacher, educated him in Jerusalem under the hermeneutic style of Hillel. Hillel interpreted the Torah practically, making way for people's needs if a certain law no longer fit into the context of the culture. Hillel did not view this as throwing out the law, but of making way for the needs of the people. As McRay states, "Paul... had to make the necessary adjustments to embrace the new circumstances."¹¹⁰ So, then, Paul followed the basic Hillel hermeneutic in his interpretation of the Torah.¹¹¹

Paul, who was one to persecute Christians in his fervor, tells us of a spiritual experience on the road to Damascus. He was traveling with letters out of Jerusalem from the high priest, which authorized him to arrest and imprison a number of Jewish Christians for the blasphemies that they were teaching. Yet, on his way, he met Jesus and was blinded. Christ, during this experience, called him to apostleship and to the Gentiles. He continued on his way, still blinded, and was taken in by Ananias, a Christian Jew. For three days Paul fasted. He was then baptized by Ananias to cleanse him of his sins and his sight returned.¹¹² From here on out, the Paul that we glean from the *Book of Acts* and his own epistles is the fiercely zealous Paul who developed theology for Christianity, all the while maintaining his Jewishness. His call to Christianity in no way ended his commitment to Judaism. Rather, he saw his Christian beliefs as an extension to those that were Jewish. From this point on, as well, we understand from Paul's writings that he used his cultural experiences and teachings, along with the Lordship of Christ to direct his viewpoints and actions.¹¹³ We find that in his writings about women and creation and the

¹¹⁰ McRay, 45.

¹¹¹ McRay, 44.

¹¹² Acts 22; 9; 26; Gal, 1:17 (New Revised Standard Version).

¹¹³ McRay, 46-47.

fall, Paul was affected by Stoic philosophy, the common and respected thinking of his day. Yet, we also find in Paul's writings, and those in the *Book of Acts* concerning Paul, that he utilized other ways of thinking, as well. Like Philo, he used non-Stoic categories of thought, in his writings concerning women.

Introduction

Paul lived in a world of Stoic philosophy. Like Philo, his contemporary, he was immersed in his culture. He experienced the pressure to present a respectable religion, as Philo did. And like Philo, who sought to meld Greek philosophy to the Jewish religion, Paul sought to explain how Christianity related to both Jews and Gentiles. Both men were attempting to demonstrate the contextuality of their religion to their audience. Although Paul's intentions in sharing Christianity likely were not to apply Stoic ideals, Paul was still a part of his culture and intentionally or unintentionally applied these philosophies to his writings. So, then, when exploring Paul's views on women in creation, the fall of humanity, and practice, we must be aware of his Stoic background and how this affected his thoughts and possibly his actions, as well. We will look into the passages relevant on the topic, noting Paul's teachings and what we know of his actions regarding women in creation, the fall, and practice. We will also note that he was not consistent with his usage of Stoic categories of thought. We find exceptions to these categories in his writings and those concerning him in the *Book of Acts*. We have organized our presentation to address the following points from Paul's letters: 1) the old Adam versus the new Adam, yet there is no mention of Eve, 2) the fall brought sin and death to humanity, 3) Adam was formed first and Eve was the first deceived, and 4) Eve's deception. Further, we will explore

how Paul's teachings/viewpoints compare to his practice, specifically relating to the household codes, deacons, apostles, and his relationships with women. Further, there is also a story concerning his mentor, Gamaliel that offers a high view of woman, implying that Gamaliel may have passed on a positive view of women to Paul.¹¹⁴ We will find that Paul was influenced by the Stoics, yet his actions reflected an important rejection or transcendence of Greek philosophy.

Paul's Views on the Fall of Humanity

Scholars generally agree on a few basic premises of Paul's view(s) on the fall of humanity: Adam is the cause of human sin and each human is responsible for their own sin. Very little development to the causes and effects of the first sin are made. We do not know how the sin of Adam gets passed through the generations. Only that he is the perpetrator of that sin.¹¹⁵ And very little about Eve is discussed (except for the short and confusing references in 2 Timothy 2:11-15 and that in 2 Corinthians 11:1-4).

Unlike his contemporaries, Paul has very little interest in Eve/woman blaming or discussion upon how sin is passed. His great interest is in the new Adam, Jesus Christ. And although there were traditions that valued the concept of a glorified Adam in Judaism, Paul offers a deeper flavor: there is a new Adam, rather than a glorified Adam, who has given us life where the old brought death. The new Adam has victory over sin and death, while the old Adam *brought* sin and death. The first Adam brought the fall of humanity and the natural world. The last Adam redeems both. Eve does not star greatly in the picture of the fall of humanity in Paul's writings.

¹¹⁴ Talmud, "Wisdom from the Gemara," in *The Wisdom of Israel: An Anthology*, The Modern Library, trans. Lewis Browne, (NY: Random House, 1945), 211-212.

¹¹⁵ Laato, 107-108.

We will explore mainly Romans 5 and 7 to understand more fully how Paul understood the fall of humankind.

Paul and the Fall in Romans 5:12-21

Therefore, just as sin came into the world through one man, and death came through sin, and so death spread to all because all have sinned -sin was indeed in the world before the law, but sin is not reckoned when there is no law. Yet death exercised dominion from Adam to Moses, even over those whose sins were not like the transgression of Adam, who is a type of the one who was to come. But the free gift is not like the trespass. For if the many died through the one man's trespass, much more surely have the grace of God and the free gift in the grace of the one man, Jesus Christ, abounded for the many. And the free gift is not like the effect of the one man's sin. For the judgment following one trespass brought condemnation, but the free gift following many trespasses brings justification. If, because of the one man's trespass, death exercised dominion through that one, much more surely will those who receive the abundance of grace and the free gift of righteousness exercise dominion in life through the one man, Jesus Christ. Therefore just as one man's trespass led to condemnation for all, so one man's act of righteousness leads to justification and life for all. For just as by the one man's disobedience the many were made sinners, so by the one man's obedience the many will be made righteous.¹¹⁶

Verse 12 carries the idea that death is a result of Adam's fall. Because of Adam's sin, all humanity is destined to die. The Greek word, θάνατος, is an implication of bodily death. θάνατος can hold the concept of eternal death or sacramental death.¹¹⁷ So in 5:12, death, then, has already overtaken (διήλθεν in the aorist form) mankind, although they have not all died in body. The verses, 18-19, make even clearer the understanding that all have sinned through the disobedience of Adam.¹¹⁸ This, however, does not explain how, exactly, Adam's sin causes others to sin; how sin is transmitted if

¹¹⁶ Rom. 5:12-19.

¹¹⁷ Timo Laato, *Paul and Judaism: An Anthropological Approach* (Atlanta: Scholar's, 1995), 102.

¹¹⁸ Laato, 105; Robin Scroggs, *The Last Adam: A Study in Pauline Anthropology* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966), 79.

Adam, representing humankind, is the one held ultimately responsible for the origination of sin and its following into all humanity.

Timo Laato's final understanding, then, of Romans 5:12 is that Adam's sin brought bodily death into the world, which brings with it the horrors of sickness, pain, and suffering. His sin also brought spiritual death into the world. From Adam on, all humankind must suffer with these two kinds of death.¹¹⁹

Paul's line of thought as consistent from verse 12-19 is summarized as follows:

Adam is the head of humankind and the first sinner in history (verse 12a). His fall into sin has brought about that death (in every sense) gained dominion in the world (verse 12b). Death came to all people (verse 12c), since they have all sinned (verse 12d). Already before the revelation of the Sinaitic law people sinned (verse 13a), but their sin was not "reckoned" for lack of a law, that is, their sin was not a matter of a rebellion against law committed, that is, death reigned from Adam to Moses, even when people at that time did not as Adam in his days become guilty of the transgression of the law (verse 14).¹²⁰

Laato continues by explaining in verses 15-19 that Paul finds Adam and Christ to be opposites of one another. Adam represents death, but Christ represents life, the new Adam! By Adam's sin, humankind is fallen to sin and death, but through Christ, humankind has the opportunity for redemption and life. This means, then, that verse 12 should not be read that in Adam all have sinned, but that the depravity that humankind has inherited is lived out by the sinful choices/actions of succeeding humankind. Laato uses the terms, "*works itself out* in the life of the individual concretely in evil actions" and then he recognizes conversely that "righteousness gained through Christ *works itself out* in the life of the Christian concretely in good works".¹²¹ This line of thought from Paul, then, provides an understandable continuation from verse 12, which says that each

¹¹⁹ Laato, 107-108.

¹²⁰ Laato, 107-108.

¹²¹ Laato, 108.

person has sinned.¹²² Therefore, 5:12 provides a start of continuous and logical thought through verse 19.¹²³

Jewett furthers the understanding of the passage (5:12-19) by saying that Paul is making a case for all being included. All take part in Adam's sin and all can take part in Christ's life.¹²⁴ He also recognizes all of the common traditions that Paul *avoided* in his writing. Paul does not

...refer to the devil's wiles, to Eve's seduction of Adam, to angelic corruption of Eve or her descendants, to the perverse heart of Adam, to the cosmic powers, or to materiality itself as in later Gnostic speculation. Paul also does not follow the tradition of viewing Adam as the "first father of Israel" or as the "image of and promise for eschatological humanity."¹²⁵

Rather, Paul only mentions that through Adam death came to all. Jewett, then, agrees with Laato and Robin Scroggs, that it is telling the ideas that Paul chose *not* to incorporate into his epistles.

Further, Scroggs does not even believe Paul to be presenting a clear-cut doctrine of original sin in this passage, in terms of the understanding that the early church developed. The only clarity found is that Adam is responsible for sin's beginnings and the coming of death and each person is sinful and doomed to death, yet Christ brings life. Paul makes no effort to explain any of the further doctrines developed by the early church

¹²² Laato, 108.

¹²³ Laato, 109.

Karl Barth, *Christ and Adam: Man and Humanity in Romans 5*. trans. T.A.

Smail (NY: Harper & Brothers, 1957), 26. Barth agrees with Laato in the sense that he does not find verse twelve to be a contradiction to the rest of the chapter, but he does not go so far as to say that it is consistent. Rather, he finds it to be an "anacoluthon." "A sentence or expression in which the latter part does not syntactically carry out the construction begun in the first part." He interprets it as a heading for the next verses. He says we are descendants and heirs of Adam "and so in the past from which we came, we were not completely beyond the reach of the truth of Jesus Christ, but stood in a definite (even if negative) relationship to his saving power."

¹²⁴ Robert Jewett. *Romans: A Commentary*. Hermeneia. ed. Eldon Jay Epp (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 373.

¹²⁵ Jewett, 374.

hundreds of years later. Paul does not address the problem of the universality of sin. As Scroggs sums up, “Adam is the necessary but not sufficient cause for the sin of other men.”¹²⁶ Each person bears responsibility for his sin and wrestles with the problem of death.¹²⁷

1 Corinthians 15:56 says that, “the sting of death is sin”. Although Romans 5:13 recognizes that sin was not counted as sin until the law came, Paul still believes that sin was in the world. The existence of sin tells us why death still had victory over those not under the law (verse 14). Scroggs finalizes his interpretation of the verse by saying that “Death is universal because sin is universal; the universality of sin stems directly from each man’s choice of sin and, historically, from the first such choice, that by Adam.”¹²⁸ Scroggs understands verse 14 to demonstrate the collective nature of sin and that sin is universal because each person sins, Adam being the first.¹²⁹

Robin Scroggs sees verse 14 to show a relationship between the situation of Adam and that of Moses. The parallel between the two men is that both were under the law. Verse 13 amplifies the concept that all men are given to death with or without the law, sinners or no.¹³⁰

The phrase “ὅς ἐστιν τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος,”¹³¹ which reads “the type of one to come,” has generally been understood to refer to Christ. However, this is problematic, as Paul is not one to reference a positive relationship between Adam and Christ. Whenever

¹²⁶ Robin Scroggs, 79.

¹²⁷ Scroggs, 79. Scroggs, with a similar view to Laato, that verse 12 is not inconsistent with verses 13-19, argues against Rudolph Bultmann, who interprets Romans 5:12-19 to demonstrate an inconsistent understanding of responsibility of sin and that sin falls upon the shoulders of Adam alone. Robin Scroggs sees that individual guilt is still present in the text.

¹²⁸ Scroggs, 79.

¹²⁹ Scroggs, 79-80.

¹³⁰ Scroggs, 79-80.

¹³¹ Barbara Aland, et al., eds., *The Greek New Testament* (1966; repr., Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993), Rom 5:14.

they are contrasted, it is strongly and with negativity upon Adam.¹³² As well, in Jewish writings, one does not find a positive relationship referenced between Adam and the coming Messiah. Further, if the phrase does refer to Christ, then it is an abrupt addition with insufficient transition. The phrase, “Ἀλλ’ οὐχ,” in verse 15, which serves as a beginning to the contrasts between Adam and Christ, separates verse fifteen from verse fourteen, rather than leading out of it. To understand this phrase, then, Scroggs turns to J.A.T. Robinson’s idea that the phrase refers to Moses. Adam came before Moses, and both were under the law in their relationship with God. This transition of the period of Adam to Moses is viewed as more natural to Scroggs and Robinson. Robinson offers that the reference of “τοῦ μέλλοντος” may even refer to man under the law, rather than to the person of Moses. However, it does *not* refer to Christ.¹³³

In final understanding of the passage, we see that Adam brought death, bodily and spiritual, upon all of humanity. All of humanity is responsible for their sin, dying in body and spirit, as a result. But, Christ came to redeem from death. Christ brings life, which was the initial purpose of God for Adam.¹³⁴ From here, we look at the fall in Romans 7:7-13 and 4:10, as these relate to Romans 5:12-19. Further, we note Paul’s focus upon the old and new Adams and not upon Eve. “Adam” is used as the archetype for all humanity’s sin, female and male.

¹³² Rom. 5:12-19.

¹³³ Scroggs, 80-81.

¹³⁴ Scroggs, 82.

The Fall expressed in Romans 7:7-13 and 4:10

What then should we say? That the law is sin? By no means! Yet, if it had not been for the law, I would not have known sin. I would not have known what it is to covet if the law had not said, "You shall not covet." But sin, seizing an opportunity in the commandment, produced in me all kinds of covetousness. Apart from the law sin lies dead. I was once alive apart from the law, but when the commandment came, sin revived and I died, and the very commandment that promised life proved to be death to me. For sin, seizing an opportunity in the commandment, deceived me and through it killed me.

So the law is holy, and the commandment is holy and just and good. Did what is good, then, bring death to me? By no means! It was sin, working death in me through what is good, in order that sin might be shown to be sin, and through the commandment might become sinful beyond measure.¹³⁵

Romans 7:7-13 provides a first person experience with God's law and Paul's inability to keep that law, despite his desire to do so. His sin results in death, but in this passage, his death is not bodily. The first person continues, even after the death, explaining what is happening to him. Laato describes this as an interpretation of Genesis 3 in relationship to the commandment in Genesis 2:17 to not eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. On the day that Adam and Eve ate of the tree, they did not die an instant bodily death; rather, they died a spiritual death. Physical death came a few hundred years later for the first couple.

Further, Romans 7:7-13, with its "I" usage, is said to be Paul's mirroring of the Psalmists, who find death, Sheol, to be present in life when human frailties and sufferings came upon him.¹³⁶ This similar concept is found in various passages of Romans, when godlessness is understood to be humanity not thanking or honoring their Creator (1:21; 2:17-23; 3:27; 4:20). The godless, then, belong to sin and death, not life.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ Rom. 7:7-13.

¹³⁶ Laato, 103.

¹³⁷ Laato, 103.

Romans 4:10 also speaks of death (θάνατος) in terms of Abraham's body (σῶμα) and Sarah's womb to be dead, meaning that there is an inability to conceive and bear children.¹³⁸ This death was an inability on the part of Abraham and Sarah to accomplish childbearing. Also in Romans 7:7-13, the situation is one of incapability. Adam and Eve's death brought an inability to do the will of their Creator, just as Abraham and Sarah were incapable of producing a child.¹³⁹

Adam and Eve's specific first sin was to break the Mosaic law's tenth commandment: "Do not covet", reflected in Romans 7:7. This breaking of the law brought curses and death upon humanity and the world in the Old Testament. For Paul, however, he simply demonstrates that Adam and Eve broke the law, tying this into his understanding of death. Finally, Adam's and Eve's ingratitude towards God by the breaking of the first commandment demonstrated a lack of love for one another. The couple were dead before the coming of their bodily death.¹⁴⁰

An understanding of Paul's theology on the Fall of Humanity in *Romans*, which we just covered, is helpful in that we see his focus was not upon Eve as the cause of sin, but showing the plight of all of humanity's sin, female and male. "Adam" is used as an archetype for all people and the new Adam, Christ, brings redemption and completes the tasks that the first Adam left in failure. We also learn that in these passages, Paul does not take the possible Stoic categories of thought on women to interpret the fall of humans. He is gender generic, using the first Adam as the archetype for all people. We now

¹³⁸ Laato, 103.

¹³⁹ Laato, 104.

¹⁴⁰ Laato, 104; Jewett, 373-374. This viewpoint of Laato's, regarding Paul's discussion of sin and the Mosaic Law, is also reflected in Robert Jewett's commentary on Romans.

continue to 2 Corinthians 11:1-4 to hear Paul's comments that relate to Eve, women, and the fall.

Eve in 2 Corinthians 11:1-4

I wish you would bear with me in a little foolishness. Do bear with me!

I feel a divine jealousy for you, for I promised you in marriage to one husband, to present you as a chaste virgin to Christ. But I am afraid that as the serpent deceived Eve by its cunning, your thoughts will be led astray from a sincere and pure devotion to Christ. For if someone comes and proclaims another Jesus than the one we proclaimed, or if you receive a different spirit from the one you received, or a different gospel from the one you accepted, you submit to it readily enough.¹⁴¹

2 Corinthians 11:1-4 is another passage that tells us a little bit of how Paul understood and interacted with the story of the fall of humankind, showing us a glimpse of his views on Eve. Paul says, "I feel a divine jealousy for you, for I promised you in marriage to one husband, to present you as a chaste virgin to Christ. But I am afraid that as the serpent deceived Eve by its cunning, your thoughts will be led astray from a sincere and pure devotion to Christ."¹⁴² It has been suggested by many commentators that this passage holds imagery that refers to the Rabbinic haggadah concerning Eve: that the serpent had intercourse with her. But in this passage, Paul does not reference it directly in the sexual sense.¹⁴³ Instead, he uses the imagery to focus upon the keeping of the believer's minds from seduction, rather than utilizing the imagery's sexual connotations that focus upon Eve as the cause of sin.¹⁴⁴ In the end, the focus is upon Adam as the originator of sin in Paul's writings.¹⁴⁵ This is possibly because in Paul's explanations of

¹⁴¹ 2 Cor. 11:1-4.

¹⁴² 2 Cor. 11:2-3.

¹⁴³ Scroggs, 76.

¹⁴⁴ Scroggs, 76.

¹⁴⁵ Scroggs, 76.

sin and redemption, he prefers to juxtapose Adam and Christ. Adam is the first and Christ is the last Adam. Adam is the originator of sin and death, but Christ brings redemption and life. However, one could disagree with Scroggs in the sense that although Paul might not have generally condemned Eve as the only one at fault for sin's entrance into the world (*both* were the perpetrators), his reference to the story of her intercourse with the serpent *is* still a reference to that story. Although the theme of Eve as the first sinner is not a main point of Paul's, he preferred the general archetype for humankind, Adam, one could argue that if this passage is a reference to the rabbinic story, he may have held belief of Eve's particular sexual downfall. On the other hand, it is a common practice of Paul's to use other Scripture (or otherwise) sources to validate his points, while taking those sources out of their original context. This final view is most likely –Paul used a story that his audience was aware of to emphasize his fear of the Corinthians falling into deception. He was not talking about sexual sin in this situation.¹⁴⁶

Paul's lack of condemnation upon the sexual connotations of the story express a desire not to focus upon Eve as the cause of sexual sin, but to recognize the problem of being deceived in the church. Whether or not Eve as deceived into sexual indiscretion is a reference to Eve alone or if Paul perceives all women to be easily deceived is still to be discerned. What is clear, however, is that Paul was aware of the theology and culture around him and utilized these in his writings, although he possibly did not always condone the Stoic and/or other categories of thought around him.

¹⁴⁶ Thomas R. Schreiner, "An Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:9-15." In *Women in the Church: An Analysis and Application of 1 Timothy 2:9-15*, ed. Andreas J. Kostenberger and Thomas R. Schreiner, 85-120, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005), 113. Thomas R. Schreiner agrees with Scroggs's assessment of the passage, saying that it is unlikely that Paul would be fearing the entire church will fall into sexual sin. Rather, it makes more sense that he is concerned that they will be deceived, as Eve was.

1 Timothy 2:12-15

I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over a man; she is to keep silent. For Adam was formed first, then Eve; and Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor. Yet she will be saved through childbearing, provided they continue in faith and love and holiness, with modesty.¹⁴⁷

1 Timothy 2:12-15 describes Paul's exhortation to the Ephesians regarding women's place in the church. This passage may reflect some of Paul's Stoic interpretations of the fall of humanity. Paul tells the Ephesian women that they are not to rule over men or speak in the church setting. Historical background suggests that the Ephesian women were being led astray and leading others astray by the Isis cult and/or other heretical teachings. Not only this, but they were uneducated, so likely to be deceived.¹⁴⁸ From here, Paul goes on to explain his command for women's silence by harkening back to Genesis, the created order and the Fall of Eve first, and then Adam. This, then, is the relevance of the passage to our discussion: Paul's reference back to the fall of humanity and creation and a possible reference to woman's curse of pain in childbirth—that she will be saved through childbirth. Deborah Krause describes Paul's comment of Adam (man) being created first, and then Eve, to be a reference back to Genesis 2 and 3. Paul is using the concept that the first created human (man) has precedence over the other (woman). And further, it was Eve (woman) who was deceived first, not Adam (man).¹⁴⁹ This firstborn logic is Stoic. Paul goes on to say that she (woman) will be saved through childbearing if they (women or women's children) continue in faith, etc. The most common viewpoint regarding her being “saved through

¹⁴⁷ 1 Tim. 2:12-15.

¹⁴⁸ Aida Besancon Spencer, *Beyond the Curse: Women Called to Ministry* (Nashville: Hendrickson, 1985), 219.

¹⁴⁹ Deborah Krause, *1 Timothy. Readings: A New Biblical Commentary*, ed. John Jarick (NY: T&T Clark International, 2004), 60-61.

childbearing,” is that Paul is referring to Mary bearing Jesus. This interpretation is taken namely because Paul, in all other references, uses the word, saved (σωζω), to refer to soul-salvation through Jesus Christ, his person, death, and resurrection. So, it would be inconsistent of Paul to say that a woman literally received her salvation through the bearing of children, yet it still provides an atonement meaning to σωζω. However, some have argued that the meaning of the passage is creational, referring back to Genesis 2 and woman’s call to procreation. This is an objectifying stance, however, and the idea is found nowhere else in the Pauline corpus.¹⁵⁰ As Spencer notes,

Paul seems to be saying in this passage, on the basis of his personal judgment, that in their similarity to Eve, women at Ephesus should neither teach, nor have authority over men, but they should learn in submission to the constituted authority, the officials and regulations of the church. After again stating this he declared so that no one would misunderstand that the woman will be saved through the child-bearing, probably meaning the Child born to Mary. Paul had employed an analogy between Eve and the women at Ephesus, to grow beyond a resemblance to Eve in this respect, but now the analogy no longer is valid. The difficulty has been that women everywhere have been compared with women at Ephesus. But Paul himself obviously did not make this generalization when referring to Phoebe as a female *prostatos* of the church.¹⁵¹

Spencer is saying that, like Eve, the first human to sin, the women at Ephesus are easily deceived and so should learn in submission. Paul’s reference to childbearing is *not* solely creational, a reference to women’s role as created to bear children rather than hold a position of church leadership. Instead, it points to the redemption of Christ, past the fall of humans. Women are saved by the birth of a child, *the* Child, born to Mary. The analogy of Eve to the women at Ephesus was not a universal mandate. However, this

¹⁵⁰ Yet, one could note that this interpretation does coincide with Greek philosophical views on women.

¹⁵¹ Spencer, 220.

interpretation of the meaning of childbearing in verse 15 also does not make complete sense of the entire passage.

Another approach is that, like Eve, *all* women are easily deceived and the mandate that Paul gives is creational: in a woman's person, ontologically, is the need to bear children and keep a house in order to be fulfilled and that women are more easily deceived (not as intelligent as a man and/or ruled by emotions). This interpretation of the passage is more literal and does take into account the culture that Paul lived in, his Stoic and Graeco-Roman influences. Krijn van der Jagt argues that "The woman has to obey the man. Adam was created first and has the right of seniority. The senior has authority and power over his junior."¹⁵² Jagt takes a somewhat traditional Stoic approach to the roles of women. Although some have argued that the flaw in Paul's argument here is that, although he is calling upon a concept of birthright (first came Adam, so he has the birthright, then came Eve, so she does *not*), this cannot be considered a universal approach to women, as there are a number of notable examples of people in the Scriptures (patriarchs, at that) who received the privileges and favors of God, *despite* their lack of place as firstborn, such as Jacob or Joseph. Even so, Jagt further finds Paul's reference that women are to be saved through childbirth in a sociological sense: Gnostic beliefs of the time were downplaying the importance of childbearing and Paul wanted to make sure that childbearing continued. This interpretation of Jagt's is weak, at best, as the interpretation of verse 15 does not tie in well, at all, with the context of the passage, save that it relates to the roles of women. Nor do we find any real evidence that women

¹⁵² Krijn Van der Jagt, "Women are saved through bearing children: A sociological approach to the interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:7-15," in *Issues in Bible Translation*, ed. Peter Stine, 285-295, (NY: United Bible Societies, 1988), 291.

had discontinued childbearing. The passage says nothing about this heresy. Further, this interpretation does not appear to hold weight amongst more recent authors/commentators. However, one must note that Jagt's interpretation does appear to be more status quo to Paul's time period and Paul was affected by his culture. And the reason why many current authors and commentators argue against the status quo interpretation is that it is no longer status quo in today's society.¹⁵³

A final interpretation of childbearing to consider is one by John Worst. This understanding is helpful in that it takes into consideration all of the verses in context, whereas interpretations of women being saved through childbearing through Mary bearing Jesus is somewhat strained, as many scholars are unsure what to do with "σῶζω". The word for "saved" in Paul's writings is used in the context of atonement, but in this passage, we know that Paul cannot mean that bearing children will "atone" women, as this goes against his gospel theology presented throughout his letters. Worst interprets

¹⁵³ Schreiner, 85-120. Thomas Schreiner argues that one cannot say that woman was deceived by an ontological deficit, as this implies that God created something imperfect. To say that women are less moral or intelligent than men denies their place as image bearers. However, he purports that Paul was implying that in the garden, when Satan spoke to Eve and deceived her into eating the fruit, Adam was there. And although Adam was there and the one created first, so created by God to be the leader (this was Paul's firstborn argument in verse 13), Satan deliberately ignored this knowledge and instead spoke to Eve, the one created to be the follower. And Adam let her respond to the serpent, even though it was his male place to take the initiative in the discussion. So, then, the fall story in Genesis also reflects the problem of male leadership fallen. The difficulty of Schreiner's interpretation of Paul here lies in his assumption that creationally males were made to be leaders and females were created to submit to male headship. His understanding requires more than the biblical text, but also interpretations from experience and culture. In fact, his hermeneutic for interpreting the Genesis and 1 Timothy passage are very akin to how Paul probably used the fall passage to further his point about the women of Ephesus. Paul often took Old Testament passages out of context in order to prove whatever practical theological point he was making in his epistle. Further, Schreiner has weakened his argument by taking out the portion that women were not created as less intelligent or more easily deceived than mankind. His argument does not deny female intelligence or morality, but does deny female leadership. To say that women are equal in value and ability to men, but not made for leadership takes away part of the strength of the old argument that women should not be in leadership because they are not as intelligent/moral as a man. Jagt's argument is stronger in the sense that women are less intelligent/moral and thus not suitable or created for teaching/authority.

σῶζω, then, to mean “rescue”. Women are to be rescued from their plight of being easily deceived.¹⁵⁴

This interpretation considers understanding Eve having been deceived, just as the current Ephesian women are deceived, but another generation is coming when women will no longer be easily deceived, they will be educated. This interpretation understands the “they” in verse 15 to refer to the coming children, the next generation. Their children, even the girl-children, if continuing in “faith, and love, and holiness with modesty,”¹⁵⁵ will no longer be deceived. They will be raised to be educated and live holy lives, making them no longer prone to deceit as their mothers were. Paul’s command, then, that he does not permit a woman to teach or have authority over a man, made in the present active indicative, is not forever to be the position of women. It was for that time, until children of women were no longer easily deceived, until they were educated and living holy lives, until the future generations. Yet, male and female, we must still strive to live educated lives of faith, love, holiness, and modesty in order that we may not be deceived.¹⁵⁶

Further, Paul’s use of the word, formed, in the creational verse 13, was a word used by Plato to refer to being educated, so when it says that “Adam was formed first, then Eve,”¹⁵⁷ it implies a progression of education.¹⁵⁸ So, then, unlike Jagt and others’ interpretations of this verse, that men have the right of leadership because of a logic of birth rights (Adam was born first, then Eve, so he has the right of ruler) or lesser

¹⁵⁴ John Worst, “The Vision of Saved Through Childbearing: How to Honestly Embrace 1 Timothy 2:11-15 and Still be for Women in Ministry” (essay, George Fox Evangelical Seminary, 2008), 3-5.

¹⁵⁵ 1 Tim. 2:15.

¹⁵⁶ Worst, 3-5.

¹⁵⁷ 1 Tim. 2:13.

¹⁵⁸ Plato, *Republic*, trans. G.M.A. Grube and ed. C.D.C. Reeve (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1992), 377c.

rationality, the focus is upon Adam (men) being educated first, and then Eve (women) being educated. Paul's use of creational/fall language to express rules for women in the church of Ephesus expresses his Jewish and Stoic heritage.

We come to the conclusion, then, from this passage, that Paul may have meant that Adam is the natural leader, since he was first formed and that women in general are more easily deceived, just as Eve was. These interpretations would line up well with Stoic philosophy. And finally that childbirth *may* refer to Mary's birthing of Jesus. However, a smoother explanation is that women at Ephesus, like Eve, were deceived, but a future generation, one continuing "in faith and love and holiness with modesty,"¹⁵⁹ would not be bound to the fate of deception. This interpretation still demonstrates Paul's use of Stoic understanding; he does apply Eve's sin to the women at Ephesus and uses the Platonic idea of "formed" as educational, but also demonstrates the prophetic power of Christ in Paul's life; women would not be bound to the old ways that the Stoic categories had brought. His argument transcends Greek philosophy.

An important aspect to understanding more holistically the story of this passage requires taking into account not only Paul's theology found in Scripture, such as the household codes in Ephesians 5 and Colossians 4, but what can be known about his interactions and relationships with women.

Paul and Stoicism: The Household Codes

The household codes in Stoicism, presented by Greek philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle, held great sway over the Hellenized home. There are two household codes constructed by Paul that are found in Ephesians 5 and Colossians 3. We shall focus upon

¹⁵⁹ 1 Tim. 2:15.

the Colossians passage. From this passage, we learn that Paul did utilize the Stoicism of his day and that, at points, he also transcended it.

The household code is presented right after Colossians 3:1-17, a passage that encourages the call to live a new life in Christ, with Him as the focus, their Lord. This serves to provide an opening to the household codes in Colossians. One way that the prior passage (3:1-17) to the household code (Col. 3:18-4:1) might relate is by saying that Paul was trying to show a practical way for people to implement Christ's lordship into their lives¹⁶⁰—he was showing them a distinct and culturally acceptable way of doing so, as most people were aware of the Stoic idea of hierarchical relationships.¹⁶¹ After all, Aristotle, for example, among a number of other Stoic influences, saw the importance of hierarchy in relationships—it was ethical to have husbands over wives, slaves over masters, fathers over children, etc. Aristotle assumed that in each of these three relationships, one person was superior and one was meant to be subordinate. Individuals are born either superior or subordinate.¹⁶² Therefore, we see that this concept of a natural hierarchy is common within Paul's society.¹⁶³

Paul utilized the Stoic, acceptable use of hierarchical relationships and used them to demonstrate the Lordship of Christ as central to their lives and their relationships. He

¹⁶⁰ Clayton N. Jefford, "Household Codes and Conflict in the Early Church," ed. Elizabeth Livingstone, *Studia Patristica* 31 (1997): 122.

¹⁶¹ Angela Standhartinger and Brian McNeil. "The Origin and Intention of the Household Code in the Letter to the Colossians," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 79 (Fall, 2000): 124.

¹⁶² Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. Benjamin Jowett (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), under "Book 1," http://www.constitution.org/ari/polit_01.htm (accessed November 25, 2008).

¹⁶³ Standhartinger and McNeil, 118; Marianne Meye Thompson, *Colossians & Philemon: The Two Horizons New Testament Commentary*, Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., (2005): 90.

wrote first to the subordinate parties, unlike Aristotle, who's first words were to the dominate person in the relationship. Aristotle says,

Of household management we have seen that there are three parts -- one is the rule of a master over slaves, which has been discussed already, another of a father, and the third of a husband. A husband and father, we saw, rules over wife and children, both free, but the rule differs, the rule over his children being a royal, over his wife a constitutional rule. For although there may be exceptions to the order of nature, the male is by nature fitter for command than the female, just as the elder and full-grown is superior to the younger and more immature.¹⁶⁴

So we see from Aristotle's writing a similarity to that of Paul's in Colossians and Ephesians, but we also see how Paul intentionally addressed the subordinate figure in each relationship, thereby transcending the Stoic household code that he is using.

Colossians 3:18-19 says, "Wives, be subject to your husbands, as is fitting in the Lord. Husbands, love your wives and never treat them harshly." In these verses, Paul addresses the subordinate partner first, and when he does address the power figure, he urges them to ease their control. (He does this with each of the three relationships mentioned.)¹⁶⁵ He also, although expressing a common relationship of wifely submission to husband, does something somewhat counter-cultural. Firstly, he does not tell the wife to obey, as Aristotle did. He tells her to be "subject", meaning that, she should demonstrate the Christian characteristics of "humility, meekness, and forgiveness."¹⁶⁶ Paul is not necessarily saying that she must obey every command and desire of her husband. After all, even Aristotle saw the husband and wife relationship as "constitutional."¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ Aristotle *Politics* 1.7.

¹⁶⁵ Suzanne W. Henderson. "Taking Liberties with the Text: the Colossians Household Code as Hermeneutical Paradigm," *Interpretation* 60, no. 5 (October, 2006): 425.

¹⁶⁶ Thompson, 93.

¹⁶⁷ Thompson, 93.

Another counter-cultural aspect of this exhortation of Paul is found in verse nineteen where he tells the husband to love his wife and not be harsh with her. Roman citizens had the right to treat their wives as they pleased, but Paul asks for more from Christians. As his theme of loving one another and mutual submission is found throughout the New Testament (and particularly in the household code in Ephesians¹⁶⁸), so we find it here –Christianity transformed relationships and marriage relationships were to be no different.¹⁶⁹ However, although Christianity was transformational, we do not find Paul's intentions to purpose an upset of society's structures. Thus, his use of the Stoic household code.

Paul's Relationships with Women: Were his Stoic Understandings Actualized?

We do know from Paul's writings and Luke's recordings of Paul's story in the book of *Acts*, that Paul, despite holding various Stoic understandings of relationships and women, did treat women differently than some of his uses of Stoic philosophy would suggest. He is inconsistent in his use of Stoicism. For instance, in the book of Romans, chapter 16, we learn of a number of women in leadership positions in the church and one must assume that at least some of them held positions equal to and/or over other men. He was willing to affirm these women, along with the men who served in the church with them. We know that Phoebe was a deacon, which although not an elder, is a position of leadership. She is also the first person mentioned in Paul's list of people he affirms in Romans 16. Prisca and Aquila, a husband and wife duo, worked together in ministry,

¹⁶⁸ Ephesians 5:21 says, "Be subject to one another out of reverence for Christ."

¹⁶⁹ Thompson, 93.

both mentoring a man¹⁷⁰ and were also included in this list of Paul's.¹⁷¹ Junia, which many scholars argue to be a woman, is said to have the place of apostleship.¹⁷² Paul says, "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."¹⁷³ Although most translations since the late 1800s have labeled the name as Junias, a masculine form, it is more likely feminine, the name of a woman.¹⁷⁴

We also know that various women opened up their homes to Paul and the church in his travels, such as Lydia, a business woman, "a dealer in purple cloth"¹⁷⁵. Other women are also personally mentioned in Paul's letters, implying that he had valued, respectful relationships with them.¹⁷⁶

We see, then, that Paul was inconsistent in his thoughts and actions regarding Stoicism. On one hand, we see his recognition of female leaders and respectful relationships with women. We also see how Paul used the household code of Aristotle, but transformed it, utilizing some of the concepts and transcending others. On the other hand, we recognize the household codes, some of the 1 Corinthians passages, and the difficulties with 1 Timothy 2, and we see that Paul was interacting with the common thought of his time; he was still a product of his Hellenistic culture. As Bristow notes,

The influence of Greek thought within Judaism was subtle and far-reaching. Even the prayer in which every Jewish man thanked God that He did not make him a Gentile, a woman, or a boor, had its origin not within Judaism, but within Greek

¹⁷⁰ Acts 18:24-26.

¹⁷¹ Rom. 16:3.

¹⁷² John Thorley, "Junia, A Woman Apostle," *Novum testamentum* 38, no. 1 (Jan 1996): 18-29.

¹⁷³ Rom. 16:7.

¹⁷⁴ Thorley, 18-29.

¹⁷⁵ Acts 16:14-15.

¹⁷⁶ Phil. 4:2.

thought, some scholars have argued. Certainly Plutarch and others observed that Thales, Socrates, and Plato fostered the sentiments contained within this prayer.¹⁷⁷

Stoic philosophy viewed women as inferior to men and as a distraction to those who would enter the philosophical and/or a life of morality.¹⁷⁸ Women were simply conceptualized as lesser than men. But Paul said in Galatians 3:16, "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. And if you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham's offspring, heirs according to the promise." Therefore, Paul did not fully actualize the Stoic philosophies of his time regarding women, but one must recognize that he was influenced by them, in his use of the household codes and possibly in the Eve passages of 1 Timothy 2:11-15 and 2 Corinthians 11:1-4. Paul used Stoic categories of thought in some situations regarding women, but at other times transcended them or used another philosophy altogether.

Further, we have a story concerning Gamaliel, Paul's teacher:

The Emperor said to Rabban Gamaliel: "Your God is a thief, for did He not cause Adam to fall asleep and then steal one of his ribs?"

At this the Rabbi's daughter interrupted and cried to the Emperor to send for the police.

"What has happened?" asked the Emperor.

"A thief entered my house last night," she replied, "and took away a silver pitcher, but left a gold one in its place."

The Emperor said: "Would that such a thief would come to me every night."

Whereupon the daughter of Gamaliel replied: "Why then do you decry our God? Did he not steal a rib from Adam only to enrich him with a wife?"¹⁷⁹

So we learn from this story that Gamaliel may have valued women and may have passed on views such as this to Paul.

¹⁷⁷ Bristow, 24.

¹⁷⁸ Bristow, 20-24.

¹⁷⁹ Talmud, "Wisdom from the Gemara," 211-212.

Conclusions

After exploring Paul and his interpretations of women in creation and the fall of humanity, we learn that with regard to the fall of humanity, Paul did believe Eve to be deceived, as well as the women at Ephesus. 1 Timothy 2 and 2 Corinthians 4 demonstrate that Paul saw Eve as deceived, as well as the Ephesus women. However, we also see that there were women in Paul's life whom he respected as human beings and leaders. We also find that, over all, Paul's view of the fall utilizes concepts of the old Adam versus a new Adam, Jesus Christ. His great interest is in the new Adam, who succeeded against temptation and sin, bringing hope and victory for humankind. He has very little interest in dwelling on the old Adam's and his wife, Eve's, early story in its specifics. He is not interested in Eve/woman blaming, unlike other educated Jewish and Hellenistic scholars of his time. In fact, he has very little to say about Eve, other than the two cryptic passages in 1 Timothy and 2 Corinthians.

We also find that Paul's use of Stoic rhetoric to express Christian theology, on the fall of humanity and creation, with regards to women, does not necessarily actualize. He affirms various women in ministry in Romans 16 and references relationships with women. We also see that despite the household codes in Colossians and Ephesians, presenting Stoic expectations, these have been softened/transcended by his address of the subordinate party first and his urgings of the dominant party to treat the subordinate with love. Paul was affected by the Stoic views of women in his culture, but he also was affected by the Lordship of Christ in his thoughts and dealings with women in the church and also possibly by positive sentiments on women from his mentor, Gamaliel. Further, he sought to portray Galatians 3:28, that there is "...neither male nor female..." He may

have utilized Stoic categories as he developed Christian theology. Greek philosophy was the accepted thinking of the educated and useful to apply, at times, to Paul's writings. In the end, however, we cannot claim that Paul only used Stoic understandings of women, the fall, and creation. He used Stoic rhetoric to express his ideas, at times, discarding or transcending it.

CHAPTER 4

PAUL AND PHILO: THE RELATIONSHIP

Philo and Paul's Stoic World

Paul and Philo, contemporaries to one another, lived in a time of Stoic ideals, Greek philosophies that would take deep root in the minds of the present people in the Hellenized world and continue to strongly influence the minds of the church fathers and the Western world in centuries to come. These Stoic concepts originated from men like Socrates (c. 470-399 B.C.E.), his pupil, Plato (c. 427-347 B.C.E.), and then Aristotle (384-322 B.C.E.).¹⁸⁰ And these men developed philosophy on society and natural history, among other topics. Aristotle, for example, believed the queen bee to be a “king bee”, because the hive could not function without it and it had vast influence upon the workings of the hive. It was inconceivable to him that it could be a female¹⁸¹ because “the male is by nature fitter to command than the female.”¹⁸² Aristotle applied this concept across the categories of living things, including humanity. He thought that “there the inequality is permanent.”¹⁸³ Aristotle did note that some taught that “in most constitutional states the citizens rule and are ruled by turns,”¹⁸⁴ but to apply this to a household was an error.¹⁸⁵ Aristotle taught that a husband and wife are like a person’s soul and body. As Bristow explains Aristotle’s analogy, “The man is to his wife as a soul is to the physical body, meant to command and guide arms and legs with wisdom and

¹⁸⁰ Bristow, 4-5.

¹⁸¹ Bristow, 5-6.

¹⁸² Aristotle *Politics* 1.5.

¹⁸³ Aristotle *Politics* 1.12.

¹⁸⁴ Aristotle *Politics* 1.12.

¹⁸⁵ Bristow, 6.

intelligence... Just as one's body, with its impulses and desires, should not rule his soul, so a wife should not rule her husband."¹⁸⁶ Further, Aristotle disagreed with Socrates on the roles of men and women, saying,

...the temperance of a man and of a woman, or the courage and justice of a man and of a woman, are not, as Socrates maintained, the same; the courage of a man is shown in commanding, of a woman in obeying. And this holds of all other virtues, as will be more clearly seen if we look at them in detail, for those who say generally that virtue consists in a good disposition of the soul, or in doing rightly, or the like, only deceive themselves. Far better than such definitions is their mode of speaking, who, like Gorgias, enumerate the virtues. All classes must be deemed to have their special attributes; as the poet says of women,
Silence is a woman's glory,
but this is not equally the glory of man.¹⁸⁷

We learn from Aristotle, then, as Philo and Paul did, that the roles of the sexes differ greatly. And this thought was widespread in the Hellenized world. It was to thinkers like Aristotle that this world offered their respect.

So, our goal in this chapter is to explore Philo's and Paul's views upon women in creation, the fall, and life in light of their cultural background, the *Zeitgeist* of the times, Greek philosophy. We will look at a few similarities in philosophy between the two men, as a result of their culture. Paul's 1 Timothy 2:11-15 will be compared to Philo's writings on women and his understanding of a gender gradient. The two men's concepts of creation and the two Adams will be compared and how this relates to their views on women. Eve and sexuality will also be considered in their writings. A final assessment will be made of these points in understanding that although the men's views do differ, they may be more the same than different. They are more similar than different in that,

¹⁸⁶ Bristow, 6.

¹⁸⁷ Aristotle *Politics* 1.13.

although they used Stoic categories of thought in their theology, they also transcended it in various situations with regard to women.

1 Timothy 2:11-15 with Paul and Philo

For Paul, one of the places that we find most blatantly his utilization of Stoic thought with regard to women is in his use of the household codes, as addressed in chapter three. We also see his transcendence of Aristotelian thought in his use of the household codes, however. Paul addresses the subordinate partner first and urges the dominant partner to treat the subordinate with high regard. This approach differs from the prior Aristotelian household code. For Philo, we find his use of Stoicism on women in his description of the story of woman's creation and the fall. There is the sense from Philo that the coming of woman brought the downfall of humanity, that woman is somehow made less in the image of God.¹⁸⁸ So, we come to 1 Timothy 2:11-15, which at least on the surface, appears to align with Philo's use of Stoic views on women.¹⁸⁹

In 1 Timothy 2:11-15, Paul tells women to be silent in church. This concept of woman's silence parallels with Aristotle's quote that "Silence is a woman's glory, but this is not equally the glory of man."¹⁹⁰ Further, Paul provides two arguments to why women should be silent. 1) Adam was first formed and Eve was next, so because Adam was the first created, he is made for leadership. 2) Paul then says that it was Eve who was deceived, not Adam. This second argument aligns with Philo's concept of women and the fall of humans, for Philo says, "...for woman is of a nature to be deceived rather than to

¹⁸⁸ Helyer, 324.

¹⁸⁹ Helyer, 324.

¹⁹⁰ Aristotle *Politics* 1.13.

reflect greatly, but man is the opposite here.”¹⁹¹ However, as Helyer notes, caution is important when applying too much similarity to Paul and Philo’s viewpoints, here. Paul does, after all, lay full blame upon the first Adam in Romans 5:12-21 with no mention of Eve made.¹⁹² Rather, we understand “Adam” to be an archetype for all of humanity. Nor do we find any agreement with Paul on Philo’s concept that the fall was unavoidable and that as generations passed, perfection too passed away in humanity.¹⁹³

If one is to interpret 1 Timothy 2:11-15 in light of Plato’s use of the word “formed” to describe being educated, then we can compare Paul’s argument to Philo’s understanding of gender. Paul argues that Adam was formed first and then Eve, meaning that Adam has been educated and one day Eve might be, as well, if “they,” meaning the children, continue living holy lives. This applies to Philo’s gender gradient (a concept mentioned in chapter two). Philo interpreted male and female through a gender gradient. Qualities that he viewed as positive were considered masculine and negative qualities, such as a weak mind or sexual desire, were considered feminine qualities. A man could be a more feminine person, lower on Philo’s gender gradient, or a woman could move up this gender gradient by displaying noble character traits. If she displayed noble character traits, she would be considered more masculine. Likewise, Paul may be saying in this passage that when women become “formed” or more educated, they too can move up a sort of gradient and be less deceived, unlike Eve.

¹⁹¹ Philo *Questions and Answers on Genesis* 26.

¹⁹² Helyer, 324.

¹⁹³ Helyer, 324.

The Two Adams

It has been argued by a number of scholars that Paul may have gathered some of his ideas for the first and last Adam theology from influence of Philo. As mentioned earlier, Philo believed there were two Adams. The first, in Genesis 1, was the heavenly man. He was the ideal, fully spiritual, innocent, rational man. This man was made from the breath of God. The second Adam, in Genesis 2, is the fallen Adam. Philo pulls in the Platonic myth of the first man, that he was half male and half female. God took a “side” out of this second Adam, the female side, and then there was woman. This second Adam fell to desires of pleasure, sexual and otherwise. This second Adam, the man and woman in Genesis 2, were made from the dust and only the mind, in the male side, was divine. And this fell when he had sexual desire for the woman. This brought not only the fall of the mind, but also the fall of perfection in the world.¹⁹⁴

Of course, Paul places a very different emphasis upon the two Adams. The first Adam is the fallen one, the one who failed and committed the first sin. The second, new Adam, is Jesus Christ. He is the ideal man who did not fail in the task to be sinless and follow His Father’s will. Paul recognizes that spiritual and physical sin and death came to the world and to humankind as a result of the first Adam’s sin. The last Adam brings redemption to the world, ridding it of sin and death. The last Adam has victory where the first Adam failed.¹⁹⁵ Further, 1 Corinthians 15:47 draws allusion from Genesis 2:7 where he says, “The first man was from the earth, a man of dust; the second man is from

¹⁹⁴ Evans, 84.

¹⁹⁵ Helyer, 328.

heaven.” This appears to align with Philo’s concept of the second man as from the dust and the first man as the heavenly man.¹⁹⁶

We see that if Paul did have influence from Philo for his Adamic Christology, then he deviated significantly from Philo’s original concepts. Paul’s theology transcended the Judaic and Stoic ideals implied in Philo’s Adamic theology. However, we also do recognize that if Paul utilized Philo’s work, his Stoic and Jewish interpretations, then Paul, too, had received Stoic influence in his Hellenized society.

And we see that this Stoicism may have affected Paul’s and Philo’s theology in other areas, as well. Although in this situation, Paul does not adopt Philo’s tendency to blame Eve for the fall of humankind. He has little interest in Eve’s or the first Adam’s life, for that matter. The new Adam is most important to Paul, who came to bring victory over the old Adam’s sins.

We find that with regards to women, both Paul and Philo applied Stoic concepts to their views of Adam and Eve, and that Paul may have utilized some of Philo’s theology. In the end, however, their works went beyond Stoicism, especially Paul’s. Paul was not interested in the lives of Adam and Eve or blaming Eve for the first sin; he was interested in the victory and person of the new Adam, the one who did not fail.

Eve and Sexuality

1 Corinthians 11:1-4 also reflects a possible viewpoint of Paul’s that aligns well with Philo and Stoicism, although it may not have been his intention to apply Stoic values of women. Paul says,

¹⁹⁶ Evans, 85.

“I feel a divine jealousy for you, for I promised you in marriage to one husband, to present you as a chaste virgin to Christ. But I am afraid that as the serpent deceived Eve by its cunning, your thoughts will be led astray from a sincere and pure devotion to Christ.”¹⁹⁷ Scholars have argued, as mentioned in the previous chapter on Paul, that Paul is alluding to a rabbinic *haggadah* that is referring to Eve having sexual intercourse with the serpent.¹⁹⁸ This reference aligns with Philo and his view of woman as the bringer of the problem of sexual pleasure. And Philo’s low philosophical view of woman, in this instance, may have stemmed from the Stoic world of thought in which he lived. However, it must be noted that Paul does not appear to be arguing in the passage that the Corinthians should avoid sexual immorality, but rather that they avoid being deceived, as Eve was. Whether or not Paul’s intention was to point out the specific sexual fallenness of Eve, applying it to all women, is up for debate. It appears more likely that Paul simply used the story to illustrate his point. And although Paul is known for taking various stories and sources out of context to explain or prove his points, it is still possible that he had some views of women that were influenced by Stoicism, just as Philo had been and this is why this story of Eve and the serpent came to mind. It may be that Paul advertently or inadvertently referenced this story that has negative sexual connotations for Eve because of the common Stoic views of women in his time. However, we also may see that Paul did not reference specifically Eve and sexual sin because he did not wish to apply Stoic ideas here, but to apply the story for his purposes.

Philo clearly believed that the creation of woman was the downfall of mankind. It was she that led the first man to desire sexual pleasure. It was woman that was easily

¹⁹⁷ 2 Cor. 11:2-3.

¹⁹⁸ Scroggs, 76.

deceived, for she had a weak mind and was ruled by sense-perception, unlike men who are ruled by the mind. And it is she that men must beware of, for her desire for sensuality can lead them astray. However, we may see that Philo and Paul had exceptions to some of their views of women that had been affected by Greek philosophy.

Paul and Philo Similar

Of course, after exploring overall similarities between Paul's and Philo's Stoic mindset; of how they viewed women in creation, the fall, and in life, it must be recognized that there are differences. Gamaliel, Paul's mentor, told a positive story about the value of a wife that contradicted Stoic thought, as mentioned in chapter three.¹⁹⁹ This story of Gamaliel's may reflect an aspect of Paul's educational heritage contrary to Stoicism. Paul, also, was the man who told the Galatians, "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. And if you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham's offspring, heirs according to the promise."²⁰⁰ Paul included all classes, genders, and races as equal; *all* are children of God. And he is the man who in life may have found it difficult to live out mandates like that in 1 Timothy where he commanded women to be silent.²⁰¹ After all, he had respectful relationships with women and considered various women in places of authority.²⁰² We also must note that in passages like the household codes or even in 1 Timothy, Paul encourages husbands to love their wives²⁰³ and said to "let the women

¹⁹⁹ Talmud, "Wisdom from the Gemara," 211-212.

²⁰⁰ Gal. 3:28-29.

²⁰¹ 1 Tim. 2:9-11.

²⁰² Thorley, 18-29; Rom. 16; Acts 16:14-15, 18:24-26; Phil. 4:2.

²⁰³ Eph. 5:25.

learn...²⁰⁴ This urge to love and allow women to learn was counter-cultural, rather un-Stoic of Paul. And we must also consider that Philo, too, may have had trouble actualizing his philosophical beliefs on women in day to day life. After all, he praises the ascetic, celibate lifestyle, but was, himself, likely married.²⁰⁵ He also reflects upon the ascetic women of the Jewish monastic order, the Therapeutae, who contain the masculine characteristics that he so prizes. So he did believe that women could move toward the noble, masculine side of his gender gradient. Philo, however, did appear to have philosophies that caused him to speak negatively of the female gender and these came from Stoicism. And Paul, too, may have written rules concerning women that limited their rights in the church and home because of Stoicism, although he has much less to say on women, in general, than did Philo. Paul also provided counter-cultural opportunities for women, as we have also seen.²⁰⁶

We learn, then, from exploring the un-equivalence of the genders prevalent in the Hellenized culture and in Stoic philosophy, the world in which the two men moved, that Philo and Paul utilized Stoic philosophy in their writings. Judaism and Christianity were not exempt from the surrounding ideas of the times. Philo and Paul were a part of their culture and interacted inside of it. However, they also both, in certain situations, went beyond Stoic rhetoric in their understanding of women. Both men used Stoic rhetoric for their purposes and also discarded it, when necessary; they integrated it into their theology or transcended it.

We also learn that Paul may have known some of Philo's ideas and incorporated them into his own theology. We see this, possibly, in 1 Timothy 2:11-15 when Paul

²⁰⁴ 1 Tim. 2:9.

²⁰⁵ Guthrie, 7.

²⁰⁶ Rom. 16.

reflects upon Eve as formed after Adam and her being first deceived²⁰⁷ and of Paul's allusion to the story of Eve being deceived and having intercourse with the serpent in 2 Corinthians 11:1-4. Further, Paul may have been influenced by Philo in his theology of the two Adams.²⁰⁸ True, Paul re-interpreted these stories for his own purposes, but this demonstrates that Paul may have been affected by Philo and Philo did seek to show the world that Judaism was the epitome of Greek philosophy. He attempted to marry the two together, contextualizing to his culture. And it was this contextual brilliance, to present the Pentateuch in light of the philosophies of his day, which drew the early Church Fathers to utilize his writings, men who were still living in a world endowed with Greek philosophy.²⁰⁹ In the end, Paul does not write nearly as much as Philo with regards to women and creation and the fall of humanity. Rather, Paul's great interest is in the new Adam, the Christ! Philo's focus on women and creation and the fall was of woman as the cause of the fall and the unfortunate addition to the creation of the world. Yet, in the end, we see that the two men are more similar than different in their views on women, as both lived within the same culture with its Stoic views on women and both, at times, transcended or discarded these Stoic interpretations.

²⁰⁷ Helyer, 323-324.

²⁰⁸ Helyer, 328.

²⁰⁹ Helyer, 334.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

After exploring Philo and Paul and their relationship to women and creation and the fall, we find that the two men's Stoic philosophies have had its effect upon their theology. We find this in Philo and his negative views of woman's creation and her general moral and rational capabilities. For Paul, we may find it in places like the household codes,²¹⁰ the reference to Eve and the serpent in 2 Corinthians 11:1-4, and 1 Timothy 2:11-15, where Paul discusses the silence of women during the teaching process, etc.

We also learn that Philo and Paul may have found it difficult to implement their Stoic philosophies on women and, at times, move beyond these categories of thought. That both men provided examples of exceptional women, despite the culture of their time, is telling. Philo in *The Contemplative Life* writes of the Therapeutae, women who fulfilled many of his masculine ideals.²¹¹ Philo also had a wife²¹², which conflicts with his ascetic ideals of celibacy and his views that having a woman's influence can bring the fall of the rational man.²¹³ Based upon Philo's works, he was clearly a rational man, despite marriage! Paul also writes of various women he is in respectful relationships with and/or is in church leadership, even calling Junia, "prominent among the apostles."²¹⁴

Further, Paul may have been influenced by Philo and Philo is known for his goal of marrying Greek philosophy to Judaism, demonstrating that Judaism was the epitome

²¹⁰ Eph. 5; Col. 3.

²¹¹ Philo *The Contemplative Life* 113-115.

²¹² Guthrie, 7.

²¹³ Philo *The Contemplative Life* 113-115; *On Account of the World's Creation* 120.

²¹⁴ Rom. 16:7

of Greek philosophy and that the Greek philosophers received their wisdom, in fact, from Moses!²¹⁵ It is thought that Paul's theology of the two Adams was developed from Philo's.²¹⁶ Paul, then, was not exempt from the Stoic influences of Philo or those of the Hellenized culture surrounding him. However, one does note that Paul has very little interest in Eve blaming, as a whole, for the coming of sin. It is Adam who bears the brunt in Paul's letters.²¹⁷ Philo, on the other hand, viewed the coming of woman as the fall of man and this, we have argued, is due to Stoic categories of thought regarding women.

So, then, we do see differences between the two men. After all, Paul answered the calling of Christianity, but remained a Jew, while Philo was Jewish, alone. The two men, although trying to teach their audiences in such a way as to inspire change, did have different purposes and differing influences. Paul was a missionary who, it appears, worked closely with women, at times.²¹⁸ Philo was a writing philosopher, who attended public events,²¹⁹ but may have kept greater distance from women. Both men's differing experiences in life with their various mentors, may have affected how they viewed women and the practical ways that they dealt with social gender roles. Yet, we do conclude, that they lived beneath the same macro-culture that was imbued with Greek philosophical views on women and these views were mostly negative. We also conclude that Paul and Philo were not always consistent with the Stoic views concerning women. Rather, they moved beyond these in various circumstances when they saw exceptions.

²¹⁵ Helyer, 334.

²¹⁶ Helyer, 328.

²¹⁷ Rom. 5; Laato, 105.

²¹⁸ Thorley, 18-29; Rom. 16:7; Acts 16:14-15, 18:24-26; Phil. 4:2.

²¹⁹ Helyer, 312.

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