

and obedience (Luke 7:1-10//Matt 8:5-13). The raising of the widow's son follows this story in Luke and defines its christology in a Lukan vein: Jesus is a great prophet (7:16//Luke 4:19); his deed recalls Elijah and Elisha (Luke 4:25-27), both of whom also raised a woman's only son (1 Kgs 17:17-24; 2 Kgs 4:18-37). In some cases, both members of the pair are special to Luke and display characteristic Lukan themes. Among these are the two annunciations, to Zachariah and to Mary (Luke 1:5-38); the two prophets who greet the child in the temple (2:25-29); the examples of the widow and the judge and the Pharisee and the publican (18:1-17); Peter's cure of lame Aeneas and his raising of Tabitha (Acts 9:32-43).

The second type might be termed "architectural" pairs: two similar stories are told in different contexts to bind the narrative together and to manifest the coherence of "God's plan and work."⁴¹ As a list of the twelve male disciples precedes the sermon on the plain (Luke 6:12-19), so a list of named women disciples precedes the parables sermon (8:1-3).

Lukan pairs of one or the other type can be detected in almost every chapter of the gospel:

two annunciations: to Zachariah and to Mary	1:5-23 1:26-38
two songs: of Mary and of Zachariah	1:46-56 1:67-79
two prophets: Simeon and Anna	2:25-35, 36-38
two miracles: for gentle widow and male leper	4:25-27 4:31-39
two first miracles: for possessed man and Peter's mother-in-law	(Mark 1:21-31) 6:12-19
two lists of named disciples: men apostles and women ministers	(Mark 3:12-19) 8:1-3
two rescues from death: the centurion's servant and the widow's son	7:1-10 (Matt 8:5-13) 7:11-17
two penitents: the paralytic and the penitent woman	5:19-26 (Mark 2:1-12) 7:35-50
three miracles: the Cerasene demoniac, the daughter of Jairus, the hemorrhaging woman	(Mark 14:1-11) 8:26-56 (Mark 5:1-43) 10:25-37
three questions about discipleship: the scribe Martha and the disciples	(Mark 12:28-34) 10:38-42 11:1-13
two gentle accusers of Israel: the Ninevites and the queen of the south	11:29-36 (Matt 12:38-42) 13:10-17
two "releases": the bent-over woman and the dropsical man	14:1-6 (Mark 3:1-6)
two hidden parables: man (?) planting mustard	13:18-19

woman hiding leaven	13:20-21 (Matt 13:31-33)
two hidden parables: man with sheep	15:1-7 (Matt 18:12-14)
woman with coin	15:8-10
two taken: men (?) sleeping, women grinding	17:32-35 (Matt 24:40-41)
two examples of prayer: widow, Pharisee and publican	8:9-17
two attitudes to worship: scribes and widow	20:45-21:4 (Mark 12:37-44)
two sets of followers: Simon and women	23:26-32 (Mark 15:21)
two groups of watchers: women and all his acquaintances	23:49 (Mark 15:40-41)
two groups of resurrection witnesses	24 (Mark 16:1-8)

It should be noted that, while the stories about women usually have been added by the author, not every story about a man is doubled with a story about a woman; men still outnumber women in the gospel.⁴² And in some cases, men are introduced to the narrative: men are added to the group of women watching at the cross (23:49).

Although the appearances of women are significantly fewer in Acts than in Luke, Acts also includes a number of references to women paired with men. But the pairs in the two works differ significantly. In Luke, the pairs consist of a variety of paired stories that form a single unit or a sequence and architectural pairs of stories, while in Acts most (though not all) of the references to women consist not of paired stories, but of either the names of couples or the merismus: "both men and women"

two groups waiting	1:13-14
menservants and maidservants, sons and daughters	2:17-18
Ananias and Sapphira	5:1-11
a crowd of both men and women added	5:14
Paul as persecutor of both men and women	8:3
both men and women added	8:12
Paul as persecutor of both men and women	9:2
Peter cures lame man and Tabitha	9:32-43
worshipping women and first men of the city	13:50
Paul driven from Lystra by cure of lame man	14:5-18
Paul driven from Philippi by cure of manic girl	16:16-40
Lydia baptized with all her household	16:15
jailer baptized with all his household	16:32-34
a great crowd of worshipping Greeks and not a few of the first women were persuaded	17:4
not a few respectable Greek women and men	17:12
Dionysius and Damaris converted at Athens	17:34
Paul received by Priscilla and Aquila	18:1-4

four prophesying daughters of Philip and Agabus, the prophet from Judea	21:8-14
Paul as persecutor of both men and women	22:4
Felix arrives with Drusilla	24:24
Agrippa and Bernike	25:13, 23, 26:30

The architectural pairs of women and men clearly serve the literary plan of the work. The two lists of disciples offer a good example; Luke uses them to create two parallel sections in the ministry of Jesus in Galilee and Judea. These sections consist of a suite of miracles and debates followed by a disciple list and a discourse; in each case the discourse closes with a reference to hearing and doing the word:

Lukan Parallel Sections	
4:31-5:16 cures, call of Peter	7:1-17 2 rescues from death: centurion's servant, gentle benefactor widow's son, "great prophet"
5:17-6:11 debates, call of Levi	7:18-50 2 debates: question of John, benefactions of Jesus—"a prophet and more" deed of woman, "if he were a prophet"
6:12-19 list of twelve	8:1-3 list of women disciples, women benefactors
6:20-49 sermon	8:4-21 parables discourse: mother and brother and sister
sermon closing:	
6:47-49 hearing and doing word	8:21 hearing and doing word

The first section, 4:31-6:49, consists primarily of narrative from Mark followed by a sermon from Q; in the second, 7:1-8:21, partially narrative material from Q alternates with narratives about women that are special to Luke and is followed by an abbreviated version of the parables sermon from Mark. The stories about women manifest Luke's christological concerns. The raising of the widow's son casts Jesus into the heroic mold of Elijah and Elisha, and the crowd's response acclaims him as a prophet (7:16). The story of the repentant woman both demonstrates Jesus' prophetic knowledge of the human heart and proclaims his prophetic message of forgiveness of debts and release from bondage (7:39; cf. 4:18-19; Acts 10:38).⁴³

While there is no doubt that this deployment of gender is intentional, it is less clear what the author's intentions are. Closer examination of 8:1-3 underlines the problems:

After that he was journeying from city to village preaching and proclaiming the reign of God and the twelve were with him, and some women who had been cured from evil spirits and diseases: Mary, called Magdalene, from whom seven

devils had gone out, and Johanna wife of Chuza the steward of Herod, and Susanna, and many other women, who used to minister to them from their resources.

These verses revise Mark 15:40-41, the list of women disciples at the cross. As I suggested above, the list has been brought forward to parallel the list of male disciples in Luke 6:12-16. This highlights the notable contrast between the treatment of these women and both Mark's view of them and the treatment of the male disciples. In Luke 6:12-16, the twelve were explicitly called, given the title "apostles," and associated with Jesus' ministry. In 8:1-3 the women are said to be with Jesus not as result of a special call, but out of gratitude for cures; they are not described as following (disciples), as the women in Mark 15:40-41 are, and they share in Jesus' ministry not by preaching and healing as the twelve do in 9:1-6, but by ministering to them (Jesus and the twelve) "out of their resources," that is, by supporting them, acting as benefactors to the preachers and leaders.⁴⁴

The same distinction between women and men appears in Acts 1:12-26. After a list of the remaining eleven (1:13-14), the author mentions the presence of women. The only named woman is Mary, the mother of Jesus; the women disciples named in 8:1-3 and 24:10 are not mentioned, though their presence must be assumed. These verses provide the introduction to the selection of Barnabas to replace Judas Iscariot in his "ministry and apostleship" (1:17, 25). The requirements for this role are defined here as including maleness (Acts 1:21; see above chapter 5).⁴⁵ Only after this distinction is made is the spirit poured out on "all your sons and daughters," all God's men slaves and women slaves (2:17-18).

Similarly, widows in Luke-Acts are distanced from a ministerial role. Acts speaks of widows as a group in 6:1-7 and 9:36-42; in both cases, widows are the recipients of charity. In Acts 6:1-7, the author narrates the creation of a separate ministry of the table distinct from the apostles' ministry of the word and the appointment of seven men to fill it. It is occasioned by dissension over the portions given to the widows of the Hellenists (probably the Greek-speaking community in Jerusalem), but the widows do not participate in the ministry; they are its objects. So, too, in 9:36-39, the widows, who might be considered to be the companions and associates of the disciple Dorcas, are actually described as the recipients of her alms in the form of garments she made (9:36-39).⁴⁶

In the gospel also, widows appear as emblems of vulnerability, and in one case, as contentious. Only one context in Mark mentions widows; in Mark 12:38-44, the accusation that scribes eat up houses of widows is contrasted with the widow who gives her whole living to the temple treasury. This contrast is adopted by Luke (20:45-21:4) and supplemented with a number of other examples: the widow of Sarepta (4:25-26); the widow of Nain (7:12); the troublesome widow and unjust judge (18:3-5); and Anna, the widow and prophetess in the temple (2:36-38). Luke's picture must be considered in light of 1 Tim 5:3-16, which explicitly restricts widows to forms of service that do not include preaching, teaching, or going about from house to house and also re-

stricts those who may be assisted as widows by requiring that they be once married, beyond the age of childbearing, celibate, and destitute.⁴⁸ For 1 Timothy, the widow's main task is to spend her days and nights in prayer (1 Tim 5:5).

Anna, Luke's ideal widow, offers both commonalities and points of contrast with 1 Timothy. A virgin until her marriage, Anna was married properly (though briefly) and once only and spends her time in the temple, worshipping God through fasting and praying. Luke does not share 1 Timothy's demand that young widows remarry, but approves Anna's early ascetic commitment. Though she has been stable rather than going from place to place, Anna's sphere is the public domain of the temple, and she is a prophet from Luke's era of the law and the prophets.⁴⁹ Thus, while Luke seems to treat widows as a distinct group, they are not allowed to take on the contours of a Christian ministry and function primarily as ascetics and exemplars of vulnerability and endurance. In antiquity, widows with either property or family might well have a relative degree of autonomy; this social reality may have instigated Luke, as well as 1 Timothy and later church orders, to restrict or deny their ministerial role in the community.⁵⁰

The question of prophecy raises further issues: the quotation of Joel that explains the outpouring of the spirit leads one to expect women prophets ("your daughters, God's maidservants") to figure prominently in Luke's narrative, particularly within the era of the church:

and it will be in those days, says God,
I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh,
and your sons and your daughters will prophesy,
and your youths will see visions
and your elders dream dreams
even upon my men slaves and women slaves
in those days I will pour out my spirit
and they will prophesy.
(Acts 2:17–18, Joel 2:29–30)

But this does not prove to be the case. Mary and Elizabeth both are given long and powerful prophetic utterances, but they are not explicitly said to prophesy and are distanced from the reader by the formal and archaic character of their speech and also by Luke's historical scheme: they belong to the period of the law and the prophets. So does Anna, who seems to have been modeled on Judith. Even so, although the reader is told that she spoke about the child Jesus to everyone entering and leaving the temple, Luke gives Anna no prophetic speeches. In Acts, the only Christian example of prophetic women is the four virgin daughters of Philip (Acts 21:8–9), but they are not permitted to speak. The prophecy of Paul's arrest in the succeeding verses is awarded to Agabus, the male prophet who is paired with them (21:10–14).⁵¹ When the manic servant girl in Acts 16:16–18 proclaims Paul's and Silas' mission, her words are not from the holy spirit, but from the demon from whom Paul frees her (Acts 16:16–18).

Within Jesus' ministry, women are no longer presented as prophets, but rather stories about women serve the portrait of Jesus as prophet. The woman

who pronounces a blessing on Jesus' mother in Luke 11:27–28 could be seen as speaking prophetically, but her prophecy is corrected by Jesus' response.⁵¹ Martha likewise speaks only to be corrected by Jesus; Mary, the sister of Martha (10:38–40), and the repentant woman (7:36–50), who are both approved and defended by Jesus, are themselves silent.

Most notably, the woman prophet who anoints Jesus in Mark, Matthew, and John disappears from the narrative. The only anointing in Luke is done by the repentant woman, who is identified not as a prophet, but as a sinner (7:37). She weeps and washes and kisses his feet, as well as anointing and wiping them with her hair (7:38). Jesus interprets her gesture as expressing love and penitence; she neither announces Jesus' messiahship nor predicts his death, but gives Jesus the opportunity to display his own prophetic knowledge of her heart and his host's (7:39–47) and to proclaim his message of release-forgiveness (*aphesis* 7:48–50; 4:18–19). In part this distancing of women from prophecy is due to Luke's christology and salvation history; references to the spirit and to prophecy, so frequent in Luke 1–4 and in Acts, disappear almost entirely after the sermon in the synagogue at Nazareth. Since Jesus is anointed with the spirit (4:18–19; Acts 10:37–38), his deeds are its manifestation, and it is wholly identified with his activity. But the twelve and the seventy (two) are able to share in his prophetic ministry of preaching and healing (9:1–2), and when a man responds to Jesus with a beatitude, his words are supplemented rather than corrected (14:15–24).⁵²

Thus Luke's multiplication of representations of women is accompanied by a corresponding limitation of their roles. Luke is concerned not with changing the status of women, but with the appropriate deployment of gender. The strategies that Luke uses to define the right roles of women also contribute to a construction of maleness. One indication of this is Luke's use of the word *anēr*, *andros* (man) as specifically male, as hero or as husband. Most of the other uses in the New Testament connote husband, or at least sexual partner. The speeches in Acts continually open with the address "men, Israelites," (or "men, brethren," or "men, Athenians").⁵³ The address does not so much exclude women from its audiences as construct these audiences (the audiences within the narrative, but also the readers and hearers) as solemn civic assemblies.⁵⁴ The public aspect of the community corresponds to Luke's heroic christology. Luke is virtually alone in the New Testament in defining Jesus as *anēr* (Luke 24:19; Acts 2:22).⁵⁵ Specifically as "a man, a prophet" (*anēr prophētēs*), a compilation that probably reflects the language and the heroic prophets of the Deuteronomistic history. The word *anēr* is used throughout Luke-Acts for heavenly figures⁵⁶ and the heroic martyrs Paul and Stephen.⁵⁷ The gospel, too, depicts Jesus as the heroic example of martyrdom by the courage and magnanimity with which he faces his death (Luke 23:33–48). In ancient martyr literature, women can also exemplify "maleness" (*andria*, courage).⁵⁸ But no women are praised for manly virtue in Luke-Acts.

Three interrelated concerns are among those that guide Luke's deployment of gender: the public character of the work, the desire to name and limit prophecy, and the character of Luke's interest in asceticism. The first then, is the public character of the two-volume work, its conception as history set in real time on

a world stage. Seim contextualizes Luke's interest in gender in terms of the Antic conviction that "the world of men is one, the world of women another."⁵⁹ While this apothegm captures Luke's careful division and presentation of male and female roles in the community, the cultural and political context of Luke-Acts is Roman rather than Antic.⁶⁰ The dual nature of Luke's treatment of women corresponds to the increasing Roman interest in signaling public meanings through appropriations of the domestic world, that is, to the political use of "family values" begun by Augustus.⁶¹ In the late first and early second century, public functions of the women of the imperial family appear to have increased; the imperial women accompanied Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines on campaigns,⁶² as Drusilla and Bernike do Felix and Agrippa in Acts (Acts 24:24, 25:13, 23).⁶³ The increasing appearance of *meritoni* and couples in Acts (except for Agrippa and Bernike, marital pairs) probably relates to the heightened prestige and public function of marriage in the late first century and early second century.⁶⁴

A second concern is the desire to tame and limit prophecy. Luke appears to have chosen prophecy as the central explanation for Jesus (and, in fact, for the apostles and ministers) because it is a Biblical role that translates with relative ease into the god-inspired man of Greek and Roman religion and philosophy. But it leaves Jesus and the early Christians open to the charge laid against Paul and Silas in the Roman colony, Philippi: "They are Jews, and proclaim customs which we are not permitted to receive or do, being Romans" (Acts 16:20-21). The author of Luke-Acts transforms glossolalia from unintelligible to universally intelligible language in Acts 2:5-12.⁶⁵ More importantly, the author restricts the apostolic role by cutting off the revelatory appearances of Jesus with the ascension story (11:1-26) and awarding a quasi appearance to Paul (9:1-10). Peter and Paul are carefully distinguished from a number of Jewish and Samaritan magicians over whom they conspicuously triumph: Simon Magus (8:9-25), the Jew Bar Jesus (13:6-12), and the seven sons of the Jewish high priest Sceva (19:11-20). Luke is clearly addressing the antique prejudice that equates Jews and other "orientals" with magic.⁶⁶ Antique prejudice also associated women with magic and with flirtations with oriental religions; at least one Roman author saw a woman prophet as the prototypical purveyor of Judaism to women:

No sooner has he pushed off than a palmed Jewess
Parking her haybox outside, comes round soliciting alms
In a breathy whisper. She knows and can interpret
The Laws of Jerusalem: a high priestess under the trees,
A faithful mediator of heaven on earth. She too
Fills her palm, but more sparingly: Jews will sell you
Whatever dreams you like for a few small coppers.⁶⁷

If this conjunction of Judaism, women, and prophecy in Juvenal's mind was shared by others of the imperial ruling class (or by the popular mind), it is not surprising that the author of Luke-Acts sought to minimize the undoubted participation of women in early Christian prophecy, as well as to dissociate Christianity from Judaism.⁶⁸

A third factor in this deployment of gender is the character of Luke's interest in asceticism. Sexual asceticism was by no means always hostile to women, as the story of Thecla shows (see chapters 11, 13, and 14). In fact renunciation of sexuality could allow for a more egalitarian leadership. Luke-Acts provides Anna as an exemplar of female asceticism, and presumably the virgin daughters of Philip are also to be seen as practitioners of asceticism.⁶⁹ Luke's revisions of the question about the woman married successively to seven brothers have frequently been interpreted as an endorsement of celibacy (20:20-23).⁷⁰ Further, Luke retains the prohibition of remarriage while eliminating prohibition of divorce (16:18). The wording of the saying assumes that only the behavior of the man is at issue, and even this saying functions primarily on the metaphorical level in Luke.⁷¹ While a husband may leave a wife for God's reign, the reverse is not stated, despite alternatives of leaving both parents and children, sisters and brothers (Luke 14:26, 18:29). As I suggested above, the prospect of a wife leaving a husband was seen as an assault on good order and particularly dangerous to a community under suspicion of un-Roman activities.⁷² Of particular interest is the relation between two sayings in Luke and *Gospel of Thomas*, Saying 79:

A woman from the crowd said to him, "Blessed are the womb that bore you and the breasts that nourished you."

He said to [her], "Blessed are those who have heard the word of the father and have truly kept it. For there will be days when you will say, 'Blessed are the womb which have not conceived and the breasts which have not given milk.'"⁷³

In Luke, the exchange of beatitudes appears separately (11:27-28), and the prediction that quotes a third beatitude is a prophecy of the revolt and fall of Jerusalem made to the women who weep for Jesus on the way to the cross (23:29). The conjunction of the sayings in Thomas constitutes an endorsement of celibacy for women. Seim suggests that it is addressed to the women of Jerusalem who weep over Jesus specifically to contrast them with the women followers of Jesus who are without children.⁷⁴ But it may be that Luke was inspired to reset the beatitude on the childless as a woe on Jerusalem by the need to avoid an explicit endorsement for celibacy for women. While sexual asceticism among women could enable their participation in prophecy and communal leadership, when asceticism was encouraged for men and discouraged for women, the anti-marriage tradition's misogynist arguments could emerge in the rationale for male celibacy. This never quite happens in Luke. But Luke's version of the banquet parable suggests that marrying a wife may hold a man back from the reign of God (14:20). When Ananias and Sapphira "lie to the holy spirit" by holding back part of the price of a field they sold, they do it jointly as a couple (Acts 5:1-10). The story may reflect Luke's concurrence in the view that marriage involves a man with material distractions from the world of the spirit.

The common factor in all of this is that the author includes women to display the good order in the private sphere that the Christians foster, and that makes them the best possible contributors to the public matter (*res publica*), potential citizens of Rome like Paul—even if, like Paul, they are so desperately misunderstood. This is not to say that the gospel reflects the reluctant concession of a

persecuted minority to the demands of a more rigid culture. Luke invites the Christian readers to exactly what he believes to be genuine good order—to what is safe not only because it is acceptable to Roman order, but also because it constitutes a kind of moral high ground. The Christians' women are omniscient, but properly behaved. Male and female roles are clearly and appropriately delineated. Women exhibit the excellence of the community by receiving the gift of prophecy, but they do nothing obstructive with it. They are chaste, and even celibate, but their chastity does not threaten marriage (as Thecla does) or remove them from the proper role of women within the well-ordered family. And all of this good order is due to the ordered dispensation of the spirit of God in the laying on of the apostles' hands.

Conclusion

The double message in Luke becomes conspicuous precisely because Luke has found it necessary to address gender directly. But a double message inheres in all of the gospel literature. In all four of the canonical gospels (as in Mary and in Thomas), women have some access to the spirit of prophecy. In all of the gospels, anxiety about sexuality and sexual propriety emerges as an obstacle to women's ability to exercise the authority that attends it. Femaleness in antiquity is defined by sexual contact. In John, Mark, and Matthew, the participation of women in communal prophecy is assumed, where issues of sexuality or gender are addressed at all, they are articulated in terms of infringements of propriety or holiness. The exception may be the final chapters of John, which seem to reflect struggles over communal leadership. But if Mary's gender is part of the struggle, this issue is never made explicit. In Luke-Acts, Mary and Thomas, the issue is addressed directly, and with strikingly different results. For Luke-Acts, women remain women; their role in the community deserves careful attention for the proper participation of women attests the good order and restraint of the Christians. For Mary, women's leadership, however problematic, resists directly on the revelations of the savior; no other consideration can intervene. For Thomas, femaleness remains an inhibition, but one that can, and must, be overcome; Mary becomes male. These varying positions by no means disappeared; they were espoused, rejected, combined, modified, and recombined in the long history of Christian attempts to accommodate its necessary and internal "others" and the concomitant history of women's attempts to accommodate or resist in return.

In retrospect, I want to return to a question I raised briefly above, the question of whether any of the four canonical gospels could have been the work of a woman. This is ultimately an unanswerable question; even the assumption of a male persons by Luke does not exclude the possibility that this Anonymous was a woman. Like Kraemer, I do not believe that a woman's authorship would necessarily be detectable by traces in the text, or that androcentric perspectives in a text exclude the possibility that a woman authored it.⁷⁵ Obviously, to be able to show that a woman wrote one of these works would offer the reassurance

that women did, indeed, write early Christian books and, even, the central scripture of early Christianity. But would it make any difference to the interpretation of the texts? On the whole, I have been inclined to argue that it would make very little difference: the worldview they enshrine is that of the early Christian communities. Allowing the texts to have women authors would only show what must already be assumed: that women, if they welcomed the participation that was permitted them, also in large part accepted the propriety of limitations that gender placed upon them—and taught it to their daughters. This would be most striking in the case of Luke's double message. But recently, my imagination has been stirred by Crossan's suggestion that the woman author of Mark may have enshrined her signature in the promise that the prophet who anointed Jesus will be remembered wherever the gospel is preached.⁷⁶

I do not, of course, wish to argue that the gospel was written by this woman prophet—or by any eyewitness to Jesus. But it has caused me to rethink the question, especially in the case of Mark and John. Mark ends with the silent women running from the empty tomb, and anonymous women figures, especially the Greek woman, offer themselves as ways for the audience to place themselves within the narrative. It is possible to postulate an early version of John ending with the figure of Mary Magdalene, charged with the message of Jesus' ascension, in which the voices of the Samaritan woman, of Martha and Mary, and of the mother of Jesus were even more prominent. To imagine a woman author of these works does not change the gendered arrangements they reflect. But it does cast the stories about women as signatures, as ways in which the writer declares herself within the narrative, placing a particular emphasis upon women of the final scenes. And this is a speculation that points the twentieth-century reader to what these gospels certainly had: women readers and women hearers for whom the gender of Mary Magdalene could be good news.

NOTES

1. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *But She Said: Feminist Practices of Biblical Interpretation* (Boston: Beacon) 97–98.
2. Franz Neirynck, "Synoptic Problem," in *New Jerome Biblical Commentary* ed. Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, and Roland E. Murphy (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1968) 587–94, esp. 589.
3. Helmut Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990) 284–86.
4. See the discussion by John Meier, "Matthew, Gospel of," *ABD* 4:624–25; Jack Dean Kingsbury, "Matthew, Gospel According to," in *HarperCollins Bible Dictionary*, ed. Paul J. Achtemeier (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996) 661.
5. Kathleen E. Corley, *Private Women, Public Men: Social Conflict in the Synoptic Tradition* (Pahoa, MA: Hendrickson, 1993) 185–186; see chapter 3.
6. Anthony Saldarini, *Matthew's Jewish-Christian Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1994); see also Saldarini, "The Gospel of Matthew and Jewish-Christian Conflict," in *Social History of the Matthew Community: Cross Disciplinary Approaches*, ed. David L. Balch (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1991) 38–61.

7. See Alan Segal, *Rebecca's Children: Judaism and Christianity in the Roman World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986); see also Segal, "Matthew's Jewish Voice," in Balch, *Social History* 3-37.
8. Saldarini (note 6 above) and Segal (note 7 above) address these tensions in their discussions; Corley (note 5 above) is less attentive to the problem. For a summary of relatively recent opinions on the issue, see John Meier, "Matthew" 624-72.
9. The phrase is that of Wayne Meeks, *The Moral World of the First Christians* (Library of Early Christianity 6; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986) 136.
10. W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966) 14-15. The exact beginnings and endings of some sermons are my own revisions of the standard views.
11. Antoinette Wire, "Gender Roles in a Scribal Community," in Balch, *Social History* 113.
12. This translation and all translations in the essay are my own unless otherwise noted.
13. Corley, *Private Woman* 171.
14. See Suzanne Dixon, *The Roman Mother* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988) 168-70.
15. Susan Treggiari, *Roman Marriage: Just Coniuges from the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991) 183-210.
16. John Hull, *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition* (Studies in Biblical Theology, Second Series, 28 London: SCM, 1974) 73-86; Mary Rose D'Angelo, "Theology in Mark and Q: Abba and 'Father' in Context," *HTR* 85 (1992) 156-62.
17. Amy-Jill Levine, "Discharging Responsibility: Matthew Jesus, Biblical Law and Hemorrhaging Women," in *Tessie New and Old: New Essays in Matthew Studies*, ed. Mark Allan Powell and David Bauer (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1996) 379-97. See also chapter 6 and D'Angelo, "Gender and Power in the Gospel of Mark: The Daughter of Jairus and the Woman with the Flow of Blood," in *Aspects of the Miraculous in Ancient Judaism and Christianity*, ed. John C. Cavadin (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, forthcoming).
18. Amy-Jill Levine, "Discharging Responsibility" 384-85.
19. *Ibid.* 396-97.
20. Corley, *Private Woman* 160-64.
21. Trans. Marvin Meyer, Q-Themes Reader, John S. Kloppenborg, M. Meyer, S. J. Patterson, and M. G. Steinhilber, eds. (Sonoma, CA: Polebridge, 1990) 150.
22. For a discussion of Wisdom christology in Matthew, see Celia Deutsch, "Wisdom in Matthew: Transformation of a Symbol," *NWT* 32 (1990) 13-47; also Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom and the Early Yoke: Wisdom, Tenth and Discipleship in Matthew* 11:25-30 (Sheffield, UK: JSOT, 1987); Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom, Jesus and the Sages: Metaphor and Social Context in Matthew's Gospel* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1996).
23. Similarly, Corley, *Private Woman* 147-51.
24. Wire, "Gender Roles" 105.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Mary Rose D'Angelo, "Remarriage and the Divorce Sayings Attributed to Jesus," in *Divorce and Remarriage: Religious and Psychological Perspectives*, ed. William P. Roberts (Kansas City, MO: Shedd and Ward, 1990) 83-84.
27. See Kraemer chapters 2 and 3.
28. D'Angelo, "Remarriage and the Divorce Sayings" 96-97.
29. *Shepherd of Hermas, Mandate* 4.4; see D'Angelo, "Remarriage and the Divorce Sayings" 98.
30. Treggiari, *Roman Marriage* 288.

31. See also Corley, *Private Woman* 158.
32. D'Angelo, "Remarriage and the Divorce Sayings" 96.
33. Corley, *Private Woman* 152-158.
34. R. M. Grant, "Marion, Gospel of," *ABD* 4:516-20.
35. Richard Pervo and Mikael Parson, *Rethinking the Unity of Luke and Acts* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1993).
36. This is a modified version of the schema described by Hans Conzelmann in *The Theology of St. Luke*, trans. Geoffrey Buswell (New York: Harper and Row, 1961) 150.
37. Constance E. Parvey, "The Theology and Leadership of Women in the New Testament," in *Religion and Sexism*, ed. Rosemary Radford Ruether (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974) 139-46; Eugene H. Maly, "Women and the Gospel of Luke," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 10 (1980) 99-104 and the literature cited therein; also Celeste J. Rossmiller, "Prophecy and Disciples in Luke's Infancy Narrative," *Bible Today* 22/6 (1984) 361-65; Rosalie Ryan, "The Women from Galilee and Discipleship in Luke," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 15 (1985) 56-59; Quentin Quesnel, "The Women at Luke's Supper," in *Political Issues in Luke-Acts*, ed. R. J. Cassidy and P. J. Scharper (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1983) 59-79; E. Jane Via, "Women, the Discipleship of Service and the Early Christian Ritual Meal in the Gospel of Luke," *St. Luke's Journal of Theology* 29 (1985) 37-60; Via, "Women in the Gospel of Luke," in *Women in the World's Religions: Past and Present*, ed. Ursula King (New York: Paragon House, 1987) 38-55.
38. For earlier critical views of Luke, see Elizabeth Teidow, *Women and Ministry in the New Testament* (New York: Paulist, 1980) 101; Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, "Word, Spirit and Power: Women in Early Christian Communities," in *Women of Spirit: Female Leadership in the Jewish and Christian Traditions*, ed. Rosemary Radford Ruether and Eleanor McLaughlin (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979) 52, n. 114; Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1983) 161; and Schüssler Fiorenza, "A Feminist Critical Interpretation for Liberation: Martha and Mary: Luke 10:38-42," *Religion and Intellectual Life* 3 (1986) 21-35.
39. From the title of Turid Karlsen Seim's book, *The Double Message: Patterns of Gender in Luke-Acts* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1994); see also Seim's commentary in Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *Searching the Scriptures: Volume 2, A Feminist Commentary* (New York: Crossroad, 1994). A very similar stance is taken by my article, "Women in Luke-Acts: A Redactional View," *JBL* 109 (1990) 441-61.
40. This technique was first discussed by Parvey ("Theology and Leadership of Women" 139-40). She points out that the pairing technique was noted by Jeremias in *The Parables of Jesus* (note 39).
41. On the technique, see Charles Talbert, *Litrary Patterns, Theological Themes and the Genre of Luke-Acts* (Missoula, MT: Society of Biblical Literature; distributed by Scholars Press, 1974). Cf. Acts 5:38-39, with 2:23, 13:36, 20:27.
42. Jane C. Schaberg, "Luke," in *The Women's Bible Commentary*, ed. Carol A. Newsom and Sharon H. Ringe (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox, 1992) 275-92.
43. For a more extensive discussion of the pairs and their function, see D'Angelo, "Women in Luke-Acts" 443-48.
44. On benediction in Luke, see D'Angelo, "Women in Luke-Acts" 449.
45. See, similarly, Seim, *Double Message* 111-12.
46. Seim, *Double Message* 229-48; see also Clarice Martin, "The Acts of the Apostles," in Schüssler Fiorenza, *Searching the Scriptures* 780-82.
47. See chapter 11, also chapter 13 below.
48. Seim, *Double Message* 221-48.
49. See chapter 13.

50. See also Martin, "Acts of the Apostles" 786-87; Ivoni Richter Reimer, *Women in the Acts of the Apostles: A Feminist Likelihood Perspective* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1995) 248-49, argues against "competition" between Agabus and the four women.
51. Mary Rose D'Angelo, "Blessed the One Who Reads and Those Who Hear: The Beatitudes in Their Biblical Contexts," in *New Perspectives on the Beatitudes*, ed. Francis A. Eigo (Proceedings of the Theology Institute of Villanova University; Villanova, PA, 1995) 56-61, 76-78.
52. D'Angelo, "Blessed the One Who Reads" 77.
53. Acts 1:16, compare 1:11, 2:14, 22, 29, 37; 3:12, 5:35; 7:2, 26; 14:15; 15:7, 13; 17:22, 19:25, 35; 21:28; 22:1, 23:1, 6; 25:24; 27:10, 21, 25, 26; 28:17.
54. D'Angelo, "Women in Luke-Acts" 449-450.
55. Anet appears in John 1:30 (the Baptist prophecy), also Eph 4:13.
56. Luke 9:30, 32; 24:4; 1:10; Acts 10:30; 16:9; cf. 10:19.
57. Acts 6:5; 21:11; 22:3; 23:27, 39; 25:1, 17.
58. See the apostrophe to the mother in 4 Macc 15:30: "O more noble than males for restraint and more manly than men for endurance!" See Elizabeth Castelli, "Virginity and Its Meaning for Women's Sexuality in Early Christianity," *JRS* 2 (1986) 74-78; Mary Rose D'Angelo, "Beyond Father and Son," in *Justice as Mission: An Agenda for the Church*, ed. T. Brown and C. Lind (Burlington, Ontario, Canada: Trinity, 1985) 109, 115, nn. 10-11.
59. Seim, *Double Message* 24.
60. It might be even better to say that it is both Roman and antiching: as Judith Perkins (The *Suffering Self: Pain and Narrative Representation in the Early Christian Era* [New York: Routledge, 1995] 47-50, 66-68) points out, the second century saw a revival of interest in at least the forms of citizenship in the Greek cities; but, in the case of Luke, interest in patriotism for Athens (Acts 17) and Ephesus (Acts 19:21-40) is explicitly subordinated to the attractions of Roman citizenship (Acts 16:19-40, 22:22-29) 150.
61. Treggiari, *Roman Marriage* 291-98; Karl Galinsky, *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996) 128-40.
62. J. V. P. D. Baldoon (Roman Women, Their History and Habits [New York: Barnes and Noble, 1983; first published New York: John C. Day, 1962] 63) regards this as a significant change over earlier imperial practice. He discusses it under "female emancipation." But it actually manifests the new importance of marriage described by Peter Brown ("Late Antiquity: The 'Wellborn' Few," in *A History of Private Life, Volume 1, From Pagan Rome to Byzantium*, ed. Paul Veyne [Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1987] 247-48), but attributed to the age of the Antonines.
63. The mention of women of social prestige or relatively high status (see also Acts 17:4 and 11-12 and Johanna in Luke 8:2) may serve pedagogical purposes by adding a touch of worldly glamour (as the *Romance of Joseph and Aseneth*, the Acts of [Paul and] Thecla, and the story of Cyren and Josine do for later Christianity).
64. See Peter Brown, "Late Antiquity."
65. See Kristier Stendahl, *Paul among Jews and Gentiles* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976) 116-18; Hans Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, ed. Eldon Jay Epp with Christopher R. Matthews, trans. James Limburg, A. Thomas Kraabel, and Donald H. Juel, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987) 15-16.
66. B. A. Mastin, "Scaeva the High Priest," *JTS* 27 (1976) 405-12.
67. *Séire* 6,541-548; trans. Peter Green, *The Sixteen Séires* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1969) 147-48.
68. D'Angelo, "Women in Luke-Acts" 451-53, 457-60.
69. Seim, *Double Message* 229-48.
70. *Ibid.* 208-9.

71. D'Angelo, "Remarriage and the Divorce Sayings" 97-98.
72. See chapter 6.
73. Trans. Thomas O. Lambdin, *Neg Hammadi: Library in English*, 3rd rev. edition; ed. James M. Robinson (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1988) 135.
74. Seim, *Double Message* 204-8.
75. Ross S. Kraemer, "Women's Authorship of Jewish and Christian Literature in the Greco-Roman Period," in "Women Like This": *New Perspectives on Jewish Women in the Greco-Roman Period*, ed. Amy-Jill Levine, *Early Judaism and Its Literature* I (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1991) 235.
76. John Dominic Crossan, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1991) 416.