

# Re-Making the World: Christianity and Categories

Edited by  
TAYLOR G. PETREY

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament  
434*

---

**Mohr Siebeck**

# Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

Herausgeber/Editor

Jörg Frey (Zürich)

Mitherausgeber/Associate Editors

Markus Bockmuehl (Oxford) · James A. Kelhoffer (Uppsala)  
Tobias Nicklas (Regensburg) · Janet Spittler (Charlottesville, VA)  
J. Ross Wagner (Durham, NC)

434





# Re-Making the World: Christianity and Categories

Essays in Honor of Karen L. King

Edited by

Taylor G. Petrey

Associate Editors

Carly Daniel-Hughes, Benjamin H. Dunning,  
AnneMarie Luijendijk, Laura S. Nasrallah

Mohr Siebeck

TAYLOR G. PETREY is an associate professor of religion at Kalamazoo College. He holds a ThD and MTS from Harvard Divinity School.

CARLY DANIEL-HUGHES is an associate professor of religions and cultures at Concordia University. She holds a ThD and MDiv from Harvard Divinity School.

BENJAMIN H. DUNNING is a professor of theology at Fordham University. He holds a PhD from Harvard University.

ANNEMARIE LUIJENDIJK is a professor of religion at Princeton University. She holds a ThD from Harvard Divinity School and a ThM from the Vrije Universiteit.

LAURA S. NASRALLAH is the Buckingham Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation at Yale Divinity School and Yale University. She holds a ThD and MDiv from Harvard Divinity School.

ISBN 978-3-16-156581-6 / eISBN 978-3-16-156582-3

DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-156582-3

ISSN 0512-1604 / eISSN 2568-7476

(Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2019 Mohr Siebeck Tübingen, Germany. [www.mohrsiebeck.com](http://www.mohrsiebeck.com)

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations and storage and processing in electronic systems.

The book was typeset by epline in Böblingen using Minion typeface, printed on non-aging paper by Gulde Druck in Tübingen, and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

## Preface

On behalf of the volume's editors, the joy we had in this project was in putting all of this together in honor of Karen L. King, who has profoundly influenced each of those involved, and so many more. She has instructed us all in her classroom teaching, scholarship, and mentorship. What's more, she has taught us through her dignity, integrity, and character as she has faced trials and triumphs. We put this volume together to honor her contributions to the field, to celebrate her 65<sup>th</sup> birthday, and to wish her well as she begins her retirement. She has a rich legacy.

I first met Karen L. King as a masters student at Harvard Divinity School in 2002 and later became a doctoral student in the New Testament and Early Christianity program. I took numerous classes with her and she eventually became my adviser and directed my dissertation. I learned from her to think in new ways and to push boundaries, and I shared in a vibrant intellectual community among her students and colleagues. This has been a singular privilege in my life. Since then, she has continued to mentor me, and I am so fortunate to count her as a friend.

I want to thank my co-editors Carly, Ben, AnneMarie, and Laura for their work bringing this to fruition. Putting this volume together with my colleagues has been an incredible privilege. Working with such a distinguished list of contributors whose essays offer significant advances in scholarship on a number of key questions was a thrill. The friends who comprise the editorial team were diligent and collegial and supportive of one another, and we all drew closer together in our collaboration and friendship. We all worked to conceive of the scope and subjects of the volume, shared the editorial work, and assisted one another in making decisions. Special thanks to Carly who secured funding to help complete the project. On behalf of my associates, we wish to thank Colby Gaudet for his copy-editing. We also thank the team at Mohr Siebeck including Katharina Gutekunst, Elena Müller, and Tobias Stäbler who supported this volume and shepherded it along the various stages toward publication.

We offer congratulations to our dear colleague and friend Karen and wish her all the best in the next phase of her career. Many happy returns.

Kalamazoo, MI, USA, March, 2019

Taylor G. Petrey



## Table of Contents

Preface .....	V
---------------	---

*Benjamin H. Dunning and Laura S. Nasrallah*

Introduction .....	1
--------------------	---

### I. Categories

*Daniel Boyarin*

Mark 7:1–23 – Finally .....	19
-----------------------------	----

*Elaine Pagels*

How John of Patmos' Readers Made Him into a Christian .....	35
---	----

*T. Christopher Hoklotubbe*

What is Docetism? .....	49
-------------------------	----

*Giovanni B. Bazzana*

Beyond "Gnosticism": Pneumatology and Ecclesiology in 2 Clem 14 .....	73
---	----

*Judith Hartenstein*

The Designation "Gnostic" for the Gospel of Mary and Its Implications: A Critical Evaluation .....	95
---	----

*Marcie Lenk*

Parted Ways Meet Again: Messianic Judaism in Israel .....	113
---	-----

### II. Women and Gender

*Carly Daniel-Hughes*

Mary Magdalene and the Fantasy Echo: Reflections on the Feminist Historiography of Early Christianity .....	135
--	-----

*Adele Reinhartz*

Wise Women in the Gospel of John .....	159
--	-----



*Angela Standhartinger*

Performing Salvation: The Therapeutrides and Job's Daughters in Context 173

*Margaret Butterfield*

The Widow, the Wife, and the Priestess:

Tertullian's Life Plans for Widows in *Ad uxorem* . . . . . 197

*Silke Petersen*

Marriages, Unions, and Bridal Chambers in the Gospel of Philip. . . . . 213

*Taylor G. Petrey*

Cosmic Gender: Valentinianism and Contested Accounts of

Sexual Difference . . . . . 235

*Ronit Irshai*

Feminist Research in Jewish Studies: What's in a Name? . . . . . 257

### III. Historiography

*Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza*

Re-Visioning "Christian" Beginnings . . . . . 279

*Stanley Stowers*

Locating the Religion of Associations . . . . . 301

*Carlin Barton*

A Roman Historian Looking at Early Christian *religiones*:

The *coniuratio* and the *sacramentum* in Second and Early Third-century

North Africa . . . . . 325

*Denise Kimber Buell*

This Changes Everything: Spiritualists, Theosophists, and Rethinking

Early Christian Historiography . . . . . 345

*Bernadette Brooten*

Courage, Betrayal, and the Roman State: Persons Enslaved to Christians

in the Persecution at Lyons (177 CE) . . . . . 369

*AnneMarie Luijendijk*

The Gospel of Mary at Oxyrhynchus (P. Oxy. L 3525 and P. Ryl. III 463):  
Rethinking the History of Early Christianity through Literary Papyri  
from Oxyrhynchus ..... 391

IV. Epilogue

*Sarah Sentilles*

As If the Way We Think about the World is the Way the World Is ..... 423

List of Contributors ..... 435

General Index ..... 437



## Introduction

*Benjamin H. Dunning and Laura S. Nasrallah*

Telling the story of Karen King's many contributions to the study of New Testament and early Christianity is a difficult task. One distillation of her decades of work in the field is found in an important 2008 chapter in the *Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, "Which Early Christianity?" The very title gives us a glimpse into King's contributions, which provide data and analytical tools for investigating the varieties of early Christianity. In this chapter, she offers a succinct formulation of one of the most pressing historiographical issues in early Christian studies:

Throughout the history of Christianity, diverse beliefs and practices would ebb and flow on the tides of historical change and conflict, navigating and sometimes floundering with ever-shifting geographical, social-political, and cultural contexts as Christianity expanded from a tiny movement to a global religion. The issues, actors, and contexts would vary, but diversity would continue to characterize Christianity, even in the face of powerful claims to unity and uniformity. The question is how to represent this ever-shifting diversity adequately.<sup>1</sup>

The drive to present (true) Christian belief and practice as singular runs deep in the tradition, inflecting many of its earliest narratives and theological claims and even cutting across specific positions that conflict with one another. We can see the template for what King calls "the master narrative of Christian origins" emerging at least as early as the conclusion to the Gospel of Luke:<sup>2</sup> "And [Jesus] said to them, 'Thus it is written, that the Messiah is to suffer and to rise from the dead on the third day, and that repentance and forgiveness of sins is to be proclaimed in his name to all nations, beginning from Jerusalem. You are witnesses of these things'" (24:46–48 NRSV). Here Jesus reveals a supposedly pure, original gospel to his disciples and charges them as witnesses to carry this deposit to the rest of the world. The book of Acts further clarifies that this initial deposit is entrusted first and foremost to twelve male followers and that their charge entails both pneumatic empowerment and a specific geographical mandate, which subsequently shapes the text's narrative arc: "But you will receive power when the

---

<sup>1</sup> Karen L. King, "Which Early Christianity?" in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, ed. Susan Ashbrook Harvey and David G. Hunter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 66.

<sup>2</sup> King, "Which Early Christianity," 67.

Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth” (1:8 NRSV). Diversity of opinion and dissension within the movement are therefore presented either as temporary and eventually resolved (Acts 15) or as the seeds of heresy, threatening the otherwise unbroken chain of truth – as in the case of Simon, a believing and baptized follower of Christ (8:13) who, by virtue of his conflict with Peter, comes to be figured by numerous sources in the later tradition as diabolically inspired and the father of all heresies (see, e. g., Justin, *1 Apol.* 26, Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.23; 3, preface).

King’s “Which Early Christianity” and her larger corpus ask that we pay attention to nascent templates for making sense of difference in Christianized terms, such as the one found in Eusebius of Caesarea’s enormously influential *Ecclesiastical History* in the early fourth century:

It is my purpose to record: the successions from the holy apostles and the periods extending from our Savior’s time to our own; the many important events that occurred in the history of the church; those who were distinguished in its leadership at the most famous locations; those who in each generation proclaimed the Word of God by speech or pen; the names, numbers, and ages of those who, driven by love of novelty to the extremity of error, have announced themselves as sources of knowledge (falsely so-called) while ravaging Christ’s flock mercilessly, like ferocious wolves; the fate that overtook the whole Jewish race after their plot against our Savior; the occasions and times of the hostilities waged by heathen against the divine Word and the heroism of those who fought to defend it, sometimes through torture and blood; the martyrdoms of our own time and the gracious deliverance provided by our Savior and Lord, Jesus the Christ of God, who is my starting point. (1.1.1–2; trans. Maier)<sup>3</sup>

Here we see more fully articulated a trajectory that has served, more or less, as the basic hegemonic narrative of Christian origins for the greater part of two millennia. There is rhetorical power to this plot, a story of twists and turns whereby God managed to preserve Christian truth, embodied in Jesus Christ, through all sorts of external attacks, until finally bringing about deliverance through the Emperor Constantine. And yet, while this may be a compelling plot, it is also a selective one. It is an account of certain locales, communities, and events but not others. It is an account that erases legitimate debates whose outcomes were genuinely not known in advance, whitewashes competing visions of Jesus’ teaching and why it matters, and positions diversity that could not be easily assimilated or coopted as irredeemably beyond the pale.

Unsurprisingly, alternative evidence abounds, and King’s career has been steeped in detailing and explaining such evidence. Eusebius’s rhetorical alignment of a fixed origin (“my starting point” – that is, Jesus Christ as singular and singularly understood) with essence and truth works to obscure the otherwise

---

<sup>3</sup> Paul L. Maier, *Eusebius – The Church History: A New Translation with Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 1999), 21.

seemingly obvious historiographical insight that whatever point we fix as *the* beginning is always, historically speaking, already a point in the flow. In this particular case, the tradition itself problematizes any notion of a singular point of origin, insofar as the New Testament preserves four conflicting accounts of Jesus' life, death, and ongoing significance (the last not necessarily always aligned with bodily resurrection in a straightforward way). Many more possibilities and stories exist or did exist at some early point, even if now lost.

For example, the Gospel of Mary – with its theological promise of a Jesus who dialogues with a woman, on the one hand, and whose words allow for a questioning of the very idea of sin, on the other – is only one voice, but a key one that King has made accessible through her translation and contextualization of the text. Yet evidence for debate and contrary opinions at Christianity's very start is not limited to this one early (perhaps second-century) extracanonical text. Diversity characterized Christ-following communities from the very beginning. In his first letter to the Corinthians, the apostle Paul buttresses his appeal for unity with the acknowledgment that “it has been reported to me by Chloe's people that there are quarrels among you, my brothers and sisters. What I mean is that each of you says, ‘I belong to Paul,’ or ‘I belong to Apollos,’ or ‘I belong to Cephas,’ or ‘I belong to Christ’ (1:11–12 NRSV). Citing this passage, King notes, “It would seem that the questions ‘Which Christianity? Whose Christianity?’ were posed very early, even before the gospels and most of the New Testament literature had been composed, and at a time when the number of believers must have been very small indeed.”<sup>4</sup> Yet the drive to answer definitively the question of “which early Christianity” in the singular by way of domesticating or demonizing difference appears to be equally early – and to extend through the tradition in ways not limited to the New Testament or other texts that later came to be classified as “orthodox” (see, e. g., Apoc. Pet. 76–79; Testim. Truth; Ptolemy, *Flor.* 33.3.2–3).<sup>5</sup>

Karen King's work shows that Christianity was diverse from its first moments – even before the word “Christian” was coined – and insists that scholars must engage both in deep historical work and in ethical reflection. Whatever one's goal in reconstructing early Christianity, she argues, “such work should be based in an adequate comprehension of the multifarious practices of early Christians, including their constructions of identity and difference.”<sup>6</sup> To this end, a class that King has long taught, titled “Orthodoxy and Heresy,” deconstructs the history of those terms. In this course, as in her publications, King demonstrates how ancient Christians accused each other of heresy – a term originally emerging from the Greek *haeresis*, meaning “choice” or “sect” or “school” – and

<sup>4</sup> King, “Which Early Christianity,” 66.

<sup>5</sup> See Karen L. King, *What Is Gnosticism?* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 53.

<sup>6</sup> King, “Which Early Christianity,” 81.

made claims of orthodoxy for themselves. In the introduction to her translation of the Apocryphon of John, she explains that “[early Christians] developed distinct ways of contesting orthodoxy and heresy, and in so doing they created discourses of identity and difference that would pervade the West for millennia to come.”<sup>7</sup> King has long argued that the texts discovered at Nag Hammadi in the mid-twentieth century should not be read as “Gnostic,” but instead as part of the diversity of early Christianity. Her expertise in the Coptic language has allowed her to bring these texts into the orbit of mainstream scholarly conversations within early Christian studies. One important aspect of King’s work has been to break down the barriers that ecclesial and scholarly traditions have constructed between various forms of Christianity in antiquity. Thus, in her work, a text from the so-called gnostic author Valentinus can sit alongside one from Origen, and Irenaeus can join the conversation even as the Apocryphon of John does.

King does this sort of work by precise attention to the details of ancient literature. Her first book, *Revelation of the Unknowable God*, is a text, translation, and explanation of *Allogenes*, a challenging text within the Nag Hammadi codices.<sup>8</sup> Her *Gospel of Mary of Magdala* makes that fascinating dialogue between Mary and the Savior accessible to popular audiences. *The Secret Revelation of John* provides in lucid translations the extant versions of the Apocryphon of John; she contextualizes the text within Jewish and Christian interpretive trends in antiquity and shows the way in which its imagination of a utopian Divine Realm still draws from the “central values that underlie the power arrangements current in the Mediterranean world under Roman domination.”<sup>9</sup> Her co-publication with Elaine Pagels of *Reading Judas* provides an accessible translation and discussion of the fragmentary Gospel of Judas, a text that indicates, according to King’s interpretation, that the very idea of and meaning of a martyr was contested among early Christians.

King’s careful work in translation and the production of accessible editions needs to be situated within her larger undertaking of reconsidering the historiography of early Christianity. Her *What is Gnosticism?* exposes the way in which a scholarly category, once invented, was then naturalized as a historical phenomenon. She demonstrates that what is at stake in the scholarly work of defining Gnosticism is a theological and ideological struggle not unlike those that we find in early Christian texts, which worked to include and to exclude various proximate others. She also illuminates how much is at stake for scholars as they approach the project of telling the story of Christian origins. Scholarly interpretations of how similar Christianity was to Judaism, or how many affini-

<sup>7</sup> Karen L. King, *The Secret Revelation of John* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 1.

<sup>8</sup> Karen L. King, *Revelation of the Unknowable God: With Text, Translation and Notes to NHC XI, 3 Allogenes* (Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge Press, 1995).

<sup>9</sup> King, *Secret Revelation of John*, 173.

ties Christianity had with so-called Hellenistic philosophy or with celebrations of knowledge found among those then labelled “Gnostics,” reveal something about ancient texts and communities. But they reveal just as much about the scholars’ own times and commitments: how they define Christianity, how they define Judaism, what assumptions they make about how a pure and sui generis religion can emerge.

King’s work emerges from the traditions of historical criticism, which produced such narratives of the origins of Christianity and its distinctiveness from – and/or similarities to – “Judaism” and “Gnosticism.” But her work also breaks from historical criticism in important ways. The advent of historical criticism within modern New Testament scholarship opened up new possibilities for interpreting ancient evidence, not only providing methodological tools to render early Christian diversity more easily visible, but also situating it within new historical narratives. Walter Bauer’s landmark thesis that the earliest forms of Christianity were regionally specific – that is, originally characterized by a highly localized diversity of belief and practice – is well known.<sup>10</sup> While critiquing many facets of Bauer’s analysis, scholars have built on and amplified his larger thesis, integrating newly discovered textual evidence (e. g., Nag Hammadi, Oxyrhynchus) along with familiar sources in order to reconstruct distinct and bounded (hypothetical) communities of early Christians. Here particular locales, noteworthy theological positions or interpretive techniques, and the authority of individual apostles have all functioned in various combinations to demarcate putative social formations. As King summarizes, “Texts were read as reflections of the historical situations of communities that produced them. Theological differences in the texts frequently (and problematically) came to be read as ciphers for communities in conflict.”<sup>11</sup>

These historiographical techniques rely on questionable methodological assumptions; accordingly, more recent scholarship has done much both to clarify the theoretical issues and to question the historical conclusions that such assumptions yield. A rich tradition of feminist biblical interpretation has emphasized that early Christian texts are tendentious and rhetorical. These texts do not reflect a preexistent social reality in a simple or straightforward way, but rather work to persuade readers, inducting them into and/or confirming their place within particular systems of truth and meaning.<sup>12</sup> As Elizabeth Clark reminds us from the standpoint of the so-called linguistic turn, the evidence

---

<sup>10</sup> Walter Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1971).

<sup>11</sup> King, “Which Early Christianity,” 69.

<sup>12</sup> Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *Rhetoric and Ethic: The Politics of Biblical Studies* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999); see also discussion in Katherine A. Shaner, “Feminist Biblical Interpretation,” in *The Oxford Handbook of New Testament, Gender, and Sexuality*, ed. Benjamin H. Dunning (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).



we have from the ancient world does not necessarily lend itself to techniques of analysis drawn from the social sciences: “social-scientific appropriations obscured the fact that scholars of late ancient Christianity deal not with native informants, nor with masses of data amenable to statistical analysis, but with texts – and texts of a highly literary, rhetorical, and ideological nature.”<sup>13</sup> Frederik Wisse puts a finer point on one of the key historiographical difficulties that afflicts the project of reconstructing Christian origins: “It is as difficult to disprove that specific communities were the real referents of early Christian literary texts as it is to prove it ... [T]here are simply too many contingencies that bear on the composition of literary texts to allow inferring indirect evidence from them about the historical situation in which they were written.”<sup>14</sup> But if this point is granted, what then? How might we sift, organize, and evaluate the evidence differently in order to tell the history of early Christianity otherwise?

To tell a different history of early Christianity, we must question not what analytical categories we ought to use, but the very nature of categorization itself: what it is, how it works, whom it serves in any given context, and to what ends. Jonathan Z. Smith rightly notes that “‘otherness’ is not a descriptive category, an artifact of the perception of difference or commonality ... Something is ‘other’ only with respect to something ‘else.’ Whether understood politically or linguistically, ‘otherness’ is a situational category. Despite its apparent taxonomic exclusivity, ‘otherness’ is a transactional matter, an affair of the ‘in between.’”<sup>15</sup> King has been at the forefront of thinking through the challenges and the opportunities that these insights pose to the task of narrating the history of early Christianity. The formulation of a way forward that she has offered to the field remains characteristically her own:

Given that there are many ways to map difference, and given that any categorization of early Christian diversity will both illumine some things and distort or hide others, depending upon its aims ..., any resulting typologies would necessarily be positional and provisional; that is, they would be understood as scholarly constructs intended to do limited kinds of carefully specified intellectual work in order to serve some particular end.<sup>16</sup>

Elsewhere, she specifies, “I have suggested that to think hard and speak differently require revising our notions of tradition and history, reshaping discourse,

---

<sup>13</sup> Elizabeth A. Clark, *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 159.

<sup>14</sup> Frederik Wisse, “Indirect Textual Evidence for the History of Early Christianity and Gnosticism,” in *For the Children, Perfect Instruction: Studies in Honor of Hans-Martin Schenke*, ed. Hans-Gebhard Bethge, Stephen Emmel, Karen L. King, and Imke Schletterer (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 227, 229.

<sup>15</sup> Jonathan Z. Smith, *Relating Religion: Essays in the Study of Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 275.

<sup>16</sup> King, “Which Early Christianity,” 72–3.

categories, and methods, and above all, rethinking the ethically informed goals of historical analysis.<sup>17</sup>

One way to revise our notions of tradition and history, King suggests, is to move away from a static model of strictly delineated “communities in conflict” to one that attends to the variegated and ever evolving work of ancient identity formation. Such an approach eschews the essentializing assumption that early Christian difference was simply *there* – and is thus now available to the contemporary historian as a kind of fully formed “found object” to be situated uncritically within a historical narrative. Rather, this approach “aims to understand the discursive strategies and processes by which early Christians developed notions of themselves as distinct from others within the Mediterranean world (and were recognized as such by others), including the multiple ways in which Christians produced various constructions of what it meant to be Christian.”<sup>18</sup> It includes being attentive to both the ways in which Christians sought to carve up the world into “us” and various forms of “them” (Jews, Greeks, Romans, etc.) and also the rhetorical strategies they used to conjure internal plurality into being by way of marking certain differences among Christ-followers as those that made a difference (the discourse of orthodoxy and heresy).

King also analyzes what early Christians said and wrote as a mode of *practice*, following the insight, expressed well by Foucault, that “to speak is to do something – something other than to express what one thinks .... [A] change in the order of discourse does not presuppose new ideas, a little invention and creativity, a different mentality, but transformations in a practice, perhaps also in neighbouring practices, and in their common articulation.”<sup>19</sup> Here King has been one of the key scholars to introduce to the field of early Christian studies the work of the sociologist and practice theorist Pierre Bourdieu.<sup>20</sup> Drawing on Bourdieu’s notions of *habitus*, field, and *doxa*, among others, she has unpacked with clarity and precision the complex logics whereby early Christian discursive formations impose regularity while allowing for some modicum of improvisation, spontaneity, and change. “The results of this historiographical method,” she contends, “[is] to demonstrate where and how the ‘textual’ resources, cultural codes, literary themes, hermeneutical strategies, and social-political interests of various rhetorical acts of Christian literary production, theological reflection, ritual and ethical practices, and social construction simultaneously form multiple overlapping continuities, disjunctures, contradictions, and discontinuities,

<sup>17</sup> King, *What Is Gnosticism?*, 236, with reference to Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, vol. 3 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 274.

<sup>18</sup> King, “Which Early Christianity,” 73.

<sup>19</sup> Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* (New York: Pantheon, 1972), 209.

<sup>20</sup> King, *What Is Gnosticism?*, 239–47; see also Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990).

both locally and trans-locally.”<sup>21</sup> King’s emphasis on practice works to decenter the primacy of high literary or theological texts in the project of historical reconstruction. Yet, as noted above, her work does not neglect close textual analysis (and indeed, many of her signature contributions have been in the interpretation of specific early Christian texts), but rather resituates these texts as one kind of evidence among many, always in dynamic relation to alternative genres of textual evidence, material culture, institutions, and other social structures.

This work of resituating, redescribing, and recategorizing entails ethics. For as her former and current students can attest (ourselves included), in both her research and her teaching, King not only poses questions of practice – i. e., what work does the historical data under analysis *do* within a given cultural field? – but also relentlessly asks: what is at stake for the ancient world, the contemporary world (with an eye to the plurality of worlds and selves – scholarly, religious, etc. – that we all inhabit), and the complex interplay between the two in how we both formulate and answer such questions? Questions King regularly poses in the classroom insist on historical precision. Her oft repeated question “What is the evidence evidence of?” makes colleagues and students alike turn to situate a piece of evidence in a broader social and political context of power; the simple question requires the difficult two-step path of describing the evidence and contextualizing it adequately, not allowing oneself to be swayed by the rhetorical context of an ancient text or the assertions of modern scholars about the nature of the evidence. Her frequent phrase “good to think with” (*bonnes à penser*), borrowed from Lévi-Strauss, pushes students and colleagues alike to notice tropes in early Christianity and to consider the varied use of an idea – suffering, for example, or a paradigmatic female figure such as Mary Magdalene – toward ethical ends in antiquity and today.

For example, in her “Christianity and Torture,” King explicitly confronts the issue of the lack of a condemnation of torture in New Testament texts, and the ethical problems this raises:

Some might wonder why I, as a Christian who opposes torture, go to such lengths to expose the possibilities within Christian tradition for supporting torture . . . . Opposition to torture on religious grounds will not be effective without acknowledging and addressing the fact that enculturated ways of thinking and structures of feeling cultivated in Christian stories, images, and theological discourses are implicated in a wide variety of attitudes and behaviors, both for and against torture . . . . How do religious communities, human rights advocates, or other voices effectively engage this tradition without enabling its potential for violence? This is a dilemma not only for believers but for all whose heritage includes these and similar cultural “logics” of feeling and thought.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> King, “Which Early Christianity,” 80–81.

<sup>22</sup> Karen L. King, “Christianity and Torture,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Violence*, ed. Michael Jerryson, Mark Juergensmeyer, and Margo Kitts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 302.

Elsewhere, King argues, “The task at hand is to enable an ethics of critical-reflexive practice in historiography and theology ... we must explore critically [religious traditions’] past and potential implications in violence as well as liberation, in injustice as well as justice. Critical practice necessarily involves accountability.”<sup>23</sup> Such critical self-reflexivity need not lead to the disavowal or dismantling of the tradition. Rather, King avers, “For myself and others, the ethical point that follows from diversity is not relativism, but the need to take responsibility for how scripture and tradition are read and appropriated.”<sup>24</sup>

Karen King’s publications and teaching upend facile uses of New Testament texts and simple narratives of early Christian history. Her work has demonstrated, with philological, historical, and historiographical precision, the effervescence of what we call early Christianity but might well call early Christianities: the leadership of women; the complexities of theological debates over the worth of the body, sin, and martyrdom; the possibilities for transformative modes of thought; and, indeed, the scholarly and ideological stakes of how we define the ancient religious formations we study. The scholars in this volume engage her signature contributions to the field in three parts or acts. The first act treats the topic of categories, celebrating the sort of work that King did in *What is Gnosticism?*, which fundamentally pushed us to throw away a scholarly construction of people called Gnostics that we had naturalized as existing in early Christianity or even before. The second act treats the topic of women and gender. Since her first edited volume, *Images of the Feminine in Gnosticism*, and her contributions to feminist projects such as *Searching the Scriptures*, King’s work has long helped to open our eyes to evidence for the agency, significance, and power of women in earliest Christianities, the variety of ways in which gender could be performed in antiquity, and the engagement of early Christian texts in ethical debates that demonstrate how sexual practices and theology go hand in hand.<sup>25</sup> The third act focuses on historiography, asking how we can write different histories of the earliest Christianities that King has helped us to see, or different stories of women and gender in the study of religion.

## Categories

One of the major contributions of Karen King’s work has been to question what used to look like stable categories in the history of early Christianity: Gnosticism, orthodoxy, heresy; her work exposes the ways in which theological and scholarly communities either have invented or have continued to trade in labels that limit

<sup>23</sup> King, *What Is Gnosticism?*, 246.

<sup>24</sup> King, “Which Early Christianity,” 81.

<sup>25</sup> Karen L. King, ed. *Images of the Feminine in Gnosticism* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1988).

our understanding of the diversity and choices available among earliest Christian communities. Several chapters engage the question of category criticism.

In “Mark 7:1–23, Finally,” Daniel Boyarin begins by acknowledging the significance of King’s work and conversations with her for his own developing sense of how the categories of “Jews” and “Christians” can obscure our understanding of ancient interactions in antiquity. He then offers a detailed analysis of Mark 7, reading the words of Jesus regarding food and cleanliness within halakhic debates of the time. He argues that Mark 7:1–12 not only presents an attack on Pharisaic deviations from Leviticus, but also demonstrates that Jesus kept kosher – or that the Gospel of Mark thought he did.

Elaine Pagels’s “How John of Patmos’ Readers Made Him into a Christian” questions whether the category of “Christian” can be applied to the visions of the Apocalypse of John. She offers a resounding no, joining those who have pointed out John’s Jewishness. Her chapter shows that John’s engagement with Isaiah’s prophecy fits within the logic of Jewish prophetic material and offers a vision of the entry of Israel, and then repentant Gentiles, into a new Jerusalem.

T. Christopher Hoklotubbe’s chapter, “What is Docetism?,” suggests that we set aside our modern category (and subcategories) of docetism. We should instead look for “more productive classifications and more dynamic questions about the representation of Jesus’ body in early Christian literature.” Treating a span of literature and figures such as the epistles of John, the corpus associated with Ignatius of Antioch, Basilides, Marcion, Valentinus, the Gospel of Peter, Julius Cassian, Saturninus and Cerdo as we know them from Irenaeus and (Pseudo) Tertullian, and the Acts of John, Hoklotubbe shows a variety of Christian responses to the idea of Jesus’ body. He writes, “Following the exemplary critical insights and pedagogy of King, I strive to (re)enchant students with the ambiguity, creativity, scriptural interpretation, the pastoral and polemical motivations, and existential stakes involved in early Christian questions about the nature of Jesus’ human experience that were by no means simply apparent – Christianity was still ‘in the making!’”

Giovanni Bazzana’s “Beyond Gnosticism: Pneumatology and Ecclesiology in 2 Clem 14” focuses on the theology and conversation partners of this difficult passage. Bazzana argues that the image of a pre-existent church makes sense in relation to other first- and second-century literature, especially the Shepherd of Hermas and aspects of Paul’s 1 Corinthians. Christ, understood as *pneuma*, as well as an experience of spirit possession, were “foundational for membership in the Christ movement.” Yet 2 Clement offers a surprising twist. Christ-followers are possessed not by *pneuma* but by *ekklesia*, a pneumatic entity, in that text.

Judith Hartenstein’s “The Designation ‘Gnostic’ for the Gospel of Mary and Its Implications: A Critical Evaluation” takes up the Book of Allogenes and the Gospel of Mary. New fragments of the former from the Tchacos Codex allow for clearer parallels to be drawn between Allogenes and the Gospel of Mary.

## General Index

- 2 Clement 14  
– *ekklesia* in 74–76, 87–90  
– *pneuma* in 77–87
- Abel, *see* Cain  
Acts of John, *see* John, Acts of  
Acts of Peter, *see* Peter, Acts of  
Acts of Thecla, *see* Thecla, Acts of  
Adam 167, 214–19, 225, 231–32  
– *see also* Cain; Eve; Paradise  
adultery 218, 225, 228, 271, 312, 377  
aeons of the Fullness 235, 238–48, 252–53  
Ahmed, Sarah 135–37, 151, 155, 431–32  
alienation toward the world, mythologically founded 10–11, 96, 98–99, 101, 103–4, 107–10  
– *see also* Allogenes, Book of; Mary, Gospel of  
Allogenes, Book of 10, 95, 98, 101, 103–7, 109–10  
– *see also* alienation toward the world, mythologically founded  
Andrew (disciple) 97, 140, 144  
androcentricity 149, 223–24, 260, 284–86, 295  
– *see also* kyriocentricity; misogyny; patriarchy  
angelomorphology 51, 68, 78, 228, 230, 261  
Apocryphon of John, *see* John, Apocryphon of  
ascent of the soul 97–99, 103–9, 140  
Askew Codex 361, 363  
association, voluntary 301–2, 306–7, 309–15, 319–21  
– *see also* *koinon*  
– household 307, 311–13  
– neighborhood 307, 319  
– occupational 307, 314–15  
Attalus 381–83, 387  
Augustine of Hippo 291–92, 341–42  
Augustus (emperor) 330–31, 336, 376–77, 382  
Aviner, Shlomo 269–74  
Bacchant 325, 333–35  
Bagnall, Roger 389–99  
baptism 12, 53, 68, 128, 147, 246, 327, 339  
– and bridal chamber 229–32  
Basilides 10, 54–58, 64, 66  
Bauckham, Richard 37, 42, 44  
Bauer, Walter 5, 116, 413  
Berlin Codex 96–97, 110, 140, 362, 393, 412  
Besant, Annie 346, 359–60  
Bhabha, Homi 11, 122, 127  
binding together 30, 316, 327–28, 335, 341  
– *see also* oaths  
Blandina 14, 62, 369–71, 378–81, 383–84, 387–89  
– *see also* *Letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons*; martyrdom; slavery; torture  
Blavatsky, Helene 346, 349, 356  
body of Christ 75, 84–85, 87, 89–90  
Boer, Esther de 98, 100, 107  
Boyarin, Daniel 116, 260–61, 290–92, 326  
bridal chamber 214, 217–19, 223–32, 244  
– *see also* baptism; marriage  
Brown, Dan, *see* *Da Vinci Code, The*  
Butler, Judith 11, 113–14, 118–19, 128, 261–62, 274, 431  
Cain 218, 225, 248  
– *see also* Adam; Eve  
cannibalism 385–86, 388  
canon 284–85, 291, 395, 401, 403–4, 408  
Cassian, Julius 10, 54, 62–63  
– *see also* Docetism  
celibacy 63, 147, 200, 202, 206, 209, 220, 270

- *see also* chastity; virginity; widowhood
- chastity 175, 181, 202–3, 206–8, 211
- *see also* celibacy; virginity; widowhood
- Cherlow, Yuval 269, 271–72, 274
- childbirth 305, 310, 373
- Christology 49–51, 53–55, 58–59, 62–66, 123
- pneumatic 66, 77–79, 89
- circumcision 39, 253
- Clark, Elizabeth 5–6, 148, 220
- Clement of Alexandria 54–56, 59–60, 62–63, 67, 178, 357, 359
- codex, *see* Askew Codex; Berlin Codex; Tchacos Codex
  
- Da Vinci Code, The* 141, 150–51, 155–56
- DeConick, April 237–39, 250, 253
- defilement 24, 222–23, 225, 228, 310
- *see also* purity; virginity
- Dio Cassius 336, 376–77
- Docetism 49–54, 58–65, 68–69
- drama, Greek 182–83
- drone strikes 423–29
- dualism 49, 247, 353–55, 365
- *see also* flesh of Jesus
- Duff, Paul 39, 45
- Dunderberg, Ismo 238–39, 242
- dyadic pairs 239, 244, 247, 251
- *see also* aeons of the Fullness
  
- Eileithyias, cult of 175–76
- ekklesia* 10, 37, 74–77, 83, 87–91, 284–85
- *see also* 2 Clement 14
- embryology 242, 244–45, 250–51
- *see also* seed
- eucharist 215, 232, 246, 320
- Euripides 174, 386, 411
- Eusebius of Caesarea 2, 61–62, 191
- Eve 167, 215–19, 225, 231–32
- *see also* Adam; Cain; Paradise
  
- fantasy (psychoanalytic notion of) 135–36, 143–48, 154–55
- *see also* solidarity, fantasy of
- femaleness 236, 252, 262, 379, 388
- *see also* maleness
- feminist scholarship 13, 138, 141–42, 151, 155, 273–74
- focused on gender 258, 261–63, 265–66, 272–73
- Jewish 257–67
- flesh of Jesus 52–54, 63–64, 68
- *see also* dualism
- Foucault, Michel 7, 85, 283
- Frankfurter, David 37–39, 44–45
- Frend, W. H. C. 357–58
- Friesen, Steven 35, 38–42, 45–46
- Fullness, aeons of the, *see* aeons of the Fullness
  
- gender
- feminist scholarship focused on 258, 261–63, 265–66, 272–73
- ~ roles 12, 139, 173, 177, 240–42, 245–46, 253–54
- and sexual difference 235–36, 240, 243, 249, 253–54
- in Valentinian 235–36, 239
- Gnosticism 4–5, 95–97, 101–3, 139, 236–37, 345, 361–62
- *see also* alienation toward the world, mythologically founded
- Gnosticism, anti- 73–74, 88
- *see also* 2 Clement 14
- God as husband 198–202
- Gospel of Jesus' Wife 150, 155
- Gospel of Peter, *see* Peter, Gospel of
- Gospel of Thomas, *see* Thomas, Gospel of
- Grenfell, Bernard 394, 407, 409–10
  
- halakhah 13, 257–60, 263–67, 269, 273–74
- Halbwachs, Maurice 285–86
- hands, washing of 20–21, 23, 25–29, 31
- handwriting of ancient manuscripts 392–94, 396–99, 402, 404–5, 408–9, 411–12
- Harrill, J. Albert 383–84
- Hermas, Shepherd of, *see* Shepherd of Hermas
- homosexuality 13, 257–58, 266–74
- *see also* orientation, sexual
- Hooker, Morna 21–23, 28
- Hunt, Arthur 394, 407–10
- Hurtado, Larry 403–4

- Ignatius of Antioch 10, 39, 45–46, 49–50, 52–54
- In Memory of Her*, see Schüssler Fiorenza, Elisabeth
- incest 385, 388
- see also Oedipus
- Irenaeus of Lyons 54–58, 60–62, 66–68, 235, 237–39, 246–51
- “Great Account” 240–46
- Against Heresies 62, 88, 235, 237, 240
- Isaiah, Book of 10, 28–31, 35, 37–38, 40–41
- James, First Apocalypse of 96, 98, 104
- Jerome 63, 122, 291
- Jesus
- criticism of Pharisees 21–24, 28–33, 164
- flesh of 52–54, 63–64, 68
- as Messiah 11, 116, 119–25, 127, 161, 164–65, 169
- suffering of 53–58, 60–61, 64–65, 68–69, 245, 370
- Job, Testament of 173, 185, 191
- John of Patmos 35–36, 38–41
- John, Acts of 10, 64–65, 408
- John, Apocryphon of 4, 96–97, 99, 114, 135
- see also John, Secret Revelation of
- John, Gospel of 52, 159–69, 215, 395, 401–2, 409
- John, Secret Revelation of 4, 253, 354, 362
- see also John, Apocryphon of
- Josephus 180, 336
- jouissance* 146–48, 152, 155
- Judaism, Messianic 113, 116–20, 127–28, 292
- Judas, Gospel of 4, 65–66, 345
- King, Karen
- works of 3–4, 8–9
- career 137–42
- contribution to early Christian historiography 279–80, 296–97, 391
- on “Gnosticism” definition 51, 95, 213
- Gospel of Jesus’ Wife 150–51
- on Gospel of Mary 100–1, 139–42
- *The Gospel of Mary of Magdala* 3–4, 141, 150, 405
- *Searching the Scriptures* 9, 139, 141
- *What is Gnosticism?* 4, 9, 139, 150, 345–46
- “Which Early Christianity?” 1, 114, 413–14
- Kingsland, William 355–37, 359–60
- koinon* 307–9
- see also association, voluntary
- Kraemer, Ross Shepard 138, 147–48
- kyriocentricity 283–85, 287–88, 290, 293–95
- see also androcentricity
- Lazarus 160–61, 164–66
- Letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons* 369–70, 373, 378–82, 387–89
- see also Blandina; slavery; torture
- Leviticus 10, 20, 23–25, 31, 33, 320, 401
- libraries in antiquity 406–9
- Lieu, Judith 66–67, 280
- literacy in antiquity 13, 303–6, 320–21, 405, 413
- Livy 329, 333–35, 402
- male-female complementarity 242–43, 248–54
- maleness 252, 262, 267–69, 271, 273–74
- see also femaleness
- malestream 282–83, 285, 287, 293–94
- Mansel, Henry Longueville 354–55
- Marcion 10, 54, 58–60, 62–64, 68
- Marcus Aurelius 381–82
- Marcus, Joel 19–20, 22–23, 26–27, 30–32
- marriage 62–63, 197–207, 211, 213–14, 216–21, 225–32
- see also bridal chamber; remarriage
- Martha (of Bethany) 11, 159–61, 164–66
- martyrdom 9, 14, 114, 370–71, 378–83, 388–89, 406
- see also Blandina; slavery; torture
- Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas* 147, 371
- Mary (of Bethany) 11, 159, 164–66
- Mary Magdalene 8, 139–48, 155, 159–61, 167–69, 392, 432
- Mary, Gospel of 103–9, 144–45



- composition of 394–99
- discovery of 362, 392–94, 409–11
- format of 400–5
- “gnostic” labeling of 95–103, 110
- Karen King’s analysis of 139–40, 345, 391–92
- McGuire, Anne 236–37, 242
- Mead, G. R. S. 256, 262
- Miriam (biblical figure) 83–85
- Mishnah, women in 257–59
- misogyny 148, 258–61, 264, 294
  - *see also* androcentricity; patriarchy
- Moses 22, 25, 27–28, 181, 183, 245
- mother, relationship with 147–48
- Moxnes, Halvor 85–87
  
- Nag Hammadi texts 4–5, 114, 135, 139, 236, 345–46
  - history and discovery of 50, 241, 361–62
- New Jerusalem 10, 35, 41–42
  - *see also* Revelation, Book of
- nomina sacra 394–96
- non-evident being (NEB) 303–5, 307–11, 313, 316–17, 319
- nudity 64, 373, 383, 431
  
- oaths 312–14, 318, 326–33, 337–41
  - *see also* binding together
- Obama, Barack 428–29
- occultism 347, 361–63
- Oedipus 146, 385
  - *see also* incest
- ordination of women 142, 289–90
- orientation, sexual 266–71
  - *see also* homosexuality
- Origen 4, 356–57, 408
- orthodoxy 9, 139, 236–37, 249, 348, 362
  - relation to heresy 7, 95, 100, 115–16, 122, 280, 413
- otherness 6, 259, 287, 430
  
- Pagels, Elaine 4, 45, 236–37
- pain 40, 61, 149, 372, 378, 425
  - *see also* Scarry, Elaine; torture
- Paradise 214–18
  - *see also* Adam; Eve
- Parsons, Peter J. 394–97
  
- patriarchy 149, 236, 258–61, 264–65
  - *see also* androcentricity, misogyny
- Paul, Apocalypse of 107–8
- Pausanias 12, 175–76
- Perpetua and Felicitas, *see Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas*
- Peter, Acts of 65, 362
- Peter, Gospel of 10, 54, 61–62, 65
- Peter, Revelation of 56–58, 66
- phantasy, *see* fantasy
- Pharisees, Jesus’ criticism of 21–24, 28–33, 164
- Philip, Gospel of 65, 141, 213–16, 220–22
- Philo of Alexandria 59–60, 173–75, 180–84, 190–91, 354–55
- Pistis Sophia 356–57, 359, 361, 363, 392
- Plato 49, 59, 174, 222, 230, 345, 411
- Plutarch 12, 176
- Polycarp 61–62, 207
- Pratscher, Wilhelm 73–75, 88
- priestesses 173–76, 181, 197–98, 205–9, 211
- Prigent, Pierre 35, 41–42, 44
- Ptolemy 238, 240–41, 245
- purity 20–28, 31–33, 39, 209, 309–13
  - *see also* defilement; virginity
  
- rabbinics 257, 259, 261–62, 265, 273
- Refutation of All Heresies 50, 54–55, 58
- remarriage 199–202, 204–6, 208
  - *see also* marriage; widowhood
- reproduction 241–42, 244, 247–48, 250–52
- Revelation of Peter, *see* Peter, Revelation of
- Revelation, Book of 35, 40–41, 43–46
  - *see also* New Jerusalem
- Roberts, Colin 392–94, 397
- Rouse, Mary and Richard 391–92, 394, 400
  
- Samaritan woman 11, 160, 163–64
- Satan, synagogue of 35–36, 38–41, 43–46
- Scarry, Elaine 372, 425
  - *see also* pain; torture
- Schüssler Fiorenza, Elisabeth 43, 138–39, 149, 159, 281–83, 285, 290
- Scott, Joan Wallach 143–45, 153–55
  - *see also* fantasy

- Second Discourse of the Great Seth  
56–58, 66–68
- Sedgwick, Eve 149, 152
- seed 227, 241–42, 244, 247–48, 251  
– *see also* embryology
- Seth, Second Discourse of the Great, *see*  
Second Discourse of the Great Seth
- sexual difference 140–41, 235–36, 240,  
242–43, 249, 253–54
- Shepherd of Hermas 74, 76, 78–87, 89–91,  
403
- Similitude 5 76, 78–84, 89, 91
- Simon of Cyrene 51, 55–58
- slavery (in antiquity) 369–74, 387–88  
– *see also* Blandina; *Letter of the Churches  
of Vienne and Lyons*; torture
- solidarity, fantasy of 11, 146, 150, 153, 155  
– *see also* fantasy
- Song of Songs 167–69
- soul, ascent of the 97–99, 103–9, 140
- spiritualism 346–47, 349–54, 363–66
- suffering of Jesus 53–58, 60–61, 64–65,  
68–69, 245, 370
- synagogue of Satan, *see* Satan, synagogue  
of
- Talmud 257–58, 260–63, 265–66
- Taussig, Hal 79–81, 283, 296
- Tchacos Codex 10, 95, 103
- terrorism 120, 424, 427–28
- Tertullian of Carthage 58–60, 66–68,  
197–98, 205–10, 240, 325–27, 336–42  
– *see also* marriage; widowhood  
– on marriage and widowhood 197–205,  
210–12
- Testament of Job, *see* Job, Testament of
- Thecla, Acts of 147–48
- Theosophical Society 347, 349, 356, 363  
– *see also* theosophy
- theosophy 345–51, 353, 356–59, 364  
– *see also* Theosophical Society
- Therapeutrides 173, 180–84, 190–91
- Thomas, Gospel of 98–99, 402, 405–6,  
408, 412–13
- Thomassen, Einar 238–39, 246, 248, 251
- torture 8–9, 369–71, 378–80, 382–89, 425  
– *see also* Blandina; *Letter of the Churches  
of Vienne and Lyons*; martyrdom; pain;  
slavery  
– Roman theory of 372–78
- Tripartite Tractate 61, 235, 237–40, 246,  
249–51
- Tuckett, Christopher 73, 78, 83, 98
- Valentinian Exposition, A 12, 235,  
238–40, 246–48, 251
- Valentinianism 237–40, 253–54
- Valentinus 54, 59–61, 63–64, 238, 240,  
360
- Virginity 12, 189, 198, 202, 206–7, 222–23  
– *see also* celibacy; chastity; defilement;  
purity
- voluntary association, *see* association,  
voluntary
- washing of hands 20–21, 23, 25–29, 31
- widowhood  
– *see also* remarriage; Tertullian  
– remarriage in 202–5  
– in Tertullian 197–202, 206–11
- Wilhite, David 202–3, 340–41
- Williams, Michael 213, 220, 236, 253
- Wisdom 238–39, 242–45, 247–48, 253–54
- Wisdom of Jesus Christ 96, 99, 412
- Yaldabaoth 96, 102
- Yeshua 113, 115, 118–19, 126–27  
– *see also* Jesus
- Zimmerman, George 428–29

