

University of Wisconsin—Eau Claire

A Historiographical Survey of Scholarship on Textual Variants Revealing an Anti-Feminist  
Tendency in the Greek Text of Acts Chapter XVII in Codex Bezae

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## **Abstract**

This paper will survey the historiography of the textual critical scholarship concerning the presence of an anti-feminist tendency in the text of Codex Bezae in Acts chapter xvii. I will present the arguments of the scholars chronologically, noting the changes in the character of the scholarship over time. I will argue that these changes occurred because of the increasing incorporation of feminist biblical hermeneutics into New Testament textual critical studies, as well as because of the growing scholarly awareness of anti-feminist sentiments within the early Christian movement and later, as the Church infrastructure became more hierarchical as it absorbed influence from the pre-existent Graeco-Roman culture and conformed to its structure.

## Introduction

There has perhaps never been a work of literature that has enjoyed the same amount of study and examination as the New Testament. From its humble beginnings in unorganized collections of early Christian Scriptural writings all the way to its current status as a primary source of divine revelation and moral instruction for a professed third of the world's population, the New Testament has never failed to capture the rapt attention of clergy, laypeople, critics, and academics alike as people continue to strive to understand its origins, its meaning, and its applications for their lives. During its over fifteen hundred year existence as a single, unified volume, however, the New Testament has not been consistently studied in the same ways. For example, it was for the most part uncritically accepted as the written word of God for about a thousand years throughout the Western world; in this regard, it was studied extensively by the well-educated as a foundational source of theological riches and moral instruction.

Following the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century, however, ecclesiastical leaders and scholars began to earnestly seek a greater understanding of the New Testament in terms of its identity as a product of human exertion, like any other literary work. For many of these academics, of course, the New Testament continued to be a holy book in which they could still find the divinely-inspired gospel; but now, they started to pose questions concerning the formation of the New Testament canon, as well as seeking to understand the textual basis for the modern translations and editions of their day. For instance, Jeremiah Jones (1693-1724) is known for translating many of the New Testament apocryphal works into English, a feat that

no scholar had yet undertaken so extensively.<sup>1</sup> It was not until the nineteenth century, however, that scholars who studied the text of the New Testament by examining the extant manuscripts containing New Testament books, in whole or in part, developed their discipline, known as textual criticism, to the extent that they could attempt to reconstruct the original text of the New Testament with a fair degree of accuracy, creating what are known as critical editions of the text. These scholars concentrated on locating textual variants—observed differences within a text between different manuscripts—and assessing them in order to understand the ways in which the New Testament texts changed as they circulated throughout the Roman empire during the first five centuries C. E.

In these early years of New Testament scholarship, however, textual critics failed to recognize or discuss certain tendencies within early manuscripts witnessed by the textual variants they studied. There is great diversity among these textual tendencies; for instance, some manuscripts contain ethnocentric tendencies, while others seem to favor a particular theological perspective. One of these tendencies is found in a fifth-century manuscript written in both Greek and Latin known as Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis, or simply Codex Bezae; textual critics commonly refer to Codex Bezae as the “D” text in accordance with their alphabetical designations of uncial manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> Some of this manuscript’s textual variants, particularly in

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<sup>1</sup> The term “apocrypha” comes from the Greek *ἀπόκρυφα*, meaning “those having been hidden away,” and it refers to biblical texts whose authorship or authenticity is false or questionable. Some of the most well-known New Testament apocrypha include the Gospel of Thomas, the Acts of Paul and Thecla, and the Epistle of Barnabas. For a survey of these and many other New Testament apocryphal works, see Bart D. Ehrman, *Lost Scriptures: Books that Did Not Make It Into the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). For a brief description of the accomplishments of Jeremiah Jones, see Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987; reprint, 1997), 13-14.

<sup>2</sup> In the Graeco-Roman world, a codex was a sort of ancient book made of papyrus leaves. For detailed information on the history of the codex, see Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of*

the Acts of the Apostles, betray what seems to be an anti-feminist tendency, which downplays the importance and prominence of women. It seems as though the very first recognition of this tendency, though slight, within the Bezan text of Acts was in 1893 by William M. Ramsay (1851-1939), a Scottish archaeologist and New Testament scholar who was the first Professor of Classical Archaeology at Oxford University; Ramsay pioneered the study of antiquity in what is today western Turkey. After that, references to the possibility of an anti-feminist bias within the Bezan text of Acts were sporadic in frequency and minimal in content. Gradually, textual critics began to discuss this anti-feminist tendency a bit more frequently and seriously in the 1950s through the 1970s, beginning to agree on the presence of such a tendency, but it was not until the 1980s that New Testament scholars suddenly began to expend considerable energy in researching it. During the mid-to-late 1980s and on into the 1990s, scholars reached a consensus that the Bezan text of Acts does indeed contain an anti-feminist tendency, and since then, scholars have continued to investigate it more thoroughly, although most of their

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*Early Christian Texts* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1995), 49-66. Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis is so named because Théodore de Bèze (Beza), the sixteenth century Christian reformer and successor of John Calvin as leader of the church in Geneva in modern-day Switzerland, presented it to the University of Cambridge (Latinized as *Cantabrigia*) in 1581 from his personal library. See Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 70; also Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., revised and enlarged (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), trans. E.F. Rhodes from *Der Text des Neuen Testaments*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Biblegesellschaft, 1981), 4. The use of capital letters to designate the uncials (manuscripts written in a script common between the third and eight centuries C.E.) was established by Johann Jakob Wettstein. The Greek text of Codex Bezae is also sometimes designated as D<sup>ea</sup> (the superscript letters were added simply in order to distinguish Codex Bezae from another uncial called Codex Claromontanus) and 05 (this numerical designation of uncials was developed by Caspar René Gregory), and the Latin text is also sometimes designated as d (5), (5, d), and it<sup>d</sup> (the designation “it” is an abbreviation for “Italian,” indicating that it is a Latin text); see Aland and Aland, *Text*, 72-73, 189, 227; also Leon Vaganay, *An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., trans. J. Heimerdinger, revised and updated by C.-B. Amphoux (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 13-16, 27-28. For a thorough historiographical dissertation on Codex Bezae, see Kenneth E. Panten, “A History of Research on Codex Bezae, with Special Reference to the Acts of the Apostles: Evaluation and Future Directions” (doctoral diss., Murdoch University, 1995).

important findings and conclusions are based on the work done during the 1980s and afterwards.

Why did the study of this anti-feminist tendency suddenly become so popular among New Testament scholars during the mid-1980s? It is unlikely that interest in studying this subject overwhelmed textual critics and other academics for no particular reason and without cause; after all, historians tend to analyze the past in light of the phenomena of the present. For instance, many scholars only began to earnestly study the history of European Jews once the Nazi Holocaust had occurred. In the same way, scholars began to actively study the anti-feminist tendency within the Bezan text of Acts as a reaction to the growing influence that the feminist movement exerted over various fields of scholarship. In the earliest stages of the feminist movement, during the mid-to-late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, feminist philosophers sought to uncover patriarchy and gender bias within the Bible and reveal that these served to perpetuate the gender inequalities that women experienced in their own, modern times.<sup>3</sup> As time progressed, some feminist scholars began to study the New Testament in this light, eventually developing the discipline of feminist biblical hermeneutics in the latter half of the twentieth century—“the theory, art, and practice of interpretation of biblical and other ancient extrabiblical texts in the interest of women.”<sup>4</sup> Eventually, more non-feminist New Testament scholars, including textual critics, started to concentrate their studies on the

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<sup>3</sup> An excellent example of this is *The Woman's Bible* by Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902) in 1895 and 1898. In it, Stanton sought to raise awareness of male bias and misogyny in the Bible, although her lack of specialized education caused it to suffer from poor quality of expertise, research, and methodology. See Anne M. Clifford, *Introducing Feminist Theology* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2001), 48.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 55, 268; cf. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, “Feminist Hermeneutics,” in *Dictionary of Feminist Theologies*, ed. Letty M. Russell and J. Shannon Clarkson, 99-100 (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 99.

same issues that their feminist contemporaries were studying. This led to the development of scholarship by mainstream textual critics that dealt with the anti-feminist tendency within the Bezan text of Acts.

In this paper, I will conduct a historiographical survey of the textual critical scholarship concerning the presence of an anti-feminist tendency in the text of Codex Bezae in Acts chapter xvii. I will present the arguments of the scholars chronologically, noting the changes in the character of the scholarship over time. I will argue that these changes occurred because of the increasing incorporation of feminist biblical hermeneutics into New Testament textual critical studies, as well as because of the growing scholarly awareness of anti-feminist sentiments within the early Christian movement and later, as the Church infrastructure became more hierarchical as it absorbed influence from the pre-existent Graeco-Roman culture and conformed to its structure.

## Historiography

When comparing the Greek text of Acts xvii in Codex Bezae with a critical edition of the Greek New Testament, such as *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 27<sup>th</sup> ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993), abbreviated as NA<sup>27</sup>, edited by Kurt Aland, et. al., some of the first differences to stand out are three verses (4, 12, 34) for which the Bezan text supplies curious word choices that seem to reflect an anti-feminist tendency on the part of the scribe who penned either the codex or one of its exemplars.<sup>5</sup> An anti-feminist tendency is the apparent proclivity of a text to downplay the importance and prominence of women. Ben Witherington III, whose work I will discuss later, remarks that “it is significant that at the points in Acts where Luke gives or appears to give noticeable attention to women (and particularly prominent women), the Western text attempts to tone down or eliminate such references.”<sup>6</sup> Functionally,

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<sup>5</sup> In this case, an exemplar refers to one of the textual ancestors of Codex Bezae. Scholars have also identified other tendencies within the text of Acts in Codex Bezae. The most obvious of these is an anti-Judaic tendency that seems to portray a hostility toward Jews in many of its textual variants. See Eldon Jay Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966. C.K. Barrett, however, finds that “it is erroneous to charge the Western Text with a special tendency to anti-Judaism,” claiming that such a tendency is original to the text of Acts itself, not to any particular recension, although the Western editor developed and exaggerated them. See C.K. Barrett, “Is There a Theological Tendency in Codex Bezae?” in *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament Presented to Matthew Black*, ed. E. Best and R. McL. Wilson (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 27. This argument agrees with the much earlier observation by J.H. Ropes, who stated that “of any special point of view, theological or other, on the part of the ‘Western’ reviser it is difficult to find any trace.” See James Hardy Ropes, *The Text of Acts*, vol. 3, *The Beginnings of Christianity: Part I, The Acts of the Apostles* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1926), ccxxxiii.

<sup>6</sup> See Ben Witherington III, “The Anti-Feminist Tendencies of the ‘Western’ Text in Acts,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 103 (1984), 82. The term “Western” designates a group of New Testament manuscripts that share, among other characteristics, a propensity towards liberal paraphrasing in their texts. Codex Bezae is the considered by many scholars to be the strongest witness to the “Western” text. For more detailed information about the so-called “Western” text-type, see Metzger and Erhman, *Text*, 276-280. According to Christian tradition, Luke, the physician and assistant of the apostle Paul, is the author of Acts.

therefore, the term “anti-feminist” as it is applied in this paper is essentially the same as “anti-woman.”<sup>7</sup>

Church historians and New Testament scholars largely neglected the study of women in early Christianity until the early twentieth century. During the early years of textual criticism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, no scholar mentioned the possibility of an anti-feminist tendency in any biblical text, because the feminist perspective had not yet developed enough to impact the scholarly disciplines. Even during much of the nineteenth century, when the women’s suffrage movement began to grow and flourish, there was hardly any recognition of such a tendency. Some nineteenth century scholars did hint, however, at what was later termed as an anti-feminist tendency. This was likely due to the influence on the scholarly world of some early feminist philosophers, such as Judith Sargent Murray (1751-1820) and Lucy Stone (1818-1893), who strove to interpret the Bible in a way that supported women’s rights.<sup>8</sup>

As I mentioned previously, the earliest published references to an anti-feminist tendency in the Bezan text of Acts seem to be from William M. Ramsay, in *The Church in the Roman Empire Before A.D. 170*, published in 1893. He begins by mentioning that in xvii.12 in Codex Bezae, the word order is rearranged so that the prominence of the women in that verse

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<sup>7</sup> Ehrman notes that the label “anti-feminist” used by Witherington is “anachronistic and misleading, since these changes are not directed against feminists (a modern intellectual category). See Ehrman, “The Text as Window: New Testament Manuscripts and the Social History of Early Christianity,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 368 and n. 32.

<sup>8</sup> In 1843, Oberlin College admitted Lucy Stone, becoming the first American college to enroll women along with men. There she studied the biblical languages of Hebrew and Greek in an effort to properly translate the Bible and therefore ameliorate the androcentric bias of extant translations. See Carol Meyers, Toni Craven, and Ross S. Kraemer, eds, *Women in Scripture: A Dictionary of Named and Unnamed Women in the Hebrew Bible, the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books, and the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 24.

is lessened considerably, from *τῶν Ἑλληνίδων γυναικῶν τῶν εὐσχημόνων καὶ ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι* (“prominent Greek women and men”) to *καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν εὐσχημόνων ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες ἱκανοὶ ἐπίστευσαν* (“and from the Greeks and from those of high standing men and women worthy ones believed”). Later, he observes that the omission of the female name Damaris (“*Δάμαρις*”) in xvii.34 of the Bezan text was certainly intentional.<sup>9</sup> He goes on to remark that *εὐσχήμων* (“high standing” or “good position”) is used in Acts only to refer to women, as it also is present in xvii.12 and elsewhere in Acts. His explanation, proposed by his contemporary J. A. Robinson in an unpublished source that Ramsay fails to cite, is that this word was “added as a gloss to her name... and then her name was cut out, and the gloss remained in a wrong place in the text.”<sup>10</sup> Ramsay attributes these textual changes to Bezae’s disdain for the prominence assigned to women in the standard text.<sup>11</sup>

Ramsay goes on to remark that “the Universal and Catholic type of Christianity became confirmed in its dislike of the prominence and public ministrations of women. The dislike became abhorrence, and there is every probability that the dislike is as old as the first century,

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<sup>9</sup> See W.M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire Before A.D. 170* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1893), 160-161. In a later work, Ramsay remarks upon the impossibility of a respectable Athenian woman having the opportunity to hear Paul speak at the Areopagus, which had functioned in the classical period as a sort of judicial court. He therefore suggests that the name Damaris was likely a vulgar form of *damalis* (“heifer”), indicating perhaps that she was a foreign woman of the *Hetairai* class, who were a sort of high-class, educated courtesans; this would increase the chances of her having the opportunity to be in Paul’s audience. See Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1903), 252.

<sup>10</sup> Joseph Armitage Robinson (1858-1933) was a priest in the Church of England, scholar, Dean of Westminster and Wells, and Fellow at Cambridge University. See Ramsay, *Church*, 161. Translations supplied by Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London: United Bible Societies, 1971), 454, 459-460; also Kirsopp Lake and Henry J. Cadbury, *English Translation and Commentary, The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I: The Acts of the Apostles*, eds. F.J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, vol. iv (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1933), 207.

<sup>11</sup> See Ramsay, *Church*, 161.

and was intensified to abhorrence before the middle of the second century.”<sup>12</sup> This statement is significant because it indicates that Ramsay has used his textual observation, namely the presence of bias against the prominence of women in the Bezan text of Acts xvii, in order to draw a conclusion about historical realities, which in this case is that the early Church was gradually becoming uniform in its distaste for women of high standing due to the increasing influence of Graeco-Roman culture on Christian society.<sup>13</sup> Ramsay’s work seems to indicate that he was one of the first scholars not only to recognize the existence of a tendency within Codex Bezae to downplay the significance and status of women, but also to make note of it in a scholarly work. This suggests that by the time Ramsay was writing, there had been at least a slight change in the nature of biblical critical scholarship: biblical scholars had, for the first time, begun to feel the influence of the women’s suffrage movement taking place throughout Western Europe and North America by studying and commenting upon the status of women in the early Christian period.

The influence exerted by proponents of suffragist and feminist ideas on the scholarly world continued to grow, albeit slowly. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the feminist writers who dealt with women’s roles in the Bible were not credentialed biblical scholars, since the few female biblical scholars who lived during that period did not apply their feminist views, if they had any, to their professional literature. Nevertheless, the

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 162.

<sup>13</sup> It may seem elementary to think that Ramsay would use his textual observations to draw historical conclusions, but the truth is that textual scholars have often studied their texts without relating them to historical trends. Bart D. Ehrman, among others, addresses this very issue, commenting that “narrowly focusing on the manuscripts of the New Testament, [textual critics] often neglect the *realia* (“the real things”) of ecclesiastical and social history that can elucidate features of the text.” See Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), xi. Translation of *realia* supplied by me.

work of unscholarly feminist authors continued to influence the realm of biblical scholarship. For instance, feminist writers Katherine Bushnell (1856-1946) and Lee Anna Starr both published influential works on the place and status of women according to their interpretations of the Bible, even though neither of them were credentialed biblical scholars.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps due to this increasing influence, J. H. Ropes (1866-1933), a Harvard professor who taught New Testament criticism and interpretation, published in 1926 his recognition of a “*slight* indication of what may fairly be called ‘anti-feminist’ tendency” in the “Western” text of Acts xvii in *The Text of Acts*.<sup>15</sup> Specifically, he recognizes the omission of Damaris (“*Δάμαρις*”) in xvii.34, as well as the alteration in meaning of xvii.4, in which the Bezan *καὶ γυναῖκες τῶν πρώτων* (“wives of the leaders”) replaces the standard *γυναικῶν τε τῶν πρώτων* (“leading women”).<sup>16</sup> Several years later, a contemporary of Ropes named A. C. Clark, a Latin professor at Oxford University, published *The Acts of the Apostles* in 1933. In it, he contributes to the discussion on the Bezan omission in xvii.34 of *καὶ γυνὴ ὀνόματι Δάμαρις* (“and a woman named Damaris”), suggesting that an entire line in one of Codex Bezae’s ancestors had been accidentally omitted. He also agrees with J. A. Robinson’s suggestion (see p. 10 above) that *εὐσχήμων* (“high standing” or “good position”) serves as remnant of Damaris, even though her name had disappeared from the text. He bases this conclusion on his determination that *εὐσχήμων* is unnecessary, since the respectability of Dionysius, whose name remains in the text, is unquestioned since he was

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<sup>14</sup> Another important work composed by feminist writers who were not credentialed biblical scholars was *The Woman’s Bible*, a project initiated by Elizabeth Cady Stanton. **See above in footnote.** See Meyers, Craven, and Kraemer, *Women in Scripture*, 25.

<sup>15</sup> See Ropes, *Text*, ccxxxiv. Emphasis is mine.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 162, 170.

supposedly a member of the Athenian Areopagus.<sup>17</sup> Clark does not, however, make any mention of Codex Bezae's tendency to downplay the prominence of women, suggesting that either he did not notice such a tendency or he did not think it to be important enough to mention in his textual commentary.

Contemporary with Clark, Kirsopp Lake (1872-1946) and Henry J. Cadbury (1883-1974) also do not admit the presence of an anti-feminist tendency. Kirsopp Lake was a British biblical scholar and professor at Leiden and then Harvard, where he taught early Christian literature and history. Henry J. Cadbury was an American professor at Harvard and several other colleges who participated on the translation committee for the Revised Standard Version of the Bible. In 1933, Lake and Cadbury published their *English Translation and Commentary*, in which they briefly address several textual problems concerning xvii.34. They question the usage of *εὐσχήμων* in xvii.34, wondering if its application to the male name Dionysius (“*Διονύσιος*”) is parallel with its association with the Jewish councilor Joseph of Arimathaea in Mark xv.43. They also note that the translator of the Latin column mistranslated *εὐσχήμων* as *complacens* (“friendly”). They observe that *εὐσχήμων* may belong to the omitted Damaris (“*Δάμαρις*”), but ultimately conclude that they do not know the reasons behind the variants. As a side note, they also mention the possibility that the correct reading of Damaris is actually Damalis, a common name for a woman.<sup>18</sup> Overall, the scholarly treatment of an anti-feminist tendency in the Bezan text of Acts xvii during this early period reflects the small but growing influence of feminist thought within biblical criticism. Some of the scholars, and specifically Ramsay and

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<sup>17</sup> See A.C. Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes on Selected Passages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933; reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 367.

<sup>18</sup> See Lake and Cadbury, *Translation and Commentary*, 220.

Ropes, acknowledged the presence of an anti-feminist tendency, while Clark, Lake, and Cadbury did not recognize such a textual tendency. This suggests that while the biblical textual scholarship of this period remained largely unmoved by feminist philosophy, the ideas proposed by feminist biblical interpretation had begun to make inroads into it and influence it in some ways.

Nearly two decades passed before a biblical scholar commented upon an anti-feminist tendency within the Bezan text of Acts xvii again. This lack of development of scholarly thought on the subject seems to reflect the stagnant development of feminist thought during this period. Since the surge of feminist thought during the latter half of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth century was closely associated with the suffrage movements of Western Europe and North America, once women did acquire voting rights, the feminist movement declined to a great degree.<sup>19</sup> Regardless, Philippe-H. Menoud, a French New Testament scholar who wrote “The Western Text and the Theology of Acts” in 1951, devotes the largest amount of text exploring an anti-feminist tendency since Ramsay, finding that the sense of the Bezan text of xvii.4, which reads *καὶ γυναῖκες τῶν πρώτων οὐκ ὀλίγαι* (“and not a few wives of the leaders”) alludes to “the wives of the leading men,” whereas the text of Codex Vaticanus, which in this case is in agreement with the NA<sup>27</sup>, reads *γυναικῶν τε τῶν πρώτων οὐκ ὀλίγαι* (“a number of the leading women”) and alludes to “the leading

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<sup>19</sup> Other factors contributing to the decline of this first wave of feminism were the international economic depression during the 1930s and the cultural changes effected by World War II. See Clifford, *Feminist Theology*, 12.

women.”<sup>20</sup> He also mentions that in xvii.12, the word order is different between Codex Bezae and Codex Vaticanus (which again agrees with the text of the NA<sup>27</sup> in this case); Vaticanus mentions the women first, while Bezae mentions the men first.<sup>21</sup> Despite his acknowledgement of an anti-feminist tendency in the Bezan text of Acts, he concludes that it is not one of its major tendencies, suggesting that perhaps this tendency is only slight at most.<sup>22</sup>

Contemporaneous with Menoud, F. F. Bruce (1910-1990), a professor of biblical criticism and exegesis at the University of Manchester, briefly mentions Codex Bezae’s tendency to downplay the prominence of women in verses 4, 12, and 34 in two textual commentaries on Acts, *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary* and *The Book of Acts*. Noting the difference between the standard critical text and the “Western” text in xvii.4, he simply states that the “Western” text, to which Codex Bezae is the clearest witness, “plays down feminine initiative,” which is expressed more strongly in the standard text.<sup>23</sup> He

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<sup>20</sup> See P.-H. Menoud, “The Western Text and the Theology of Acts,” *Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas*, Bulletin 2 (1951): 30, reprinted in *Bulletin of the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas*, nos. 1-3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963): 30. Codex Vaticanus is a fourth-century Greek manuscript containing a great deal of the Old and New Testaments. It is one of the best of the early manuscripts for certain New Testament passages, being a witness to the Alexandrian text-type, which is known for its controlled transmission of the text. See Aland and Aland, *Text*, 44, 50; also Metzger and Ehrman, *Text*, 276-280.

<sup>21</sup> The Bezan text reads *καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν εὐσχημόνων ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες ἱκανοὶ ἐπίστευσαν* (“and from the Greeks and from those of high standing men and women worthy ones believed”), whereas the text of Vaticanus, reads *τῶν Ἑλληνίδων γυναικῶν τῶν εὐσχημόνων καὶ ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι* (“prominent Greek women and men”). See Menoud, “Western Text,” 30.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>23</sup> See F.F. Bruce, *The Book of Acts* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1954; revised, 1988). The Bezan text reads *καὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπέισθησαν καὶ προσεκληρώθησαν τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τῷ Σιλῶ τῇ διδασκίᾳ πολλοὶ τῶν σεβομένων καὶ Ἑλλήνων πλῆθος πολὺ καὶ γυναῖκες τῶν πρώτων οὐκ ὀλίγοι* (“And some out of them believed and joined with Paul and Silas in the teaching, many of the God-fearers and a large multitude of Greeks and not a few wives of the leaders”), while the NA<sup>27</sup> reads *καὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπέισθησαν καὶ προσεκληρώθησαν τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τῷ Σιλῶ, τῶν τε σεβομένων Ἑλλήνων πλῆθος πολὺ, γυναικῶν τε τῶν πρώτων οὐκ ὀλίγοι* (“And some of them were persuaded and joined Paul and Silas, along with a large number of the God-fearing Greeks and a number of the leading women”).

also recognizes Bezae's tendency to tone down prominence assigned to women in xvii.12.<sup>24</sup> He cites Ramsay's arguments concerning the origins of the name Damaris ("Δάμαρις") in xvii.34, reiterating that it is a variant of δάμαλις ("heifer") and that a Latin manuscript contains the reading "Damalis," a typical female name of the time.<sup>25</sup> He also recognizes Bezae's omission of Damaris and its attachment of the gloss εὐσχήμων to Dionysius. He recalls Ramsay's suggestion (see p. 10, n.9 above) that Damaris was a foreigner who may have been one of the Hetairai, since it was unlikely that an ordinary Athenian woman would have been present at and around the Areopagus to hear Paul's speech.<sup>26</sup> As with Menoud, Bruce examines the anti-feminist tendency more thoroughly than did most of his predecessors, as the volume of published scholarship in general increased following the end of World War II. Nevertheless, due to the halted development of feminism, it will be fifteen years before a scholar again mentions the anti-feminist tendency in the Bezan text of Acts xvii.

By the time the next textual scholar comments upon a possible anti-feminist tendency in the text of Codex Bezae in Acts xvii, the feminist movement has begun progressing once again. Commonly known as the second wave of feminism, the women's movement of the 1960s and early 1970s was a product of the civil rights movement. During this period, many women began to campaign for equal rights alongside African-Americans, demanding that they be treated as equals to men. In 1964, Margaret Crook, a professor of religion and biblical literature at Smith

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<sup>24</sup> See F.F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary* (London: Tyndale Press, 1951), 329.

<sup>25</sup> The text of the Latin manuscript reads *et mulier nomine Damalis* ("and a woman named Damalis") at xvii.34. A.C. Headlam (1862-1947), an English theologian and Bishop of Gloucester from 1923 until 1945, notes this in James Hastings, et al., eds., *A Dictionary of the Bible, Dealing with its Language, Literature, and Contents, Including the Biblical Theology*, vol. 1 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), 545.

<sup>26</sup> See Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles*, 341; cf. Ramsay, *Church*, 161; cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 252.

College and member of the Society of Biblical Literature, published *Women and Religion*, one of the earliest significant feminist biblical works written by a credentialed female scholar; in it, she encouraged the equality of men and women in a new understanding of God and religion.<sup>27</sup> In the midst of this feminist activity, Eldon Jay Epp, a professor of biblical literature at Case Western Reserve University and former President of the Society of Biblical Literature, wrote a groundbreaking work, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts*, published in 1966, in which he argues that the text of Codex Bezae is decidedly anti-Judaic. Although discussion of an anti-feminist tendency lies outside of the focus of his book, he acknowledges its possible presence at several points, suggesting that further study be done on some of the textual variants in question. For example, in his analysis of xvii.12, he mentions that the text in Codex Bezae deemphasizes the prominence of the women (“*γυναῖκες*”) who listened to Paul and believed.<sup>28</sup>

During the latter half of the 1960s, feminist activists concerned with the lack of scholarship dealing with women in the Bible and in the history of the Christian Church. In 1967, Elsie Culver, a lay church professional, published *Women in the World of Religion*, criticizing biblical scholars for failing to study the status and roles of women in the Bible and urging that they begin to research these issues for the benefit of contemporary women. By the 1970s, some biblical scholars started to respond to her call, but not before another textual critic would investigate the anti-feminist tendency in the Bezan text of Acts xvii. This scholar was Bruce M. Metzger (1914-2007), a professor at Princeton Theological Seminary, Bible editor on the board

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<sup>27</sup> See Meyers, Craven, and Kraemer, *Women in Scripture*, 25; also Clifford, *Feminist Theology*, 272.

<sup>28</sup> See Epp, *Theological Tendency*, 75 and n.3, 89-90, 167 n. 7.

of the American Bible Society, and scholar of Greek and the New Testament. In 1971, he published *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, in which he recognizes that rearranged word order in the Bezan text of xvii.12 lessens the importance assigned to women in the standard text, citing Menoud's observation (see pp. 15-16 above).<sup>29</sup> He also writes a great deal about xvii.34. First, he acknowledges the omission of the phrase *καὶ γυναῖκα ὀνόματι Δάμαρις* ("and a woman named Damaris") and states that some scholars have used this textual variant to claim that the Bezan text of Acts contains an anti-feminist attitude, specifically citing Ramsay (see pp. 9-11 above). Metzger, however, seems somewhat ambivalent about pronouncing the existence of a definite anti-feminist tendency within Codex Bezae due to his preference the argument of A. C. Clark concerning xvii.34 (see pp. 12-13 above), who suggested that an entire line, not just a single phrase, had been omitted accidentally so that what remains in Bezae is *ἐν οἷς καὶ Διονύσιος τις Ἀρεοπαγίτης εὐσχήμων καὶ ἕτεροι σὺν αὐτοῖς* ("among whom were both Dionysis, a certain Areopagite of high standing, and others with them").<sup>30</sup>

Metzger goes on to remark upon the curious usage of *εὐσχήμων* in xvii.34 to indicate the status attributed to Dionysius, since his identity as an Areopagite would imply his high standing even without using the additional adjective.<sup>31</sup> He clarifies his understanding of why *εὐσχήμων* was inserted by citing Robinson's explanation (see p. 10 above):

According to Robinson it is significant that in Acts the word *εὐσχήμων* is used only of women (xiii.50; xvii.12). Under the influence of its usage earlier in Acts some gallant scribe added

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<sup>29</sup> See Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 454 and note.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 459; cf. Ramsay, *Church*, 161 f.

<sup>31</sup> The term Areopagite ("*Ἀρεοπαγίτης*") refers to a member of the Athenian Areopagus; **see above**.

the word after *Δάμαρις*. Later, after the church had taken her stand against the pagan or heretical claims advanced in behalf of her ambitious women, a more orthodox if less chivalrous transcriber deleted the name of Damaris altogether, but left the adjective standing, a witness at once against his own deed and the deed of the scribe who had gone before him.<sup>32</sup>

Metzger also cites Ramsay's observation (see p. 10, n. 9 above) concerning the plausibility of an Athenian noble woman hearing Paul and the possibility of Damaris being a vulgarism for *damalis* ("heifer"), making her one of the *Hetairai*, who very well could have been among those listening to Paul.<sup>33</sup> Although he acknowledges the anti-feminist nature of several of Bezae's specific readings in Acts, Metzger seems hesitant to declare that anti-feminism is a tendency within Codex Bezae's text of Acts. This ambivalent treatment of the anti-feminist tendency suggests that at the dawn of the 1970s, both he and the field of textual criticism that he represents were in the process of coming to terms with the new understandings and interpretations that feminist ideas were bringing to traditional biblical criticism.

During the 1970s and 1980s, feminist thought developed rapidly as the second wave of feminism gave way to a third wave, in which the issues of discrimination against women based upon their race began to be addressed by feminist scholars. During this period, feminist ideas also finally achieved treatment and growing respect within the world of biblical scholarship. For instance, Roman Catholic theologian Rosemary Radford Ruether edited the anthology *Religion and Sexism* in 1974, a work containing essays highlighting the positive and negative treatment of women in the Bible. It was also during this period that feminist biblical

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<sup>32</sup> See Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 460; I changed the author's Arabic numerals to Roman numerals for the sake of consistency.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 13.

hermeneutics developed as a discipline within feminist biblical scholarship. As noted earlier (see p. 6 above), feminist biblical hermeneutics refers to the interpretation of biblical and extrabiblical writings in the interest of women. It was this feminist interpretation of the New Testament that finally led to a feminist scholar using her biblical expertise to recognize an anti-feminist tendency within the Bezan text of Acts xvii. This was Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, a prominent feminist theologian, professor at Harvard Divinity School, and co-founder and editor of the *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, who argues in her 1983 work *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* that Codex Bezae eliminates references to the prominence of women that the original author strove to highlight. She supports her statement by claiming that in xvii.4, the Bezan text rewrites *γυναικῶν τε τῶν πρώτων οὐκ ὀλίγαι* (“a number of the leading women”) so that it reads *καὶ γυναῖκες τῶν πρώτων* (“wives of the leaders”), thereby lessening the prominence of the women in that passage. She moves on to xvii.12, where she argues that the Bezan text deletes the original emphasis placed on the noble women, and then to xvii.34, where she recognizes that Codex Bezae deletes the name of the female convert Damaris. Schüssler Fiorenza ends this particular section of her book by concluding that “the androcentric selection and transmission of early Christian traditions have manufactured the historical marginality of women, but they are not a reflection of the historical reality of women’s leadership and participation in the early Christian movement,” asserting that the rich history of women living during the early Christian period has largely been lost due to this androcentric textual transmission.<sup>34</sup> Her argument here is significant because she is essentially the first biblical scholar since Ramsay, who wrote ninety years earlier, to draw

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<sup>34</sup>See Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1983), 51-52.

historical conclusions from textual observations in terms of Codex Bezae and its text of Acts xvii.

Due to a great extent to Schüssler Fiorenza's work, the corpus of scholarship focusing on the anti-feminist tendency in Acts xvii of the Bezan text grew significantly as scholars studying Codex Bezae began to acknowledge this tendency much more consistently than they did before. In his 1984 article "The Anti-Feminist Tendencies of the 'Western' Text in Acts," Ben Witherington III, a professor of New Testament interpretation at Asbury Theological Seminary, begins by acknowledging the widely-known fact that the so-called "Western" text, to which Codex Bezae is the best witness, has unique and particular theological tendencies. He goes on to remark, however, that the noticeable anti-feminist tendency within this text has not received sufficient attention from scholars, and that the purpose of his article is to review the evidence for such a tendency. From this call for further scholarly investigation into this topic, Witherington begins his brief yet well-supported and stimulating elaboration on the anti-feminist tendency in the "Western" text of Acts, in which our three verses in xvii are major players. Without citing it, Witherington essentially reiterates Schüssler Fiorenza's argument (see p. 20 above) that the "Western" text downplays or eliminates references to the attention given to women, especially prominent women. He looks first to xvii.4, where he notes that the Bezan text unambiguously reads *καὶ γυναῖκες τῶν πρώτων* ("wives of the leaders") instead of the more well-attested *γυναικῶν τε τῶν πρώτων* ("the leading women"). He then examines xvii.12, where he sees that Codex Bezae corrupts the text so that the prominence of the women is somewhat deemphasized, reading *καὶ τῶν εὐσχημόνων ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες* ("men and

women worthy ones”) rather than *τῶν Ἑλληνίδων γυναικῶν τῶν εὐσχημόνων καὶ ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι* (“a number of prominent Greek women and men”).<sup>35</sup>

Witherington goes on to agree with Ramsay’s observation (see p. 10 above) that the omission of *καὶ γυνὴ ὀνόματι Δάμαρις* (“and a woman named Damaris”) in the Bezan text of xvii.34 is very likely more evidence that the “Western” text contains an anti-feminist bias. He contrasts this argument with Metzger’s, whose conclusion (see pp. 18-19 above) is concurrent with A. C. Clark’s suggestion that one of Codex Bezae’s textual ancestors accidentally omitted the line.<sup>36</sup> Witherington continues his analysis by suggesting that there may be an additional tendency to elevate the status of men in the text of Codex Bezae, and not simply to limit the textual alteration to lessening the prominence of women. He cites as an example the addition of *εὐσχήμων* following *Ἀρεοπαγίτης* (“Areopagite”) in xvii.34, arguing that the addition is not necessary, as did Clark (see pp. 12-13 above), since the sense of Dionysius’ great status is already conveyed by *Ἀρεοπαγίτης*; Witherington remarks that this textual variant may be “a further attempt to transfer words only applied to women in Acts, so that they apply to men as well.”<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, Witherington admits the possibility of the use of *εὐσχήμων* as an original ascription following Damaris’ name, which was J. A. Robinson’s argument (see p. 10 above), but he does not find it convincing because if Robinson’s theory were true, there would be more evidence that it was not only Codex Bezae that added *εὐσχήμων* as an ascription after

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<sup>35</sup> See Witherington, “Anti-Feminist Tendencies,” 82.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., n. 4; cf. Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 459.

<sup>37</sup> See Witherington, “Anti-Feminist Tendencies,” 82-83; cf. xvii.12.

Damaris.<sup>38</sup> Witherington concludes his analysis of xvii.34 by challenging Ramsay's assertion (see p. 10, n. 9 above) that a respectable Athenian woman would not have had the opportunity to listen to Paul's speech at the Areopagus, citing historical evidence that noble women in Athens were not bound to their quarters.<sup>39</sup> He does acknowledge, however, as did Ramsay (see p. 10, n. 9 above), the likelihood that Damaris was of the *Hetairai* class, since her name is probably a vulgarized form for "heifer."<sup>40</sup>

Witherington reaches the conclusion that at least some part of the Church was exerting an effort to downplay textual references in Acts to the importance of women in the early years of the Christian movement.<sup>41</sup> He restates Ramsay's conclusion (see pp. 10-11 above) concerning the Church's dislike and abhorrence toward the prominence of women, emphasizing the likelihood that the "Western" text simply reflects traditional Graeco-Roman views that women should not take eminent roles within the context of public life.<sup>42</sup> Like Ramsay and Shüssler Fiorenza before him, Witherington draws conclusions concerning the historical realities of the early Christian movement from his observations of the alterations of the text; he finds that the reasons behind the textual variants in Codex Bezae lie with the prevalent anti-feminist attitudes of the Graeco-Roman milieu into which Christianity spread. Witherington's thorough study of the anti-feminist tendency suggests that by the time of his

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 83 and n. 5; cf. Ramsay, *Church*, 161-162.

<sup>39</sup> See Witherington, "Anti-Feminist Tendencies," 83; cf. D.C. Richter, "The Position of Women in Classical Athens," *Classical Journal*, 67 (1971): 7 and notes; cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 252.

<sup>40</sup> See Witherington, "Anti-Feminist Tendencies," 83; cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 252.

<sup>41</sup> See Witherington, "Anti-Feminist Tendencies," 83.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 84; cf. Ramsay, *Church*, 162; cf. J.P.V.D. Balsdon, *Roman Women: Their History and Habits* (London: The Bodley Head, 1962).

writing, the field of feminist biblical criticism had influenced mainstream textual critical thought to the extent that non-feminist biblical scholars were beginning to research the issues that their feminist contemporaries had been writing about for two decades.

The next scholar to investigate the anti-feminist tendency in Acts xvii of Codex Bezae is Richard I. Pervo in his essay “Social and Religious Aspects of the ‘Western’ Text,” published in 1985, just one year after Witherington wrote his article. Pervo is a retired professor of New Testament and Christian studies at the University of Minnesota. He first recognizes other scholars who have commented on the presence of an anti-feminist element in Codex Bezae, including Ropes, Bruce, Menoud, Metzger, and Witherington. He also comments on the paucity of scholarly reflection upon the significance of this anti-feminist tendency since Ramsay’s work nearly a century earlier, voicing his hope to advance the discussion through his own textual analysis. Pervo begins by stating that the “Western” text tones down the prominence among converts given to women in Acts. Concerning the textual change at xvii.4 in the Bezan text, from *γυναικῶν τε τῶν πρώτων* (“the leading women”) to *καὶ γυναῖκες τῶν πρώτων* (“wives of the leaders”), Pervo suggests that the wives of the leading citizens were acceptable as converts as long as their status was derived from their husbands, rather than from their own personal background or accomplishments. He then briefly mentions that in xvii.12, the “Western” text transfers the attention from the prominent women to the men. He devotes more analysis to xvii.34, where he finds that Damaris’ name was probably deleted from the text of Codex Bezae, since the adjective *εὐσχήμων* always applies to women; additionally the plural *αὐτοῖς* (“them,” “themselves”) signifies that originally, there had been at least one more name in addition to

Dionysius, which is still listed.<sup>43</sup> From this and other evidence, Pervo concludes that the “Western” reviser chose not to advance the notion that the early Christian faith appealed especially to women of prominence, since the Christian movement as understood by the reviser was not concerned with converting women of high status. Like Ramsay before him and some of his own contemporaries, therefore, Pervo strives to use his textual observations of an anti-feminist bias in the Acts of Codex Bezae and draw conclusions from them concerning the history of women in early Christianity.<sup>44</sup>

Since the early 1990s, scholars have largely referenced these earlier works when discussing the anti-feminist tendency in Codex Bezae found within Acts xvii, while continuing to analyze the textual variants in order to posit their own observations and conclusions. During this period, feminist scholarship has made significant strides in terms of extending its influence over the whole of biblical scholarship, and so much of the work written by biblical scholars during the 1990s and 2000s incorporates elements of feminist biblical criticism. Due to the large amount of scholarship on this topic produced within this period, I will treat these recent scholarly contributions more generally than those I have discussed previously. In 1992, Codex Bezae scholar David C. Parker, an Edward Cadbury professor of theology at the University of Birmingham, wrote an exhaustive study, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text*. In it, Parker briefly references Schüssler Fiorenza’s case study of the anti-feminist tendency in Acts, citing our three verses in xvii (4, 12, and 34) as instances in which all textual

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<sup>43</sup> See Richard I. Pervo, “Social and Religious Aspects of the ‘Western’ Text,” in *The Living Text: Essays in Honor of Ernest W. Sanders*, eds. Dennis E. Groh and Robert Jewett (Lanham: University Press of America, 1985), 238.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, “Social and Religious Aspects,” 238-239.

alterations have a theological significance.<sup>45</sup> Also in 1992, Metzger published the third edition of *The Text of the New Testament*, in which he recognizes that Codex Bezae's readings for xvii.4 and xvii.12 indicate this text's assumption that the status of the women mentioned in this text was derived from their husbands and not from their own achievements, as well as its disapproval of the precedence given to women over men. He also briefly mentions Bezae's variant at xvii.34, in which *καὶ γυναῖκα ὀνόματι Δάμαρις* ("and a woman named Damaris") was omitted.<sup>46</sup>

Bart D. Ehrman, a New Testament textual critic and professor of religious studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, published two articles, "The Text as Window: New Testament Manuscripts and the Social History of Early Christianity" in 1995 and "The Text of the Gospels at the End of the Second Century" in 1996; in both he briefly discusses the Bezan bias against the prominence of women. In the former article, he mentions Witherington's work examining Codex Bezae's tendency to deemphasize the status of women in the early Church, as witnessed by the variants in xvii.4 and xvii.12, specifically noting the change in xvii.4 from *γυναικῶν τε τῶν πρώτων* ("the leading women") to *καὶ γυναῖκες τῶν πρώτων* ("wives of the leaders").<sup>47</sup> In the latter article, Ehrman also focuses on the early Christian oppression of women, but he expands his discussion somewhat, providing more social historical context. In this article, he finds that the anti-feminist tendency in Codex Bezae reflects the proto-orthodox

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<sup>45</sup> See D.C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 191-192; cf. Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 52.

<sup>46</sup> See Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 295-296.

<sup>47</sup> See Ehrman, "The Text as Window," 367-368; cf. Witherington, "Anti-Feminist Tendencies," 82-84.

suppression of women with prominent roles within the Christian ministry that had begun by the end of the first century. He again cites Witherington's 1984 article and mentions the same textual variant in xvii.4 that he did in his previous article, and he also cites Schüssler Fiorenza's 1984 work in his brief analysis of that variant.<sup>48</sup>

In 2000, Kim Haines-Eitzen, professor of Christianity, Judaism, and Graeco-Roman religions at Cornell University, published *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature*, in which she references Witherington and both of Ehrman's articles, finding that Bezae "preserves readings that diminish the roles and prominence of women in the early Christian movement." She goes on to cite as examples of this phenomenon xvii.4, xvii.12, and xvii.34; in xvii.4, *γυναικῶν τε τῶν πρώτων οὐκ ὀλίγαι* ("a number of the leading women") is replaced by *καὶ γυναῖκες τῶν πρώτων* ("not a few wives of the leaders"), a change that she considers to be a deliberate assertion of gender hierarchy. In xvii.12, she finds that Codex Bezae transposes the order of the words so that the importance assigned to the men in the verse overshadows the original importance of the women; and in xvii.34, she observes Bezae's deletion of the name Damaris.<sup>49</sup> Also in 2000, Ross S. Kraemer, a professor of the New Testament at Brown University, in *Women in Scripture: A Dictionary of Name and Unnamed Women in the Hebrew Bible, the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books, and the New Testament*, finds Bezae's textual variants at xvii.4 and xvii.12, although she doesn't

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<sup>48</sup> See Ehrman, "The Text of the Gospels at the End of the Second Century," in *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium, June 1994*, ed. D. C. Parker and C.-B. Amphoux (Leiden/New York: Brill, 1996), 114-116; cf. Witherington, "Anti-Feminist Tendencies," 82-84; cf. Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 51-52.

<sup>49</sup> See Kim Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 116; Witherington, "Anti-Feminist Tendencies," 82-84; cf. Ehrman, "The Text of the Gospels," 114-116; cf. Ehrman, "The Text as Window," 367-368.

perform much analysis of them. She does, however, cite Witherington's article as a source of further study on the variants.<sup>50</sup>

In 2004, Wayne C. Kannaday, a professor of religion and philosophy at Newberry College, wrote *Apologetic Discourse and the Scribal Tradition: Evidence of the Influence of Apologetic Interests on the Text of the Canonical Gospels*. In his discussion of Schüssler Fiorenza's description of "an androcentric selection and transmission of early Christian traditions," Kannaday briefly mentions Schüssler Fiorenza's textual evidence from Codex Bezae that indicates a deliberate elimination of women from the text, specifically citing xvii.4 and xvii.12. Although he nowhere else mentions the anti-feminist tendency within the Bezan text, Kannaday discusses many issues concerning women within the early Christian movement in great detail, and his arguments are worth reading.<sup>51</sup> Most recently, Roli G. dela Cruz, professor of Greek, New Testament, and hermeneutics at Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, has written "Acts in Codex Bezae: An Orthodox Christian Text" as a lectureship paper for the Asia Pacific Theological Seminary.<sup>52</sup> It is a thorough analysis of the text of Codex Bezae through the lens of several specific issues within early Christianity, including the marginalized social status of women. Dela Cruz recognizes a number of scholars who have contributed to the discussion of the tendency within Codex Bezae to degrade women, and specifically Pervo, Menoud, Schüssler Fiorenza, and Parker. Then he goes on to discuss, among other variants, the Bezan reading of

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<sup>50</sup> See Meyers, Craven, and Kraemer, *Women in Scripture*, 465-466; cf. Witherington, "Anti-Feminist Tendencies," 82-84.

<sup>51</sup> Wayne C. Kannaday, *Apologetic Discourse and the Scribal Tradition: Evidence of the Influence of Apologetic Interests on the Text of the Canonical Gospels* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004), 178-179; cf. Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 48-53.

<sup>52</sup> This paper is available via [www.bhd.bz/apts/index.cfm?eAction=viewfile&fileid=42](http://www.bhd.bz/apts/index.cfm?eAction=viewfile&fileid=42) (accessed 11 December, 2008).

xvii.4, which he highlights as an example of how women have been degraded in the transmission of New Testament texts.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Roli G. dela Cruz, "Acts in Codex Bezae: An Orthodox Christian Text" (lectureship Paper, Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, 2006), 7-9.

## Conclusion

This paper has surveyed the scholarly literature produced concerning the presence and nature of an anti-feminist tendency within the Greek text of Acts xvii in Codex Bezae. This scholarship has changed drastically in terms of its treatment of the subject, from early textual critics' hesitant remarks about the possibility of a slight anti-feminist tendency all the way to the full-fledged agreement by many New Testament scholars that an anti-feminist tendency exists within the Bezan text. Parallel to this change in textual critical scholarship has been the change in feminist biblical hermeneutical scholarship, which had its beginnings in the suffrage movement of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and which developed extensively during the second and third waves of feminism in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. With the change from androcentric biblical interpretation to a more woman-friendly reading of the passages of the Bible as its goal, the discipline of feminist biblical hermeneutics developed from being the work of women with no credentials as biblical scholars in the early years to being an authentic and important field of biblical hermeneutics in today's world.

Throughout the twentieth century, the development of feminist biblical hermeneutics had an increasingly profound influence on the field of biblical textual criticism. This influence effected a visible change in the way in which New Testament textual scholars studied early manuscripts, causing them to recognize an anti-feminist tendency within the Bezan text of Acts xvii. Initially, the influence of feminist thought on the work of textual critics was small, but as the century wore on and the greater feminist movement gained momentum following World War II, this influence grew. Finally, the work of Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, one of the

prominent players in the development of feminist biblical hermeneutics, in 1983 initiated a flurry of academic activity, during which a multitude of New Testament scholars came to recognize and write about the anti-feminist tendency of the Bezan text of Acts xvii, seeking and arriving at greater understandings of the reasons behind this tendency.

**Appendix One—Codex Bezae Greek Transcription by F. H. Scrivener with English Translation by Dr. Amy S. Anderson, Professor of Greek and New Testament at North Central University**

**1** Διοδεύσαντες δὲ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ κατήλθον εἰς Ἀπολλωνίδα κάκειθεν εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην, ὅπου ἦν συναγωγὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

**2** καὶ κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ὁ Παῦλος εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς αὐτούς, ἐπὶ σάββατα τρία διελέχθη αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν,

**3** διανοίγων καὶ παρατιθέμενος ὅτι [τὸν] Χριστὸν ἔδει παθεῖν καὶ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν [.] Χριστός, Ἰησοῦς ὃν ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν.

**4** καὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίσθησαν καὶ προσεκληρώθησαν τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τῷ Σιλῶ τῇ διδασκῇ πολλοὶ τῶν σεβομένων καὶ Ἑλλήνων πλῆθος πολὺ καὶ γυναῖκες τῶν πρώτων οὐκ ὀλίγαι.

**5** οἱ δὲ ἀπειθοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι συνστρέψαντές τινας ἀνδρας τῶν ἀγοραίων πονηροῦς [..] ἐθορύβουσαν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἐπιστάντες τῇ οἰκίᾳ Ἰάσωνος ἐζήτουν αὐτοὺς ἀγαγεῖν εἰς τὸν δῆμον·

**6** μὴ εὐρόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔσυραν Ἰάσωναν καὶ τινας ἀδελφοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολιτάρχας, βοῶντες καὶ λέγοντες ὅτι οἱ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀναστατώσαντες οὗτοι εἰσιν καὶ ἐνθάδε πάρισιν,

**7** οὓς ὑποδέδεκται Ἰάσων· καὶ οὗτοι πάντες ἀπέναντι τῶν δογμάτων Καίσαρος πράσσουσιν, βασιλέα λέγοντες ἕτερον εἶναι Ἰησοῦν.

**8** καὶ ἐτάραξεν τοὺς πολιτάρχας καὶ τὸν ὄχλον. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα,

**9** καὶ λαβόντες τὸ ἱκανὸν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰάσωνος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπέλυσαν αὐτούς.

**1** But having traveled through Amphipolis, they also went down into Apollonia, and from there into Thessalonica where there was a synagogue of the Jews. **2** And according to custom, Paul went in to them. On three Sabbaths he was reasoning with them out of the scriptures, **3** explaining and pointing out that it was necessary for the Christ to suffer and to rise out of the dead and, “This one is the Christ – Jesus whom I proclaim to you.” **4** And some out of them believed and joined with Paul and Silas in the teaching, many of the God-fearers and a large multitude of Greeks and not a few wives of the leaders. **5** But the Jews who were disobedient/unbelievers, having gathered together certain evil men of the market places, stirred up the city and, coming to the house of Jason, they were trying to bring them out to the people. **6** But not finding them, they dragged Jason and certain brothers to the city rulers, bellowing and saying, “These are the ones who turned the world upside down, and they came in here **7** whom Jason has welcomed and all these act against the dogmas of Caesar, saying that Jesus is another king.” **8** But they stirred up the city rulers and the crowd, having heard these things **9** and having taken the pledge from Jason and the others, they released them.

**10** Οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοὶ εὐθέως διὰ [.] νυκτὸς ἐξέπεμψαν τὸν [..] Παῦλον καὶ τὸν Σίλαν εἰς Βέροϊαν, οἵτινες παραγενόμενοι εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπήεσαν.

**11** οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν εὐγενεῖς τῶν ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ, οἵτινες ἐδέξαντο τὸν λόγον μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας, καθ' ἡμέραν ἀνακρίνοντες τὰς γραφὰς εἰ ἔχοι ταῦτα οὕτω.

**12** τινὲς μὲν οὖν [.] αὐτῶν ἐπίστευσαν, τίνες δὲ ἠπίστησαν, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων [.] καὶ τῶν εὐσχημόνων ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες ἱκανοὶ ἐπίστευσαν.

**13** Ὡς δὲ ἔγνωσαν οἱ ἀπὸ [.] Θεσσαλονίκης Ἰουδαῖοι ὅτι [.] λόγος [.] Θεοῦ κατηγγέλη [.] εἰς Βεροῖαν καὶ ἐπίστευσαν καὶ [...], ἦλθον εἰς αὐτὴν κάκεῖ σαλεύοντες καὶ ταρασσόντες τοὺς ὄχλους οὐ διελίμπανον.

**14** [.] τὸν μὲν οὖν Παῦλον οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἐξαπέστειλαν ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν· ὑπέμεινεν δὲ ὁ [.] Σίλας καὶ ὁ Τιμόθεος ἐκεῖ.

**15** οἱ δὲ καταστάνοντες τὸν Παῦλον ἤγαγον [.] ἕως Ἀθηνῶν, παρῆλθεν δὲ τὴν Θεσσαλίαν, ἐκωλύθη γὰρ εἰς αὐτοὺς κηρύξαι τὸν λόγον, [.] λαβόντες δὲ ἐντολὴν παρὰ Παύλου πρὸς τὸν Σίλαν καὶ [.] Τιμόθεον, ὅπως ἐν τάχει ἔλθωσιν πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἐξήεσαν.

**16** Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐκδεχομένου αὐτοῦ τοῦ Παύλου, παρωξύνετο [.] πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ θεωροῦντι κατείδωλον οὔσαν τὴν πόλιν.

**17** διελέγετο μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τοῖς σεβομένοις καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν πρὸς τοὺς παρατυγχάνοντας.

**10** But the brothers immediately by night sent Paul and Silas out into Berea who, having arrived, went into the synagogue of the Jews. **11** But these were noblemen of those in Thessalonica who received the word with all eagerness, examining the scriptures each day if these things are so. **12** On the one hand, then, some of them believed, but some disbelieved, and from the Greeks and from those of high standing men and women worthy ones believed. **13** But as the Jews from Thessalonica knew that the word of God was proclaimed in Berea, they believed; they also went to the city and there they did not stop shaking up and designating/appointing the crowds. **14** On the one hand, therefore, the brothers sent Paul out to go away to the sea, but Silas and Timothy were remaining. **15** But those accompanying Paul brought him until Athens, but they went along, for he was hindered to preach the word to them. But, having taken a command from Paul to Silas and Timothy that they should come quickly to him, they departed. **16** But at the waiting of Paul himself in Athens, his spirit was being provoked in his seeing the city being full of idols. **17** On the one hand, therefore, he was reasoning in the synagogue with the Jews and with the God-fearers and with those in the marketplace every day with those happening to be there.

**18** τινές δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἐπικουρείων καὶ τῶν Στωϊκῶν φιλοσόφων συνέλαβον αὐτῷ, καὶ τινες ἔλεγον· Τί ἂν θέλῃ ὁ σπερμολόγος οὗτος λέγειν; οἱ δὲ· Ξένων δαιμονίων δοκεῖ καταγγελεὺς εἶναι [.....].

**19** μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας τινὰς ἐπιλαβόμενοι αὐτοῦ ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ [.] Ἄρειον Πάγον, πυνθανόμενοι καὶ λέγοντες· Δυνάμεθα γινῶναι τίς ἢ καινὴ αὐτῆ [.] ὑπὸ σοῦ καταγγελλομένη διδαχὴ;

**20** ξενίζοντα γάρ τινα φέρεις ῥήματα εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν· βουλόμεθα οὖν γινῶναι τί ἂν θέλοι ταῦτα εἶναι.

**21** Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πάντες καὶ οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες εἰς αὐτοὺς ξένοι εἰς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἠυκαίρουν ἢ λέγειν τι ἢ ἀκούειν καινότερον.

**22** Σταθεὶς δὲ ὁ Παῦλος ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀρείου Πάγου ἔφη· Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ πάντα ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ·

**23** διερχόμενος γὰρ καὶ διιστορῶν τὰ σεβάσματα ὑμῶν εὔρον καὶ βωμόν ἐν ᾧ ἦν γεγραμμένον, Ἄγνωστω θεῷ. ὃν οὖν ἀγνοοῦντες εὐσεβεῖτε, τοῦτο ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν.

**24** ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, οὗτος οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς Κύριος ὑπάρχων οὐκ ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κατοικοῖ

**25** οὐδὲ ὑπὸ χειρῶν ἀνθρωπίνων θεραπεύεται προσδεόμενός ὅτι οὗτος ὁ δοὺς πᾶσι ζωὴν καὶ πνοὴν καὶ τὰ πάντα·

**26** ἐποίησέν [.] ἐξ ἐνὸς αἵματος πᾶν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπου κατοικεῖν ἐπὶ παντὸς προσώπου τῆς γῆς, ὀρίσας προστεταγμένους καιροὺς κατὰ ὀροθεσίαν τῆς κατοικίας αὐτῶν,

**27** μάλιστα ζητεῖν τὸ Θεῖον ἐστὶν εἰ ἄρα γε ψηλαφήσαισαν αὐτὸ ἢ εὔροισαν, καί τε οὐ μακρὰν ὦν ἀφ' ἐνὸς ἐκάστου ἡμῶν [..].

**18** But also some of the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers seized him, and some were saying, “What might this babblers wish to say? He knows strange demons/deities. He appears to be a proclaimer.” **19** But after some days, the ones having taken him brought him to the Areopagus, inquiring and saying, “Are we able to know what is this new teaching being proclaimed by you, **20** for you bring some strange words into our hearing. Therefore we wish to know what these things might be intended to be.” **21** But all the Athenians and the strangers visiting with them were spending their time at nothing other than to say something or to hear something newer. **22** But Paul, having stood in the midst of the Areopagus said, “Men, Athenians, according to all things, I observe you as being very religious, **23** for coming through and passing by your objects of worship, I found also an altar on which it was having been written ‘TO AN UNKNOWN GOD.’ What therefore you worship, being ignorant, this I proclaim to you. **24** The God who made the world and all the things which are in it, this One being Lord of heaven and earth, does not dwell in hand-made temples, **25** nor is He served by human hands, having need, because this One is the One giving life and breath to all, **26** and He made all things out of one blood, every nation of man to dwell upon all the face of the earth, having determined the pre-designated times according to the limit of their habitation. **27** It is most of all to seek the divinity if perhaps they might touch it or they might find him not far from each one of us,

**28** Ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν, τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ὡσπερ καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τινες [...] εἰρήκασιν τούτου γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν.

**29** γένος οὖν ὑπάρχοντες τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ὀφείλομεν νομίζειν οὔτε χρυσῷ ἢ ἀργύρῳ ἢ λίθῳ, χαράγματι τέχνης ἢ ἐνθυμήσεως ἀνθρώπου, τὸ θεῖον εἶναι ὅμοιον.

**30** τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρόνους τῆς ἀγνοίας ταύτης παριδὼν ὁ Θεὸς τὰ νῦν παραγγέλλει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἵνα πάντες πανταχοῦ μετανοεῖν,

**31** καθότι ἔστησεν ἡμέραν [...] κρίναι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ [...] ἀνδρὶ Ἰησοῦ ᾧ ὤρισεν πίστιν παρεσχεῖν πᾶσιν ἀναστήσας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν.

**32** Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν οἱ μὲν ἐχλεύαζον, οἱ δὲ εἶπον· Ἀκουσόμεθά σου περὶ τούτου πάλιν.

**33** οὕτως ὁ Παῦλος ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν.

**34** τινὲς δὲ ἄνδρες ἐκολλήθησαν αὐτῷ ἐπίστευσαν, ἐν οἷς καὶ Διονύσιος τις Ἀρεοπαγίτης εὐσχήμων καὶ ἕτεροι σὺν αὐτοῖς.

**28** for in her/it we live and move and exist each day, just as also some of those with us have said, 'For we are also the offspring of this one.' **29** Therefore, being the offspring of God, we ought not to suppose the divinity to be like neither gold or silver or stone or like an image of craftsmanship or the thought of a man. **30** Therefore, on the one hand, having overlooked these times of ignorance, God is announcing the current things to people in order that all everywhere might repent **31** in so far as they appointed a day to judge the world in righteousness by the man Jesus, whom he appointed to bring about assurance to all, having raised him out of the dead."

**32** But having heard of the resurrection of the dead, some on the one hand were sneering, but some on the other hand said, "We shall hear you concerning this again.

**33** Thus Paul went out from their midst. **34** But certain men joined. They believed him, among whom were both Dionysis, a certain Areopagite of high standing, and others with them.

**Appendix Two—Standard Critical Greek Text from NA<sup>27</sup> with English Translation from the  
New American Standard Bible**

**1** Διοδεύσαντες δὲ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ἦλθον εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην ὅπου ἦν συναγωγή τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

**2** κατὰ δὲ τὸ εἰωθὸς τῷ Παύλῳ εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ σάββατα τρία διελέξατο αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν,

**3** διανοίγων καὶ παρατιθέμενος ὅτι τὸν χριστὸν ἔδει παθεῖν καὶ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστὸς [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς ὃν ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν.

**4** καὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίσθησαν καὶ προσεκληρώθησαν τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τῷ Σιλᾷ, τῶν τε σεβομένων Ἑλλήνων πλῆθος πολὺ, γυναικῶν τε τῶν πρώτων οὐκ ὀλίγαι.

**5** Ζηλώσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ προσλαβόμενοι τῶν ἀγοραίων ἄνδρας τινὰς πονηροὺς καὶ ὀχλοποιήσαντες ἐθορύβουν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐπιστάντες τῇ οἰκίᾳ Ἰάσονος ἐζήτουν αὐτοὺς προαγαγεῖν εἰς τὸν δῆμον·

**6** μὴ εὐρόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔσυρον Ἰάσονα καὶ τινὰς ἀδελφοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολιτάρχας βοῶντες ὅτι οἱ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀναστατώσαντες οὗτοι καὶ ἐνθάδε πάρεσιν,

**7** οὓς ὑποδέδεκται Ἰάσων· καὶ οὗτοι πάντες ἀπέναντι τῶν δογμάτων Καίσαρος πράσσουσιν βασιλέα ἕτερον λέγοντες εἶναι Ἰησοῦν.

**8** ἐτάραξαν δὲ τὸν ὄχλον καὶ τοὺς πολιτάρχας ἀκούοντας ταῦτα,

**9** καὶ λαβόντες τὸ ἱκανὸν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰάσονος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπέλυσαν αὐτούς.

**1** Now when they had traveled through Amphipolis and Apollonia, they came to Thessalonica, where there was a synagogue of the Jews. **2** And according to Paul's custom, he went to them, and for three Sabbaths reasoned with them from the Scriptures, **3** explaining and giving evidence that the Christ had to suffer and rise again from the dead, and saying, "This Jesus whom I am proclaiming to you is the Christ." **4** And some of them were persuaded and joined Paul and Silas, along with a large number of the God-fearing Greeks and a number of the leading women. **5** But the Jews, becoming jealous and taking along some wicked men from the market place, formed a mob and set the city in an uproar; and attacking the house of Jason, they were seeking to bring them out to the people. **6** When they did not find them, they began dragging Jason and some brethren before the city authorities, shouting, "These men who have upset the world have come here also; **7** and Jason has welcomed them, and they all act contrary to the decrees of Caesar, saying that there is another king, Jesus." **8** They stirred up the crowd and the city authorities who heard these things. **9** And when they had received a pledge from Jason and the others, they released them.

**10** Οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοὶ εὐθέως διὰ νυκτὸς ἐξέπεμψαν τὸν τε Παῦλον καὶ τὸν Σιλᾶν εἰς Βέροϊαν, οἵτινες παραγενόμενοι εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπήεσαν.

**11** οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν εὐγενέστεροι τῶν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ, οἵτινες ἐδέξαντο τὸν λόγον μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας καθ' ἡμέραν ἀνακρίνοντες τὰς γραφὰς εἰ ἔχοι ταῦτα οὕτως.

**12** πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίστευσαν καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων γυναικῶν τῶν εὐσημίωνων καὶ ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι.

**13** ὡς δὲ ἔγνωσαν οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης Ἰουδαῖοι ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ Βεροία κατηγγέλη ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, ἦλθον κάκεῖ σαλεύοντες καὶ ταρασσόντες τοὺς ὄχλους.

**14** εὐθέως δὲ τότε τὸν Παῦλον ἐξαπέστειλαν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πορεύεσθαι ἕως ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ὑπέμεινάν τε ὁ τε Σιλᾶς καὶ ὁ Τιμόθεος ἐκεῖ.

**15** οἱ δὲ καθιστάνοντες τὸν Παῦλον ἤγαγον ἕως Ἀθηνῶν, καὶ λαβόντες ἐντολὴν πρὸς τὸν Σιλᾶν καὶ τὸν Τιμόθεον ἵνα ὡς τάχιστα ἔλθωσιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξήεσαν.

**16** Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐκδεχομένου αὐτοῦ τοῦ Παύλου παρωξύνετο τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ θεωροῦντος κατείδωλον οὔσαν τὴν πόλιν.

**17** διελέγετο μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τοῖς σεβομένοις καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν πρὸς τοὺς παρατυγχάνοντας.

**18** τινὲς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἐπικουρείων καὶ Στοϊκῶν φιλοσόφων συνέβαλλον αὐτῷ, καὶ τινες ἔλεγον· τί ἂν θέλοι ὁ σπερμολόγος οὗτος λέγειν; οἱ δὲ· ξένων δαιμονίων δοκεῖ καταγγελεὺς εἶναι, ὅτι τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν εὐηγγελίζετο.

**10** The brethren immediately sent Paul and Silas away by night to Berea, and when they arrived, they went into the synagogue of the Jews. **11** Now these were more noble-minded than those in Thessalonica, for they received the word with great eagerness, examining the Scriptures daily to see whether these things were so. **12** Therefore many of them believed, along with a number of prominent Greek women and men. **13** But when the Jews of Thessalonica found out that the word of God had been proclaimed by Paul in Berea also, they came there as well, agitating and stirring up the crowds. **14** Then immediately the brethren sent Paul out to go as far as the sea; and Silas and Timothy remained there. **15** Now those who escorted Paul brought him as far as Athens; and receiving a command for Silas and Timothy to come to him as soon as possible, they left. **16** Now while Paul was waiting for them at Athens, his spirit was being provoked within him as he was observing the city full of idols. **17** So he was reasoning in the synagogue with the Jews and the God-fearing Gentiles, and in the market place every day with those who happened to be present. **18** And also some of the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers were conversing with him. Some were saying, "What would this idle babbler wish to say?" Others, "He seems to be a proclaimer of strange deities,"—because he was preaching Jesus and the resurrection.

**19** ἐπιλαβόμενοι τε αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον ἤγαγον λέγοντες· δυνάμεθα γινῶναι τίς ἡ καινὴ αὕτη ἢ ὑπὸ σοῦ λαλουμένη διδαχὴ;

**20** ξενίζοντα γάρ τινα εἰσφέρεις εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν· βουλόμεθα οὖν γινῶναι τίνα θέλει ταῦτα εἶναι.

**21** Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πάντες καὶ οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες ξένοι εἰς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ηὔκαιρουν ἢ λέγειν τι ἢ ἀκούειν τι καινότερον.

**22** Σταθεὶς δὲ [ὁ] Παῦλος ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀρείου πάγου ἔφη· ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ πάντα ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ.

**23** διερχόμενος γὰρ καὶ ἀναθεωρῶν τὰ σεβάσματα ὑμῶν εὗρον καὶ βωμὸν ἐν ᾧ ἐπεγέγραπτο· Ἄγνωστω θεῷ. ὃ οὖν ἀγνοοῦντες εὐσεβεῖτε, τοῦτο ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν.

**24** ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, οὗτος οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὑπάρχων κύριος οὐκ ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κατοικεῖ

**25** οὐδὲ ὑπὸ χειρῶν ἀνθρωπίνων θεραπεύεται προσδεόμενός τινος, αὐτὸς διδοὺς πᾶσι ζωὴν καὶ πνοὴν καὶ τὰ πάντα·

**26** ἐποίησέν τε ἐξ ἑνὸς πᾶν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων κατοικεῖν ἐπὶ παντὸς προσώπου τῆς γῆς, ὀρίσας προστεταγμένους καιροὺς καὶ τὰς ὁροθεσίας τῆς κατοικίας αὐτῶν

**27** ζητεῖν τὸν θεόν, εἰ ἄρα γε ψηλαφήσειαν αὐτὸν καὶ εὗροιν, καί γε οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου ἡμῶν ὑπάρχοντα.

**28** ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν, ὡς καὶ τινες τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς ποιητῶν εἰρήκασιν· τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν.

**29** γένος οὖν ὑπάρχοντες τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ὀφείλομεν νομίζειν χρυσῷ ἢ ἀργύρῳ ἢ λίθῳ, χαράγματι τέχνης καὶ ἐνθυμήσεως ἀνθρώπου, τὸ θεῖον εἶναι ὅμοιον.

**19** And they took him and brought him to the Areopagus, saying, "May we know what this new teaching is which you are proclaiming? **20** For you are bringing some strange things to our ears; so we want to know what these things mean." **21** (Now all the Athenians and the strangers visiting there used to spend their time in nothing other than telling or hearing something new.) **22** So Paul stood in the midst of the Areopagus and said, "Men of Athens, I observe that you are very religious in all respects. **23** "For while I was passing through and examining the objects of your worship, I also found an altar with this inscription, 'TO AN UNKNOWN GOD.' Therefore what you worship in ignorance, this I proclaim to you. **24** The God who made the world and all things in it, since He is Lord of heaven and earth, does not dwell in temples made with hands; **25** nor is He served by human hands, as though He needed anything, since He Himself gives to all people life and breath and all things; **26** and He made from one man every nation of mankind to live on all the face of the earth, having determined their appointed times and the boundaries of their habitation, **27** that they would seek God, if perhaps they might grope for Him and find Him, though He is not far from each one of us; **28** for in Him we live and move and exist, as even some of your own poets have said, 'For we also are His children.' **29** Being then the children of God, we ought not to think that the Divine Nature is like gold or silver or stone, an image formed by the art and thought of man.

**30** τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρόνους τῆς ἀγνοίας  
ὑπεριδὼν ὁ θεός, τὰ νῦν παραγγέλλει τοῖς  
ἀνθρώποις πάντας πανταχοῦ μετανοεῖν,

**31** καθότι ἔσθησεν ἡμέραν ἐν ἣ ἔμελλει  
κρίνειν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ἐν  
ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὤρισεν, πίστιν παρασχὼν πᾶσιν  
ἀναστήσας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν.

**32** Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν οἱ μὲν  
ἐχλεύαζον, οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· ἀκουσόμεθά σου  
περὶ τούτου καὶ πάλιν.

**33** οὕτως ὁ Παῦλος ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ μέσου  
αὐτῶν.

**34** τινὲς δὲ ἄνδρες κολληθέντες αὐτῷ  
ἐπίστευσαν, ἐν οἷς καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ  
Ἀρεοπαγίτης καὶ γυνὴ ὀνόματι Δάμαρις καὶ  
ἕτεροι σὺν αὐτοῖς.

**30** Therefore having overlooked the times  
of ignorance, God is now declaring to men  
that all people everywhere should repent,  
**31** because He has fixed a day in which He  
will judge the world in righteousness  
through a Man whom He has appointed,  
having furnished proof to all men by raising  
Him from the dead." **32** Now when they  
heard of the resurrection of the dead, some  
began to sneer, but others said, "We shall  
hear you again concerning this." **33** So Paul  
went out of their midst. **34** But some men  
joined him and believed, among whom also  
were Dionysius the Areopagite and a  
woman named Damaris and others with  
them.

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