

*Women's Roles in the Early Church and Clement of Alexandria:
The Struggle for Equality with Men in 175-250 C.E.*

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In the last several decades there has been huge scholarly interest in recovering the Biblical text's view of women's roles as well as the role of women in the early church. What scholarship has found is that the Biblical texts and the Early Church do not necessarily agree on the view of women's roles in early Christianity. Furthermore, scholarship has also discovered that the Biblical texts themselves and the Early church itself do not agree on the issue of women's roles in early Christianity. Thus, just as the Biblical texts were written across the Mediterranean region to different individual communities in specific contexts, so too were the letters and treaties of the early church writers. Therefore, any reconstruction of women's roles in early Christianity in the Biblical texts and early church literature must be sensitive to both the narrow context in which those roles were discussed and the larger context in which those roles have been interpreted and applied.

Given the enormously diverse set of texts before the contemporary scholar, it is prudent to narrow the focus of women in early Christianity to a specific time period, topic, and textual context. As such, this paper will primarily look at the writings of Clement of Alexandria in to see if he supports women's roles in the early church order. However, in order to establish a textual context, it is also prudent for this paper to place Clement's writings in their historical milieu. Therefore, this paper will begin and end with a historical review of the milieu of Clement's writings since the evidence for women's roles in early Christianity may be described as "scanty."¹

In obvious frustration towards the conclusion of his book, Ross Saunders concedes that near the start of the third century

Women as leaders and workers disappear almost entirely from the church...what did remain were two subordinate orders—deaconesses and widows—set up to keep these women under male control. Their only avenue of service was to help the all-male ministry, and do some social service.²

Although his statement clearly shows the aggravation in scholarship over this issue, his words help to form the beginning of this brief historical review. Starting with some of the earliest works in the New Testament cannon—the seven undisputed Pauline epistles—we notice clear examples of

women serving in various ministry roles. In defying contemporary social strata women are defined by Paul as neither male nor female but rather are one in Christ Jesus (εἷς ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ).³ They are also described as fellow workers in the gospel (συνεργῶν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ),⁴ as ones who pray and prophesy,⁵ as a deacon of the church (διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας),⁶ a patron or benefactor of many (προστάτις πολλῶν),⁷ and even an apostle who was even portrayed as being outstanding among the apostles (ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις).⁸

These various and prolific roles may come as a surprise to the modern reader but in the earliest churches (pre 70 C.E), congregations met in one of three places—the Temple,⁹ the synagogue,¹⁰ and the house¹¹—of which the synagogue and the house were definitely favorable to women's roles in the beginning and middle of the first century. In the synagogue, inscriptions show that “women held the offices of ‘ruler of the synagogue,’ elder, priest, and ‘mother of the synagogue.’”¹² These roles stand in far contrast to the once held view of women not even attending the synagogue or the Temple and if they were present only being allowed to sit in a separate section of the building. Yet, recent archeological and epigraphic evidence suggests that women attended synagogue and the temple regularly¹³ and that there are no traces of separate sitting areas for women in synagogues.¹⁴ This coupled with the evidence of women being benefactors and the prospect that women read Torah in worship¹⁵ lead Lee I. Levine to conclude “there is certainly the possibility that most, if not all, the titles that appear in over a score of Diaspora inscriptions are those of functioning women officials.”¹⁶

Later when Christian communities transferred roles from the synagogue to the church, Karen Jo Torjesen notes that in the “adopted Jewish model of governance by elders, women continued to be chosen for this office. Inscriptional evidence shows that Christian women also held the office of elder in their communities.”¹⁷ Roles from the synagogue also loosely transferred to the house church. Just as women were rulers of synagogues, so too were they rulers of their own

households. Indeed, the home was the one place in society that women most often managed. In fact, Karen Jo Torjesen argues

First and second century Christians, familiar with the authority and leadership role of the female head of household, would have perceived women's leadership within the church as not only acceptable but natural. The early church's specific leadership functions posed no barriers to women, whose skills and experiences as managers amply prepared them to assume the duties of teaching, disciplining, nurturing, and administering material resources.¹⁸

Thus, the roles that women in the early church performed could be summarized as follows: they were widows,¹⁹ virgins, ascetics, martyrs, deacons, bishops,²⁰ elders, priests, patrons and as such they baptized, prayed, prophesied, taught, and died for their communities. Therefore evidence suggests that women served in almost every major public role in the early Christian world. However, after this initial freedom of activity in service, the dawn of the second century saw literature that began to speak out against women and their roles in the church.

In the opening decades of the second century, the New Testament letters of 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus were written and began to denounce women's roles in the church. Several writings such as the Gospel of Mary and the Acts of Paul and Thecla, which depicted the activity of women performing various services in the early Christian community, also began to circulate around the Christian world. Yet, even after these writings were circulated towards the end of the second century, still more letters that attacked Christian women and their roles in the church began to circulate. One such male writer was Irenaeus who became of Bishop of Lyons in the Latin speaking west who wrote *Against Heresies* (circa 175-185 C.E.). In his treatise Irenaeus speaks out against Gnostic beliefs and the women that served in their official church roles. It also important to note that Irenaeus is our main source in the second century for information on Gnostic beliefs and so even though his writings our invaluable to contemporary scholarship on the early church, unfortunately almost all of the information about Gnosticism comes from second hand writers such as Irenaeus and not original Gnostic circles.

In Gnosticism, recent scholarship has criticized the view that women were once thought to have a high status and somewhat equal, if not equal, religious role with men. Elaine Pagels argues that “religious offices women may have held among Gnostics, includ[ed] prophets, teachers, ‘evangelists, healers, priests, and even bishops,’”²¹ whereas Daniel Hoffman argues, “that many of the feminine images in Gnosticism, when considered within the overall framework of Gnostic mythology, were quite negative.”²² In fact, Hoffman concludes, “that women were unlikely to have had high status or religious roles equal to those of men in Gnostic circles.”²³ However, this view is heavily disputed due to some of the comments Irenaeus makes about women. J. Kevin Coyle reiterates this point by saying

Even were one able to find in Irenaeus’ writings an explicit denunciation of the ordination of women, it would have to be employed with caution. For Irenaeus has to be counted among those Fathers whose feelings about women are sometimes less than positive.²⁴

One text in question, *Against Heresies* 1.13.1-3, mentions some of the roles women may have played: such as consecrating the cups for the Eucharist, praying and even prophesying.²⁵ In addition, J. Kevin Coyle is also quick to note that this text “cannot be used as an argument against the priestly ordination of women. Not only is ordination not mentioned, it is not even implied.”²⁶

So it is in this context of diversity of sources and scholarly opinion that we proceed to Clement of Alexandria. Clement of Alexandria is a figure in the late second century that is obscurely referenced in contemporary scholarship on the issue of women and women’s roles in early Christianity. Susanne Heine notes that while others are “clearly rejected in feminist literature, opinion is divided over another church father, Clement of Alexandria.”²⁷ Susanne Heine also helps to place Clement in his historical milieu by commenting that “the way in which he was shaped by the ‘cosmopolitan atmosphere of Alexandria,’ which, rich and educated, practiced a different approach to women.”²⁸ Indeed, unlike his counterpart Irenaeus who wrote from the far stretches of the Latin west, Clement writes from the city of Alexandria, a diversified and ecumenical center in

the Greek speaking east. Clement wrote several works in the late second century and early third century but of interest to this study are Clement's writings the *Stromata* and the *Instructor*.

As we have already mentioned, women deacons and widows are two of the most prominent roles that women served in early Christianity. Furthermore, Clement of Alexandria possibly gives us one of the earliest non-canonical references²⁹ to women deacons in the *Stromata* 3.6.53: "We also know the directions about women deacons which are given by the noble Paul in his second letter to Timothy."³⁰ Although Clement's comment on "women deacons" is in the context of his argument concerning marriage, he has other comments on women that help to attribute his views as more egalitarian than his contemporaries. In the same section of the *Stromata* he apparently even thought that Paul may have had a wife but did not take her along on his ministry journeys because his love for her may have been a distraction from his service to the ministry:

Even Paul did not hesitate in one letter to address his consort. The only reason why he did not take her about with him was that it would have been an inconvenience for his ministry. Accordingly he says in a letter: "Have we not a right to take about with us a wife that is a sister like the other apostles?" But the latter, in accordance with their particular ministry, devoted themselves to preaching without any distraction, and took their wives with them not as women with whom they had marriage relations, but as sisters, that they might be their fellow-ministers in dealing with housewives. It was through them that the Lord's teaching penetrated also the women's quarters without any scandal being aroused. We also know the directions about women deacons which are given by the noble Paul in his second letter to Timothy.³¹

Here Clement also clearly attributes the women in these traveling couples³² as not merely women in marriage to their husbands but as rather as "sisters" and "fellow ministers."

This understanding of husband and wife as "brother" and "sister" falls in-line with Clement's other arguments for men and women possessing the same virtue and "oneness." Echoing Paul in Galatians 3.28,³³ Clement exclaims in the *Instructor* 1.4:

Let us, then, embracing more and more this good obedience, give ourselves to the Lord; clinging to what is surest, the cable of faith in Him, and understanding that the virtue of man and woman is the same. For if the God of both is one, the master of both is also one; one church, one temperance, one modesty; their food is common, marriage an equal yoke; respiration, sight, hearing, knowledge, hope, obedience, love all alike. And those whose life is common, have common graces and a common salvation; common to them are love and training. "For in this world," he says, "they marry, and are given in marriage," in which alone the female is distinguished from the male; "but in that world it is so no more." There the rewards of this social and holy life, which is based on conjugal union, are laid

up, not for male and female, but for man, the sexual desire which divides humanity being removed. Common therefore, too, to men and women, is the name of man.³⁴

The idea of “oneness” between man and women is apparent in this passage but so too is Clement’s argument of equality in marriage which is described as “an equal yoke.” These comments are certainly in contrast to the social standing of women at the time Clement is writing as many women are still viewed as the property of either the father or the husband. Indeed, even Clement hints at the prevailing understating that he is challenging when he says in this world the female is distinguished from the male but in the world to come “it is no more.” In other words, under to new theological rubric in Christian thought, there is no longer to be a distinction between male and female. In fact, this passage has led Heinrich Kanz to comment, “The total equality of husband and wife could hardly be expressed more strongly.”³⁵

Although we have seen Clement make reference to the equality between husband and wife and the oneness of male and female, does he offer us any other insights into his views on women and women’s roles in early Christianity? Indeed he does. Upon returning to the *Stromata*, we that Clement discusses many aspects of women and women’s roles in early Christianity. Clement first describes the ability of both women and men to die a martyr’s death. He describes those who would be martyred as ones who are “judged of the most sterling worth”³⁶ implying this is truly a noble death for both men and women. Clement further remarks that the church is full of these people as well as “chaste women.” The “chaste women” remark may be a reference to virgins who were also highly regarded in the early church.³⁷ Clement then takes his comments on the equality of virtue between man and women one step further than in his *Instructor* when he says:

As far as respects human nature, the woman does not possess one nature, and the man exhibit another, but the same: so also with virtue...Accordingly woman is to practice self-restraint and righteousness, and every other virtue, as well as man, both bond and free; since it is a fit consequence that the same nature possesses one and the same virtue.³⁸

Here Clement not only argues that women and men possess the same virtues such as righteousness but they also possess the same nature. This is a lofty claim by Clement who is schooled in Platonism

which in this case would attribute a higher value on virtue and nature over physical attributes. In other words, women according to Clement represent the same rational capacity of “self-restraint”³⁹ over their physical and mental faculties. Likewise, Clement subsequently holds that women “as far as respects the soul...will attain to the same virtue” as men. Thus, women and men will inherit the same salvation or as Clement puts it, “In this perfection it is possible for man and women equally to share.”⁴⁰

As we have mentioned above, history shows that many women managed households and as evidenced in the New Testament, women also had churches in their house. In the same passage as above, Clement offers supporting evidence for women having equality with men in the household: “Further, the females no less than the males manage the house, and hunt, and keep the flocks.”⁴¹ This leads Clement to conclude that “women are therefore to philosophize equally with men.”⁴² Philosophizing could entail women being able to use their equal virtues and natures to serve Christianity in the same way as men since studying philosophy was one of the highest callings in the ancient world. Finally, by using the Biblical examples of Judith (who is described as “perfect among women”⁴³) and Esther (who is described as “perfect by faith”⁴⁴), Clement makes his argument that women can attain perfection the same as men. So we see that although Clement does not speak specifically towards women’s offices in the church, he has numerous praises about women. From their virtue and nature, to their righteousness and faith, from willingness to die and to their equal share in salvation, Clement advances the cause significantly for women and their roles in early Christianity. That is not to say, of course, that Clement is always clear about women or that he does not ever contradict himself about his views of women.⁴⁵ Yet, what we may conclude is that Clement does not rule out women’s roles in the early church and in fact may support them. He certainly can be seen as someone who defied the wisdom of his day on the subject by clearly stating on numerous occasions the equality and oneness between male and female, husband and wife.

Although this paper has tried to recover some of Clement's voice on the issue of women and women's roles in the early church, we will end this investigation where we started—with a historical review of the milieu of Clement's writings. However, unlike the first brief review that concentrated on the historical situation leading up to Clement's writings, this brief review will focus on the aftermath of Clement's writings. The reason for this is to help place Clement more appropriately in his historical milieu because as we shall see, from a historical perspective Clement's writings on the equality of women seem all the more remarkable after nearly two millennia of church oppression against women and their roles.

Around the same time that Clement of Alexandria was writing, another writer by the name of Tertullian began his letters and treatises. Although the confines of this paper prohibit us from exploring the differences between the Greek east and the Latin west,⁴⁶ it should be noted that historically Clement is sandwiched between two of the most influential early Latin writers⁴⁷ and that his views are substantially different than those of his Latin counterparts. Therefore, it is not a surprise in the opinion of this author that Clement's writings became overshadowed in the church that eventually saw its home not in Alexandria or even Jerusalem, but rather in Rome. Tertullian's admonitions against women and their roles in the church are too numerous to list here but a brief sample helps to show where the church was leading towards the remainder of the third century:

But the woman of pertness, who has usurped the power to teach, will of course not give birth for herself likewise to a right of baptizing, unless some new beast shall arise like the former; so that, just as the one abolished baptism, so some other should in her own right confer it! But if the writings which wrongly go under Paul's name, claim Thecla's example as a license for women's teaching and baptizing, let them know that, in Asia, the presbyter who composed that writing, as if he were augmenting Paul's fame from his own store, after being convicted, and confessing that he had done it from love of Paul, was removed from his office. For how credible would it seem, that he who has not permitted a woman even to learn with over-boldness, should give a female the power of teaching and of baptizing! "Let them be silent," he says, "and at home consult their own husbands."⁴⁸

And

The very women of these heretics, how wanton they are! For they are bold enough to teach, to dispute, to enact exorcisms, to undertake cures--it may be even to baptize. Their ordinations, are carelessly administered, capricious, changeable.⁴⁹

And

It is not permitted to a woman to speak in the church; but neither (is it permitted her) to teach, nor to baptize, nor to offer, nor to claim to herself a lot in any manly function, not to say (in any) sacerdotal office.⁵⁰

Clearly we see that Tertullian thought ill of women in just about every respect. However, his texts do tell us that women were serving in a variety of functions in the second and third centuries. Even if they were deemed “Gnostic” sects by Tertullian, the text still witnesses a Christian faith that allowed women in some circles to baptize, teach, prophesy and even become ordained. His passing reference to the Acts of Paul and Thecla,⁵¹ which along with the Gospel of Mary,⁵² show the divisiveness of the apocryphal texts of the New Testament that showed women serving in various roles in early church.

As mentioned above, Tertullian mentioned the ordination of women. There is evidence in Canon 19 of the Council of Nicaea and Canon 15 of the Council of Chalcedon⁵³ and in the *Apostolic Constitutions*⁵⁴ that women were ordained in the early church especially, if not exclusively, as a deacon. Finally, there is one church father who may also be referenced to help recover women's roles in the early church—John Chrysostom. Although, we are unable to list every text that speaks favorably of women's roles, there are three that stand out. The first two rebuke previous exegetical comments on two of the most poignant texts in our discussion of the New Testament evidence for women deacons—Romans 16.1 and 1 Timothy 3.11. On Romans 16.1 John Chrysostom writes:

Note how many ways Paul dignifies Phoebe. He mentions her before all the rest and even calls her his sister. It is no small thing to be called the sister of Paul! Moreover, he has mentioned her rank of deaconess as well.⁵⁵

On 1 Timothy 3.11 he writes:

Some have thought this is said of women generally, but it is not so, for why should he introduce anything about women to interfere with his subject? He is speaking of those who hold the rank of deaconesses.⁵⁶

Finally, dramatically he states:

It was the mother who baptized them. You may ask, “What are you saying? That a woman baptizes?” Yes, such baptism women also administer. Just so, this woman also then baptized and became a priest. Indeed, she brought spiritual offerings, and her resolution substituted in her case for the laying on of hands.⁵⁷

These comments and many others like it by Chrysostom has led David C. Ford to conclude that, “Women, whether ordained as deaconesses or not, have a considerable teaching role in the life of the Christian community, according to Chrysostom.”⁵⁸

Thus, we have seen that in the early church women played a variety of roles. Some of these roles were expressly forbidden by their male counterparts in the church while other men endorsed their candidacy to office. However, the brief historical study that this paper has illuminated has centered its attention on some of the writings of Clement of Alexandria. Clement found himself in the midst of a controversy over women and women's roles in the early church. The scriptures that he had access to presented different views of women and women's roles, as did his Latin contemporaries Irenaeus and Tertullian. Therefore, it is no wonder that some of what Clement argues has been shown to be contradictory. However, we have shown in this paper that Clement did think highly of women in many of his texts. He saw them as equals in salvation, virtue, nature, philosophy, and as best as we can tell, their roles in the church. These arguments by Clement may well have helped to save women's roles from completely disappearing from the early church. Indeed, after Clement, there is still evidence for women's roles, but it would not be until John Chrysostom and some of the ecumenical councils centuries later that women would again receive such public vindication for their roles in the early church.

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- ¹ Elizabeth A. Clark, "Women," in *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, ed. Everett Ferguson (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990), 940.
- ² Ross Saunders, *Outrageous Women Outrageous God: Women in the First Two Generations of Christianity* (Alexandria, Australia: E. J. Dwyer, 1996), 163.
- ³ Galatians 3.28.
- ⁴ Philippians 4.2-3 and Romans 16.3.
- ⁵ 1 Corinthians 11.5.
- ⁶ Romans 16.1.
- ⁷ Romans 16.2.
- ⁸ Romans 16.7.
- ⁹ Acts 2.46, 3.1, 3, 8.
- ¹⁰ Acts 13.14, 16.13, 18.26; James 2.2.
- ¹¹ Acts 12.12; Romans 16.5; 1 Corinthians 16.19; Colossians 4.15; and Philemon 1.2.
- ¹² Karen Jo Torjesen, *When Women Were Priests: Women's Leadership in the Early Church and the Scandal of their Subordination in the Rise of Christianity* (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1993), 19.
- ¹³ Lee I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years*. Second Edition (New Haven, CT: Yale, 2005), 502.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 503.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 507.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 511.
- ¹⁷ Karen Jo Torjesen, *When Women Were Priests*, 19.
- ¹⁸ Karen Jo Torjesen, *When Women Were Priests*, 82.
- ¹⁹ See Bonnie Bowman Thurston, *The Widows: A Women's Ministry in the Early Church* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989).
- ²⁰ See i.e. Ute E. Eisen, *Women Officeholders in Early Christianity: Epigraphical and Literary Studies* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 200), 199-216.
- ²¹ Daniel L. Hoffman, *The Status of Women and Gnosticism in Irenaeus and Tertullian* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1995), 23.
- ²² *Ibid.*
- ²³ *Ibid.*
- ²⁴ J. Kevin Coyle, "The Fathers on Women and Women's Ordination" in *Studies in Early Christianity: A Collection of Scholarly Essays*, ed. Everett Ferguson (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), 66.
- ²⁵ These acts are in the context of a Gnostic named Marcus who apparently seduces women in order to receive sexual gratification and monetary wealth: "For he [Marcus] spends his time most of all around women and, among them, those who are distinguished, whose robes have a band of purple, and who are very rich...She thanks Marcus for sharing his Grace with her and she desires eagerly to reward him, not only by giving him a gift from her possessions—whence he has amassed an abundance of riches—but also by giving him her body, since she desires to be completely united with him" (Patricia Cox Miller, *Women in Early Christianity: Translations from Greek Texts* [Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 2005], 33), 1.13.3.
- ²⁶ J. Kevin Coyle, "The Fathers on Women and Women's Ordination," 66.
- ²⁷ Susanne Heine, *Women and Early Christianity: Are the Feminist Scholars Right?* (London: SCM, 1987), 33.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ See Ben Witherington III, *Women in the Earliest Churches* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1988), 199.
- ³⁰ John Ernest Leonard Oulton and Henry Chadwick, *Alexandrian Christianity: Selected Translations of Clement and Origen with Introduction and Notes* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1954). The text is also available online at <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/clement.html>.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*
- ³² See i.e. Acts 18.26; Romans 16.3; and 1 Corinthians 16.19.
- ³³ See also Ephesians 4.4-6.
- ³⁴ John Ernest Leonard Oulton and Henry Chadwick, *Alexandrian Christianity: Selected Translations of Clement and Origen with Introduction and Notes* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1954). The text is also available online at <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/clement.html>.
- ³⁵ Susanne Heine, *Women and Early Christianity*, 34.
- ³⁶ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 4.8.
- ³⁷ See Mary T. Malone, *Women & Christianity: Volume I: The First Thousand Years* (Maryknoll: NY, Orbis, 2000), 133-143.

³⁸ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 4.8.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 4.19.

⁴¹ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 4.8.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 4.19.

⁴⁵ Susanne Heine, *Women and Early Christianity*, 34-35. Susanne Heine describes her view on Clement of Alexandria as follows: "The various perspectives in which Clement can be seen increase the range of contradictions in feminist literature. We should note that historical reality is complex, and that a comprehensive overall view, taking all motives and facts into account, is hardly possible" (36).

⁴⁶ For a discussion on this topic as it pertains to the role of women in the church see David C. Ford, *Women and Men in the Early Church: The Full Views of St. John Chrysostom* (South Canaan, PA: St. Tikhon's Seminary Press, 1996), 35-37.

⁴⁷ J. Kevin Coyle, "The Fathers on Women and Women's Ordination," 133.

⁴⁸ Tertullian, *On Baptism*, 17.

⁴⁹ Tertullian, *Prescription Against Heretics*, 41.

⁵⁰ Tertullian, *On the Veiling of Virgins*, 9.

⁵¹ For a brief discussion on this text see Ute E. Eisen, *Women Officeholders in Early Christianity*, 51-52.

⁵² For a brief discussion on this text see Barbra J. MacHaffie, *Her Story: Women in Christian Tradition*. Second Edition (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006), 20-22

⁵³ For a discussion on this canon see Ute E. Eisen, *Women Officeholders in Early Christianity*, 161. In addition, see n. 21 and 22 on p. 188.

⁵⁴ *Apostolic Constitutions*, 8.19.1-8.20.1-2. See Patricia Cox Miller, *Women in Early Christianity*, 64-65.

⁵⁵ See the cited text in Gerald Bray, ed., *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: Romans*. New Testament VI (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1998), 369.

⁵⁶ See the cited text in Peter Gorday, *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: Colossians, 1-2 Thessalonians, 1-2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon*. New Testament IX (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000), 175.

⁵⁷ See the cited text in David C. Ford, *Women and Men in the Early Church*, 219.

⁵⁸ David C. Ford, *Women and Men in the Early Church*, 220.