

End Notes for Mary Magdalene Scholar Statement DRAFT V. 37 as of July 11, 2019

¹ The label “penitent prostitute” does not appear in the gospels. Luke’s story of the “Sinner from the city” who washed Jesus’ feet (7:36-50) is the origin of this reference. Even though Luke did not identify the nature of that unnamed woman’s sin it is clear from Gregory I’s homily in 591 that he assumed she was a prostitute as have many other commentators and artists. For this reason we will use the term “penitent prostitute.” I would like to introduce her as “The Forgiven Woman Who Showed Great Hospitality”. This reflects her actions that Jesus called “hospitality” and the action of forgiving from Jesus.

² Carla Ricci, *Mary Magdalene and Many Others: Women who followed Jesus* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994), 37-38. “In his full 1969 commentary on the Gospel of Luke, Heinz Schürmann declares decisively in favor of differentiation. This can be seen in his long analysis of Luke 7:26-50, which he does not consider a variant of the anointing recorded in the other Gospels (Mark 14:3-9; par. Matt 26:6-13; John 12:1-8), and in his comment on Luke 8:1-3, where he writes explicitly about Mary Magdalene: ‘The new introduction of this ‘Magdalene’ prevents one from seeing in her, as the old tradition did, the ‘sinner’ of 7:36-50, the more so since ‘sin’ and ‘diabolical possession’ in the New Testament are not the same thing.’”

³ Ricci, 59. Through her analysis of Luke 8:1-3, Carla Ricci concludes that Mary Magdalene, Joanna and Susana were members of Jesus’ intimate circle. “The twelve, or at any rate a group designated by the term disciples, and the women of 8:1-3 are constantly with Jesus.” de boer, 37. In de Boer’s analysis of Luke’s resurrection text she notes “The women who discover the empty tomb thus belong to the small circle of disciples. At least according to Luke. The women belong among those disciples who were evidently allowed to be with Jesus even when he withdrew into solitude to pray [Lk 9:18-22].” See also 36-38 for analysis of de Boer’s argument for Jesus’ ‘discipleship of equals.’

⁴ Mary Magdalene is not any other unnamed women such as the woman caught in adultery. (Jn 8:1-11)

⁵ M. R. Thompson, SSMN, *Mary of Magdala: Apostle and Leader* (New York: Paulist Press, 1995) 32. “Mary of Magdala was so prominent in the early church that it was impossible to omit her name from the texts and equally impossible to change the form of the identifying phrase by which she was known. The frequency and consistency with which this form is used signifies widespread and accepted usage. The prominence of the form also indicates that the basic narratives of crucifixion, burial and resurrection contained a person name, in a specific formulation, which could not be minimized nor omitted. Mary of Magdala was indeed, leader and apostle in the early church.”

⁶ Haskins, 58. Jerome, in his *Epist. CXXVII ad Principal virginem* praised “Mary of Magdala received the epithet ‘fortified with towers’ because of her earnestness and strength of faith, and was privileged to see the rising Christ first before even the apostles.”

⁷ Esther De Boer, *Mary Magdalene: Beyond the Myth* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1997), 21.

⁸ E. Wright. *Holy Company: Christian Heroes and Heroines* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1980) 53. As cited in J. Turpin, *Twelve Apostolic Women*, (Cincinnati: St. Anthony Messenger Press, 2004) 48. “This Mary was the woman most prominent in the traveling band Jesus gathered in Galilee. She is mentioned by name fourteen in the four Gospels, more than any other woman and more than most of the men in Jesus’ inner circle.”

⁹ Jane Schaberg and Melanie Johnson-DeBaufre, *Mary Magdalene Understood* (New York: Continuum, 2006), 69-72.

¹⁰ Haskins, 61. “With the absence of any written description of the resurrection itself, the early Christian artists used the scene of the discovery of the empty tomb [by Mary Magdalene and one or two other women] to illustrate it. It was not until much later, in about the tenth century that the Christian Ottonian Germany, that the Christian imagination dared to portray the risen Christ... the women’s testimony of the empty tomb became one of the most frequently depicted images in early Christian art. It appeared on souvenirs bought by pilgrims visiting Jerusalem in the first centuries, on ampullae for carrying holy oil (see Plate 8), on ivory book covers and caskets and on

embroidered church vestments.”

¹¹ Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalen, Myth and Metaphor* (London: Pimlico, 2005) 58-67. Haskins describes and provides photographs of medals, pyx, amphorae, plaques, illustrations, carvings, etc. from the 3rd to the 15th centuries that present Mary of Magdala as the “Apostle of the Apostles.” A good example is the carved wood panel of the “Two Marys Meeting Christ on Easter Morning” (c. 430) on the door of Santa Sabina in Rome. Figure 11 page 64. The image of Mary Magdalene with one or two other women going to, or at the tomb was the image of the Resurrection for the first nine centuries CE. See also “Pyx with the Women at Christ’s Tomb,” Ivory, 500s, Byzantine, (Metropolitan Museum of Art), <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/464499?&searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&when=A.D.+500-1000&ft=pyx&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=5>

¹² Schaberg and Johnson-DeBaufre, 46. Hippolytus or another preacher introduced the title “Apostle of the Apostles” in a sermon on the “Canticle of Canticles.” In the same commentary he also confused Mary Magdalene and the other woman at the tomb in Matthew 28: 1-10 with Mary and Martha of Bethany, but not with Luke’s “sinner from the city.” Haskins, 63. “To Hippolytus, the Bride, or Shulamite, as she sought the Bridegroom, was Mary Magdalen, the myrrhophore, seeking Christ in the garden to anoint him. Hippolytus oddly names her Martha and Mary, but it is clear from the context that he is referring to the figure of Mary Magdalen.” Haskins, 67. “The commentary’s effect has endured, however, leaving its trace in the erotic element which has always been part of the mystical relationship attributed to Christ and Mary Magdalen [sic]. But the title which recognised [sic] her importance, or that of the women who witnessed the resurrection--the ‘Apostle to the Apostles’--could be seen to have equal significance, and one which is perhaps ironic, when viewed in the light of the subsequent role women were to play in the Church.”

¹³ Haskins, 136-137. “The general consensus of medieval commentators was that she was the composite character established by Gregory the Great: ... was known to the Middle Ages above all as the repentant sinner, the paradoxical ‘beata peccatrix’ (blessed sinner) and ‘castissima meretrix’ (most chaste prostitute) who, as the prostitute in Luke 7, had been converted through her great love for Christ, and rose from the depths of carnal sin to the heights of spiritual love. As such her figure was the expression of current ecclesiastical ideals: it signaled the Church’s outlook on the world and its teachings concerning salvation, and it also reflected an aspect of the Church’s attitude towards that other half of God’s creation, woman. For the medieval Church could never forget that it had been Eve who had tempted Adam and had led him and his progeny, the *massa damnata*, into everlasting sorrow and travail. Ever since Gregory the Great’s homilies, the sin of Mary Magdalen [sic], symbol of the converted Church of the Gentiles, was that of fornication, the sin regarded by the Church as the most evil and pervasive, and the primal deed of Eve. A period which saw anything and everything as a symbol of a yet greater truth saw Mary Magdalen [sic], without naming her as such, as Everywoman.”

¹⁴ Haskins, 58. Jerome, in his *Epist. CXXVII ad Principalem virginem* praised Mary of Magdala saying she “received the epithet ‘fortified with towers’ because of her earnestness and strength of faith, and was privileged to see the rising Christ first before even the apostles.”

¹⁵ Haskins, 94. “Above all, Mary Magdalen represented to Augustine the Church which had believed in Christ when he had ascended to his Father. But nowhere does he unite the three women.” This quote is part of Haskins’ summary of Augustine’s thoughts on Mary Magdalene based on his sermons 243, 2 and 245.

¹⁶ “Myrrhbearer and Equal of the Apostles Mary Magdalene,” *Orthodox Church in America*, 2009, <https://oca.org/saints/lives/2009/07/22/102070-myrrhbearer-and-equal-of-the-apostles-mary-magdalen> (viewed on August 2, 2017). Even though the Orthodox Church did not conflate Mary of Magdala (Mary Magdalene) with Mary of Bethany or the “sinner from the city” in Luke, the website for the Orthodox Church of America does state, “Tradition informs us that Mary of Magdala was young and pretty, and led a sinful life.” This was not emphasized in the Orthodox Church and their iconography, unlike western art, does not depict her as a penitent or a harlot.

¹⁷ Haskins, 91-92. “Several eastern writers (Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444), Gregory of Antioch (d. 593), Proclus (d. c. 446), and Modestus, patriarch of Jerusalem (630)) lauded Mary Magdalen [sic] for her Easter role, seeing in it a reason for honouring [sic] women, otherwise cursed for Eve’s sin. To Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444) ... women were doubly honoured [sic]: through Mary Magdalen, their representative, all women were forgiven Eve’s transgression,

and she was witness to the resurrection. Proclus (d. c. 446), patriarch of Constantinople, saw an inversion of the natural order – to a man of the Church, it was a world turned quite upside down – in that it was the myrrhophores who told the apostles of the resurrection, and not the other way around but, he concluded, that was reason in itself to honour [sic] women. ... the imaginative speech Gregory of Antioch (d. 593) put into Christ’s mouth when he appeared to the women: ‘Be the first apostles to the apostles. So Peter ... learns that I can choose even women as apostles.’” In general, the Eastern Church fathers commented on Mary Magdalene as a model of a leader, witness and proclaimer of the Resurrection.

¹⁸ De Boer, *Mary Magdalene: Beyond the Myth*, 1997, 12. “In the Eastern tradition Mary Magdalene has remained the figure that she is in the Bible: the witness to the resurrection. She is not celebrated as a ‘penitent’ but as ‘ointment bearer’ (not the ointment for anointing the feet or the head, but the ointment which was meant to anoint the dead body of Jesus) and ‘like an apostle.’ A number of church fathers from the Eastern tradition depict her explicitly as disciple and apostle, even though she is a woman. Thus Gregory of Antioch (sixth century) in one of his sermons makes Christ say to the women at the tomb:

Proclaim to my disciples the mysteries which you have seen. Become the first teachers of the teachers. Peter, who denied me, must learn that I can choose women as apostles.”

¹⁹ Haskins, 26. “The eastern Church ... followed St. John Chrysostom in distinguishing the two different Marys of Bethany and Magdala, and Luke’s sinner, and celebrates their feasts on separate days.” See also Haskins, 406 N. 55. “In the Orthodox Church, Mary Magdalen is seen above all as the witness of the resurrection and is given the titles ‘Myrrhbearer’, and ‘Equal to the Apostles’ which occur in the *Menaion* and the *Synaxarion*. From the end of the fourth century, the Greek Church celebrated the second Sunday after Easter as the ‘Sunday of the Myrrhophores’; Mary of Bethany was celebrated on 4 June and Mary Magdalen variously on 30 June, 22 July and 4 August.”

²⁰ Haskins, 108. “From Ephesus also came Mary Magdalen’s [sic] feast-day of 22 July, mentioned first in the west in the martyrology of the venerable Bede (c. 673-735) of about 720, whose source appears to have been an earlier Greek or Byzantine calendar. It was to pass thence into all subsequent liturgical books. (The same date appears in Greek calendars at the beginning of the tenth century, and it also appears in Byzantine synaxaries and menologies, Coptic calendars, Jacobite, Arabic, Maronite, and Syriac manuscripts in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.) The earliest Magdalenian cult, at Ephesus, therefore precedes that of Vezelay by nearly five hundred years.”

²¹ C. Osiek and M. Macdonald with J. Tulloch, *A Woman's Place: House Churches in Earliest Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 398-9. “All of this is not to say that there was no operative honor/shame code [Roman society] or that it did not affect women in a different way from men. Roman society remained highly patriarchal and passed on this characteristic to Judaism and Christianity. Early Christianity created its own adaptations of the honor/shame code by proposing an alternate standard for honorable conduct based on its moral system and the inversion of values that accompanied a theology of the cross. Consequently, a different standard of shameful behavior consisted of failure to live according to those standards. But even apart from a different set of religious expectations, the standards for female chastity and passive virtue were undoubtedly higher than those for male sexual containment.”

Carolyn Osiek, *What are They Saying About the Social Setting of the New Testament*, (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1992), 26-27. “... honor and shame, [are] what Malina calls the “pivotal values” of the New Testament world. Honor comprises two essential and complementary elements: the claim of worth and recognition of that worth by significant others. “Ascribed honor” is that prestige and status which comes with birth, the most secure kind of honor in the ancient world. “Acquired honor” is that esteem earned by an individual or group of deeds of heroism or benevolence. Honor is recognition in three major areas: power, sexual status and religion, that is, appropriate ability to control others, appropriate male/female roles, and appropriate relationship in the fixed hierarchy of superiors and subordinates, from one’s social inferiors all the way to God at the top of the ladder.” “The important points to be recognized ... are twofold: First, it is not enough to know one’s worth for oneself; it must also be publicly acknowledged. ... Gospel injunctions like Matthew 6:2-8, though rooted in rabbinic traditions, were truly counter-cultural, less so in a Jewish than a Greco-Roman milieu; but remember that in New Testament times, this distinction must be made with great caution. The second important point is that honor is the greatest social value, to be preferred over wealth and even life itself. Without a good reputation life has no meaning.”

²² Haskins, 85. "Christ's liberation of women from their conventional familial position within Jewish society prevailed in the twenty to thirty years after his death, and may well have been some part of the reason why women seem to have been drawn to the Christian movement, a fact which was corroborated by pagan writers like Celsus, writing in the late second century, who scoffed at Christianity for being a religion of women, capable only of appealing to the simple and lowly and those without understanding, such as women, slaves and children."

²³ Karen Jo Torjesen, *When Women Were Priests*, (New York, NY: Harper Collins, 1993), 135-136. "Cicero sought to blunt the political influence of a certain Roman matron in order to undermine her role in the prosecution of a case against his client and to pay off a grudge against her brother. "[Cicero introduced his argument saying,] 'Our whole concern in this case, jurors, is with Clodia, a woman not only noble but also notorious... Woman, what business did you have with Caelius [the defendant], a man scarce out of his teens, a man not your husband? Why were you so friendly with him as to lend him gold?' A woman's honor was her reputation, and this had always to be a reputation of chastity. ... As a matter of fact, Clodia's activities were typical for women of her class."

²⁴ Osiek and Macdonald, 39. "Anthropologists of modern Mediterranean societies have noted a tendency for women's domestic comportment to be seen as an especially important sign of the stability of the household and of society more generally. Like suspicious absences from the home and neglect of household duties, gossiping in effect amounts to careless neglect or release of household commodities that should be carefully guarded--much as a woman guards her own chastity. Even in cases where no real sexual activity has taken place, there is a tendency to associate the vices of women with women's sexuality and basic moral nature."

²⁵ Cullen Murphy, *The Word According to Eve: Women and the Bible in Ancient Times and Our Own* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1998), 213. Interview with Karen King. "There was, King observes, a long history, not only in Christianity but in other ancient religious traditions, of women assuming the role of prophet and of being popularly accepted as legitimate in that role. At the same time, there was also a long history of resistance in many quarters to women in a prophetic role and a tendency to besmirch the reputation of women who claimed the status of prophet by questioning their virtue... There was a strong correlation, King has noted, between the esteem in which a woman's prophecy was held and attendant proclamations of her virtue; conversely, to set about sullyng a woman's sexual reputation was a standard method of undermining her legitimacy as a prophet."

²⁷ Malone, 129. "The most frequent admonition to the widows is to stay at home, pray at home, and act like the 'altar of God.' The fixity of the altar seemed the best image for the desired quiet, hidden, inactive life of the widow."

²⁸ Malone, 130.

²⁹ Haskins, 85. "Christ's liberation of women from their conventional familial position within Jewish society prevailed in the twenty to thirty years after his death, and may well have been part of the reason why women seem to be drawn to the Christian movement, a fact which was corroborated by pagan writers like Celsus, writing in the late second century, who scoffed at Christianity for being a religion of women, capable only of appealing to the simple and lowly and those without understanding, such as women, slaves and children." Also see Osiek and MacDonald, 134-136 for discussion of "second-century pagan critique of early Christianity." For example, Celsus' "harsh polemic may include an indirect acknowledgement that (formerly) honorable men are among the group's membership, but he is insistent that adherents display none of the ideals of masculinity."

³⁰ Haskins, 85. "[Celsus] further mocked Christianity by claiming that the resurrection itself had been based on nothing more than the reports of hysterical women." From Susanne Heine, **Women and Early Christianity: Are the feminist scholars right?** trs. John Bowden, London 1987, pp. 131 and 173, note 396: Origen, *Contra Celsus* 2:55, referred to in *The Sexuality of Jesus: Theological and literary perspectives*, New York, 1973, p. 65, and note 63. Osiek and Macdonald, 58. "...there is significant evidence that Celsus drew upon many stereotypical criticisms of early Christianity concerning female initiative and the corruption of households."

³¹ Malone, 135-142 and Brown, 370. “That Jerome did not encourage women to become theological authors in their own right meant no more than that he, like all other late antique males, wished to keep for himself the dubious privilege of being aggressive to other men. Given the contemporary preoccupation with the need to preserve an oasis of Christian culture untainted by male profane learning and by male competitive urges, well-educated “daughters of Jerusalem” – prodigious readers and memorizers of the holy texts and their learned commentaries – could maintain, quite as effectively as could any male monks, the quiet heartbeat of unsullied Christian truth. Face to face spiritual guidance by women with a formidable command of the Scriptures touched men as well as women. We have seen how, in Jerusalem, Melania the Elder induced the deeply disturbed Evagrius to live up to his ascetic vocation.”

³² Malone, 145.

³³ Malone, 151. “The increasing insistence on the celibacy of the clergy arises, partly, from the practice of virginity by women. If the weaker and more despised sex can live like this, how much more necessary is it for those who handle the Body of Christ.”

³⁴ Malone, 151; Brown, 357. “The prominence accorded to consecrated women in the basilica raised the explosive, because male, issue of the quality of the clergy of the Latin churches. In the 380’s, it was an open question whether the *integritas* traditionally associated with consecrated virgin women would spill over into the ranks of the clergy as a whole, in the form of lifelong clerical celibacy.”

³⁵ Malone, 144-171; Brown, 425-427 and on 426. “In man’s fallen state, the body must still be disciplined. It remained, for Augustine, a source of unrelieved disquiet. . . . He opened the sluice gates of Latin Christian literature . . . to let in the hard male puritanism that Romans relished in their ancestors. . . . An ancient Roman’s harsh distrust of sensual delight and a feat that the body’s pleasures might weaken the resolve of the public man added a peculiarly rigid note to the Augustine’s evocation of human beings forever exposed to a merciless concupiscence. He created a darkened humanism that linked the pre-Christian to the Christian present in a common distrust of sexual pleasure. It was a heavy legacy to bequeath to later ages.”

³⁶ Malone, 151; Brown, 353-357 and especially, 354. According to Ambrose, “It was because she had avoided all admixture that Mary had been chosen by Christ as the source of his own flesh. In a phrase heavy with late Roman meaning, Mary was an *aula pudoris*, a royal hall of undamaged chastity.”

³⁷ Malone, 157.

³⁸ Malone, 131. “The same Synod of Epaon...also legally ended the Order of Widows in 517.”

³⁹ Ricci, 37-38. “In his full 1969 commentary on the Gospel of Luke, Heinz Schürmann declares decisively in favor of differentiation. This can be seen in his long analysis of Luke 7:36-50, which he does not consider a variant of the anointing recorded in the other Gospels (Mark 14:3-9; par. Matt 26:6-13; John 12:1-8), and in his comment on Luke 8:1-3, where he writes explicitly about Mary Magdalene: ‘The new introduction of this ‘Magdalene’ prevents one from seeing in her, as the old tradition did, the ‘sinner of 7:36-50, the more so since ‘sin’ and ‘diabolical possession’ in the New Testament are not the same thing.’”

⁴⁰ In his “Life of St. Antony” (355 CE) Athanasius offers lurid descriptions of demons. He claimed these fourth century demons deceived “the heart by openly filthy pleasure.” It is chilling to note St. Antony’s (or Athanasius’) warning that demons “try to alarm by various appearances. They assume the shapes of women, wild beasts, reptiles, huge bodies, military troops.” (*The Life of St. Antony*, viewed on March 29, 2017 <http://catholiccharboroffaithandmorals.com/St.%20Antony%20of%20the%20Desert%20by%20St.%20Athanasius.html>) Demons were now not only temptations to sin but also could be embodied in a woman. This theme of ‘demon = sin = filthy pleasure = embodied in a woman’ set the stage for the radical denigration of Mary of Magdala in the late sixth century and infected medieval legends and Renaissance paintings of her.

⁴¹ Brown, 442. “To the Desert Fathers, the gift of true chastity of heart revealed, in the very slowness with which it came, the immensity of the *abundance of peace* that might yet descend upon the human body.”

⁴² *Forty Gospel Homilies Gregory the Great* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1990), 269. “This woman, whom Luke calls a sinner, John names Mary. I believe that she is the same Mary of whom Mark says that seven demons had been cast out. How should we interpret the seven demons except as the totality of vices?”

⁴³ Ricci, 37-38.

⁴⁴ L. Gioia Paper on “Evil and Augustine” unpublished.

⁴⁵ Malone, 167.

⁴⁶ Malone, 152-163; Haskins, 89-90. “At the Fifth Council of Carthage in 401, at which Augustine was present, it was decreed that married clergy in the higher grade should be separated from their wives under pain of being deprived of their office. ... It was against this background that Mary Magdalen's [sic] role as 'apostle to the apostles' came to have merely an anachronistic significance--a victim, like the rest of her sex, to the waves of asceticism which engulfed the Church. ... a climate was created in which such a prominent role could no longer be sustained. With Eve constantly held responsible for the Fall, her 'daughters', ever embodying the sexuality so abhorred by the Church, and unable to match up to the defeminized 'Queen of Heaven,' became the objects of extraordinary hatred by the men of the Church. It was therefore inevitable, and necessary, that Mary Magdalen's sin became that of her sexuality.”

⁴⁷ De Boer 2007, 4.

⁴⁸ Brown, 408-415.

⁴⁹ Brown, 420.

⁵⁰ Schaberg and Johnson-DeBaufre, 47. “In a saying of Gregory of Nyssa (ca. 330-395), the Magdalene is Eve: 'She is the first witness of the resurrection, that she might set straight again by her faith in the resurrection, what was turned over by her transgression.' Like the story of Eve, Mary Magdalene's story is becoming the story of all women.”

⁵¹ Schaberg and Johnson-DeBaufre, 47. “In the fourth century we begin to see two developments that will be important for the full-blown Magdalene legends: (1) criticism of the Magdalene's faith and intelligence. For example, Jerome says that because she did not believe Jesus had risen and thought him to be still in the tomb, she was not worthy to touch him; and (2) the further merging of her image and role with that of Eve. The second is a way of accepting her status as messenger from the risen Jesus. It is an appropriate redemption of the offense of woman in general, as it was a woman who first brought the message of sin.”

⁵² Haskins, 58. In Jerome's *To Pammachius*, he criticized Mary Magdalene saying, “... because she did not believe Jesus had risen and thought him to be still in the tomb, she was not worthy to touch him.”

⁵³ Haskins, 94 and Note 102, p. 418. “Because she belongs to the weaker sex, woman, reasons Augustine, is the first to find the Lord as she seeks more ardently, being of a more emotional nature than the apostles who are of the stronger sex.”

⁵⁴ Hans Kung, *The Catholic Church: A Short History* (New York: Modern Library, 2007), 65.

⁵⁵ Malone, 131.

⁵⁶ Malone, 132.

⁵⁷ Haskins, 93. “In the west, commentators at first treated Mary Magdalen, Mary of Bethany and Luke's sinner separately, but confusing soon set in over their identities, united as they were by their aura of incense and weeping.”

⁵⁸ Haskins, 94-95. “Until the late sixth century there was not a fixed tradition concerning the unity or plurality of the women. That their identity intrigued the commentators is undeniable – who they were, what they represented, their importance and their relationship to one another and, above all, to Christ. Some had identified Mary Magdalen [sic] with Luke’s sinner, others with Mary of Bethany; still others identified the latter two with each other, but not with Mary Magdalen [sic]. And there were those like Ambrose, Augustine and Jerome who were unable to decide. But with Gregory the Great’s homily on Luke’s gospel, delivered at the basilica of S. Clemente in Rome on the Friday after Holy Cross day (14 September) probably in 591, the identity of Mary Magdalen was finally settled* . . . for nearly fourteen hundred years . . .” Gregory declared, “She whom Luke calls the sinful woman, whom John calls Mary, we believe to be the Mary from whom seven devils were ejected according to Mark. And what did these seven devils signify, if not all the vices?” (My note on “Settled” – that is, in the minds of the male commentators and preachers of the seventh to the early twentieth centuries.)

⁵⁹ Malone, 134. “Palladius, his *Lausiac History*, regales us with tales of many desert women whom he personally met in his tour of the monastic sites of Egypt. He describes one convent with four hundred nuns, and a remarkable woman abbess, Amma Talis, who had lived the ascetic life for eighty years. We hear tales of prostitutes who repaired to the desert to do penance, and whose skins turned to black under the desert sun. He describes the extraordinary spiritual freedom of these women and the hospitality he enjoyed without any sense of embarrassment at being a lone man in the presence of so many women. Many of his stories are plainly fictional, but many are verified from other sources.”

Saints Thais and Afra are two former, female prostitutes of the early 4th c. Saint Afra is celebrated on August 6th. She is included in the list of Catholic saints in Robert Ellsberg’s, *Blessed Among Us*, (Liturgical Press, 2016) 450 and in *Give Us This Day – August 2018*, 68. St. Thais’ feast is October 8, she is listed in *Butler’s Lives of the Saints*.

⁶⁰ Brown, 359-361, especially 360-361. “For Ambrose, writing from a synod in Milan, Jovinian’s delightfully old-fashioned denial of hierarchy was an *agrestis ululatus*, a “peasant’s cry.” It threatened to undo all that the revolution of late antiquity had achieved for the Christian church. Hierarchy, not community, had become the order of the day.”

⁶¹ C. Colt Anderson. *The great Catholic reformers: from Gregory the Great to Dorothy Day*. (New York: Paulist Press, 2007), 14. “All the seeds of the social-justice movement can be found in Gregory’s theology. Nonetheless, Gregory was a man of his times who basically accepted the existence of unjust rules, the institution of slavery, and inequality between the sexes as part of the everyday reality of his world. Still, he did not believe that this state of affairs was permanent or even desirable, because in the fully realized kingdom of God these evils will be wiped away forever. Reform in terms of social justice is largely a development of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, so it may seem a bit anachronistic to talk about Gregory using these categories.”

⁶² Brown, 431-432. “Only in the late sixth century, when their wives finally disappeared from the households of the clergy and the majority of bishops came to their cities from the monastery, would an ancient style of Christian leadership vanish from the West, and the clerical celibacy associated with the Middle Ages proper be said to have begun.”

⁶³ *Forty Gospel Homilies*, 269. In his homily number 33 on Luke 7:36-50, Pope Gregory I asks: “How should we interpret the seven demons except as the totality of vices?”

⁶⁴ Thompson, 13. According to biblical scholars such as Norval Geldenhuys illness was commonly attributed to the work of evil spirits, “We nowhere read that being possessed by evil spirits had any connection with marked sinfulness.” (Norval Geldenhuys, *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968, 239 cited by Thompson);

⁶⁵ de Boer, *Cover-Up*, 182. “...Mary Magdalene has been a model of penitence, at least in the Western church. She is a model of penitence for all believers, indeed for the whole church. Moreover she is the model of the rejection of physical love by means of spiritual love for the Lord. And in this way the image is strengthened that the woman’s sin is her sexuality.” Schaberg and Johnson-DeBaufre, 48. “Note that the demonic and the erotic are emphasized and linked. . . . Gregory does two things here, really. He gives his Christian brothers an opportunity to reflect on their sins and to repent like Mary. But by choosing a female saint rather than a male one – like Peter – he also cements

their views of women's bodies as sexual and as highly susceptible to sexual sin and the demonic. From here, the Magdalene's legend blossoms and becomes as much about shaping medieval male monastic spirituality and worldviews as about commenting on women's sexuality, sinfulness and redemption."

⁶⁶ Multiple movies, books and children's bibles still misrepresent and degrade Mary Magdalene. Some examples are: Movies: "The Last Temptation of Christ" (1988) shows Mary Magdalene in a brothel. "The Passion of the Christ" (2004) presents her as the unnamed woman caught in adultery. In "Risen" (2016) she is presented as a prostitute known to Roman soldiers – the scene is played for a cheap laugh. However, in "Risen" she also has a theologically rich monologue in which she teaches the Roman general what she learned from the Risen Jesus.

Books: *Killing Jesus*, W. O'Reilly & M. Dugard, (New York: Henry Holt, 2013) presents her as a prostitute. Several reviewers pointed out historical and factual errors in *Killing Jesus* but none of them mentioned that O'Reilly and Dugard had misrepresented Mary Magdalene. *DaVinci Code*, D. Brown (New York: Anchor Books, 2003) presents her as the sinner and lover of Christ; there is no evidence in scripture of either claim.

Children's' Bible: *Jesus Storybook Bible*, S. Lloyd-Jones, Illustrator, Jago (Grand Rapids, MI: Zonderkidz, 2007) does a nice presentation of Jesus commissioning Mary Magdalene to announce the Resurrection. Unfortunately, Lloyd-Jones conflates Luke's "sinner from the city" (7:36-50) with Mark's and John's anointing women (Mark 14, John 12) and omits Matthew's anointing woman. Thus Mark's unnamed woman who prophetically anointed Jesus for his death and Mary of Bethany in John are equated with the "sinner." Lloyd-Jones omits Jesus' praise for the anointing woman and omits his promise that "wherever the gospel is proclaimed to the whole world, what she has done will be told in memory of her." (Mark 14:8-9, Matt 26:10-13)

Children's Book: *Women in the Bible*, M. McAllister, illustrator, A. Massari (Brewster, MA: Paraclete Press, 2013) presents a story of Mary Magdalene suffering childhood rejection not found in scripture and implies she is a sinner without money who "managed as best she could." (39) McAllister presents her as the witness at the tomb but does not include Jesus telling her to announce the resurrection or show her announcing this to the disciples. (41-43)

⁶⁷ *Forty Gospel Homilies Gregory the Great*, Homily 25, 194-195.

⁶⁸ De Boer, 183.

⁶⁹ Haskins, 92; De Boer, 167-168. "Suddenly the Lord stood there before them and sealed the words of the angel with the seal of his own bodily presence. He gave their souls wings by saying to them: 'Rejoice. The condemned Eve is justified. The banished Adam is recalled. The judgment is revoked. I call them brothers, who left me alone at the moment of the crucifixion. Go, tell my brothers that they must go to Galilee and that they will see me there. Tell my disciples the mysteries that you have seen. Be the first teachers of the teachers. Let Peter, who has denied me, learn that I can also ordain women to be apostles." *Gregory of Antioch, c. 593 Sermon on the Myrrh Bearers*. It is important to note that both Eve and Adam are restored, not just Eve, in the east.

⁷⁰ De Boer, 183. "But what is more important is that Gregory the Great's image of Mary Magdalene has nothing to do with the Mary Magdalene who appears in the early sources. Gregory the Great's image of Mary Magdalene as a penitent and a reformed prostitute is a construct and must be rejected not only on a moral, but also on historical grounds."

⁷¹ Haskins, 109. "...Bede, abbot of Jarrow, a monastery on the eastern side of England...between 709 and 715 wrote a commentary on Luke's gospel." It opens with "the most blessed Mary, the story of her repentance."

⁷² Haskins, 109-110. "...Mary Magdalen's image also reached the foggy British damp of wild, ancient Northumbria where, on one of the two central panels of the Ruthwell Cross of the late seventh or early eighth century, Luke's sinner wipes Christ's feet with her hair."

⁷³ Haskins, 120.

⁷⁴ Haskins, 114.

⁷⁵ Haskins, 112. Vézelay was not the only sanctuary dedicated to Mary Magdalene. “In 1024 a church in Verdun ... was put under her patronage. Other notices followed from Bayeux, c. 1027, Bellevault, 1034, Le Mans, c. 1040, Reims, c. 1043 and Besancon in 1049.” Nor was Vézelay the only place claiming to have her relics. “At Echternach, the parish church or monastery of St. Willibrord claimed to have relics of Mary Magdalen in 1039. In Spain, at Oviedo, an eleventh-century catalogue of relics claimed to have some hair....”

⁷⁶ Haskins, 114-121. “As a result of Geoffrey’s [the abbot of Vézelay] labours, Mary Magdalen’s [sic] feast-day became one of the most popular in Latin Christendom, and the pilgrimage the most celebrated in France ...”. 115-116. “Pilgrims flocked from all over France to touch the tomb of Mary Magdalen [sic] at Vézelay; some even came from as far as England to be healed, forgiven, and dispossessed of their devils at the holy site. And with these faithful came the merchants too, ever ready to profit from the pious. Precious gifts were offered to merit the Magdalen’s [sic] intercession, foreign visitors had to pay taxes... stalls were rented at exorbitant prices, all yielding vast revenues to the abbey and townspeople.”

Haskins, 114. “...the sermon “In veneration Sanctae Mariae” attributed to the abbot Odo [of Cluny] (d.942) written during the first half of the tenth century, and read at least annually for several centuries thereafter [would have influenced Geoffrey the abbot who claimed he had Mary Magdalene’s relics at Vézelay]. Mary Magdalen was described, after a life of ‘sensual pleasures’—no doubt derived from Gregory the Great’s homily—as a ‘model of zealous devotion’...Odo’s panegyric also showed its debts to Hippolytus in its celebration of Mary Magdalene as the Church and as the Bride, but is particularly interesting for its emphasis on her role as apostle to the apostles, and on the virtues of poverty, obedience, charity and servitude, which would have particularly struck a chord with monkish audience.”

⁷⁷ Haskins, 120.

⁷⁸ Schaberg and Johnson-DeBaufre, 50. “The Western tradition is a vibrant collage of adventure, miracles, and visions. The most complete version of the Provençal legend dates from around 1267 and is called, “The Golden Legend.” ... It was wildly popular and so was Mary. There are over 700 manuscripts and 173 printed editions of the Golden Legend. In Western Europe, over 190 shrines were dedicated to Mary Magdalene, and more than 600 of her relics venerated. In pre-Reformation England, there were 170 churches bearing her name. William Caxton’s 1483 Golden Legend in Middle English was the last full-scale version published in English before the Reformation. It disappeared not because people lost interest in Mary Magdalene, but because it was ‘a victim of a conscious policy of the Protestant state, bent on obliterating all material associated with Catholicism.’” (Schaberg cited D. Mycoff, *A Critical Edition of the Legend of Mary Magdalene from Caxton’s Golden Legend of 1483*. 2)

⁷⁹ Haskins, 115-116. “Pilgrims flocked from all over France to touch the tomb of Mary Magdalen [sic] at Vézelay; some even came from as far as England to be healed, forgiven, and dispossessed of their devils at the holy site. And with these faithful came the merchants too, ever ready to profit from the pious. Precious gifts were offered to merit the Magdalen’s [sic] intercession, foreign visitors had to pay taxes... stalls were rented at exorbitant prices, all yielding vast revenues to the abbey and townspeople.”

⁸⁰ Schaberg, Jane, *The Resurrection of Mary Magdalene:Legends,, Apocrypha, and the Christian Testament* (New York: Continuum, 2002), 94.

⁸¹ Ricci, 15, 18.

⁸² Haskins, 210. *Give Us This Day – April 2018*, 28-29. C. Osiek

⁸³ Haskins, 220 and Frontispiece. “... Mark’s account particularly, in the postscript to the resurrection scene where Mary Magdalen [sic] alone tells the disciples who ‘believed her not’, contributed to the marvelous image of Mary Magdalen, as the *apostola apostolorum*, announcing the resurrection to the apostles ... which first appeared in a twelfth century psalter probably written in England at St. Albans for Christina of Markyate... ” Another illustration of the same scene appears in the gospel book of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, and founder of Munich and his wife Maltida, of about 1180.... The idea of Mary Magdalen as the ‘apostle to the apostles’ ..., seems to have appealed to women in particular...” Both of these images were in personal prayer books and so were

not available to the general public.

⁸⁴ Haskins, 145-147.

⁸⁵ Haskins, 148.

⁸⁶ Haskins, 178-179.

⁸⁷ Haskins, 150. “With seemingly no deep reflection, Albert the Great and his protégée, Aquinas adopted Aristotle’s categorization of women as lesser beings. They used it “to justify the subordinate place of women in society ... and within the Church, their exclusion from the priesthood, and even from preaching.” (H 150)

⁸⁸ Haskins, 178 and M. A. Hinsdale, CTSA PROCEEDINGS 66 (2011): 67-90 “St. Mary of Magdala: Ecclesiological Provocations”. As late as 1973, Mary Magdalene’s witness was considered “unofficial”.

Hinsdale highlights a statement in the summary of Raymond E. Brown, Karl P. Donfried, John Reumann, eds. *Peter in the New Testament: A Collaborative Assessment by Protestant and Roman Catholic Scholars*, (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House and New York: Paulist Press, 1973). The authors state, “Simon (Cephas) was accorded an appearance of the risen Jesus, *probably the first appearance*.” Hinsdale comments: “The accompanying footnote read as follows: “In speaking of ‘first appearance’ here and elsewhere, we are thinking only of the appearances to those who would become official proclaimers of the resurrection. We have not discussed the question of possible previous appearances to women followers of Jesus.” At that point, I said to myself, “What! What about Mary Magdalene? Wasn’t she the first witness to the resurrection?” Thus, I began to wonder, “What difference would it make if we were to take Mary Magdalene’s witness as our starting point for theological reflection on the charism of church leadership?” What if we proposed and could agree upon such a thing as a ‘Magdalene function’? What would ecclesiology look like? What roles would be open to women in the church?”

⁸⁹ Haskins, 152.

⁹⁰ Malone, 172-197. Summary of Chapter on Abbesses: From the 7th - 11th centuries powerful abbesses, such as Hilda of Whitby (d. 680), Frideswide (d. 727) founder of Oxford and Walburga (d. 799) of Bavaria ruled double monasteries. Most were in Celtic and Germanic regions. (MTM 201-207) The Gregorian reform (1050-1110) prohibited double monasteries, dramatically reducing the authority and income of abbesses. Gratian’s 12th c. “Decretum” (canon laws) prohibited women from being ordained and removed abbesses’ authority to profess novices, hear confessions, preach if a man was present, and teach boys or travel. NOTE: MTM Chapter on Abbesses “Teaching and serving as spiritual counselors in royal courts were two main sources of income for nuns. Gratian’s rules impoverished their abbeys, making them dependent on bishops. (H 178) Boniface VIII’s Bull, *Periculoso* (1298) finally mandated cloistering of all nuns including Beguines.

⁹¹ Laura Swan, *The Wisdom of the Beguines: The Forgotten Story of a Medieval Women’s Movement* (BlueBridge, 2016), 163. Some Beguines refused to accept the order to go into cloisters some did go into monasteries. Over the years, they were inspected with “visitations” from bishops’ offices. “Celebrated spiritual writers and mystics including Mechtild of Magdeburg, Beatrijs of Nazareth, Hadewijch of Brabant, and Marguerite Porete, who was condemned as a heretic and burned at the stake in Paris in 1310” were Beguines. (AbeBooks.com web summary: https://www.abebooks.com/products/isbn/9781933346977?cm_mmc=ggl-_-COM_DSAETAFFEEED_Trade-_-naa-_-1t2naa&gclid=EAIaIQobChMIw8-4_d6t4wIVx8DICH1s_Q3qEAAYAiAAEgKSdPD_BwE).⁹¹

⁹² Haskins, 248.

⁹³ De Boer, 14-15. “Before the Council of Trent (1545-1563) there were still calendars of saints which gave Mary Magdalene no predicate, or which celebrated her as first witness to the resurrection of the Lord. Local customs to mark her day differed from place to place. However, on the authority of the Council [of Trent], liturgical books were produced which were binding on the whole Roman Catholic Church. ... In the first compulsory missal [in 1570] Mary Magdalene is given the epithet ‘penitent.’ Here the missal was not just taking up the image of Mary Magdalene which had been disseminated by Gregory the Great and others. This image also emerged from the

Counter-Reformation church. Over against the [Protestant] Reformation with its doctrine of grace, the Counter-Reformation emphasized the doctrine of penance and merits. Here St. Mary Magdalene could play an important role as penitent and [that] one was favoured [sic] *par excellence*.”

Comment: The Roman missal of 1570 also prescribed Luke’s “sinner from the city” (7:36-50) as the gospel for Mary Magdalene’s feast. That reading remained until 1969 when, with Vatican II, it was replaced by part of John’s Resurrection text (20:1-2, 11-18); unfortunately, also in 1969 her feast day was reduced to a memorial.

⁹⁴ Haskins, 257. “A new artistic subject, the Conversion of Mary Magdalen [sic], was created to accompany her newly emphasized role as converted sinner. This consisted of scenes of her renouncing her world life and throwing her jewellery away, such as in Veronese’s painting in the National Gallery in London (c.1550), or Rubens’ treatment in Vienna (c.1620), where she is watched by Martha who, according to the *Golden Legend*, was instrumental in her conversion. Martha’s role is evident in Caravaggio’s marvelous painting in Detroit (Institute of Arts) of c.1600 which shows her advising Mary Magdalen of the error of her ways.”

⁹⁵ Haskins 250-251.

⁹⁶ Pope Pius XII opened modern methods of studying the Bible; subsequent popes expanded on this:

- *Divino Afflante Spiritus*, issued by Pius XII on Sept. 30, 1943 encouraged Catholic scholars to study the literary forms of the Bible. *Sancta Mater Ecclesia* of the Pontifical Biblical Commission (April 21, 1964) and *Dei Verbum* of the Second Vatican Council (Nov. 18, 1965) expanded this guidance.
- *Dei Verbum*, Section 12 states, “...(6) the interpreter of Sacred Scripture, in order to see clearly what God wanted to communicate to us, should carefully investigate what meaning the sacred writers really intended, and what God wanted to manifest by means of their words.”
- “The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church,” Pontifical Biblical Commission, April 23, 1993 (as published in *Origins*, Jan. 6, 1994) directs us to “... examine all the methods likely to contribute effectively to the task of making more available the riches contained in the biblical texts.”(cf. *Dei Verbum*, 21).

⁹⁷ Ricci, 34-37. Carla Ricci describes the research of multiple biblical scholars who proved that Mary Magdalene should not be conflated with Mary of Bethany or Luke’s “sinner from the city.” She includes, Frederic Godet (1872 paper), Marie-Joseph Lagrange (1920 commentary), Fernand Pratt, J. Sickenberger (1925, *Jesus Christ*), Peter Ketter (1933, paper), Josef Schmid (1955, commentary), Victor Saxer (1966 study), Heinz Schürmann (1969, commentary on Luke.)

⁹⁸ *Calendarium Romanum* (Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1969). “No change has been made in the title of today’s memorial, but it concerns only Saint Mary Magdalene, to whom Christ appeared after his resurrection. It is not about the sister of Saint Martha, nor about the sinful woman whose sins the Lord forgave.” (131) “... it will make mention neither of Mary of Bethany nor of the sinful woman of Luke 7:36-50, but only of Mary Magdalene, the first person to whom Christ appeared after his resurrection.” (98)

Haskins, 388. “In 1978 the epithets ‘Maria poenitens’ (penitent Mary) and ‘magna peccatrix’ (great sinner) were also deleted from the entry for Mary Magdalen in the Roman Breviary, thus officially removing the stigma which had been attached to her name for nearly two thousand years. How long will it be before the impact of the penitent, so often written about and depicted, can be erased from popular memory, and before artists and writers will no longer find it a creatively fertile subject, will depend on the strength of its grip on the Christian imagination.”

⁹⁹ Sandra Schnieders, IHM. “Encountering the Risen Jesus: Mary Magdalene as Prototype,” Lecture. Boston College. 19 July 2013.

¹⁰⁰ *Decree: the celebration of St. Mary Magdalene raised to a feast in the General Roman Calendar*. “**Mary Magdalene, apostle of the apostles, 10.06.2016** Vatican City, 10 June 2016 – As expressly wished by the Holy Father, the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments has published a new decree, dated 3 June 2016, Solemnity of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, by which the celebration of St. Mary Magdalene, currently obligatory memorial, will be elevated in the general calendar to the level of a feast day.”

<https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/en/bollettino/pubblico/2016/06/10/160610c.html>

¹⁰¹ Proper Preface for St. Mary Magdalene's Feast on Vatican's Website in Latin:
http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccdds/documents/il-nuovo-prefazio-maddalena-articolo_en.pdf
see text of Preface in English at end of End Notes

¹⁰² M. A. Hinsdale, CTSA PROCEEDINGS 66 (2011): 67-90 "St. Mary of Magdala: Ecclesiological Provocations". As late as 1973, Mary Magdalene's witness was considered "unofficial". Hinsdale highlights a statement in the summary of Raymond E. Brown, Karl P. Donfried, John Reumann, eds. *Peter in the New Testament: A Collaborative Assessment by Protestant and Roman Catholic Scholars*, (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House and New York: Paulist Press, 1973). The authors state, "Simon (Cephas) was accorded an appearance of the risen Jesus, *probably the first appearance*." Hinsdale comments: "The accompanying footnote read as follows: 'In speaking of 'first appearance' here and elsewhere, we are thinking only of the appearances to those who would become official proclaimers of the resurrection. We have not discussed the question of possible previous appearances to women followers of Jesus.'" At that point, I said to myself, "What! What about Mary Magdalene? Wasn't she the first witness to the resurrection?" Thus, I began to wonder, "What difference would it make if we were to take Mary Magdalene's witness as our starting point for theological reflection on the charism of church leadership?" What if we proposed and could agree upon such a thing as a 'Magdalene function'? What would ecclesiology look like? What roles would be open to women in the church?"

¹⁰³ Petula Dvorak, "On Easter, Mary Magdalene will be maligned as a prostitute. Except she wasn't." *Washington Post*, 13 April 2017 https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/on-easter-mary-magdalene-will-be-maligned-as-a-prostitute-except-she-wasnt/2017/04/13/4e5d502a-2067-11e7-be2a-3a1fb24d4671_story.html?utm_term=.53bacc99c2ac

¹⁰⁴ Ricci, 44-45. "In 1969 Heinz Schurmann, drawing on the analysis made by Hengel, opened up new and wider perspectives in a commentary that differs qualitatively from all earlier ones. He [advances] the hypothesis that this passage [Luke 8:1-3] could be a re-working based on an older tradition, of elements relating to women and the part they played, thus coming back to the question of the possible existence of a "women's tradition," traces of which are to be found above all through Luke's Gospel. Of interest too is the precision with which he writes, in contrast to the earlier works ... of the presence of women: 'they had constantly accompanied Jesus.' ... Leonard Swidler wrote in 1973: 'a certain number of women, married or not, were regularly among those who followed Jesus'; seeking to ascertain what Jesus' attitude to women was, he identifies as a basic fact what can be deduced from Luke 8:1-3: '... some women became disciples of Jesus immediately, not only in the sense that they learned his teaching, but also in that they followed him on his travels and attended to his everyday needs.'"

English Translation of Proper Preface for Feast of Mary Magdalene as of July 22, 2016:

"It is truly right and just, our duty and our salvation, to glorify you in all things, almighty Father, whose mercy is no less than your power, through Christ our Lord.

He appeared in the garden and revealed himself to Mary Magdalene, for she had loved him while he was alive, seen him dying on the Cross, sought him as he lay in the tomb, and was the first to adore him newly risen from the dead.

He honored her with the task of being Apostle to the Apostles, so that the good news of new life might reach the ends of the earth.

And so, Lord, with all the Angels and Saints, we, too, give you thanks, as in exultation we acclaim: Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God of hosts."