Mary Magdalene, The First Apostle: The Struggle for Authority
Ann Graham Brock (2003)
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Issue	Matthew	Mark	Luke/Acts	John	Pauline	Acts of Peter	Acts of Paul	Gospel of
								Mary and
								others

Time frames of NT era writings	80-85 CE	65-70 CE	Luke 80-85 CE	95 CE	50-60 CE - 120 Letters of Paul are: Romans, 1 Thes, 1&2 Cor, Galatians, Philippians, Philemon  Probable pseudonymous books are: Ephesians, Colossians, 2 Thes, 1&2 Timothy, Titus	120 CE. Scholars debate whether Acts of Peter or of Paul came first.	120 CE. Much material in common with Acts of Peter.	Where "MM" is used in this document, it refers to Mary Magdalene. Other Mary figures will be indicated as in Mother Mary, Mary of Bethany.
Meaning of "apostle"	Matthew uses term "apostolic" only once [10:2-5] which is a shorter version of the choosing of the 12 seen in Mark [P. 147].	Mark uses term "apostolic" only once [Mark 6:30]	Luke uses term 6 times in GL, and 34 times in Luke-Acts. It is fair to assume usage is to underscore authority of those so designated [P. 148].  Author of Luke & Acts writes several decades after Paul, adds new requirements for apos-	4G shaped the resurrection narrative from the opposite direction of Luke.  One inferred usage in 4G at 13:6, 8. Dialogue with Peter conveys warning about status. 4G & Epistles rarely use, especially	Restriction of "apostle" seen in Luke/Acts is not seen in Paul. Traces of this earlier usage can be found in Acts — a different broader sense referring to persons sent on a mission [Acts 13:2-3] [P. 150-151].	Elements are so to make interrel between the two foregone conclus. Acts of Peter had number of referiastical designative references to an (præsbyter) nan "deacon" (diacon "bishop" (episcon "apostle" (apost frequently, and apostle". Peter in numerous additional post of the properties of the propertie	ationship to texts a sion [P. 106].  s a large ences to eccles- ions or titles: 3 n "elder" med Narcissus, nus) and upus). The term rolus) is used 2 times "co- receives	There is a false dichotomy in the scholarship suggesting that MM's claim for apostolic status is only Gnostic & unorthodox. It is solidly rooted in 3 of 4 canonical gospels & therefore is as orthodox as Peter's claim [P.171].

Issue Matth	ew Mark	Luke/Acts	John	Pauline	Acts of Peter	Acts of Paul	Gospel of Mary and others
		tleship. Must be limited to 12, within first generation. [P. 150]. Excludes Paul, James, brother of Jesus who rose to head Jerusalem Church, and all female apostles.  Term is used frequently in Acts, the "12"; parallels Paul re divine intervention, with the 11 casting lots to select the 12 <sup>th</sup> [Acts 1:23-26] (P. 9).  "Apostle" is used 26 times with narrowed meaning, only twice referring to Paul in a broader sense, but not like the 12. This exception may be from earlier source material [P. 150].	in reference to "the 12." Their general avoid- ance is signifi- cant and likely deliberate [P. 49].  No particular esteem for the term "apostles" as referring to a designated group around Jesus.  Jesus never specifically chooses Peter as member of 2-3 selected, no special resurrection appearance until Chapter 21, which was a later redaction added on [P. 51].  It appears as an effort of Johannines to	(1) Representative of congregation [2 Cor 8:23] (2) commissioned from divine source [Gal 1:1] (P. 8), set apart [Romans 1:1]. Those who claimed a resurrection experience or had it claimed for them [I Cor 15:3, 6-7). Some see in Paul 2 parallel lists, coming from Peter or James (P. 10), the pillars in Jerusalem [P.158].  Restriction of gender in Luke not present in Pauline texts [2 Cor 8:23, 11:5, 13, 12:11-12] [P.	Lord, as well as of being choser all the apostles.  Acts of Paul has ecclesiastical resimilar to the knepistles of Paul lack of reference omission of references country of an earlier data a more decentral leadership. The titles is correlat women's roles an non-existent [Paul lack of Paul lack of reference omission of references country of an earlier data a more decentral leadership. The titles is correlat women's roles an non-existent [Paul lack of Paul la	n by God among s very few eferences. AP is nown authentic in scarcity or the to bishops, erences to ny other effective the or it suggests alized increase in ed with as restricted or . 119].  Ilarity between A Pastoral in the	

Issue	Matthew	Mark	Luke/Acts	John	Pauline	Acts of Peter	Acts of Paul	Gospel of Mary and others
					_	_		
				church at				
				large.	Junia &			
				Daviete Dates	Andronicus			
				Depicts Peter bringing net	"outstanding AMONG the			
				overflowing	apostles"			
				with fish &	[Romans 16:7]			
				unbroken net	[P.151] Earliest			
				[21:11]. The	commentators,			
				number 153	Jerome &			
				may allude to	Chrysostom			
				evangelistic	(344-407)			
				success.	understood			
					this apostle to			
				A group fishing	be female, but			
				but Peter	history			
				single-handed	rewritten by			
				pulls net in	later writers.			
				obedience to	See Eldon Jay			
				Jesus.	Epp (2005).			
				Jesus and	<u>Junia: The</u> <u>First Woman</u>			
				Peter 1:1, a	Apostle.			
				special	Minneapolis,			
				commission.	MN: Fortress			
				Told to feed	Press.			
				lambs and				
				shepherd				
				sheep 3 times,				
				perhaps to				
				parallel the 3				
				denials.				
				Leadership				
				finally in his				
				hands, but not				

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				elsewhere in 4G & does not supercede role of Beloved Disciple [P.				
Apostolic			Luke and John sh	52]. ow the most	Paul uses term	These contemp		
choices & selection	hoices & Peter show more consistency re		Luke carves out a are the only trust of the resurrection ensure that only t Jesus' teachings when the taught only by	worthy witnesses n, seeking to their version of will be correct, to	"apostolic" sparingly. Luke uses it the most often.	draw on author Paul respectivel significantly diff they differ dras for men and wo  Acts of Paul inc models of stron leadership, mos	y, but in Ferent ways; tically re roles omen [P.18] lude many g female	
	Differences have order of/absence appearances at resurrection, who commissioning, Christophany, and or none.	e of the nether there is a with a	6:13 "he calle himself, and from Twelve, whom he apostles"] [P. 153	are they n from a larger s, a group not nd Matthew [Luke ed his disciples to them he chose also named 8] he functionality of	Claim of the 12 as historical going back to Jesus is hard to maintain given that Paul's list of leaders & witnesses represents the 12 [I Cor 15:5]	when Paul is pospeaking to word differ in the 2 b Paul, he does no refuse them Eurodoes in Acts of strengthens and women in Acts	ortrayed men, messages ooks. In Acts of ot chastise or charist as he Peter. Paul d commissions	
	Parallels in Matt and Mark [3:14] twelve are name the call is function chosen for a mis	where the ed. In Mark, onal – they're	The author of Luk the 12 as the initi. Jerusalem Church over all other lead	symbolic [P. 154]. se-Acts portrays al leaders of a, with precedence ders [Acts 4:35-37; 4, 18; 9:27; 11:1-	and the apostles [15:7] as 2 distinct groups. This list of epiphany recipients is early, leading some to claim	of God"[Page 1 In Acts of Peter	7, speaking parts few. There are 3 eme of women g paralyzed	

Issue	Matthew	Mark	Luke/Acts	John	Pauline	Acts of Peter	Acts of Paul	Gospel of Mary and others
			Pentecost [2:14], servers [6:2] who presented to "the a 154]. Paul is subor seek approval for I honored, but not a spokesman, but do Luke's "apostle" [Foonsensus is the iodidn't originate with traced to Jesus' misservers.	are then apostles" [6:6] [P. rdinate, & must his plans. He is an eyewitness, a bes not exactly fit P.155]. Scholarly dea of the 12 th & can't be	it verifies primacy to Peter. Diverging, competing traditions re MM & Peter were early [P.158].	A complete lack autonomous ac female figures i		
	Matt 10:2-4 [12 are named]	Mark 3:14-19	Luke 6:14-16; Acts 1:13  Narrowed definition of "apostle" men who accompanied us the whole time Jesus went in & out among us, BEGINNING FROM THE TIME OF BAPTISM OF JOHN TO THE TIME JESUS TAKEN UPMUST BECOME A WITNESS WITH	4G never offers a list of the traditional exclusive allmale group of 12 disciples [P. 55].				

Issue	Matthew M	lark Luke/Act	s John	Pauline	Acts of Peter	Acts of Paul	Gospel of Mary and others
		US OF HIS RESURRECT [Acts 1:21-22 They must haw itnessed a resurrection appearance WITHIN TH DAYS AFTEI [Acts 1:3] [P. 150].	2]. ave IE 40 R				
Resurrection appearances/ order	Matthew, Mark, & John give prominence to MM disciples to go to Galile meet Jesus	tell the that they med	o es et				Certain Syriac or Coptic texts replace MM with Mary, mother of Jesus in garden on 1 <sup>st</sup> appearance [P.18]
Lukan omission of Peter traditions	Prediction of Jesus' suff worded similarly in all 3 synoptics [Mat 16:21, N 8:31, Luke 9:22]	ering					
[Chapter 2]	Matthew & Mark agree Peter rebuked Jesus [M 16:22, Mark 8:32b] Jesus in turn rebukes P [Mat 16:23, Mark 8:33]	at rebuke even though agree ment in prior on prediction	text of n				

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	All 3 follow with the denial of self and taking up one's cross		writers are working from a common tradition [P.24]  Right after the rebuke material, Luke again closely parallels the Markan source [P.25]					
	[Mat 26:35 "I v away," Mark 1	Jesus predicts Peter's denial [Mat 26:35 "I will never fall away," Mark 14:31 "if all fall away, I never will" ] [P. 24-25, 28]		13:37: "Lord, why cannot I follow youI will lay down my life for you." Jesus: "Will you" 13:38				
	Jesus regularly Mark and Matth sleeping & not [Mat 16:40, Ma	keeping watch	Nowhere does Jesus ever rebuke Peter. Jesus rebukes disciples as a group [22:45-46] [P. 26]					
	In Matthew & N them "sleeping	Mark, Jesus finds "[Mat 26:40,	Luke explains they are sleeping					

Issue	Matthew	Mark	Luke/Acts	John	Pauline	Acts of Peter	Acts of Paul	Gospel of Mary and others
	Mark 14:37]  Matthew & Mardenying knowing and swearing [I Mark 14:71a]  Matt 26:51 "one Accompanied hark 14:47 "one bystanders"	ng Christ, cursing Matt 26:74a, e of those who im" cut ear off	"for sorrow" [22:45]  Luke has Peter say, "Man, I don't know what you're talking about [22:60a], thus shielding him from saying he didn't know Jesus [P.29]  22:50: "one of them" (disciples)	4 <sup>th</sup> time Peter appears in 4G is at 18:10-27. He is named as one who cuts off right ear of high priest's slave [v.10]. Peter misreads, Jesus rebukes [v. 11]. The other disciple makes it possible for Peter to enter high priest's court [v.16]. Peter denies being a disciple [17, 25, 27].				

# 9

Issue	Matthew	Mark	Luke/Acts	John	Pauline	Acts of Peter	Acts of Paul	Gospel of Mary and others
	At the Transfiguent has the disciple Peter hardly known [9:6] [P. 27].	s terrified &	Luke has Peter say it is good we are here, let's make 3 tents. But he did not know what he was saying [9:33]	Transfiguration story is absent.				

Issue	Matthew	Mark	Luke/Acts	John	Pauline	Acts of Peter	Acts of Paul	Gospel of Mary and others
Luke modifications of Peter traditions		Andrew, Peter's brother, who introduced Peter to Jesus, is present at the healing of Peter's mother-in-law [1:29].	Sometimes source material re Peter is not omitted but modified to make it less unflattering. Other disciples do not receive the individual positive emphasis as Peter does [P. 27].  Andrew is missing at Peter's calling [5:1-11].  Andrew is less significant than in Mark. He does not appear in the healing of Peter's mother-in-law [4:38]	Peter is never part of a select 2-3 group of disciples for special revelation [P.46].  Peter is secondary to Beloved Disciple who is privileged, next to Jesus at last meal.  Peter has question, has to signal Beloved Disciple to ask 13:24		of Peter are to to donate.  In Acts of Peter even heal his or saying that her prevented her find married, preser uncleanness & The Lord is quoted as and "for this data harm to many stremains healthy.  In Acts of Peter a virgin daught pray for her. He receive what is fell down dead "escape the shat the flesh & to be of blood."  The most signiff in Acts of Peter who has never public, but she world, and her role is repentar [P. 111].  A woman know all over Rome of	r, he does not wn daughter, being paralyzed from being ving her from shame [P. 109]. It does not shame [P. 109]. It does not shaw the same and the souls if her body y" [P. 109].  r, a peasant with the er asks Peter to be prays she expedient & she [P. 110] to amelessness of preak the pride from the pride from the same actions by Eubula, been out in renounces the most important from the same after the same aft	

Issue	Matthew	Mark	Luke/Acts	John	Pauline	Acts of Peter	Acts of Paul	Gospel of Mary and others
Most significant Supplementary Tradition found only in Luke: "They got up and returned at once to Jerusalem. And they found the eleven and those with them, gathered together and saying,"The Lord has risen indeed and has appeared to Simon." [24:33-34]	28:9-10	Source critical analysis says by the time the reference to P alone was put into Luke, from the unique "L" source, use of Mark as a source had discontinued. Vocabulary is "thoroughly Lukan" as is style, structure, and theological motifs [P.30]  Other 3 gospels Jesus or messengers send MM alone or with other women to proclaim.	Luke is a "pro-Petrine text" [P. 32]. Jesus' EXCLUSIVE resurrection appearance to Peter [24:33-34] is awkwardly embedded into travelers on Emmaus road, giving him temporal priority over Emmaus. Peter is last named in Luke & first named in Luke & first named in Acts [P. 32].  [24:12, or 24] P sees tomb empty, leaves in puzzled state.  No commission to go tell anyone. Never provides divine justification for women to preach. Significantly reduces MM's status as resurrection witness.	[20:2] MM's 1st appears, excludes mention of other women named in synoptics, increasing MM's role. Announcement to disciples is 1st person plural "we" even though MM depicted alone – likely an earlier version included other women with her [P.57].  MM embraces Jesus, told to go to other disciples  20:18 announcement	Although Luke's reference to Peter alone at resurrection appearance has no other canonical gospel parallel, Paul quotes this tradition in I Cor 15:5 where Mary is absent. This is the only possible canonical reference to solitary appearance of P where he heads list of witnesses [P.31]			

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			43 verses re women, 23 unique to L. Pairs with narratives about men, roles of followers, subordinate [v. 37].  [24:4] MM encounters only 2 men in dazzling clothes at sepulcher, not Jesus.  24:6-7 No kerygmatic statement by MM, all by 2 messengers.  24:10 THEY told these things to apostles, women not named until here.  24:12 Disciples' unbelief except P – ran to tomb wondered what happened [P.35]	Peter's 5 <sup>th</sup> & final appearance in 4G at empty tomb [20: 2-10] is likely a later insertion [P.57]. 20:1 MM arrives, sees it is empty, better connects to v. 11.  20:2-10: MM runs to Peter & Beloved Disciple. Peter & other disciple go to empty tomb – no appearance by Jesus or angel.				

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			"Futile non-sense"  "idle talk" – can also translate at "trash," "trumpery" ONLY here in NT [P.35]	v.2 "we do not know" vs. MM statement to angels "I do not know"  Text gives Peter no special recognition or authority but shows awareness of alternate narrative re P, but protophany to MM even excluded other women [P.59]. Two men serve to corroborate MM.	I Tim 2:11-15 Paul forbids women teaching. They are saved by marrying, bearing children, submission, living in silent domestication.  Pastorals discourage critical political sentiment. Rife with ecclesial titles + support for	Paul in Acts of Peter is an advocate of social conformity, submission to political authorities. His interactions mirror those of Peter. Women kiss Paul's feet in adulation. Typical female failing is sexual passion.	Acts of Paul provide an alternative for women: practice celibacy to be saved. Thecla is lured away from her lover to teach the word of God. Her resistance to social & familial pressure leads to winning Paul's approval of the right to	
			Argument that the Emmaus story in Luke verifies primacy of Jesus' appearance to Peter is not the most archaic: there are traces of the women's visit to the tomb [24:22-23] and an angelophany	Other disciple outran Peter. P was behind him, P follows [20:3-10].  Other disciple reaches tomb first & believes – believes MM's report, that she spoke	family/house-hold. They identify strength of church with household [P. 120]  Titus 3:1: Submit & obey rules & authorities.	In Acts of Peter, the appeal is significant for upper class men – demonstrated commitment to social &	In Acts of Paul, new converts are upper class women whose husbands are upset.  Tryphaena becomes Thecla's	

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				he could not		husband.		
				have then		Subtle		
				believed He's		diminishment		
				risen; did not		of Paul – his		
				know it was		converts fall		
				necessary for		away except		
				Him to rise		for 7,		
				again, believed		including 2		
				women had		women, &		
				said He was		Peter has to		
				taken; still did		reconvert		
				not understand		them.	T A 6	
				[v. 9] – word is		A ata of Datas	In Acts of	
				plural referring to both		Acts of Peter	Paul, Thecla	
						and Pastorals	tells Paul	
				disciples.		are similar in	everything & he marvels	
				Christ sends		that they both claim authority		
				MM to proclaim		of Paul +	greatly, but in Acts of Peter,	
				a standard		restrict	he is	
				apostolic		women	threatening	
				announcement:		leadership &	and	
				"I have seen		establish male	moralistic	
				the Lord."		ecclesial	toward Rufina	
				Brown says "it		hierarchy	towara Raina	
				is she, not		merareny		
				Peter, who is				
				the first to see				
				the risen				
				Christ." He				
				says MM				
				"comes close"				
				to Pauline				
				apostolic				
				requirements,				

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				but he stops short. Brock has shown that the majority of accounts show she is due apostolic authority [P. 159].  10:16: Other sheep belong to His fold – recognizes Peter. Brown argues they symbolically counterpose churches venerating Peter & the 12.				
				Johannine community & Beloved Disciple vs. Peter & traditions of 12. When chapter 21 added, the Beloved Disciple still remains elevated, only				

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				male who didn't flee, & with his adoption by Mary, he is more significant than Peter [P. 55]				
Portrayal of MM & other female disciples in Luke & others [Chapter 2]	27:55 Women minister to Him in Matt & Mark  15:40 MM stands at foot of cross in Matt & Mark  "All these known" in Luke is not found in Matt or Mark.	15:41 27:56	8:3 Women minister to THEM. MM is healed & a financial contributor  24:10 Luke does not name women – only after coming back from the tomb. Others stand with them, diminishing them. "All his acquaintances" including women stood at a distance watching [23:49]. "All these known to him" No subject-verb agreement. Use of "acquaintances" so now expect a male	4G women: Samaritan woman at well begins Christian mission in Samaria [4:1- 45] – Jesus reveals His divinity directly to her.  Judas complains of Mary anointing Jesus with expensive ointment, but Jesus defends her action [ 11:54 –12:11]				In Greek ms of G of Philip, MM exercised apostolic leadership. She is present at Jesus' side when he allocates apostolic missions. She is included numerous times in GPh in its use of the plural form of 'apostles.' In Coptic rewriting, she disappears & Peter appears instead. Manipulation of primary apostolic figures appears to be quite

Issue	Matthew	Mark	Luke/Acts	John	Pauline	Acts of Peter	Acts of Paul	Gospel of Mary and others
			plural in agreement but					deliberate.
			female plural is					Other texts
			preserved from					replace MM
			the earlier source					with Mary,
			[P.34].					mother of Jesus
			Mary praised for					with such frequency in
			quietly sitting,					Syriac & Coptic
			listening					texts that it
			[10:38-42]					appears
			[					deliberate.
			Simeon & Anna					Superimposition
			[2:25-35, 36,38]					of the Marys 4
			Anna gets 3					times by
			verses, Simeon					Ephrem in the
			gets 11.					Diatessaron.
			Anna, Na cantiala					Growth of the
			Anna: No canticle, Spirit not said to					veneration of Mary, Mother of
			be with her. Silent					Jesus appears
			witness, fasts,					correlated. She
			pays, grateful [P.					posed no
			37].					challenge to
			-					Peter's
			Simeon: Spirit					authority
			with him said 3					[P.141].
			times, 2 canti-					
			cles.					Confusion
			Acceptable relac					between & con-
			Acceptable roles for women					flation of MM,
			restricted to					Mary of Bethany, &
			imperial world					sinful woman
			view. Needs to be					didn't occur in

prostitute. her ordination,	Issue	Matthew	Mark	Luke/Acts	John	Pauline	Acts of Peter	Acts of Paul	Gospel of Mary and others
See Thomas W. Exegetical habit of conflating MM  See Thomas W. Butler (1998). Let Her Keep		[Anointing at	14:3-9	edified & controlled.  Luke OMITS anointing at Bethany. A somewhat parallel incident in Galilean ministry – a sinful woman [7:36-50].  Result is reduced prophetic significance of anointing to foreshadow passion.  Changed emphasis to emotional extravagance of woman's action. Jesus accepting touch & her being forgiven, often interpreted as a prostitute.  Exegetical habit	12:1-8				writings [Origen, Chrysostom] nor in E. Orthodox. Peter never gained primacy or ascendancy in early eastern Christian church.  MM was Galilean, liturgical celebrations 6/30, 7/22, & 8/4. Mary of Bethany was Judean, celebrated on 6/4 [P. 169].  For an in-depth study of Mary of Bethany, deciphering OT code words used in 4G that are indicative of her ordination, see Thomas W. Butler (1998).

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			& sinful woman began here as this account is immediately followed by mention of MM in Chapter 8.					It. Tracy, CA: Quantum Leap Publisher
								Pope Gregory the Great [560- 604] institution- alized the conflation – a more insidious way of diminishing her because it was within the scriptural canon
Declarations of Who Jesus is:				Martha's [Ch. 11] declaration is before Lazarus is				

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Apostolic Authority in 4G Compared to Synoptics				raised. Contrast with Peter's which is not specific  P is seen in only 5 chapters [1,6,13,18,20] & later redac-				
4G Chapter 1	4:18-20 Peter is first mentioned	1:16-18	5:1-9	tion of ch. 21.  1: 40 P not mentioned 1 <sup>st</sup> as in synoptics. No special call at all. Jesus did not take initiative to find Peter. Andrew has 1 <sup>st</sup> contact, tells Peter, his brother. But manner suggests P is better known to 4G because A introduced in relation to P [P.42].				
4G Chapter 6				6:67 P has prominence, acts for group when Jesus				

the Son of the Living God  The Coptic God  The	Issue	Matthew	Mark	Luke/Acts	John	Pauline	Acts of Peter	Acts of Paul	Gospel of Mary and others
confession, no recognized Orthodox Priest messianic title [P.43]. Textual Leloup is an Orthodox Priest living in France.	v. Synoptics  Confession in synoptics not associated	are the Christ the Son of the Living			will go away. P's confession upholds out- spoken status of Luke [P.42].  11:27a Confession by MARTHA, NOT P. I believe you are the Christ the Son of God 6:69: P says "you have the words of eter- nal life. We be- lieve & have come to know you are the Holy one of God. [This term could designate a prophet.] Not a Christological confession, no recognized messianic title [P.43]. Textual				translation from the Coptic, commentary and powerful meditations based on G. of Mary, see Jean-Yves LeLoup (2002). The Gospel of Mary Magdalene: Translation from the Coptic and Commentary. Rochester, Vermont: Inner Traditions. Leloup is an Orthodox Priest living in France.

Issue	Matthew	Mark	Luke/Acts	John	Pauline	Acts of Peter	Acts of Paul	Gospel of Mary and others
								Judas.
Jesus' response to Peter's Confession				No praise or request for secrecy.				