

NAMES FOR THE NAMELESS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

A Study in the Growth of Christian Tradition

As nature abhors a vacuum, so early Christians were reluctant to leave unidentified this or that person who is mentioned but not named in the pages of the New Testament. Since those who are curious generally attempt to satisfy their curiosity, pious readers and hearers of the Gospel narratives sought to supply answers to such questions as: What were the names of the Wise Men and the shepherds who came to worship the Christ-child? A list of the names of the twelve apostles is given in each of the Synoptics, but who exactly were the seventy disciples whom Jesus also sent out (Lk. 10, 1 ff.)? At the time of Jesus' trial several persons are mentioned in the canonical sources without being given more precise identification, such as Pilate's wife, the centurion stationed at the Cross, the two thieves who were crucified with Jesus, and the officer in charge of the soldiers guarding the sepulchre. Tradition provided names for all of these – sometimes several different names.

Likewise curiosity was aroused concerning individuals mentioned but not named in early apostolic history. People who read the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles were desirous of knowing, for example, the name of the Philippian jailer converted by Paul and Silas (Acts 16.27–33) and the names of those who comprised »the household of Onesiphorus« (II Tim. 4.19).

We can see how such traditions grew. In the fourth century Eusebius declared that no list of the seventy disciples sent out by Jesus was anywhere extant (τῶν δὲ ἑβδομήκοντα μαθητῶν κατάλογος οὐδεὶς οὐδαμῆ φέρεται)¹. At the same time, however, on the basis of hearsay (λέγεται . . . φασί . . .) he identifies five of the number, namely Barnabas, Sosthenes, Cephas, Matthias, and Thaddaeus. In subsequent centuries more than one list was circulated that included these and sixty-five other names! The following pages, written in honor of a master in the field of Patristics, comprise merely a portion of the rich harvest of information that can be derived from traditions preserved in various New Testament manuscripts, in the apocrypha, in early Christian art, and in patristic and hagiographical documents of all ages.

The Names of the Wise Men²

Both in the East and in the West a variety of traditions developed concerning the number of the Wise Men, their names, dress, appearance, and age. Although it is usually assumed that the Magi were three in number (probably because Matthew men-

¹ *Hist. Eccl.*, I. xii. 1.

² The literature on the Magi is very extensive. Besides the usual bibliographical tools, for the older literature see Ulysse Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Age . . . Bio-bibliographie*, nouvelle éd., II (Paris, 1907; reprinted, New York, 1960),

cols. 2949–2951. Among modern monographs the most valuable, from one point of view or another, are Ch. Schoebel, »L'histoire des rois mages«, *Revue de linguistique et de philologie comparée*, XI (1878), pp. 181–221, 233–304; K. A. Martin Hartmann, *Über das altspanische Dreikönigsspiel nebst einem Anhang*, ent-

tions that they presented three gifts), three is by no means the only tradition – that they were twelve in number was also rather widely held in the East, particularly in Syria.

The earliest literary reference to the names of the Magi occurs in what is generally called the *Excerpta Latina Barbari*. This document, which was first edited in 1606 by Joseph Justus Scaliger, is in the form of a chronicle written in not very good Latin. The original text of the chronicle was Greek; it was drawn up by an Alexandrian Christian who lived, it seems, in the sixth century, either during or just after the reign of the Emperor Anastasius (A. D. 491–518)³, or just after A. D. 556–57⁴. Concerning the Magi the unknown chronicler writes: »In his diebus sub Augusto kalendas Ianuarias magi obtulerunt ei munera et adoraverunt eum: magi autem vocabantur Bithisarea Melchior Gathaspa« (§ 86). Despite the atrocious spelling⁵ the familiar triad of Balthasar, Melchior, and Gaspar is apparent.

The works attributed to the Venerable Bede include a variety of traditions concerning the mystical significance of the three Magi as well as a detailed account of their appearance and dress. In his exposition of the Gospel of Matthew, Bede supplies the following interpretation: »Mystice autem tres Magi tres partes mundi significant, Asiam, Africam, Europam, sive humanum genus, quod a tribus filiis Noe seminarium sumpsit«⁶.

A much more detailed account is included in a treatise entitled *Excerpta et Collectanea*, which is sometimes included with the Venerable Bede's works but which has been described as a work altogether unworthy of that author⁷. The text of the account of the Magi is as follows:

»Magi sunt, qui munera Domino dederunt: primus fuisse dicitur Melchior, senex et canus, barba prolixa et capillis, tunica hyacinthina, sagoque mileno, et calceamentis hyacinthino et albo mixto opere, pro mitrario variae compositionis indutus: aurum obtulit regi Domino. Secundus, nomine Caspar, juvenis imberbis, rubicundus, mylenica tunica, sago rubeo, calceamentis hyacinthinis vestitus: thure quasi Deo oblatione digna, Deum honorabat. Tertius, fuscus, integre barbatus, Balthasar nomine, habens tunicam rubeam, albo vario, calceamentis milenicis amictus: per myrrham Filium hominis moriturum professus est. Omnia autem vestimenta eorum Syriaca sunt«⁸.

The impression which one gains from this paragraph is that it was written originally in Greek, and that the author may well have been describing a piece of art – whether in a manuscript or in a mosaic – in which the age, appearance, and clothing of the Magi were distinctively depicted.

haltend ein bisher ungedrucktes lateinisches Dreikönigsspiel, einen Wiederabdruck des altspanischen Stückes, sowie einen Excurs über die Namen der drei Könige . . . Diss. Leipzig (Bautzen, 1879); Eberhard Nestle, »Einiges über Zahl und Namen der Weisen aus dem Morgenland«, in *Marginalien und Materialien* (Tübingen, 1893); Hugo Kehrer, *Die heiligen drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1908–1909), especially »Die Nomenklatur der Könige« (vol. I, pp. 64 ff.), and »Die Namen in der Kunst« (vol. II, pp. 225 ff.); A. Vitti, »Apocryphorum de Magis enarrationes«, *Verbum Domini*, VII (1927), pp. 3–13; and Karl Meisen, *Die heiligen drei Könige und ihr Festtag im volkstümlichen Glauben und Brauch. Eine volkskundliche Untersuchung* (Köln, 1949).

³ So Joh. Jos. Hoeveler, »Die Excerpta Latini Bar-

bari«, *Festschrift der dreiundvierzigsten Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner* (Bonn, 1895), pp. 193–214.

⁴ So Theodor Mommsen, *Chronica minora, saec. IV. V. VI. VII.* (= *Monumenta germaniae historica; Auctorum antiquissimorum*, tomus IX; Berlin, 1892), p. 272.

⁵ For other examples of misspelling in the Latin rendering, see Hoeveler, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

⁶ In *Matthaei Evangelium Expositio*, I, ii (Migne, P. L. XCII, col. 13 A).

⁷ E. g. William Cave, *Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia literaria*, I (Basel, 1741), p. 614 a.

⁸ Migne, P. L., XCIV, col. 541 C-D. In the final sentence *Syriaca* should be emended to *serica* (»silk«). For other emendations and lexicographical comments, see Kehrer, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 67.

Among artistic representations which identify the three Magi by name, one thinks of the celebrated mosaic in Sant'Apollinare nuovo at Ravenna. At the end of the Procession of Female Saints stand the three Magi – their ages carefully distinguished and their appearance curiously Gothic. Above their heads stand the names +SCS BALTHASSAR +SCS MELCHIOR +SCS GASPAR⁹. The church and the mosaics date from the sixth century, but the date of the legend supplying the names is not known¹⁰.

Among artistic representations of the Magi, identified by name, in manuscripts, the oldest example appears to be a miniature in the famous Codex Egberti, executed between 977 and 993 by the monks Keraldus and Heribertus for Egbert Archbishop of Trèves, and preserved in the Civic Library in Trèves (Cod. no. 24)¹¹. The artist has appended, above or below each Magus, the names Caspar, Melchias, and Pudizar.

During subsequent centuries attempts were made to supply »learned« equivalents and interpretations of the three names. For example, in what became the standard work on biblical theology in the Middle Ages, Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* (which was completed between 1168 and 1176), the reader is told: »Nomina trium magorum haec sunt: Hebraice Apellus, Amerus, Damasius; Graece Galgalat, Magalath, Sarachim; Latine Baltassar, Gaspar, Melchior«¹².

An earlier contemporary of Peter, Zachary Chrysopolitanus of Besançon (c. 1157), expands with pseudo-etymologies as follows: »Nomina trium magorum Graece: Apellius, Amerus, Damascus. Apellius interpretatur *fidelis*, Amerus *humilis*, Damascus *miseri-cors*. Hebraica lingua vocati sunt; Megalath, Galgalath, Saracin. Megalath interpretatur *nuntius*, Galgath *devotus*, Saracin *gratia*«¹³.

Here and there in the West still other names were assigned to the Magi. According to the Milanese Gottifredo da Bussano, who flourished in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, the names of the Magi were Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius¹⁴; Casaubon reports the tradition that they were called Ator, Sator, and Peratoras (Ἄτωρ, Σάτωρ, καὶ Περατωρᾶς);¹⁵ and according to Jacques d'Ausoles, the three were none other than Enoch, Elijah, and Melchizedek¹⁶! Despite such occasional divergences in

⁹ As in other early Christian art, »the Magi are dressed as the barbarians are on Roman monuments; they approach Christ in the attitude in which the representatives of vanquished nations are shown to approach the emperor; and the first of the Magi . . . presents a crown« (Otto G. von Simson, *Sacred Fortress; Byzantine Art and Ravenna* [Chicago, 1948], p. 94; for a picture of the Magi, see plate 34).

¹⁰ Kehrer (*op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 225) observes that the caption was added at a date much later than that of the mosaics themselves.

¹¹ For editions cf. Franz X. Kraus, *Die Miniaturen des Codex Egberti in der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier* (Freiburg in Br., 1884), p. 19, plate XV, or the sumptuous facsimile edition, *Codex Egberti der Stadtbibliothek Trier. Voll-Faksimile-Ausgabe . . . 2 vols.* (Basil, 1960), fol. 46v. A small representation of the scene of the Magi is given by David Diringer in *The Illuminated Book, its History and Production* (New York, 1958), plate III-26, c.

¹² *Historia scholastica; Historia evangelica*, viii (Migne, P. L., IICC, col. 1542 C).

¹³ *In unum ex quatuor*, I, 8 (Migne, P. L., CLXXXVI, col. 83 D), Eberhard Nestle suggests that »Apellus, Amerus, and Damascus appear to have been derived from the messianic prophecy in Isaiah 8. 4, »Antequam puer sciat appellare patrum suum, capiet vim Damasci et spolia Samariae « (*op. cit.*, p. 71). It should be mentioned, however, that when discussing the Magi the unknown author of the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum* quotes the prophecy in the form, »Priusquam cognoscat puer patrem et matrem, accipiet virtutem Damasci, in conspectu regis Assyriorum« (Migne, P. G., LVI, col. 637).

¹⁴ Quoted by Kehrer, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 74.

¹⁵ Isaac Casaubon, *De rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis* (Geneva, 1655), Exercit. II, no. xix, p. 165. The name Sator is also given to one of the Shepherds from Bethlehem; see below, p. 86.

¹⁶ *Traité de l'Épiphanie*, quoted by Rudolph Hofmann in his volume, *Das Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen* (Leipzig, 1851), p. 128.

tradition, in the West the three names which prevailed were Gaspar, Melchior, and Balthas(s)ar¹⁷.

When one turns to the East one finds in Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, and Persian sources a still wider variety of traditions concerning the number and the names of the Magi. Traditions which identify three Magi include the following.

In the sixth-century Syriac work *Mē'ârath Gazzê*, or »Cave of Treasures«, which is a compendious history of the world from the Creation to the Crucifixion of our Lord, the Magi are said to have been kings: »These are they who bore offerings to the King, kings, the sons of kings:

1. Hôrmîzdah of Mâkhôzdî, king of Persia, who was called »King of kings«, and dwelt in Lower Adhôrghîn.

2. İzgarad (Yazdegerd), the king of Sâbhâ.

3. Perôzâdh, the king of Sheba, which is in the East«¹⁸.

Egyptian tradition concerning the Magi has been preserved on a Coptic potsherd dating from about the seventh or eighth century. With several hundred other ostraca it was found at the town of Jême, which grew up in the ruins of the huge temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu. The names and the gifts of the Magi are as follows: »The name (*sic*) of the Magi, those who came out of the East, were these: Bathezora, who was the one who brought the gold, and Melchior, who was the one who brought the frankincense, and Thaddias, who was the one who brought the myrrh«¹⁹.

In Ethiopic several traditions concerning the names of the Magi appear to have been current²⁰. According to the Book of Adam (iv. 15) they were Hor, king of the Persians; Basanâter, king of Saba; and Karsudan, king of the East²¹. In Ludolf's *Lexicon*, the Magi are named Albytar, Kyssâd, and Aunoson²². According to an illuminated Ethiopic manuscript in the possession of Antoine d'Abbadie, the Magi were Minsuram, Badsiba, and Likon²³.

In Armenia an old tradition reported by Chačatur of Ketschari, who lived in the thirteenth century, assigns to the Magi the names Matathilata, Thešba, and Salahotatha. Another tradition, preserved in three codices of the fourteenth century, now in

¹⁷ For examples of variations in the spelling and the sequence of these three names, see Kehrer, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 70f. and the tabulation on p. 75.

¹⁸ E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Cave of Treasures . . .* (London, 1927), pp. 208f.

¹⁹ Elizabeth Stefanski and Miriam Lichtheim, *Coptic Ostraca from Medinet Habu* (Chicago, 1952), p. 7. (I am grateful to Prof. Allen Wikgren of Chicago for calling this publication to my attention.)

²⁰ The statement of Kehrer (*op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 73) that according to Nestle another Ethiopic tradition gives the names as Mensor, Sair, and Theokeno, is an instance of how, in modern times, a new »tradition« has emerged resting upon nothing more than a misinterpretation of Nestle's account (*op. cit.*, p. 71). Actually the names Mensor, Theokeno, and Seir or Sair (in this order) derive from a curious volume reporting the visionary experiences of an Augustinian nun, Anna Katharina Emmerich, who in the first

part of the nineteenth century described at length her visions of the coming of the three Wise Men to Bethlehem! See *Leben der hl. Jungfrau Maria. Nach den Betrachtungen der gottseligen Anna Katharina Emmerich . . .* aufgeschrieben von Clemens Brentano (Munich, 1852), pp. 282f.

²¹ S. C. Malan, *The Book of Adam and Eve, also called the Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan* (London, 1882), p. 205.

²² So Job Ludolf, *Lexicon Aethiopico-Latinum* (London, 1661), Appendix, col. 339; in his second edition (Frankfurt a. M., 1699) the names are spelled Albitar, Kyssad, and Aunoson (col. 529). According to Dillmann's system of transliteration of Ethiopic, the first two names are more strictly represented as Albêtâr and Këssâd.

²³ The manuscript names are apparently given on a miniature of the Magi; cf. d'Abbadie, *Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens* (Paris, 1859), p. 114.

S. Lazzaro, identifies the Magi as Melchon, king of the Persians; Gaspar, king of the Indians; and Baldassar, king of the Arabs²⁴.

In a Georgian manuscript of about the tenth century the Magi are named Wiscara, Mélikona, and Walastar²⁵.

In Persia the names traditionally assigned to the Magi are Amad, Zûd-Amad, and Drûst-Amad²⁶.

In addition to the common view that the Magi were three in number, here and there – particularly in the East – one finds a divergent tradition²⁷. Thus, the unknown author of the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum* declares, on the basis of an apocryphal book attributed to Seth, that the Magi were twelve in number, chosen out of apparently a much larger number: »Itaque elegerunt [sc. Magi] seipsos duodecim quidam ex ipsis studiosiores, et amatores mysteriorum caelestium, et posuerunt seipsos ad expectationem stellae illius«²⁸.

In Syriac, besides the tradition preserved in Mě'ârath Gazzê concerning three Magi, another tradition – somewhat later and rather more widely spread – enumerates the names of twelve Magi, along with the names of their fathers. Thus, to select one of several Syriac writers who supply such a list, the eminent Nestorian lexicographer, Abû-l-Ḥasan bar Bahlûl, who flourished during the middle of the tenth century, provides in his voluminous Lexicon (under the word »Magi«) the following list:

1. Ahduiyâd,
2. Hadûndad, son of Artában,
3. Shethâph, son of Gûdphor,
4. Arshîk, son of Mahdûs,
5. Zerwand, son of Warwarand,
6. Arihu, son of Kosraw,
7. Artahshâst, son of Hólith,
8. Eshtanbûzon, son of Shîshrôn,
9. Mahdûm, son of Hûhom,
10. Aḥshîresh, son of Saḥbon,
11. Şórdolaḥ, son of Beldon,
12. Mardûk, son of Bil.²⁹

Among other such Syriac lists of twelve Magi that could be cited³⁰, it will be enough to record here the names (with the information of who it was that brought each of the

²⁴ The information concerning Armenian traditions is derived from Kehrer, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 74. For various linguistic and etymological comments concerning these names, see Baumgartner in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XL (1886), p. 501, Anm. 1, and Justi, *ibid.*, XLIX (1895), p. 688f.

²⁵ M. Brosset, »Notice sur un manuscrit géorgien palimpseste, appartenant à M. Sreznevski«, in *Mélanges asiatiques*, III (St. Pétersbourg, 1859), p. 670. Brosset identifies the three names as corresponding to »Gaspard, Melchior et Balthazar.«

²⁶ Thomas Hyde, *Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum religionis historia*, ed. sec. (Oxford, 1760), p. 383.

²⁷ The statement that there were thirteen Magi (made, e. g., by F. Homes Dudden in his article on

»Magi« in Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, II [1908], p. 100 b) rests upon an uncritical acceptance of Hyde's erroneous Latin translation (*tredecim*) of the ordinary Syriac word which actually means »twelve« in Bar Bahlûl's list of the Magi (cf. Hyde, *op. cit.*, p. 383).

²⁸ *Hom. ii* (Migne, *P. G.*, LVI, col. 637). The tradition deriving from the »scriptura« of Seth is also referred to by Peter Abelard in his sermon »In Epiphania Domini«, Migne, *P. L.*, CLXXVIII, col. 413 C.

²⁹ *Lexicon Syriacum, auctore Hassano Bar Bahlule*, ed. by Rubens Duval, II (Paris, 1901), col. 1003. A slightly different list in a manuscript of Bar Bahlul is provided by R. Payne Smith in his *Thesaurus Syriacus*, II (Oxford, 1901), col. 2009.

three gifts mentioned in Matthew's account) which are preserved in that early thirteenth-century compendium of curiosities known as *The Book of the Bee*. The work was compiled by Shēlēmôn, or Solomon, of Kihāṭ or Akhlāṭ on the shores of Lake Van in Armenia, who became metropolitan bishop of al-Baṣra in al-'Irāq about A. D. 1222. According to this authority the twelve Magi were:

Zarwândād, the son of Artabân,
 Hôrmîzdād, the son of Sîtârûḳ (Sanṭarôḳ),
 Gûshnâsâph (Gushnasp), the son of Gûndaphar,
 Arshakh, the son of Mîhârôḳ;
 these four brought gold.
 Zarwândād, the son of Warzwâd,
 Îryâhō, the son of Kesrō (Khosrau),
 Arṭaḥshisht, the son of Holîṭî,
 Ashtôn'âbôdan, the son of Shîahrôn;
 these four brought myrrh.
 Mêhârôḳ, the son of Hûhâm,
 Aḥshîresh, the son of Hasbân,
 Şardâlâh, the son of Baladân,
 Merôdâch, the son of Beldarân;
 these four brought frankincense³¹.

As might have been expected, the Syriac tradition that there were twelve Magi influenced at least a part of the Armenian Church. An Armenian codex (S. Lazzaro no. 1649), copied A. D. 1749, contains the following list of the Magi, along with information concerning their domain and stock³².

Zahtun, king of Gog, son of Artun, of the stock of Emran.
 Arevn, king of the Persians,
 Zual, king of the Medes,
 both of the stock of Nexan.
 Zarchu, king of the Parthians,
 Artaşiz, king of the Assyrians,
 both of the stock of Madan.
 Aşthan, king of the Barbarians,
 Makhaz, king of the Barbarians,
 both of the stock of Modon.
 Iserenezboki, king of Tharsis and of the Isles.
 Ahişrach, king of Tharsis and of the Isles.
 Tarana, king of Tharsis and of the Isles.

³⁰ These include the list attributed to Jacob of Edessa († A. D. 708), preserved in slightly different forms in two manuscripts, printed by Eberhard Nestle in the *Chrestomathy* in his *Brevis linguae Syriacae*, ed. prior (Leipzig, 1881); the list of Theodore Bar Khōnî from a manuscript in the possession of A. Baumstark (cited by Kehrer, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 73); the list of Dionysius bar Şalîbî († A. D. 1171), ed. by J. Sedlaček and J.-B. Chabot (Paris, 1906); the

list in the *Chronicle of Michael I*, Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch (A. D. 1199), ed. by J.-B. Chabot, I (Paris, 1899; reprinted Brussels, 1963), p. 142. All these lists differ somewhat from one another.

³¹ Ernest A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Bee; the Syriac Text . . . with an English Translation* (= *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, vol. I, part ii; Oxford, 1886), pp. 84-85.

³² Cf. Kehrer, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 74.

Marei, king of Arabia,
Avšit, king of Upper Saba, in the Northern District,
both of the stock of Sovin.

In addition to the sources already mentioned a fuller investigation would take one also into such byways as mediaeval miracle plays³³, the record of the travels of Marco Polo³⁴, and a variety of mediaeval *Volksbücher*. Among the latter is an account of the history of the thirty golden coins that Melchior offered to the Christ-child. According to Johannes of Hildesheim († A. D. 1375) these coins appear to have assisted at all the monetary transactions mentioned in the Scriptures. A modern Epitome of the German translation of Johannes's *Volksbuch*, which was made for Dame Elsbeth of Katzenellenbogen, Lady of Erlach, is as follows:

»Having been originally struck by Abraham's father, the coins were paid by Abraham for the cave of Machpelah; and by Potiphar for Joseph for corn in Egypt; and by Joseph to one Queen of Sheba for ointment to anoint the body of his father Jacob; and by a later Queen of Sheba to Solomon; whence they came into the hands of Melchior [for it was his ancestors who had pillaged the temple in Jerusalem], who now offered them at Bethlehem. Nor does their history end there; for as the Holy Family fled into Egypt, the Virgin tied up the money with the frankincense and myrrh in a cloth, and dropped it by the way; and a shepherd tending his flock found the cloth, and kept it safe till the time when Jesus was performing his miracles in Judaea. Then, being afflicted with a disease, the shepherd came to Jerusalem, and Jesus cured him; and the shepherd offered him the cloth, but Jesus knew what was in it, and desired him to offer it upon the altar. There the Levite who ministered burnt the frankincense; and of part of the myrrh a bitter drink was made, which they gave to the Saviour on the cross, and the remainder Nicodemus presented for his burial; but the thirty coins were made over to Judas for betraying Christ, and he threw them down in remorse at the feet of the high priest, whereupon fifteen went to pay the soldiers who watched by the tomb, and the other fifteen bought a field to bury poor pilgrims«³⁵.

It will be enough, in conclusion, to refer briefly to the etymology of the three names which occur most frequently in Western tradition. The name Melchior appears to be derived from Hebrew words meaning »king of light« or »my king is light« (מֶלֶךְ אֹר), and Balthasar seems to be related to the Aramaic name Belteshazzar (בֵּלְטַשְׁצַר) given to Daniel while in the Babylonian court (Dan. 1.7; 2.26; 4.5 etc.). The derivation of the name Gaspar (or Caspar, or Jasper) is disputed, but it may be ultimately a corruption of the Indian Godaphar, or Gundaphorus³⁶.

³³ Cf. K. A. Martin Hartmann, *op. cit.*, and the review by G. Baist in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, IV (1880), pp. 443-455.

³⁴ Cf. A. V. Williams Jackson, »The Magi in Marco Polo and the cities in Persia from which they came to Worship the Infant Christ«, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXVI (1905), pp. 79-83.

³⁵ The Epitome, published in *The Quarterly Review*, LXXVIII (1846), p. 435, is based on R. Simroch's

Die heiligen drei Könige. Nach einer alten Handschrift (Frankfurt am Main, 1842). For a similar series of transactions, see the account in *The Book of the Bee*, pp. 45 ff.

³⁶ Cf. A. von Gutschmid, »Die Königsnamen in den apokryphen Apostelgeschichten. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des geschichtlichen Romans«, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, XIX (1864), pp. 161 ff. (cf. XXXIV ([1879], 340).

The Shepherds at Bethlehem

* In addition to giving attention to the Magi, tradition was also concerned – but to a less extent – with the names of the shepherds who, according to Luke 2.15f., went to see »the babe wrapped in swaddling cloths.«

One of the curiosities in the transfer of names is preserved in the mural decorations found in a group of Byzantine churches in Cappadocia³⁷. The artists who decorated these rock-hewn sanctuaries, which date from about A. D. 900 and the following century or two, drew upon the mysterious Sator-square³⁸ to provide names for the shepherds who came to adore the Christ-child. For example, in the chapel of St. Eustathius at Gueurémé, the three shepherds are called Sator, Arepo, and Teneton. In several other churches, located at El Nazar and at Toqale Kilissé, one or more of these names are repeated, and in a church at Tarchanle Kilissé a mutilated picture of the shepherds preserves the name Perarotas³⁹.

In the previously mentioned Syriac *Book of the Bee*, after hearing the angelic announcement of the birth of a Saviour, the shepherds »went and entered the cave, and they saw as the angel had said to them. The names of the shepherds were these: Asher, Zebulon, Justus, Nicodemus, Joseph, Barshabba, and Jose; seven in number«⁴⁰.

A different tradition concerning the names of the shepherds is reported in a French book of devotions published in 1498. A wood-cut in the book of *Heures* of Simon Vostre shows a group of seven persons – two women and five men – surrounding the Christ-child and his mother. Each of the peasants is identified by name; the women are Alison and Mahault, and the men are Aloris, Ysanber, Gobin le Gay, and le beau Roger⁴¹.

Still another tradition concerning the shepherds, this one involving four persons, is reported by Casaubon. Without identifying the origin of the tradition Casaubon declares that their names were Misacl, Acheel, Cyriacus, and Stephanus⁴².

The Seventy(-two) Disciples⁴³

As was mentioned earlier, in the fourth century Eusebius knew the names of only five of the Seventy disciples. Half a century later Epiphanius says that our Lord »sent

³⁷ Cf. Guillaume de Jerphanion, S. J., *Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantine. Les Églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris, 1925–36), vol. I, pt. i, pp. 78, 158, 186, and 273; vol. II, pt. i, p. 88.

³⁸ The Sator-square, the famous rebus of five words (sator, arepo, tenet, opera, rotas) that can be read in every lateral direction, is at least as old as A. D. 79 (for it was found among the ruins of Pompeii), and has been discovered on Roman houses as widely separated as Cirencester, England, and Dura-Europos on the Euphrates. To bibliography included in the present writer's article on the rebus in the *Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, II (Grand Rapids, 1955), pp. 983f., may be added now David Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (London, 1956), pp. 403–405; Duncan Fishwick, »On the Origin of the Rotas-Sator Square«, *Harvard Theological Review*, LVII (1964), pp. 39–54; E. Thomas Rogers Forbes, *The Midwife and the Witch* (New

Haven, 1966), pp. 80–93; and C. Douglas Gunn, *The Sator-Arepo Palindrome* (Yale University diss., 1969).

³⁹ See Jerphanion, *loc. cit.*; for drawings of the Cappadocian frescoes of the shepherds, with the names, see Gabriel Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile* (Paris, 1916), p. 116; cf. also Jerphanion, *La Voix des monuments; Études archéologie*, Nouvelle série (Rome, 1938), esp. 53f. The name Perarotas appears to be derived from a combination of [O]pera and Rotas.

⁴⁰ Ed. by Ernest A. Wallis Budge, p. 81.

⁴¹ For a plate of the wood-cut, see Félix Soleil, *Les heures gothiques et la littérature pieuse aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles* (Rouen, 1882), p. 50.

⁴² *Op. cit.*, p. 165 b.

⁴³ For legends concerning the Seventy, see especially Theodor Schermann, *Propheten und Apostellegenden nebst Jünger katalogen des Dorotheus und verwandten Texte* (= *Texte und Untersuchungen*, XXXI; Leipzig, 1907). For a convenient edition of relevant texts, see

forth also seventy-two others to preach, of whose number were the seven appointed over the widows, Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, and Nicolaus: before these also Matthias, who was numbered among the Apostles in the place of Judas; but after these seven and Matthias before them, Mark, Luke, Justus, Barnabas and Apelles, Rufus, Niger, and the remainder of the seventy-two⁴⁴. What authority Epiphanius had for this statement is not clear. Since, however, the Seven so-called Deacons (Acts 6) have Greek names, it is probable that they were Hellenists and altogether unlikely that they had been among the Seventy. On the other hand, according to Acts 1.21-23, Justus and Matthias had been personal companions of Jesus during his public ministry, and as such may well have been among the Seventy.

What is apparently the first of several slightly different lists of the names of the entire Seventy is preserved in the *Chronicon Paschale*. This voluminous chronological-historical work, covering the period from Adam to A. D. 629, was written probably in Constantinople in the first half of the seventh century. The compilation of the names of the Seventy disciples draws upon a variety of New Testament sources. It begins the list with Matthias (whom Epiphanius also placed first among the Seventy), and continues with Sosthenes and Cephas (both of whom Eusebius named), followed by Linus (2 Tim. 4.21) and Cleopas (Lk. 24.18). Then there follow twenty-six names derived from the 16th chapter of Romans, concluding with thirty-nine names derived from various other Pauline Epistles and from Acts. The complete list is as follows:

1. Matthias, 2. Sosthenes, 3. Cephas, 4. Linus, 5. Cleopas, 6. Aquila, 7. Epacnetus, 8. Andronicus, 9. Amplius, 10. Urbanus, 11. Stachys, 12. Apelles, 13. Herodion, 14. Aristobulus, 15. Narcissus, 16. Rufus, 17. Asyncritus, 18. Philegon, 19. Hermes, 20. Patrobas, 21. Hermes, 22. Philologus, 23. Nereus, 24. Olympas, 25. Lucius, 26. Jason, 27. Sosipator, 28. Tertius, 29. Gaius, 30. Erastus, 31. Quartus, 32. Apollos, 33. Stephanas, 34. Fortunatus, 35. Achaicus, 36. Tychicus, 37. Clemens, 38. Epaphroditus, 39. Onesimus, 40. Aristarchus, 41. Jesus Justus, 42. Demas, 43. Nymphas, 44. Archippus, 45. Onesiphorus, 46. Crescens, 47. Erastus, 48. Trophimus, 49. Eubulus, 50. Pudens, 51. Artemas, 52. Tychicus, 53. Zenas, 54. Philemon, 55. Epaphras, 56. Demas, 57. Barnabas, 58. Mark, 59. Silas, 60. Luke, 61. Timothy, 62. Silvanus, 63. Titus, 64. Stephen, 65. Philip, 66. Prochorus, 67. Nicanor, 68. Timon, 69. Parmenas, 70. Nicolaus⁴⁵.

A rather mechanical combination of the several sources has resulted in the duplication of several names. Thus, Tychicus is named twice (nos. 36 and 52), because he is mentioned in both the Epistle to the Ephesians and the Epistle to Titus. Likewise both Demas (nos. 42 and 56) and Erastus (nos. 30 and 47) appear twice in the list.

Besides the list in the *Chronicon Paschale*, several other lists of the Seventy circulated in the Eastern Churches. Schermann distinguishes a family of three more or less related catalogues that were current in Palestinian and Syrian churches, and another family of four catalogues that seem to reflect the traditions of the Nestorian and the Monophysite Syrian churches, for all of them begin the enumeration with the name of

Schermann's *Prophetarum vitae fabulosae, indices apostolorum discipulorumque Domini . . .* in the Teubner series (Leipzig, 1907). Concerning the divergent manuscript witnesses in Lk. 10.1 and 17 («70» or «72» disciples), see Metzger, *Historical and Literary Studies: Pagan, Jewish, and Christian* (Leiden and Grand Rapids, 1968), pp. 67-76.

⁴⁴ *Panarion haeres.*, XX (Migne, P. G., XL, col. 277 D) = *Panarion Christentum*, iv, 3-4 (*Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*, XXV, ed. K. Holl, p. 232).

⁴⁵ *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. by Ludwig Dindorf (= *Corpus Scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*), vol. I (Bonn, 1832), pp. 400-403, and 420-421 (=Migne, P. L., XCII, cols. 521-524, 543-545).

Addai, the traditional founder of Syrian Christianity. There are still other catalogues of the Seventy in Greek and Latin which are attributed to Irenaeus, to Hippolytus, to Dorotheus, to Epiphanius, and to Symeon Logothetes. Several of the lists are elaborated by providing additional information concerning the traditional bishopric which each disciple came to occupy⁴⁶.

The Name of the Rich Man (Lk. 16. 19ff.)⁴⁷

In modern times the unnamed rich man in Jesus' parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (Lk. 16. 19–31) is often called »Dives«, the word used in the Latin Vulgate to translate πλούσιος. In antiquity other names were given to the anonymous rich man. In Egypt the tradition that his name was Nineveh is incorporated in the Sahidic version of the New Testament, and seems to be reflected also in the oldest known Greek copy of the Gospel Luke, the Bodmer Papyrus XVII (p. 75), dating from about A. D. 200, which reads πλούσιος ὀνόματι Νευης (probably a scribal error for Νινευης). The name Nineveh may have been applied to the Rich Man in order to suggest proud and dissolute luxury.

In the West a different tradition was current during the third and fourth centuries. The pseudo-Cyprianic treatise *De pascha computus*, which was written, as it seems, in the year 243 in Africa or in Rome, gives the name Phineas to the Rich Man: »Omnibus peccatoribus a deo ignis est praeparatus, in cuius flamma uri ille Finaeus dives ab ipso dei filio est demonstratus« (ch. 17)⁴⁸. The same tradition is repeated toward the close of the fourth century in one of the eleven anonymous treatises that are customarily assigned to Priscillian of Spain. Here the name is spelled Fincees (or, to be more exact, in the only manuscript extant of Tract ix the name is spelled *Fineet* with the *t* stroked out and surmounted by *s*)⁴⁹. The reason that led to the application of the name Phineas to the rich man is not apparent. Harnack made the ingenious suggestion that, since in Num. 25. 7 Phineas is said to be the son of Eleazar [= Lazarus], the Parable implies that the poor man who lay neglected at the rich man's gate was the rich man's own father⁵⁰.

Yet another name is assigned to the Rich Man in an eighth-century manuscript⁵¹ of a curious work called *Inventiones Nominum* (*Findings of Names*). Unfortunately, however, the manuscript cannot be read at the critical point, and the most that M. R. James can hazard is the guess that the illegible name »may have been Domires«⁵².

The author of the previously mentioned *Excerpta et Collectanea* of Pseudo-Bede, remembering the thirst of the rich man in Hell, calls him Tantalus⁵³. This is an obvious allu-

⁴⁶ See the texts in Theodor Schermann's Teubner edition. Other lists of the Seventy occur in Denys de Furna's Byzantine painter's manual; cf. Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne* (St. Pétersbourg, 1909), pp. 151–153, and 298f. For several Latin manuscripts of the tenth and twelfth centuries which contain a list of the Seventy that is essentially identical with that which Schermann designates »Index anonymous Graeco-Syrus«, see M. R. James, »An Ancient English List of the Seventy Disciples«, *Journal of Theological Studies*, XI (1910), pp. 459–462.

⁴⁷ For bibliography on the name given to the Rich Man, see Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament, its*

Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration (Oxford, 1964), p. 42, n. 1.

⁴⁸ Edited by W. Hartel, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, III, 3 (1871), p. 265.

⁴⁹ Edited by Georg Schepss, *CSEL*, XVIII, p. 91.

⁵⁰ »Der Name des reichen Mannes in Luc 16, 19«, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, XIII, 1 (1895), p. 75.

⁵¹ The manuscript, which is no. 29 in the Town Library of Albi, has a certain claim to fame, as M. R. James points out in a description of the document, for it contains one of the earliest extant maps of the world (*Journal of Theological Studies*, IV [1902–03], p. 218).

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 243.

sion to the pagan myth and the circumstance that, though the rich man in torment desired a drop of water, he could not obtain it.

Finally, it may be mentioned that a note in the margin of a thirteenth century manuscript of the poem *Aurora*, a versified Bible written in the twelfth century by Petrus de Riga, declares »Amonofis dicitur esse nomen divitis; et nota historiam esse non parabolam«⁵⁴. (The glossator's *Amonofis* is, of course, Amenophis).

The Two Robbers Crucified with Jesus

According to all four canonical Gospels the Roman soldiers crucified two others along with Jesus, one on his right and the other on his left (Mt. 27.38; Mk. 15.27; Lk. 23.32-33; Jn. 19.18). Matthew and Mark describe the two as λησται (traditionally rendered in English as »thieves«, but more properly »robbers« or »bandits«) and state that both reviled Jesus (Mt. 27.44; Mk. 15.32). Luke, however, who describes them as κακοῦροι (»criminals«, traditionally »malefactors«), reports that one of them rebuked the other for railing at Jesus, and subsequently besought Jesus to remember him when he came in his kingly power (23.39-42).

Post-canonical tradition identified, as might have been expected, the repentant malefactor with the one on the right of Jesus, and the other with the one on the left (cf. Mt. 25.33)⁵⁵. A variety of names came to be assigned to the two malefactors. In the West several manuscripts of the Gospels containing the Old Latin version present the following information. At Mt. 27.38 ms. *c* (= codex Colbertinus, 12th century) reads, »Tunc crucifixerunt cum eo duos latrones, unus a dextris nomine zoatham. et unus a sinistris nomine camma.« At Mk. 15.27 the same ms. reads, »Et crucifixerunt cum eo duos latrones, unum dextris nomine chammata.«

In Lk. 23.32 two other Old Latin witnesses assign different names to the two malefactors. In ms. *l* (= codex Rehdigerianus, 7th or 8th century) the words *ioathas et maggetra* follow the statement »ducebantur autem et alii duo latrones cum eo.« No attempt is made to distinguish the repentant thief from the other, nor to identify which one was on the right side and which on the left. Another Old Latin witness, ms. *r* (codex Usserianus, 6th or 7th century), which unfortunately has suffered damage from fire and water, preserves only the name of the second malefactor. The portion of the ms. at Lk. 23.32 that can be deciphered reads as follows:

[du-
ceba]ntur autem et alii duo m[a-
ligni] cum illo ut crucifigere [ntur
. . .] et capnatas. et postquam

From this it appears that originally ms. *r* presented the names of the two malefactors, but at a later position in the sentence than in ms. *l*, which has them after *cum eo*. One of the two names cannot be read, and the other differs strikingly from those in ms. *l*.

The previously mentioned Albi manuscript of the *Inventiones Nominum* speaks of the »thieves of the crucifixion, one Ioaras, the other Gamatras.« A somewhat similar tradi-

⁵³ The passage reads: »Dic mihi nomen illius divitis qui loquitur ad Abraham ex profunditate inferni? Dico tibi, Tantalus est« (Migne, *P. L.*, XCIV, col. 542 C).

⁵⁴ M. R. James, *Journal of Theological Studies*, IV (1902-03), p. 243.

⁵⁵ Cf. Alois Gornatowski, *Rechts und Links im antiken Aberglauben*, Diss. (Breslau, 1936).

tion preserved in the mediaeval dialogue of Adrian and Epictus assigns them the names Jonathas and Gomatras⁵⁶.

Still another tradition is reported in the *Excerpta et Collectanea* attached to the works of the Venerable Bede, where we read: »Dic mihi nomina duorum latronum qui cum Jesu simul crucifixi sunt. Matha et Joca. Matha credidit, Joca negavit vitam, mortem elegit«⁵⁷.

In tabular form the several traditions that were current in the West are as follows:⁵⁸

	<i>Right-hand</i>	<i>Left-hand</i>
Codex <i>c</i> Mt. 27. 38	Zoatham	Camma
Codex <i>c</i> Mk. 15. 27	Zoathan	Chammatra
	? <i>Right-hand</i>	? <i>Left-hand</i>
Codex <i>l</i> Lk. 23. 32	Joathas	Maggatras
Codex <i>r</i> Lk. 23. 32	. . .	Capnatas
Inventiones Nominum	Ioaras	Gamatras
Dial. Adrian & Epictus	Jonathas	Gomatras
Ps.-Bede	Matha	Joca

Turning to the East we find a different variety of traditions. The Greek text of the Acts of Pilate has been transmitted to us in two recensions. In the recension commonly designated A, which appears to be the earlier form of text, at the conclusion of the trial of Jesus Pilate declares, » . . . and let Dysmas and Gestas the two malefactors be crucified with thee« (καὶ Δυσμᾶς καὶ Γέστας οἱ δύο κακοῦροι συσταυρωθήτωσάν σοι, *Acta Pilati*, A. ix. 5)⁵⁹. Later in the narrative (A. x. 2) the reader learns that Dysmas is the repentant thief and Gestas the unrepentant one. In A. x. 1 several witnesses (cod. A, the Latin, the Coptic⁶⁰, and the Armenian⁶¹) add the information that Dysmas was on the right side of Jesus, and Gestas (or a variant of this name; see below) was on the left. One manuscript, however, reverses their positions, making Gestas the penitent thief⁶².

In Recension B some of the manuscripts contain a long and late addition after chap. x, telling how in Egypt the Holy Family had met Dysmas, who was struck by the beauty of Mary and of the child in her arms. A leprous child of Dysmas was cured by the water in which Jesus had been washed, and in gratitude Dysmas aided the Holy Family on the return from Egypt. Whereupon Mary promised him a reward for his goodness; the writer concludes, »Therefore he was accounted worthy through the grace of the merciful God and his Mother . . . to bear witness upon the cross together with Christ.«

The manuscripts of the two recensions present several variant readings. In Recension A for Δυσμᾶς we find in the Latin *Dismas*, *Dimas*, and *Dymas*, and in the Coptic ΔΗΜΑC

⁵⁶ Included by John M. Kemble in his edition of the West Saxon *Dialogue of Salomon and Saturn* (London, 1848), p. 213.

⁵⁷ Migne, *P. L.*, XCIV, col. 542 C.

⁵⁸ Concerning the variation of spelling of the names in mss. *c* and *l*, F. C. Burkitt points out that »Consonantal I and Z are not unfrequently interchanged in Latin documents (Rönsch, *It. u. Vulg.* 461), while C and G, h and r in several hands are very liable to be confused (e. g. the Vatican Hilary)« (»Supplementary Notes« in Westcott and Hort's *The New Testament*

in the Original Greek, vol. ii, *Introduction [and] Appendix*, 2nd ed. [London, 1896], p. 144).

⁵⁹ For the Greek and Latin texts, see *Evangelia apocrypha*, ed. C. von Tischendorf, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1876), p. 245.

⁶⁰ *Les Apocryphes coptes; II. Acta Pilati*, ed. E. Revillout (*Patrologia Orientalis*, IX, 2; Paris, 1913), p. 94.

⁶¹ F. C. Conybeare, »Acta Pilati«, *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, IV (Oxford, 1896), p. 102.

⁶² M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924), p. 104, n. 1.

(*Demas*). Instead of Γέστας, adopted by Tischendorf from codex B (which accents the word Γεστάς) and from the Latin, codex A reads Στέγας. In Recension B codex A, which Tischendorf follows, reads Γίστας, and codex B Γέστας. In his Greek retroversion from the Armenian version, Conybeare prints Δημᾶς καὶ Γεστᾶς. The Coptic version reads KYCTAC in chap. ix and KECTAC in chap. x, where the initial K is an orthographic variant for Γ. The Syriac version of the Acts of Pilate is not consistent in spelling; in ix. 5 the names are Dymas and Titas, whereas in x. 2 the former is spelled Dymakus⁶³.

Other Eastern traditions concerning the two robbers are found in the Story of Joseph of Arimathaea⁶⁴, the latest of the addenda to the Acts of Pilate. Here we are told that seven days before the passion of Christ, two condemned robbers were sent from Jericho to Pilate the governor; their crimes were as follows:

»The first, whose name was Gestas (Γέστας, v. l. Γεύστας), put travellers to death murdering them with the sword, and others he exposed naked. And he hung up women by the heels, head down, and cut off their breasts, and drank the blood of infants' limbs, never having known God, not obeying the laws, being violent from the beginning, and doing such deeds. The case of the other was as follows: He was called Demas (Δημᾶς), and was by birth a Galilean, and kept an inn. He made attacks upon the rich, but did good to the poor – a thief like Tobit, for he buried the bodies of the poor. And he set his hand to robbing the multitude of the Jews, and stole the law itself in Jerusalem, and stripped naked the daughter of Caiaphas, who was priestess of the sanctuary, and took away from its place the mysterious deposit itself placed there by Solomon. Such were his doings« (i. 2).

After Jesus and the two robbers had been crucified, »Gestas, on the left, cried out, »See what evils I have wrought on the earth; and had I known that thou art the king, I would have killed thee too . . . «. But the robber who was on the right, whose name was Demas, seeing the divine grace of Jesus, cried out thus: »I know thee, Jesus Christ, that thou art the Son of God. I see thee, Christ, worshipped by ten thousand times ten thousand angels; forgive my sins that I have committed . . . « (iii. 2–3).

After much more of such picturesque detail, Joseph of Arimathaea reports that he laid the body of Jesus in his tomb. »But the body of the robber who had been on the right was not found, while the body of the one on the left had the appearance like that of a dragon« (iv. 1).

Because he had asked for the body of Jesus, Joseph was imprisoned the next day by the Jews. On Easter evening, Jesus came to him in prison with Demas, the robber who had been crucified on the right. There was a great light in the house, and the robber was redolent with a very sweet fragrance that came from paradise (iv. 2).

⁶³ See Jaroslav Sedláček's translation, »Neue Pilatusakten«, *Sitzungsberichte der königl. böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Kl. für Philosophie, Geschichte und Philologie, nr. 1908 (Prague, 1909), p. 11 (translated from *Studia syriaca*, ed. Ignatius Ephraem II. Rahmani [Scharfe, 1908]).

⁶⁴ The Greek text of the Story of Joseph of Arimathaea is available in Tischendorf, *op. cit.*, pp. 459–470, as well as in Aurelio de Santos Otero, *Los Evangelios apócrifos* (Madrid, 1956), pp. 533–544. The latter

provides a translation in to Spanish; the English translation of M. R. James takes many liberties with the original Greek, being at times a condensed paraphrase. The Story of Joseph of Arimathaea is not included in W. Schneemelcher's edition of New Testament Apocrypha. The translation given here is that of Alexander Walker in the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, vol. vxi, *Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, and Revelations* (Edinburgh, 1870), pp. 237 ff.

The last time that Demas appeared on earth was some days later. In Galilee Jesus declares to his disciple John, »The robber who had been on the cross has become heir of paradise. Verily, verily, I say to thee, that it is his alone until the great day come.« John requests to see the robber, and while he was still speaking, the robber suddenly appeared. John fell to the earth, for the robber now »was like a king in great majesty, clad with the cross« (iv. 2-3).

In Eastern traditions preserved in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic still other names are assigned to the two thieves. In the Commentary on Matthew compiled by Bar Hebraeus⁶⁵ (twelfth century) the words »And there were crucified with him two thieves« have the following note: »He that was on his right hand bore the name Titus, and he that was on his left hand, Dumachus; for it is found in the book of the holy Hierotheus⁶⁶, the disciple of the great Paul.« Actually, however, in the Book of the Holy Hierotheos the names of the thieves are Titus and Zumachus, the latter being an orthographic variant of Dumachus⁶⁷.

The tradition concerning the names Titus and Dumachus turns up also in the *Book of the Bee* and in the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy. The thirteenth-century author of the former, Shëlêmôn or Solomon, has the following to say in the chapter entitled »Of Our Lord's Going down into Egypt«:

»When they were journeying along the road to Egypt, two robbers met them; the name of the one was Titus, that of the other Dumachus. Dumachus wished to harm them and to treat them evilly, but Titus would not let him, and delivered them from the hands of his companion« (ch. xl).⁶⁸

A considerably more circumstantial account of the two robbers is preserved in the Arabic gospel of the Infancy, a very late work that rests upon a Syriac original⁶⁹. According to this account, during their journey to Egypt, Joseph and Mary, having heard that a certain desert was infested by robbers, resolved to travel through this region by night. The narrative continues as follows:

»As they were going along, behold, they see two robbers lying by the way, and along with them a great number of robbers, who were their associates, sleeping. Now those two robbers, into whose hands they had fallen, were Titus and Dumachus. Titus therefore said to Dumachus: I beseech thee to let these persons go freely, and so that our comrades may not see them. And as Dumachus refused, Titus said to him again: Take to thyself forty drachmas from me, and hold this as a pledge. At the same time he held out to him the belt which he had about his waist, to keep him from opening his mouth or speaking. And the Lady Mary, seeing that the robber had done them a kindness, said to him: The Lord God will sustain thee by His right hand, and will grant thee remission of thy sins. And the Lord Jesus answered, and said to His mother, the Jews

⁶⁵ Gregory abu'l Faraj, commonly called Bar-Hebraeus, *Commentary on the Gospels from Horreum Mysteriorum*, translated and edited by Wilmot Eardley W. Carr (London, 1925), Syriac text, p. 86, line 6.

⁶⁶ For the identity of Hierotheus (usually dated in the fifth century), whose work is related to the fictions that pass under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, see J. R. Harris in *Expositor*, Sixth Series, I (1900) 167f.; G. T. Stokes, in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, s. n.; and F. S. Marsh,

The Book which is called the Book of the Holy Hierotheos . . . (London and Oxford, 1927).

⁶⁷ Marsh, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Syriac text, p. 45*.

⁶⁸ The translation is that of E. A. Wallis Budge in his edition of *The Book of the Bee in Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, vol. I, Part ii (Oxford, 1886), p. 87. Budge uses the spelling Dumachos, which, for the sake of uniformity, has been given here as Dumachus.

⁶⁹ So Paul Peeters, *Evangelies apocryphes*; II, *L'évangile de l'enfance* (Paris, 1914), pp. xiii ff.

will crucify me at Jerusalem, and these two robbers will be raised upon the cross along with me, Titus on my right hand and Dumachus on my left; and after that day Titus shall go before me into Paradise» (chap. xxiii).⁷⁰

Another account of the two thieves is contained in the Ethiopic treatise entitled *The Miracles of Jesus*⁷¹. According to this apocryphon the Holy Family, while returning from Egypt to Palestine, was beset by robbers. As it happened, however, Ṭeṭos, whose turn it was that day to initiate the assault on travellers, refused to plunder the Holy Family, for his heart had been softened when he looked at our Lord Jesus Christ lying on the breast of his mother, while she was seated upon a she-ass.

Later, the robber accidentally fell and broke his sword into three pieces. The Infant said to him, »Pick up the pieces of your sword, O Ṭeṭos, and give them to me.« After Jesus had joined the pieces of the sword and had given it back to the robber, Ṭeṭos exclaimed, »O my Saviour, establish me as one of those who will be found with Thee and will follow Thy ways.« Our Saviour Jesus Christ responded, »Verily I say to you, you will precede Adam in entering Paradise, and to you will be given the keys of the portion of the Father.«

Another of the robbers laughed and jeered that a bloodthirsty robber »should enter Paradise, be given the keys of the Father, and even precede, in entering Paradise, our father Adam.« To him our Saviour the Christ replied, »O Dârkès (*v. l.*, Dâkrès), you will not inherit eternal life with Ṭeṭos because you have not believed the word of your Saviour and your God.« The robber was astounded at the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, who had called him by his name, while he had not known him. Gamhour, the chief of the robbers, replied and said to him, »Is not this Child truly the Christ, the Saviour of the world, who has now been born, and this woman his Mother, the Virgin?« Then they dispersed and returned to their dwelling.

A somewhat similar tradition occurs in the Arabic apocryphal Gospel of John, where the names of the two who were crucified with Jesus are Ṭiṭus and Daumakas (Dūmakas)⁷².

Arranged in tabular form the several names of the two robbers which were current in the Eastern Churches are as follows:

	<i>Right-hand</i>	<i>Left-hand</i>
Acts of Pilate, variant readings (Latin, Greek, Coptic)	Δυσμᾶς Demas Dimas Damas	Γέστας Στέγας ΚΥCTAC KECTAC
Story of Joseph of Arimathea variant reading	Δημᾶς	Γέστας Γεύστας
Hierotheus	Titus	Zumachus
Bar-Hebraeus	Titus	Dumachus
Solomon, bp. of al-Basra	Titus	Dumachus

⁷⁰ The translation is that of Alexander Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

⁷¹ *Les Miracles de Jésus*, texte éthiopien publié et traduit par Sylvain Grébaut (= *Patrologia Orientalis*, XII, no. 4; Paris, 1919), pp. 68–73 (= 618–623).

⁷² The Arabic manuscript, which was copied in the year 1342, has been sumptuously edited, with a Latin translation, by J. Galbiati, *Iohannis Evangelium apocryphum Arabice* (Milan, 1957), and translated into Swedish by Oscar Löfgren, *Det apokryfiska Johannes-evangeliet* (Stockholm, 1967); see chapters x and xlv. In chap. x, which describes the journey of the Holy Family to Egypt, one of the robbers is called Daksar; cf. the variant reading Dâkrès in the Ethiopic tradition.

apocryphum Arabice (Milan, 1957), and translated into Swedish by Oscar Löfgren, *Det apokryfiska Johannes-evangeliet* (Stockholm, 1967); see chapters x and xlv. In chap. x, which describes the journey of the Holy Family to Egypt, one of the robbers is called Daksar; cf. the variant reading Dâkrès in the Ethiopic tradition.

Arabic Gospel of Infancy	Titus	Dumachus
Ethiopic <i>The Miracles of Jesus</i>	Ṭeṭos	Dârkès (Dâkrès)
Arabic apocryphal Gospel of John	Ṭiṭus	Daumakas (Dūmakas)

Many attempts have been made to explain the origin of one or another of these names. J. Rendel Harris (see above, footnote 66) suggested that the pairs of names may have been derived from misreading inscriptions on artistic representations of the crucifixion. Thus, Joathas and Maggratas may be corruptions of the Latin captions *bonus latro* and *malus latro* (the »good robber« and the »evil robber«), while Dumachos and Gistas may be traced to the Greek Θεόμαχος and πιστός (the »God-opposing« robber and the »believing« robber).

Arnold Meyer⁷³, on the other hand, seeking the origin of the names in Syriac-Aramaic, thought that Gestas (Gistas) may be derived from the Syriac verb *gajes* »to plunder« or from *gajjasa* »robbers«. He also suggested that Zoatha may be derived from *za'tha* or *za'utha*, »dirt« or »impurity« (Joathan(s) would be a conformation to a biblical name), and Cammata may allude to the Syriac *kamta* »a wrinkle« – both used as pejorative names.

It must be confessed, however, that none of these suggestions carries much conviction.

From the standpoint of palaeography, it is possible, as Meyer suggests, that TITOC was a misreading of ΓICTAC. This suggestion, however, labors under the disadvantage that the characters of the two malefactors are reversed – Titus is the repentant robber, and Gistas the unrepentant.

Other Persons Present at and after the Crucifixion of Jesus

Besides the two robbers who were crucified with Jesus, tradition has been interested in other persons, so-called minor characters in the Passion narratives. There is, for example, the soldier who pierced the Lord's side with a spear (Jn. 19.34). The name given to him by the Acts of Pilate is Longinus, a name which is almost certainly derived from the Greek word for spear (λόγχη)⁷⁴.

What may be the earliest pictorial representation of Longinus is found in the famous Rabbula Gospels in the Laurentian Library at Florence, dated by its writer, the monk Rabbula, A. D. 586. In the scene of the crucifixion the soldier standing on the right side of Jesus with a spear is identified as ΛΟΓΙΝΟC⁷⁵.

Subsequent tradition, preserved in *The Book of the Bee*, has amplified the identification: »The name of the soldier who pierced our Lord with a spear, and spat in His face, and smote Him on His cheek, was Longinus; it was he who lay upon a sick bed for thirty-eight years, and our Lord healed him, and said to him, »Behold, thou art healed; sin no more, lest something worse than the first befall thee.«⁷⁶.

⁷³ A. Meyer, »Namen der Namenlosen«, in Edgar Hennecke's *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 2te Aufl. (Tübingen, 1924), p. 79.

⁷⁴ Cf. Acta Pilati A. xvi. 7 ὅτι λόγχη τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ ἐξεκέντησεν Λογγίνος ὁ στρατιώτης.

⁷⁵ The miniature has been frequently reproduced; e. g. in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. I, p. 515; *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. VIII (1910), p. 773; and David Diringer, *The Illuminated Book; its History and Production* (New York, 1958), Pl. II-31. In the *Collectanea* attributed to Bede,

the soldier is called Legorrius, but this word is probably only a corruption of Longinus; Migne, *P. L.*, XCIV, col. 542 C: »Dic mihi nomen illius militis qui punxit latus Domini nostri Jesu Christi? Dico tibi, Legorrius dictus est.« (Kemble, *op. cit.*, p. 324, quoting Bede's *Collectanea*, spells the name Leorrius).

⁷⁶ Translation of E. A. Wallis Budge, p. 94. A fragmentary Coptic ostrakon (see above, footnote 19) reads, »The name of the centurion who hanged Jesus to the cross was M . . . oter«.

The man who put vinegar on a sponge with the object of allaying our Lord's thirst is identified in a picture of the crucifixion, preserved in the famous Codex Egberti, dated to the close of the tenth century, as Stephaton⁷⁷.

According to the Gospel of Peter, the centurion who was in charge of the soldiers stationed to watch the sepulcher where the body of Jesus had been laid was named Petronius⁷⁸. At a later date the Syriac *Book of the Bee*, reports two traditions concerning the identity of these watchers: They »were five [in number], and these are their names, Issachar, Gad, Matthias, Barnabas, and Simon; but others say they were fifteen, three centurions and their Roman and Jewish soldiers«⁷⁹.

Names for Women in the New Testament

Among names given to women in the Bible, tradition has been most prolific concerning Noah's wife; more than one hundred and three names have been assigned to her!⁸⁰ In the New Testament the name of the Canaanite or Syrophoenician woman who came to Jesus in behalf of her daughter (Mt. 15.22 ff.; Mk. 7.25 ff.) was, according to the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies*, Justa, and the name of her daughter was Bernice⁸¹.

The latter name, Bernice, also spelled Berenice and Beronice, is of Macedonian origin and apparently became widely used in the East through the influence of the Ptolemies⁸². In the *Gesta Pilati* the name Bernice (in Coptic, Beronice; in Latin, Veronica⁸³) is given to the woman with an issue of blood whom Jesus healed (Mt. 9.20 ff.; Mk. 5.25 ff.; Lk. 8.43 ff.)⁸⁴.

According to another tradition, preserved in Arabic sources, her name was Yūsufiyā or Josiphiah⁸⁵.

⁷⁷ On fol. 83^v of the codex referred to above (see above, footnote 11). It may also be mentioned here that the same manuscript has a most interesting miniature depicting the scene of the adulterous woman being accused before the Lord (Jn. 8.1-11), where Jesus is represented as writing on the ground the words, »Terra terram accusat« (fol. 46^v). Whence does this saying come?

⁷⁸ The Gospel of Peter, viii, 31. H. B. Swete in his edition of *Evang. Petri*, calls attention to the *Chronicon* attributed to Flavius Lucius Dexter, which identifies the centurion as a Spaniard named Gaius Oppius (Migne, *P. L.*, XXXI, cols. 73f., »G. Oppius centurio Hispanus credit Christo morienti in cruce«; cf. cols. 85f., »Caius Cornelius centurio Capernaunensia, dominus servi, quem Dominus sanavit, pater etiam C. Oppii centurionis, Hispanus, mire floret in Hispania«; also cols. 93f.). According to Wm. M. Sinclair, however, the chronicle (which was published in 1620) is suspected of being the work of a Spanish Jesuit, Jerome de Hyguera (Smith and Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, I, p. 823).

⁷⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

⁸⁰ See Francis Lee Utley, »The One Hundred and Three Names of Noah's Wife,« *Speculum*, XVI (1941), pp. 426-452. For traditions concerning the names of the wives of Noah's sons, and of Lot's wife, see M. R. James, *Journal of Theological Studies*, IV (1902-03), pp. 243f.

⁸¹ *Hom.* II, 19; III, 73, IV, 1; XIII, 7.

⁸² So A. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

⁸³ Perhaps it should be mentioned here that the present study deals with only those persons who are actually referred to in the New Testament. For this reason nothing is said of the Veronica who, according to tradition, wiped the Lord's face on the Via Dolorosa; nor of Joakim and Anna, the parents of the Virgin Mary; nor of St. Joseph's former wife Hannah (for the latter cf. a sixth-century Syriac chronicle published by Wm. Wright in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, n. s. X [1867], p. 164); nor of St. Petronilla, the daughter of St. Peter; etc.

⁸⁴ *Gesta Pilati*, vii (Tischendorf, *Evang. apocr.*, 2nd ed., p. 356). The same tradition appears in the Albi manuscript of the *Expositio Patrum* (related to the document *Inventiones Nominum*); see M. R. James, *Journal of Theological Studies*, IV (1902-03), p. 243. It will be recalled that Eusebius relates that at Caesarea Philippi he saw a bronze statue of a woman kneeling, with hands out-stretched as if she were praying, opposite a statue of an upright figure of a man, who bore the likeness of Jesus (*Hist. Eccl.* VII. xviii. 1f.).

⁸⁵ The sources are the Arabic apocryphal Gospel of John, chap. xxvi (see above, footnote 72), and a Syriac-Arabic narrative of the Miracles of Jesus, edited by W. Scott Watson in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, XVI (1899-1900), p. 43.

Pilate's wife, who, according to Matt. 27. 19, warned her husband to have nothing to do with Jesus, is given the Roman sounding name, Procla⁸⁶.

According to the Coptic Book of the Resurrection of Christ by Bartholomew the Apostle, the name of the widow whose son was raised at Nain (Lk. 7. 1) was Lia (Leah)⁸⁷. In an Arabic tradition, however, she is called Barsa 'ah, daughter of Yuwā'il (Joel)⁸⁸.

The *Book of the Bee* reports two traditions concerning concerning the daughter of Herodias, whose dancing pleased Herod: »Some say that the daughter of Herodias was called Bôziyâ, but others say that she also was called by her mother's name Herodias«⁸⁹.

Other Nameless Persons

The Syriac *Book of the Bee* reports the following miscellaneous traditions relating to incidents in the public ministry of Jesus:

»The two disciples whom John sent to our Lord, saying, ›Art thou He that should come, or do we look for another?‹ were Stephen the martyr and deacon, and Hananyah (Ananias) who baptized Paul«⁹⁰.

»The child whom our Lord called and set (in the midst), and said, ›Except ye be converted, and become as children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven‹, was Ignatius, who became patriarch of Antioch. . . . The children whom they brought near to our Lord, that He might lay His hand upon them and pray, were Timothy and Titus, and they were deemed worthy of the office of bishop«⁹¹.

Several traditions were current concerning the identity of the unnamed companion of Cleopas on the way to Emmaus (Lk. 24. 18). A marginal note in codex Mosquensis (Greg. ms. V; Sod. ε 75), a copy of the Gospels dating from about the ninth century, gives him the name Nathanael: ὁ μετὰ Κλεοπᾶ Ναθαναήλ ἦν, ὡς ἐν Παναρίοις ὁ μέγας ἔφη, Ἐπιφάνιος. Κλεοπᾶς ἀνέψιός ἦν τοῦ σωτῆρος. δευτέρος ἐπίσκοπος Ἱεροσολύμων⁹².

The name Simon is assigned to Cleopas's companion in the West as well as the East: it is found in the Latin compendium *Inventiones Nominum*, extant in several eighth century witnesses⁹³, and in Origen (*Contra Celsum*, II, 62) as well as a marginal gloss in Codex Vaticanus 354 (Greg. S; Sod. ε 1027), an uncial manuscript of the Gospels written by a monk named Michael in A. D. 949, which reads ὁ μετὰ τοῦ Κλεωπᾶ πορευόμενος Σίμων ἦν, οὐχ ὁ Πέτρος ἀλλ' ὁ ἕτερος⁹⁴. Other traditions assign different other names; thus according to Ambrose the name of Cleopas's companion was Amaon⁹⁵, according

⁸⁶ The Letter of Pilate to Herod, in M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 155.

⁸⁷ E. A. Wallis Budge, *Coptic Apocryphain the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1913), p. 188. According to M. R. James, the apocryphal book dates from the fifth to the seventh century (*The Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 186).

⁸⁸ The Arabic apocryphal Gospel of John, chap. xxi. 1 (for editions see above, footnote 72). For the name of her son, see the next section.

⁸⁹ *Book of the Bee*, p. 91.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁹² »The one with Cleopas was Nathanael, as the great Epiphanius says in his *Panarion* [XXIII. vi. 5]. Cleopas was a cousin of the Saviour, the second bishop of Jerusalem.«

⁹³ Cf. M. R. James, *Journal of Theological Studies*, IV (1902-03), p. 241; it is strange that James comments, »The giving of the name Simon to the companion of Cleopas at Emmaus, if not unique, is very uncommon.«

⁹⁴ »The one journeying with Cleopas was Simon, not however Peter but another.«

⁹⁵ According to Tischendorf's apparatus on Lk. 24. 18, »Apud Ambr^{luc} 7, 132 et alibi Amaon (alibi Ammaon) et Cleophas dicuntur.«

to the Arabic apocryphal Gospel of John his name was Nicodemus⁹⁶, and according to the *Book of the Bee* it was Luke the evangelist⁹⁷.

Several minor characters in the Gospel tradition are identified in the Arabic apocryphal Gospel of John. Besides those already mentioned, one finds in this document that the name of the bridegroom at the wedding held at Cana of Galilee was Dakīmā, son of Yūhān and cousin of Nathanael⁹⁸, and that the name of the son of the widow of Nain, whom Jesus raised from the dead, was Yūnān, son of Sālim, son of Malakiān, brother of Raḥūm, son of Šalāta'il who was the paternal uncle of the prophet Jonah, son of Mattā [i. e. Amittai]⁹⁹.

Besides giving names to persons mentioned in Gospel history, tradition has assigned names to more than one person mentioned in the Acts and the Epistles. In some cases these names are incorporated in copies of the Biblical text itself. For example two late minuscule manuscripts, ms. 2147 of the eleventh century, and ms. 614 of the thirteenth century assign the name Stephanas to the jailer at Philippi who was converted through the testimony of Paul and Silas (Acts 16. 27). After ὁ δεσμοφύλαξ these two manuscripts continue with the words ὁ πιστὸς Στεφανᾶς.

At the conclusion of 2 Timothy the writer sends greetings to the household of Onesiphorus (4. 19)¹⁰⁰. In accord with the tradition in the apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla¹⁰¹, two manuscripts (ms. 181 of the eleventh century, and ms. 460 of the thirteenth century) add the words Λέκτραν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ Σιμαίαν (460 Ση-) καὶ Ζήνωνα τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ («Lectra, his wife, and Simaeas and Zeno, his sons»).

Names of Places

The commonly received text of Jn. 11. 54 reads, »Jesus therefore no more went about openly among the Jews, but went from there [Bethany] to the country near the wilderness (εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐγγύς τῆς ἐρήμου), to a town called Ephraim; and there he stayed with the disciples.«

In order to identify the unnamed country to which Jesus went, codex Bezae adds after χώραν the word Σαμφουρείν (*d reads Sappurim*). If the scribe intended, as some have suggested, to refer to Sepphoris, his sense of geography left something to be desired, for Sepphoris is not a district but a town, and is located in Galilee, not in Judea.

The name, however, may have originated accidentally as a dittograph in a Semitic ancestor or source lying behind codex Bezae, when שֵׁמֶחַ הַמְּשׁ (*shemeh Ephraim* »whose name was Ephraim«) was erroneously taken as a proper name¹⁰².

One of the striking features in the landscape of south-east Galilee is Mount Tabor, now called Jebel eṭ-Ṭûr. It is perhaps not surprising that Christian imagination was attracted to this celebrated mountain (referred to in Josh. 19. 22; Jer. 46. 18; Hos. 5. 1) when assigning a name to an otherwise unnamed mountain in the New Testament. At

⁹⁶ Chap. I.

⁹⁷ P. 99. According to James (*Journal of Theological Studies*, IV [1902-03], p. 241), this tradition is the most common.

⁹⁸ Chap. xxxv.

⁹⁹ Chap. xxi.

¹⁰⁰ On Onesiphorus see Niels Munk Plum in *Teologisk tidsskrift for den Danske Folkekirke*, III Raekke, x (1919),

pp. 193-200.

¹⁰¹ Acta Pauli et Theclae, ed. R. A. Lipsius, I, 2 (*Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, I, p. 236): 'Ονησιφόρος... σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ Σιμμία καὶ Ζήνων καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Λέκτρα.

¹⁰² So J. R. Harris, *A Study of Codex Bezae* (Cambridge, 1891), pp. 184f. and F. H. Chase, *The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae* (London, 1893), pp. 145f.

any rate, since the third century Tabor has been revered by Christian tradition as the scene of the Transfiguration¹⁰³.

Another tradition, quoted by Origen from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, assigns the same name, Tabor, to a mountain into which Jesus was carried: »And if any accept the Gospel according to the Hebrews, where the Saviour himself says, »Even now did my mother the Holy Spirit take me by one of my hairs, and carried me away unto the great mountain Thabor (εις τὸ ὄρος τὸ μέγα Θαβώρ)«¹⁰⁴. It is generally supposed that the saying refers to the temptation of Jesus.

The name Tabor has been assigned to yet another unnamed mountain in the New Testament, the one to which, according to Mt. 28. 16, the risen Christ directed his eleven disciples to go and where he appeared to them. This tradition is preserved in the Martyrdom of St. Eustatius of Mzchetha of Georgia¹⁰⁵.

The latter tradition, however, was by no means universal. In the manuscripts, both Greek and versional, of the Acts of Pilate a wide variety of names is given to the mountain in Galilee where the disciples saw the risen Lord. In A.xiv, 1, for example, the reading of ms. A (which Tischendorf follows for his text) is Μαμίλχ, ms. B reads Μαμβήχ, C Μομφῆ, E Μαλήχ, G Μοφήχ, Latin mss. *Manbre* or *Malech* or *Amalech*, one form of the Armenian *Sambrelech*; and in A. xvi, 2 the Coptic reads *Manbrech* and *Mabrech*.

Conclusion

- * The preceding examples of traditions that supply names for the nameless in the New Testament are a testimony to the fertility of pious imagination down through the centuries and the reluctance to respect the silence of the New Testament narratives. How many of the traditions rest upon historical data will be differently estimated by different persons, but in any case the number will be very small.

The starting point for the present study was the canonical New Testament, and attention was given to the elaborations made after the several books had reached their present form. Such elaborations, however, did not begin only after the Gospels had attained canonical status. In fact, we can discern a certain pre-canonical interest in identifying the nameless as it operated during the oral period of the transmission of the Gospel materials. Thus, neither Mark nor Matthew mentions the name of the woman at Bethany who anointed Jesus with the costly nard (Mk. 14.9, Mt. 26.13); John, however, declares that it was Mary, the sister of Martha (and of Lazarus), who anointed Jesus (Jn. 11.2; 12.2)¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰³ Origen accepted the tradition (*Comm. in Ps. 88. 13* [89. 12]; Migne, *P. G.*, XII, col. 1548 D), as did Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.*, xii. 16; Migne, *P. G.*, XXXIII, col. 744 B), Jerome (*Epp.*, xliii and cviii; Migne, *P. L.*, XXII, cols. 491 and 889), etc.

¹⁰⁴ Origen. *Comm. in Joh. ii. 12*; cf. *Hom. in Jerem.* xv. 4.

¹⁰⁵ The *Martyrdom*, translated into German by Dschawachoff and annotated by Harnack, was published in *Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1901, p. 890.

¹⁰⁶ At a later date interpreters confused this Mary with Mary Magdalene, and she, in turn, was wrongly

identified with the sinful woman mentioned in Luke's Gospel as having anointed Jesus in the home of Simon the Pharisee (Lk. 7.36-50). This erroneous identification was to have the most widespread influence, extending from the East (cf. St. Ephraem's elaborate homily concerning »The Sinful Woman«, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Second Series, ed. by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, vol. XIII [New York, 1898], pp. 336-341) to the West in mediaeval Passion Plays in Latin and German (cf. August C. Mahr, *Relations of Passion Plays to St. Ephraem the Syrian* [Columbus, Ohio, 1942]).

Another instance of the growth of tradition concerns the name of the servant of the high priest whose ear was cut off by an unnamed companion of Jesus. Whereas none of the Synoptic Gospels identifies him, the Fourth Gospel not only tells us that his name was Malchus, but also discloses that it was Peter who wielded the sword (Jn. 18. 10). A more debatable instance involving the insertion of a name concerns the text of Lk. 1. 46; here the diversity of evidence attributing the Magnificat to either Mary or Elizabeth (the latter is read by it *a, b, l*¹⁰⁷ Irenaeus^{1st}, manuscripts according to Origen^{1st}, Niceta) has led some textual critics to believe that originally the text contained no name, and that copyists added one or the other.

A word of caution, however, is necessary, lest it be supposed that the movement in the New Testament was always from the anonymous to the specific. If, on the one hand Matthew can introduce *Καϊαφᾶν* (26. 57) in place of Mark's more vague *ἀρχιερεῖς* (14. 53), he can also omit to mention the name of Jairus, read by the predominant text of Mark (5. 22)¹⁰⁷. And Mark's Bartimaeus, son of Timaeus (10. 46), has lost his name in both Matthew and Luke. Nor do Alexander and Rufus, sons of Simon of Cyrene (Mk. 15. 21), find a place in either Matthew or Luke. While, therefore, one must not imagine that the movement was always from less to more, it is certainly true that over the centuries the general tendency was for traditions to emerge and to multiply, supplying various names for the nameless in the New Testament.

¹⁰⁷ The absence of *ὄνοματι Ἰάειρος* from several Western witnesses (Dae ffir¹) is either accidental or the result of scribal assimilation to the parallel in Matthew (9. 18). The variant reading *ὃ ὄνομα Ἰάειρος* has been adopted by several witnesses (W Θ 565700 al) from the parallel in Luke (8. 41). The opinion (held, e. g., by Bultmann) that the name was absent from the original

text of Mark's Gospel rests upon a theory of the so-called »Western non-interpolations« that is more and more being called into question by modern textual critics (see the discussion by the present writer on Mk. 5.22 in his forthcoming volume, *A Text Critical Commentary on the Greek New Testament*).