

Genealogical Chart

Fill in the following:

Pantera family

Family Name

The Genealogy of Christ and other Problems

1.

NAME: *Jacob Pantera*

Born *100 BC?*

Place *Israel*

Married *NA*

Place *NA*

Died *30 BC?*

Place *NA*

SPOUSE (of No. 1) *NA*

By Charles
A. Sullivan

2.

NAME: *Joseph Pantera*

Born *70 BC?*

Place *Israel*

Married *Twice*

Place *NA*

Died *10 AD?*

Place *NA*

Mary

SPOUSE (of No. 2)

3.

NAME: *Cleopha Pantera*

Born *70 BC?*

Place *Israel*

Married *Twice*

Place *NA*

Died *10 AD?*

Place *NA*

Mary, daughter of Joseph

SPOUSE (of No. 3)

The Genealogy of Christ and Other Problems

By Charles A. Sullivan

12/5/2008

Two Church manuscripts on the family of Christ compared. One is purported to be early, the other medieval. They may not be the most faithful of texts but lead to some important clues on Christ's genealogy.

It is an important comparison to do as many are trying to find the historic Jesus outside of the Bible. Since it is fair game to enlist the use of any literature, regardless of the piece's historic value or integrity, there has become many controversies regarding Christ's Mother, brothers, sisters, His last name and personal life.

This modern pilgrimage has produced a variety of conclusions, such as the tortured image in the movie *"The Passion of Christ"*, the sexually angst Messiah in the controversial *"Last Temptation of Christ"*, the married Jesus portrayed in the ABC television special, *"Jesus, Mary and Davinci"*, the illegitimate son of a foreign soldier in the movie *"Jesus of Montreal"*, and more.

One of the most important manuscripts outside of the Bible on the family of Christ is found in Epiphanius writing, the *Panarion* – a grand piece of writing that was intended to defend the Church against quasi-Christian and heretical groups. The problem is, we are not so sure what we have today is the same as the original.

That is where a medieval document helps out. It is called *Questiones*, and offers some background to Epiphanius original, and adds ideas revealing more potential scenarios on the family of Christ.

Epiphanius was a Bishop born and raised in the Middle East in the fourth century—a controversial figure at the least. He was a champion of orthodoxy at almost everyone's expense, and not always the most logical thinker.

Having been born and raised in what was then known as Palestine to a Hellenistic Jewish family, and then converted to Christianity, he brought knowledge of both the Hebrew and Greek backgrounds to his authorship. He was likely the last Church representative with a Jewish identity.

The most popular edition used by scholars today is found in *Migne Patrologia Graeca*. For whatever reason, this copy was renamed *Against Heresies* – a later version which has many peculiarities. *Adversus Haereses*, being the most easily accessible, and perhaps the only

version available, is used as the basis for my English translation found at the end of this document.

The author of *Questiones* has historically been attributed to St. Anastasius of Sinai but the Catholic Encyclopedia believes this to be highly questionable, if not wrong.¹ There is little doubt in its time of publication is the 7th century. Regardless of its original author(s), the work is still a historic piece, reflecting the evolution of Christian thinking from the 7th century onwards.

The article will be broken down into three streams of thought. The first one is a comparative linguistic and manuscript analysis, the second a literary review and last of all problematic translation points.

A Comparative Linguistic and Manuscript Analysis:

When the writings of Epiphanius in the Anasatasius text is compared to the Migne Patrologia Graeca Against Heresies, the following results were found:

- The regular *Questiones* text can be dated around the 7th century or later
- *Questiones* draws from an older edition than that of Against Heresies
- There are some elements that suggest that Against Heresies is in parts a translation of a Latin text
- Against Heresies is far more expansive in its description of the family of Christ, especially of His stepbrother James, perhaps suggesting a later tradition and veneration of this Saint.

The *Questiones* writer specifically wrote in the header that a complete paragraph about Christ's genealogy is from Epiphanius' *Panarion*.

Some Greek portions in *Against Heresies* almost appears to be a translation of a Latin manuscript. There is not enough evidence to succinctly state this but there is at least one that demonstrates the possibility. When Against Heresies referred to the sons of Pantheras, Jacob and Cleopha being born, the writer described it as *gennôntai*, which is present subjunctive middle/passive third plural. The *Questiones* text used the more normative *genêthentes* aorist passive participle nominative plural instead. The use of the subjunctive as it relates to being born, is not good Greek, but if this was literally written in Latin, would be considered normative. A second argument could be made that it is simply original Greek written by a Latin writer. The Latin writer would have put into his Greek writing a Latin influence.

¹ <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01455d.htm>

One of the indicators that Questiones drew from an older manuscript is from the use of a Greek verbal form that refers to pregnancy/conception. *Against Heresies* utilized the Greek, *kuiskei*, while the *Questiones* text does not use this verb, choosing to use, *etechthêsan*,² instead whose root is easily found in Koine Greek. The Koine indicates an earlier usage in Church writings and the New Testament. One could easily argue that the the discovery of one variant verbal form cannot be considered a knock-out punch but it is an indicator.

If the *Questiones* writer knew of the following important information about Joseph's age found in *Against Heresies*, he would surely have quoted it too.

“Thus he brought fourth this James, I suppose having been born more or less in about the 40th year. After him a child named Jose is born. Next after him Simeon. Thereupon Judas. And two daughters who are named Mary and Salome. And then his wife died. Then after many years the widow takes Mary into marriage, estimating the age of life somewhere around 80 years and a man advanced (in age). At this time he takes Mary into marriage, as also it says in the Gospel, “for having been betrothed”, it says, “belonging to Mary”. And it does not say, “belonging in the state of marriage” And (it is) repeated again, “He did not know her”.”³

Either the writer(s) felt this was a weak argument or didn't know about this text, being a later addition, which the latter is likely correct.

A Literary and Theological Analysis:

Apart from the actual linguistic and translation analysis, there are some important literary and theological thoughts found.

- it reveals the development of Mariology
- the problem of perpetual divinity reveals subsidiary clues to Christ's immediate family members
- it clarifies the surname attributed to Christ's family, commonly known as Pantherus.

The increased emphasis and development of Mary, the special mother of Jesus can be distinctly traced through the Anastasius writing. The text includes calling Mary the

² For citation purposes, only two manuscripts are being compared:

St. Anastasii, *Questiones*, MPG: Vol. 89. Pg. 811 and

Epiphanius, *Adversus Haereses*, MPG: Vol.41. VII [103] Pg. 708

³ I will not footnote the two manuscripts any further as they are all on the above stated pages

“*Theotikos*” “*special holy one*” in Greek and the equivalent in Latin “*Deiparam*”.

This designation is not found in the *Against Heresies* text.

The Greek texts used here in Migne Patrologia Graeca have a parallel Latin translation, which are normally done at later dates than the original Greek. These sometimes offer powerful clues at the shift, development or change in religious thinking. For example the adjective blessed is added to the name of Holy Mary in the Latin where it does not exist in the Greek, which indicates that the veneration of Mary had excelled and was a cultural tradition by the time *Questiones* was translated into Latin.

The strongest literary emphasis of *Questiones* was the perpetual virginity of Mary—a concept so serious that the author went at great analytical lengths to assert, even if Bible passages seemed to contradict such a position.

It demonstrated by the 7th century that Mary as a perpetual virgin was a morally legislated, if not assumed position. But this brought on some important theological problems. For example, it was written in the Book of Matthew, 27:56, that she was called the Mother of James and Jose. How could she have remained a virgin if the text stated that she was the mother of other children?

The St. Anastasius writer was concerned about this controversy and goes to length to clarify this problem.

This is a trivial argument to the modern mind, but the defense of this position leads to the potential clarification on the family of Christ and the tradition that is behind it. Though one must be cautious about the sources because the writer may have skewed such history to reinforce his particular position.

The St. Anastasius author explains in detail that Christ was her only child, and how at the crucifixion of Christ, she was given the appellation of Mary the mother of James and Jose.

This was done to answer the difficult question. He defended this thought by concluding that she was likely called Mary, mother of Jesus, before the crucifixion, and being bereft of any stewardship at the death of Jesus, she had to receive a new surname.

The argument had to presuppose that the Hebrew society during the time of Christ was highly patriarchal and it was necessary for an adult woman to be defined and governed under a male figure. If one thinks of the woman during this time as an esteemed property of the male—the texts indicate that the male begat the children, then this makes sense. The loss

of Jesus, and assuming that Joseph was already dead at this time, meant that she had no head of the household, which was a culturally unacceptable position for a woman to be in. The *Questiones* text suggested that a woman usually takes on the appellation of only one person, but both James and Jose were so prominent, that she was given the names of both.

He then described how the decision was made at the cross on her new surname.

The Anastasius writer doesn't stop here and is well aware that tradition asserted that she was also called the mother of James Alphaeus. But the reference is very brief and hard to form any further conclusions. However, it does suggest that the author(s) did not believe this to be another name for Jesus' stepbrother, James. One could argue that my translation does not properly take into account the Greek or Latin properly about James Alphaeus. Although I cannot clearly derive another meaning here, the possibility does exist of a completely different interpretation.

The document defends Mary as a perpetual virgin by arguing that she married a widowed Joseph who already had six children.

At the point of explaining the family members and their new relationships at the crucifixion of Christ, *Questiones* shifted to quote directly from Epiphanius:

“Joseph was the brother of Cleopha. For these two were begotten from Jacob, surnamed Pantherus. For Joseph had a Solomaic wife from the tribe of Judah, six children were born from her for him, four males and two females.

And the firstborn was James, who was surnamed Righteous, (afterwards Jose being called this), then Simon, following these Judas, and last of all these, Maria and Salome.”

There are a number of thoughts to ponder. The the first one is the relationship and role of His step-brother James. James became the defacto leader of the early Church after Christ's resurrection. The Anastasius text refers to him as a prominent man who was recognized as very righteous. The *Against Heresies* text goes further and surnames him *Oblian*—the Wall, designating him as the defender of the new faith.

Herod the Tetrarch executed him and the succession of the leadership appeared to be taken by his brother Jose, who inherited the title Righteous. This is my understanding why Jose's name was bracketed in *Questiones*. This does not exist in the *Against Heresies* one.

Next there was the reference to the surname Pantherus in the family line of Christ. It is not contested or defended, as if no controversy existed in either texts, suggesting that the Pantherus debate is a later phenomenon.

Much of the discussion about Pantherus is based on an argument posited by a man in the second century named Celsus, who argued Jesus was the result of an adulterous relationship Mary had with a soldier named Pantherus. Celsus was an anti-Christian, whose viewpoint should be understood as early Christian name-calling.

The original manuscript of Celsus does not independently exist today, except excerpts found and attempted to be refuted by the early Church allegorist, Origen. In it he quoted Celsus about Jesus, *"born in a certain Jewish village, of a poor woman of the country, who gained her subsistence by spinning, and who was turned out of doors by her husband, a carpenter by trade, because she was convicted of adultery; that after being driven away by her husband, and wandering about for a time, she disgracefully gave birth to Jesus, an illegitimate child, who having hired himself out as a servant in Egypt on account of his poverty, and having there acquired some miraculous powers, on which the Egyptians greatly pride themselves, returned to his own country, highly elated on account of them, and by means of these proclaimed himself a God."*⁴

Celsus' testimony was received in limited fashion until 1859, when the argument got some welcome assistance from an archeological discovery in Germany. A grave of a Roman soldier named, *Tib(erius) Iul(ius) Abdes Pantera*, was uncovered. The tombstone had information that led to a connection with the ancient Lebanese city of Sidon—a place not far from Israel's borders and which Jesus had visited.⁵ The date on the grave indicated the soldier lived around the same time as Christ walked on earth.

The concept that Jesus was the son of a soldier was reintroduced to contemporary thinkers by the famed novel writer James Joyce in *Ulysses* (1922) though it is only very brief, it may have been shocking for the large Christian community.⁶ The concept of Panteras may have been the intellectual fancy during this period as Hitler used this to believe that the historical Jesus was not of Jewish origin, but *"the son of one Pantherus, a Greek soldier in the Roman army."*⁷ In 1966, Marcello Craveri's book, *La vita di Gesù*, connected the Roman soldier

⁴ Origen. Against Celsus. Chapter XXVIII. Christian Classics Ethereal Library. <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf04.vi.ix.i.xxix.html>

⁵ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tiberius_Iulius_Abdes_Pantera

⁶ James Joyce. *Ulysses*. ND. Plain Label Books. Pg. 882 <http://books.google.com/books?id=mBNjq2PSbgAC&printsec=frontcover&dq=ulysses#PPA1,M1>

James Joyce. *Finnegan's Wake*.

⁷ Konrad Heiden. *Der Fuehrer: Hitler's Rise to Power*. Trans. by Ralph Manheim. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1944. Pg. 632

buried in Germany, Abdes Pantera, as being the father of Jesus.⁸

Celsus likely drew this thought from Jewish sources. In the Talmud, Panthera is referred by Marcus Jastrow's popular Targumic Dictionary in Tosefta Hullin 2:24—though it actually appears in 2:23. It refers to Jesus as "*the son of Pandera*"⁹ – a very obscure comment on first observation if there is no information available from any other source.

The Talmudic passages that potentially relate to Jesus are controversial and may not relate to Him at all. For a good introduction to the use of Jesus Christ in the Talmud, see Gil Student's article, found at <http://www.angelfire.com/mt/talmud/jesusnarr.html> or <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yesu>.

Scholars throughout the centuries have been puzzled by this reference and have sought various methods to explain it. Some thought Pandira to be a mockery by the Jewish writers with the emphasis on its Aramaic root meaning "*spots of a leopard*", an allusion to Jesus being a deceiver. Others have concluded that it sounded similar to the Greek word for virgin and must be understood this way.

Both the *Questiones* and *Against Heresies* texts identify the origin of the Pantherus surname: It is found in *Questiones*, "*Joseph was the brother of Cleopha. For these two were begotten from Jacob, surnamed Pantherus.*" In other words Joseph's father, Jacob, was granted this surname by some unknown vested authority. The Greek or Latin surname was likely accepted by Jacob out of political or economic certainty. Gedaliah Alon, a historian specializing in the Second Jewish commonwealth, believed this was an era where Jews had little or no civic rights whatsoever in Palestine and to know the Greek language and culture was a serious advantage.¹⁰ "*Jews who lived or traded in the urban areas had to familiarize themselves with Greek, and to acquire at least some knowledge of things Hellenic.*"¹¹ Joseph was a carpenter—a trade potentially passed down by his father. In order to conduct business and be involved in community affairs, the Pantherus surname would have been a significant contributor.

The second century Church leader, Origen, well knew of this surname but didn't contest the thought. By the time the writings of Epiphanius had reached the St. Anastasius writer four centuries later, the concern was not about the surname but about Mary's virginity.

The 8th century Church leader, John of Damascus also recognized the Pantherus lineage. He

⁸. IBID http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tiberius_Iulius_Abdes_Pantera

⁹. Marcus Jastrow. *Sefer Melim of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi...* New York: The Judaica Press. 1985. Pg. 599

¹⁰. Gedaliah Alon. *The Jews in their Land in the Talmudic Age.* Transl. and edited by Gershon Levi. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press. 1980. Pg. 136

¹¹. IBID, Pg. 138

believed Mary to be a tribal relative of Panther. *"Panther begat Barpanther, so called. This Barpanther begat Joachim: Joachim begat the holy Mother of God."*¹²

Barpanther's name, nor Holy Mary's lineage were not included in either the *Questiones* or *Against Heresies* document. One would think that this would be critical information that the author would include in Jacob, surnamed Pantherus' family line. It either was a tradition that Epiphanius or the *Questiones* writer wasn't aware of, or was popularized after the 7th century.

According to the *Against Heresies*, *Questiones*, and likely *Tosefta Hullin 2:23*, the name was simply a surname with nothing more to be read into it.

After one reads about the Pantherus family, another subject quickly arises on the relationship between Mother Mary and her supposed step-daughter Mary Cleopha in *Questiones*.

"Mary is taken by husband Cleopha and was given the title sister of the Theotokos Mary."

The St. Anastasius text identified Mary Cleopha as Joseph's daughter from a previously deceased wife. This made Mary Cleopha Holy Mary's step-daughter. The title changed when she was given into marriage to Cleopha. She was then renamed as her sister. This may also be another inter-family marriage as described above.

There is some question to the validity of Mary's lineage through Scripture itself. Luke chapter one demonstrated that Elizabeth, an Aaronite and mother of John the Baptist, was related to Holy Mary. Perhaps Holy Mary comes from a different tribe altogether.

Marrying within the family was a very important feature in ancient Israel as it assured that the family assets and securities were protected and support was readily available. As it is written in Numbers 36:8 *"And every daughter, that possesseth an inheritance in any tribe of the children of Israel, shall be wife unto one of the family of the tribe of her father, that the children of Israel may enjoy every man the inheritance of his fathers"* (KJV). This ordinance may have perpetuated into the time of Christ.

The Church fathers expressed that the family ties were very closely connected. The

¹² S. D. F. Salmond trans. Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers, Series II, Vol. IX. 1898: Book IV:XIV <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf209.iii.iv.iv.xiv.html?highlight=panther#highlight>

likelihood of inside family marriage seems to be a strong case. It is tenable that the Mary-Cleopha, mentioned in the St. Anastasius text and in the Book of John 19:25, is Mary's step-daughter and that Holy Mary herself was married in the same fashion.

Some Translation Notes

While doing the actual comparative translations of the Anastasius and Against Heresies texts, there were some problems with my translations.

Two words gave a high level of difficulty. The first one is the meaning for the Greek word, *oikonomia*. The Perseus website did not sufficiently define the word in the context used here. The Latin also failed to give a persuasive answer. By the seventh century it appears to have become part of a religious vernacular with its own semantics. The traditional definition means household stewardship, but in religious vernacular it expands to incarnation, special circumstances, and even Church governance with special consideration to enforcement of Church law. I have vacillated with all the definitions in my translation with mixed success and will revise if more information appears with this word.

The second one is the Latin use of *conjuge*. They could have used *uxore* (wife) but I think it was not meant to be a synonym but to denote a marriage state. *Conjuge* is a weaker form of a relationship, if even it should even be used in this way, and affirms here that the marriage process is not complete. It strengthens in Latin something lacking in the Greek, that the betrothal of Mary had yet to result in sexual intercourse.

There is only one English translation of *Against Heresies* and it is found in *The Nag Hammadi Series: The Panarion of Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis*, translated by Frank Williams. It is an expensive book and his translation style is dynamic rather than static, appearing to favor the Latin translator than the original Greek. *Against Heresies* is not available on the internet in English.

Two Manuscripts on the Family of Christ Compared: Text, Translation and Notes

By Charles A. Sullivan
12/13/2008

MPG St. Anastassi Sinaitae

MPG Against Heresies (Panarion)

Greek Translation	Latin Translation		Greek Translation	Latin Translation
<p>For indeed concerning all the Marions are brought to memory in the Gospels, we are obligated to have made known all three of these names¹, which John briefly counted, by saying “<i>And they stood near the cross of Christ, His mother, His mother’s sister, Mary Cleopha, and Mary Magdalene.</i>”² For the mother of James and Jose³ was Mary, we have learned according to those other evangelists who had named her to be the Theotikos⁴.</p>	<p>Besides, a number of times is made mention of the Marions that are in the Gospels, we made it necessary about these three names which St. John briefly counted in these words, “<i>They were standing near the cross of Christ, His mother, and His mother’s sister–Mary Cleopha, and Mary Magdalene</i>”. Mary is the mother of James and Jose, which is brought to remembrance by the evangelists, none other than which we bear witness to be the Deiparam herself.</p>		<p>—</p>	<p>—</p>

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1. The periphrastic use of “*einai*” in the Greek here is difficult to translate or understand. Though I think, according to Bauer Arndt Gingrich it can be used as a simple tense. I have used the Latin here on this sequence to overcome it. “Names” does not appear in the Greek and is exclusively used in the Latin.
 2. (John 19:25) The Greek here is ambiguous, and leaves the impression that there were four Mary’s. Mary the mother of Jesus, Jesus’ Aunt, Mary Cleopha and Mary Magdalene. St. Anastasii’s Greek text is consistent with the standard Greek edition we use today. The Latin edition is quite clear here that there is only three in the way the sentence is constructed. For St. Anastasii, Epiphanius and the Latin translator, this interpretation on the Greek text is key.
 3. James should rightly be translated as “Jacob” but English tradition of the Bible prefers James and to avoid confusion, I’ll leave it that way. This piece is taken directly from Matthew 27:56 “Among them was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joseph, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee.” (NASB) “Mary, the mother of James and Joseph” here does not directly link Holy Mary as the person, and St. Anastassi recognizes the ambiguity. The Latin does not reflect this as much.
 4. The use of the term “other evangelists” refers to a non-standard interpretation that the mother of James and Joseph was Holy Mary and must have had some popularity during St. Anastasii’s time, though he would not allow this as a standard interpretation.

MPG St. Anastassi Sinaitae

MPG Against Heresies (Panarion)

Greek Translation	Latin Translation		Greek Translation	Latin Translation
<p>As it was the arrangement and the hidden mystery of the God-child, not to be made apparent by the bloodthirsty Jews⁵, as⁶ to be legally assigned to Joseph the husband of the virgin. It is written the father of Christ.</p>	<p>As it was hidden in the mystery of the incarnation and the divine part, neither was it layed open by the impious Jews, as Joseph was given in marriage to the Blessed Virgin⁷ and as the father of Christ.</p>			

5. Anti-semitic in tone that the God-child concept was severely underplayed and not an immediate universal concept due to the impiousness of the Jews. The Latin tended to tame St. Anastassi's word here but the Greek is very racist.

6. The particle "hōs" in Greek and its equivalent "pros" in Latin has a difficult use here. It could be simply translated "as" or temporally "before", if "before" is used, the passage would read "before being assigned to Joseph as the husband of the virgin". The semantic range of "ōs" doesn't seem to lend well to this though "pros" can easily assume either identity. It is more likely meant to be "as".

7. Note how the term "Blessed Virgin" is included in the Latin translation though it nowhere exists in the Greek. A later traditional Mariological terminology.

MPG St. Anastassi Sinaitae

MPG Against Heresies (Panarion)

Greek Translation	Latin Translation		Greek Translation	Latin Translation
<p>Even so Jose and James being sons of Joseph the Carpenter from a deceased wife⁸, Mary was assigned and named Theotikos, and the Jews were blaspheming against her and against the Lord, they said, <i>“Is this not the son of a carpenter? Is not His mother called Mary, and His brothers James, Jose, Simon and Judas?”</i></p>	<p>The mother of Jose and Jacob at this time⁹ were sons of Joseph the carpenter from a deceased wife¹⁰, from him¹¹ she was named Deipara¹², on which occasion a plan was devised by the Jews against the Lord with this argument¹³, <i>“Is this not the son of a carpenter? Is not His mother called Mary, and His brothers James, Jose, Simon and Judas?”</i>¹⁴</p>			

8. “proteteleukuias” perf part act fem acc sg. I don’t have an exact match from any Greek database but the root suggests end or discharge, likely death.

9. “cum” when used with the subjunctive can have a temporal meaning which I believe is suggested here.

10. “defuncta uxore—deceased wife” is a difficult combination. “Defuncta” does not necessarily denote that the wife had died. It could mean that Joseph discharged her for some legal reason, perhaps even divorce. This term may even be referring to Mary being permanently discharged by Joseph but is highly doubtful. I am not so sure of my translation here. The argument is not running clearly and I may be missing something here.

11. The Latin text begins with “sei” and is independent of the Greek text. I am assuming that it is a misspelling of either “sibi” “by himself/herself” or “sese” “from himself/herself”. It was included here to clarify Anastassi’s unclear Greek transition from the deceased wife to mentioning Holy Mary.

12. Deipara in Latin and Theotikos in Greek are both appellations reserved solely for Holy Mary. I don’t think there is an English equivalent and will leave as is. There is a problem here where he switches from what is perceived as a deceased wife to Holy Mary with no transition. Is this a translation problem?

13. “Columniam” not available in my databases for meaning though its equivalent “blasphêmountes” in the Greek suggests that it means a negative argument of some sort.

14. Matthew 13:55. It appears that St. Anastassi’s interpretation of this text is that it was understood to be a negative from the established Jewish community, perhaps shedding light that some in this community argued that Jesus was a “Mamzer”—an illegitimate child of Mary. Note how it explains first that Christ is a child of Mary, but no reference is made to Mary being the mother of the other children, just brothers of Christ.

MPG St. Anastassi Sinaitae

MPG Against Heresies (Panarion)

Greek Translation	Latin Translation		Greek Translation	Latin Translation
<p>On this account John named the mother of the Lord even¹⁵ openly in the midst¹⁶ of the holy ones¹⁷ standing near the cross¹⁸.</p>	<p>On account of this John who stood near the cross, freely called her the mother of the Lord¹⁹.</p>		<p>—</p>	<p>—</p>

¹⁵ “hoia” usually does not translate well with “even”, and usually means “such as” etc. but for the sake of readable English I have taken the liberty.

¹⁶ I am assuming “meta” here is being associated with “parrêsias” which is fem. acc. pl. and “theologôn” is agreeing in number with it. “In the midst” is not usually typical of “meta” in the accusative case, but it is not out of its semantic range either. It just seems good in this particular situation.

¹⁷ “theologôn” masc. Gen pl. Aristotle uses this term to mean mystics, though by the 7th century this may mean a highly technical Christian religious term. I do think that the possibility that it meant here the pagan learned person may be strongly right, but afraid to take such a position unless I find some other literature that supports such a proposition.

¹⁸ “hestôsan” in Greek is interesting. It could be understood in a number of ways, such as Perf. Part. Fem. Acc. One automatically assumes that John is the subject of the verb—though this is a problem because the principle verb appears as Aorist Act 3rd pl. Added to this, it is spelled wrong and should read “hestêsan” even as an aorist. However, we may be dealing with some localized spelling and this does not pose a serious problem. The Latin translator recognizes the problem of this verb and chooses to ignore it as a plural and makes it agree with what he thinks is the subject, which he attributed to John. I think St. Anastassi is describing here a global situation of many people standing near the cross along with John, and the Greek syntax is following Latin rather than good Greek and this is what the underlying problem is. I have taken some liberty to rearrange the sentence with the proper subject and predicates though without a confident sense of certainty. “Hoias” tends to lead to one clue to support my translation as it is acc. pl.

¹⁹ The Latin misses a portion of the Greek text, “hoia dê meta parrêsias theologôn” which is difficult to understand. The translator chose to omit this phrase with the exception of the noun “parrêsias”, which was moved into an adverb.

MPG St. Anastassi Sinaitae

MPG Against Heresies (Panarion)

Greek Translation	Latin Translation		Greek Translation	Latin Translation
<p>The rest of the evangelists, these ones were engaged in the affairs of the household²⁰, under the special circumstance, they called her of James and Jose.</p>	<p>The rest of the evangelists were concerned about the household affairs of the Lord and the highest office²¹, they gave Mary the name of James and Jose²².</p>		<p>—</p>	<p>—</p>

²⁰. The nature and use of “oikonomia and oikonomikôs” are critical here. The on-line dictionaries state that it only relates to management and offices of the home, but it doesn’t seem to suit here as it is being used in a much different semantic light. One website suggests that it does have further meanings, http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2065/is_2_56/ai_n6172650/pg_4 “The Greek Patristic Dictionary gives a few examples from Origen and John Chrysostom where oikonomia means "consideration of special circumstances"; in Origen's Contra Celsum, oikonomikos signifies "for a particular purpose, in special circumstances". We see that from the period of the early church fathers this particular meaning of oikonomia has been known, but these texts do not use oikonomia with reference to sacramental theology.” One must be critical here that St. Anastassi has two forms here oikonomia and oikonomikos (he spells it oikonomikôs, this may be a regional variation), it may be that oikonomia is the standard definition here and oikonomikôs means special circumstances which is why he interchanged the two words here.

²¹. “circa Domini oeconomiam et dispensationem potissimum occupati” From what can be inferred here, and is not clearly demonstrated in my translation, that the leadership succession of Christ’s movement began right at His cruxifixion. The Latin is more careful in documenting this than in the Greek.

²². “Mary... Mother of James and Jose” is the expanded form used earlier on that this is referring to in the Latin. The Latin replaced the pronoun with her actual name to ensure clarity in an important section.

MPG St. Anastassi Sinaitae

MPG Against Heresies (Panarion)

Greek Translation	Latin Translation		Greek Translation	Latin Translation
<p>For these were the first and distinguished sons of Joseph. It is her to be found Mary of James and Mary of Jose by the evangelists, being named away from the solitary one of the children of Joseph²³. For Mark called her the mother of James the Less and Jose, and after that another mentioned was James Alphaeus from the twelve²⁴.</p>	<p>These were the first and distinguished sons of Joseph, and notwithstanding she usually receives the name of only one son²⁵, so Mary of James, and Mary of Jose was affirmed. And Mark called her the mother of James the Less and Jose, for another was James Alphaeus one of the twelve.</p>			

^{23.} The Greek sentence is awkward to translate and understand. The Latin translator has difficulty with this too because he switched from a static to a dynamic translation. The emphasis here is on the fact that Christ has died and Mary had to be assigned a new title in her household. Her previous name would have been Mary of Jesus, but His perceived demise changed that. Note the Greek “ek tou enos monou” emphasizing the singularity and distinctness of Christ from His siblings, asserting that Christ was born from a virgin. “monou” was translated adverbially rather than properly as a genitive in the Latin and changes the interpretation. The Greek can be translated that tradition dictates a woman who has lost her position through death is renamed through one of the husbands progeny, but I think it is 50/50. The other option being my translation above. The Latin explores the fact that being named with two surnames is not common but the evangelists chose that for her because two of the surviving siblings are such outstanding people.

^{24.} Some histories suggest that Jesus step-brother James was also known as James Alphaeus and has stimulated some vigorous discussion, but the Greek and the Latin here do not specify that. It does suggest that one of Mary’s titles was Mary, Mother of James Alphaeus. Who exactly was James Alphaeus and his relationship with Mary via bloodlines is not known, but must have been close. The way it is worded, the St. Anastassi text could suggest that the title “Mother of James Alphaeus” was a later tradition, though I would ascribe this interpretation with hesitancy.

^{25.} Note here the Greek is plural with reference to Joseph’s progeny in general while the Latin specifies the son in the singular.

MPG St. Anastassi Sinaitae

MPG Against Heresies (Panarion)

Greek Translation	Latin Translation		Greek Translation	Latin Translation
Joseph ²⁶ was the brother of Cleopha. For these two were begotten from Jacob, surnamed Pantherus ²⁷ . For Joseph had ²⁸ a Solomaic ²⁹ wife from the tribe of Judah, six children were born from her for him, four males and two females.	Joseph was the brother of Cleopha. The two were born from Jacob whose surname was Pantherus. Joseph had a Solomaic ³⁰ wife from the tribe of Judah and from her begat six, four males and two females.		In this way Joseph is ³¹ the brother of Cleopha, he was the son of Jacob ³² , who was given ³³ the surname Pantherus. These two were born from the one surnamed Pantherus ³⁴ . In this way, Joseph had his first wife from the tribe of Judah and she bears ³⁵ for him a total of six children, four males and two females ³⁶ .	Since that this Joseph himself is ³⁷ the brother of Cleopha, a son of Jacob surnamed Pantherus. It was: two, it was said, were born from the father Pantherus ³⁸ . Besides what has been mentioned, Joseph had a first wife from the tribe of Judah, and from her begat ³⁹ six children, four males and two females.

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- ^{26.} Since the verb “eimi” always has the subject and predicate in the nominative form, the article is of importance to find the subject, which here is with Joseph in all versions. The Latin is also following the same rule with “sum” as “eimi”. I wonder if this is good Latin, or the translator trying to stay static with the Greek, abandoning good Latin syntax.
- ^{27.} Anastassi and the Panarion differs in this sentence clause: St. Anastasii’s text places “epiklên” before “pantheros”. This does not change the meaning of the text at all and does not give me any clue about local Greek influence or date.
- ^{28.} “habuit” in the Latin and “Esche” in the Greek both suggest that this was an event previous of Joseph’s marriage to Mary. This indicates that Epiphanius and St. Anastassi believed that Joseph had a previous wife who had the six children. If this is correct, and the earlier thought that this wife may have died, Jesus would have been the youngest of a blended family.
- ^{29.} Why Epiphanius had to include that the proposed previous wife was one of the descendants of Solomon through the line of Judah is perplexing. Is he trying to reaffirm the historic lineage regardless of whether Christ’s line is traced through legal rather than genetic line?
- ^{30.} This is a literal translation of the text, which has both wife and Solomon in the accusative. It is interesting that the Latin translator here follows Greek syntax at the expense of a proper Latin one in his translation.
- ^{31.} Epiphanius is missing the following verb “ên” and instead uses “ginetai” which makes the sentence awkward.
- ^{32.} The appellation that distinctly identifies Joseph away from his brother Cleopha exists in the Panarion text but not Anastassi’s. The Panarion edition clearly wants to make the association of Joseph with Pantherus at the expense of Cleopha.
- ^{33.} It is redundant that “kaloumenou” would be added to the text “...epiklên de Panthêr kaloumenou”. St. Anastassi has only “epiklên Pantheros” which is a clearer read. Perhaps the Greek writer/transcriber/copyist wanted to use a dual emphatic about how important his Pantherus family line was. The Latin translator omits the dual emphatic and left this portion anarthrous.
- ^{34.} The Anastasius version uses “genêthentes” aor pass part nom pl. instead of “gennôntai” pres subj pass/mid 3rd pl. I would think that the aorist is likely the more correct and the older usage, the subjunctive present middle passive is something that a Latin writer would translate into Greek using Latin syntax instead of correct Greek.

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- ^{35.} The Panarion text uses “kuiskei” and is apparently pres ind act. “to conceive, become pregnant”, although “bore” was not included in the dictionary for this verb, I am assuming it is. The Anastassi text does not use this verb, choosing to use “etechthêsan” aor ind pass 3rd pl instead which root is easily found in Koine Greek. Further adding evidence that the Anastassi text is drawing from an older, cleaner version of Epiphanius’ writing.
- ^{36.} Panarion text “thêleias de duo” and the Anastassi text “kai duo thêleiai”. The Panarion text puts “duo” after the noun it modifies rather than before as the Anastassi text does. This is the second time in the short comparison that a modifier is placed after the noun in the Panarion text compared to the Anastassi one. Initial research does not result in identifying what local Greek is influencing this. Also that the traditional “kai” is dropped from the Anastassi text and “de” is used instead in the Panarion. Matthew 1:2 uses “de” in the genealogy and “kai” quite sparingly. The Panarion also chooses to put the clause relating to the number of children in the accusative rather than Anastassi’s Greek nominative. Is this once again Latin syntax being forced onto Greek text—that is the arguable premise that some or all of the Panarion is a Greek translation from a Latin text?
- ^{37.} The Latin translator had problems with “ginetai” as well and because both the subject and predicate are in the nominative form, the verb “to be” can be inserted through inference. However, since ginetai is in the present tense, the verb must be in the present.
- ^{38.} Why the Latin translator skipped from static to dynamic translation in the Panarion text must indicate some important thought. Perhaps the Latin translator is referring to a religious slogan or saying about these two brothers that was popular among his peers that he felt obligated to include. Another position can be taken is that the emphatic, “it was:...it was said”, is meant to reinforce the fact that Cleopha and Joseph were brothers born of the same father, which is not consistently applied across all Christian circles.
- ^{39.} The emphasis here is that Joseph begat these children, the woman was just the vessel by which the children were born. The Latin Panarion translator uses “suscepit” and the Anastassi “genuit” for “begetting”. They also use different nouns to describe the gender. Panarion “mares” masc acc pl, “feminas” fem acc pl, Anastassi, “masculos” masc acc pl and “femellas” fem acc pl. “femellas” emphasizes a young female girl while “feminas” is any female. The Anastassi translator breaks static translation here and ignores the Greek text to be in nominative form using the accusative instead.

MPG St. Anastassi Sinaitae

MPG Against Heresies (Panarion)

Greek Translation	Latin Translation		Greek Translation	Latin Translation
<p>And the firstborn was James, who was surnamed⁴⁰ Righteous⁴¹, (afterwards Jose being called this), then Simon, following these Judas, and last of all⁴² these, Mary and Salome.</p>	<p>The firstborn was James⁴³ surnamed Righteous, then Jose⁴⁴, after this Simon, and behind him Judas, finally Mary and Salome.</p>		<p>Just as they clearly explained (in) the Gospel according to Mark and according to John. The first is held to be James, the one who was called “Oblan⁴⁵”, interpreted⁴⁶ “Wall” and also called righteous and being a Nazarite⁴⁷ which is to be interpreted as holy⁴⁸.</p>	<p>Just as they declare in Mark and John. The first born son to all his family is James, surnamed Oblias (which one may attempt to interpret as Wall or Stronghold) and also called righteous and was a Nazarite, which proves the appellation “Holy”.</p>

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40. “epiklêtheis” aor. pass. masc. nom. sg. appears here as a verb instead of an adverb as was previously used a few lines before. It is the same root as used by Jacob being surnamed as Pantherus. Who gets the right to surname someone and why is a mystery to me.
41. Surnames appear to be a powerful metaphor in this era. As the name of James has a number of them and Pantherus too.
42. “eith’ outôs” – A.T. Robertson “A New Short Grammar of the Greek Testament” pg. 358ff claims that “ophelon” replaced “eithe” as an idiom referring to the past. Perhaps “eithe” made a resurgence in Byzantine Greek.
43. It is clear now that both the Greek use the verb “to be” (eimi in Greek) with both the subject and predicate in nominative form with the verb included, which historically the verb is omitted. The Latin translator follows this syntax as well.
44. The Latin ignores that Jose was bracketed with slight comments inside and simply executes the bracketing as part of the descendency of sibling names.
45. Translated from what? Hebrew? The closest definition I can find in Hebrew from Jastrow’s Dictionary is “ob” and “obi” which relates to a thick beam, thickness or diameter. The Apostle Peter was surnamed the “Rock” and James the “Wall”. Two words that demonstrate unshakeable and solid leadership. What other surnames were given to the original leaders that have been lost in posterity? The writer in Against Heresies recognized oblian to be a foreign word and attempts to clarify this in the text by giving the Greek equivalent.
46. “hermêneuomenon” which is prest part mid/pass masc acc sg, but is difficult to translate statically into English.
47. I don’t recall in any other history of James where he was considered a Nazarite.
48. The names of daughters Mary and Salome are excluded in this part of the “Against Heresies” text. These are identified about 200 words later, where it is explained that Joseph’s first wife died after having six children, and that Joseph was 80 years old when he took Holy Mary into marriage. The St. Anastassi text does not delve at all into Joseph’s age when he married Holy Mary.

MPG St. Anastassi Sinaitae

MPG Against Heresies (Panarion)

Greek Translation	Latin Translation		Greek Translation	Latin Translation
<p>Mary is taken by husband Cleopha⁴⁹ and was given the title sister of the Theotokos Mary. For which reason John makes known, “<i>They were standing⁵⁰ near the cross of Jesus, His mother,⁵¹ and His mother’s sister Mary of Cleopha.</i>”</p>	<p>Mary, given in marriage to Cleopha, was called the sister of the Deipera Mary. From this Holy John affirms, “<i>They were standing near the cross of Jesus, His mother, and His mother’s sister Mary Cleopha</i>”.</p>			



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^{49.} I know this sentence sounds bulky and could better read “This Maria is given Cleopha as her husband” but I am trying to be a static translator here.

^{50.} “eistêkeisan” is a plup. Act. 3rd pl? I am assuming that is what it is. Have to look up the Koine Greek Bible on this one.

^{51.} There are two difference in the quote St. Anastassi uses and what we typically have in the United Bible Society Greek edition. First there is no comma after mother in St. Anastassi’s, and secondly the spelling of “mother”. St. Anastassi uses “mêteros” instead of “mêter”. The sentence is not complete as Mary Magdalene is purposely excluded, to be explained shortly later in his writing.