

Sorting out the Jameses, Part I: Getting Clear on James the Son of Zebedee and James the Brother of Jesus and their Respective Iconographies.



Fig.1: James son of Zebedee as a pilgrim, with a scallop-shell on his hat, his pilgrim staff and his water bottle (*Saint James as a Pilgrim*, Limestone, Lorraine, France (early 1500s) Spencer Art Museum, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS.

Give me my scallop-shell of quiet,
My staff of faith to walk upon,
My scrip of joy, immortal diet,
My bottle of salvation,
My gown of glory, hope's true
gage;
And thus I'll take my pilgrimage.

(Sir Walter Raleigh, "The Passionate Man's Pilgrimage," ll. 1-6)¹

RONALD V. HUGGINS
*Associate Professor
NT and Greek
Midwestern Baptist
Theological Seminary
Kansas City, MO 64118
rhuggins@mbts.edu*

On a number of occasions in recent months I have encountered instances where scholars are talking about James the brother of Jesus, but then illustrate what they say with pictures of James son of Zebedee. In view of this I thought it might be time to offer a few words aimed at helping New Testament scholars and other interested readers to clearly distinguish between these two Jameses in the New Testament and in each of their

¹ On the theme of pilgrimage in literature, see Philip Edwards, *Pilgrimage and Literary Tradition* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

distinctive iconographies. I begin by discussing James son of Zebedee, since his New Testament identity is least problematic, and since it is most often pictures of him that scholars and other writers tend to reproduce when they are actually talking about that other James, James the brother of Jesus.

JAMES SON OF ZEBEDEE (JAMES THE GREAT)

The name James in the English New Testament translates *Iakobos*. Thus, although it is not evident in English, James bore the same name as the great patriarch Jacob, whose twelve sons in turn fathered the twelve tribes of Israel. James had a brother named John and a father named Zebedee (Mark 1:20, Matt 4:21, 20:20). His mother's name appears to have been named Salome. We suspect this because the woman Mark calls Salome (Mark 15:40), Matthew, in his parallel passage, calls "the mother of the sons of Zebedee" (Matt 27:56). Zebedee and his sons ran a fishing business in partnership with Simon Peter (Luke 5:10) and his brother Andrew (Mark 1:16, Matt 4:18). Several reasons suggest this was a fairly prosperous, substantial business. In the first place, they were able to hire additional help with the business. When James and John followed Jesus, "they left their father Zebedee in the boat," says Mark, "*with the hired men*" (Mark 1:20). Secondly, although it says that these disciples "left everything" to followed Jesus (Luke 5:11, cf. Mark 1:18, Matt 4:20), we find that throughout Jesus' ministry he had access to a boat to preach from when the crowding on shore became too great (Mark 3:9), and to make frequent trips back and forth across the sea of Galilee (Mark 3:9, 4:36, 5:2, 6:32, 8:10, John 6:22). The gospel of John implies that the disciples still have access to a boat even after Jesus' resurrection (John 21:3). In one case it is noted that Jesus and his disciples were using only one boat, and one large enough to hold the twelve along with Jesus himself (John 6:19-22, cf. Mark 4:36). Where then did this boat come from? A likely possibility is that it belonged to the joint fishing business of Peter, Andrew and the Zebedees. If that fishing business was successful enough to spare four of its principle partners *and* a boat for substantial periods of time and still thrive, supposing it did thrive, it is reasonable to assume it was a stable and prosperous business.

Another indicator along these same lines is the fact that James' and John's mother was among the women who followed Jesus and provided for his needs, presumably including material support, out of their own means (Matt 27:55-56, cf. Luke 8:1-3). It was while she was on the road with Jesus, on the way up to Jerusalem, that she made her appeal that her sons sit on his right and left in the kingdom (Matt 20:21). She was there at the cross when Jesus died as well (Matt 27:56) and she became one of

the witnesses to the empty tomb on the morning of the resurrection (Mark 16:1).

If the assumption that the anonymous author of the Gospel of John, who conceals his identity by calling himself “the disciple Jesus loved,” the “other disciple,” and so on, is in fact John son of Zebedee, as many scholars believe, then we know further that two sons of the same fishing business, John son of Zebedee and Andrew, Simon Peter’s brother, had both been followers of John the Baptist before going on to follow Jesus (John 1:35-42). This again might seem to imply that the two-family business could afford to carry on without them for some extended periods of time.

If the author of the forth Gospel is John son of Zebedee, the family of Zebedee may also have been well connected. Thus we are told that the “disciple Jesus loved,” John, was personally known to the High Priest, Caiaphas, at the time of Jesus’ arrest, while his business partner, Simon Peter, was not (John 18:15-16). The question we cannot answer is how this distinction between John and Peter came about, i.e., how it happened that one Galilean fisherman moved in such exalted circles, while another, a partner in the same fishing business, did not. One possible answer given the evidence we have might be that Zebedee’s wife Salome herself came from a family with prominent connections. But that, of course, is just speculation.

James son of Zebedee, who to a great extent stands in the shadow of his better known brother John, was put to death during Passover by Herod Agrippa I sometime between 41 and 44 AD (Acts 12:2).² His brother outlived him by more than half a century.³

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF JAMES ZEBEDEE

In iconographical terms, James son of Zebedee is usually referred to as James “the Great.” Although he is never called that in the Bible the title distinguishes him from another figure called James “the Less” in Mark 15:40. When speaking of their respective depictions in art the two are usually referred to contrastively as James the Less/Lesser and Great/Greater, James the Younger and Elder, and James (or Jacob) Minor and Major. Historically James the Less and James the brother of Jesus have also been confused with one another, a point we will take up in a separate article. In the Western Church the iconography of James Zebe-

² See the discussion of chronology in Jack Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology* (rev. ed.; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1998), 370-71.

³ Jerome (*Lives of Illustrious Men* 9) says that John continued “until the time of the emperor Trajan” (Emperor 98 – 117), and that he died “in the sixty eighth year after our Lord’s passion” (ET: *NPNF*² 3:365).

dee is completely dominated by imagery related to the famous pilgrim road known as the *Camino de Santiago*, the Way of Saint James, which terminates on its western end in Northwest Spain at the famous shrine of Santiago de Compostela, where the bones of James son of Zebedee have, since the ninth century, been believed to reside.⁴

During the Middle Ages, Santiago de Compostela, Rome, and Jerusalem represented the three most important pilgrimage destinations, with Rome as the symbolic center of the great pilgrim road, and Jerusalem and Santiago de Compostela its eastern and western termination points. The tales about how the bones of James son of Zebedee came to be in northern Spain are late and dubious.

When we read in Acts 12:2 that Herod “killed James the brother of John with the sword,” it might lead us to expect to find James Zebedee being depicted holding a sword, since martyrs are usually portrayed with the instruments of their deaths. Instead we see him with a pilgrim’s hat and staff, looking as though he is on the move, the ideal pilgrim coming back from viewing his own bones in Spain. The tell-tale sign indicating that he is not just any pilgrim on his way to just any one of the many pilgrim destinations—Walsingham, Rome, Canterbury, Jerusalem — but a



Fig.2: *Saint James as a Pilgrim*, Limestone, Lorraine, France (early 1500s) Spencer Art Museum, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS

⁴ Javier Gómez-Montero, “Santiago de Compostela or the Obsession with Identity,” in *Iberian Cities* (ed. Joan Ramon Resina; Gómez-Montero’s essay trans. Julia Krüger; New York: Routledge, 2001), 19. Rodney Stark gives the date of the alleged discovery as 835 (*God’s Battalions: The Case for the Crusades* [New York: HarperOne, 2009], 45).

Compostela pilgrim, is his scalloped shell pilgrim badge, or *concha venera*, which is shown attached to his hat, staff, cloak, or satchel.⁵ If you are wondering whether a picture or sculpture labeled St. James, is supposed to represent James son of Zebedee look for the scalloped shell. In a very high percentages of cases (especially in the Roman Catholic West) if it is James the Great (Zebedee) it will have the shell. Examples are numerous. We will look start here with a statue called *Saint James as a Pilgrim* (Fig. 2), a detail of which was already shown on the title page of this article. The accompanying description in the Spencer Museum at the University of Kansas says the following:

In the Spencer's sculpture, we see Saint James dressed not as a first-century disciple, but as a medieval pilgrim like those on the road to visit his shrine. He wears a loose robe and sandals and carries a walking stick and pilgrim's canteen. On his head he wears a floppy hat, on which are pictured staffs like the one he carries, and cockle shells. The cockle shell was the particular symbol of Santiago de Compostela....

The scalloped shell continues to be the symbol of James son of Zebedee even into the Protestant Reformation. So, for example, in Cornelis Boel's front-piece for the first-edition 1611 King James Bible, James son of Zebedee is shown with the traditional Compostela pilgrim's staff and hat with scalloped shell. Another example comes from the front-piece of the 1605 edition of the Geneva Bible where we see the scalloped shell attached to his cloak (Fig. 3 for both)



Fig 3: James wearing Compostela pilgrim's badge (*concha venera*), Left: from the front-piece from the 1611 KJV (on his hat), and Right: from the front-piece of a 1605 Geneva Bible (on his shoulder).

⁵ William Melczer, *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela: First English Translation, with Introduction, Commentaries, and Notes* (New York: Italica, 1993), 58.

Quite often we encounter portrayals of James son of Zebedee with the scallop shell but with the hat thrown back off the head, as in the following example by Carlo Crivelli, or gone altogether, as in the following example by Antonio Veneziano (both Fig. 5).⁶



Fig. 5: Left: Carlo Crivelli, *James the Greater*, from the Polyptych of Monte San Martino (c. 1480) // Right: Antonio Veneziano, *James the Greater* (c. 1384), Gemäldegalerie, Berlin

JAMES THE JUST, BROTHER OF JESUS (JAMES THE LESS)

The other major James in Christian art is James the brother of Jesus, who is usually called “the Less,” due to his being confused with the James the Less in Mark 15:40, as was said before. As in our previous discussion, we will begin by reviewing the biblical data on the brother of Jesus. In the Gospel of Mark we discover that Jesus has both brothers and sisters.

⁶ On the Isle of May, Fife, a pilgrim was even found buried with a Compostela shell wedged in his mouth. (Peter Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1999), 63.

We learn this from a comment made by people from his hometown of Nazareth during one of his visits there: “Isn’t this the carpenter’s son? Isn’t his mother’s name Mary, and aren’t his brothers James, Joseph, Simon and Judas?” (Mark 6:3, cf. Matt 13:55-56).

The Gospel further accounts agree that prior to his death and resurrection, Jesus’ brothers (and even apparently at times, his mother) did not believe in him (John 7:3-5, and Mark 3:21). This unbelief on the part of his brothers may account for the fact that Jesus had no family member into whose care he could entrust his mother at the time of his death and so entrusted her to “the disciple Jesus loved,” that is to say, John son of Zebedee. On the other hand that may have been due to the fact that John was the only disciple present at the cross and therefore also the only one available for Jesus to entrust his mother to.

After the resurrection and ascension, however, of Jesus we find that Jesus’ mother and brothers have joined the twelve as apparent disciples (Acts 1:14). That a number of Jesus’ brothers did become his active followers is proven by the fact that the Apostle Paul alludes to them when discussing their practice of taking their wives along with them when traveling in the performance of their ministries (1 Cor 9:5).

James the brother of Jesus very quickly became a prominent leader in the early Church, indeed *the* prominent leader in Jerusalem (Acts 21:18), leading Early Christian tradition to list James as the first bishop of Jerusalem.⁷ It is he we find presiding over the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15:13). How then did James come to believe in the reality of his brother Jesus’ Messiahship? Part of the answer, according to the Apostle Paul, is that the risen Jesus himself appeared to James (Cor 15:7). Paul knew James, having met him possibly as early as three years after his own conversion on the Damascus road (Gal 1:18-19). It is James the brother of Jesus who is credited with the authorship of the New Testament Epistle of James, and it is he who is associated with the controversial James son of Joseph brother of Jesus ossuary that surfaced in late 2002.⁸

The first century Jewish historian Flavius Josephus reports the death of James as taking place between the procuratorships of Festus and Albinus, that is to say in 62 AD:

Ananas [the Younger, the High Priest], who, thinking that a favorable opportunity now presented itself—Festus being dead [cf.

⁷ Fragment of the *Hypotyposes* of Clement of Alexandria (d. ca. 215) preserved in Eusebius *Ecclesiastical History* 2.1.3.

⁸ For an extensive discussion of issues relating to James the brother of Jesus, including the James Ossuary, see John Painter, *Just James: The Brother of Jesus in History and Tradition* (2nd ed.; Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2004).

Acts 24:27] and Albinus still on the road—summoned the judicial court of the Sanhedrin, brought before it the brother of Jesus who was called Christ—James was his name—with some others, and after accusing them of transgressing the law, delivered them over to be stoned to death.⁹

In addition to this reference in the extant copies of Josephus's *Antiquities*, the early Christian writers Origen of Alexandria and Eusebius of Caesarea also cite another passage about James, which they attribute to Josephus but that does not appear in any currently extant version of Josephus' works. In that passage Josephus attributes the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple to the murder of Jesus' brother James. "These things happened to the Jews," Eusebius quotes Josephus as saying, "as retribution for James the Just, who was a brother of Jesus who was called Christ, for the Jews killed him despite his great righteousness."¹⁰

Clement of Alexandria (active late 2nd/early 3rd cent.) tells a different story. According to Clement, James the brother of Jesus, was not stoned but "thrown from the pinnacle of the temple and beaten to death with a fuller's club [ὑπο γναφέως ξυλω]."¹¹ Another author, Hegesippus, though earlier than Clement, nevertheless combines the traditions concerning James's death related by Josephus and Clement by saying that the Lord's brother was thrown down, then stoned, then finished off by a fuller with his club, immediately after which Vespasian began to besiege them.¹²

Eusebius judged most accurate the account of Hegesippus,¹³ but in view of its patchwork character, it could just as well be the least accurate. Most likely it is Josephus, who writes as a contemporary of the event, who gives us the most accurate account. Had historical accuracy, then, been determinative in selecting the symbolic item by which James the Less would be recognized in iconography, he would have been holding a stone. Instead it was Clement's account that won out, so that artistic

⁹ Josephus, *Antiquities* 20.9.1 (200) [ET: Henry St. John Thackeray].

¹⁰ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 2.23.20 [ET: Paul L. Maier]. Also Origen, *Contra Celsus* 1.4 and *Commentary on Matthew* 10.17.

¹¹ Fragment of the *Hypotyposes* of Clement of Alexandria preserved in Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 2.1.4 [ET: Paul L. Maier].

¹² Fragment from the fifth book of the *Hypomnemata* (Memoirs) of Hegesippus (d. ca. 180?) in Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 2.23.16-18 (cf. 2.23.11). Eusebius says that Hegesippus lived "immediately after the apostles," (2.23.3). There is a chronological problem with Hegessippus's linking the death of James directly with the siege by Vespasian. James died in 62 but Vespasian did not embark on his effort to suppress the Jewish revolt until 66.

¹³ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 2.23.3.

representations of James the Less in the Western Church usually show him holding the fuller's club allegedly used in beating him to death.

Our first example of this iconography comes from the Italian sculptor Andrea Bregno, part of an altar that originally stood in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Rome. It dates to around 1475/1477, and now resides in the Nelson-Atkins Museum here in Kansas City (Fig. 6).

An example of James with his fuller's club is also seen in Francis Aretz's 1917 *Tympanum* above the main doors of the Cathedral of the Madeleine in Salt Lake City, where the length of the bat has been shortened to accommodate the figure's kneeling position (Fig. 7).



Fig. 6: Andrea Bregno, *Saint James the Less* (1475/1477), Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, MO.

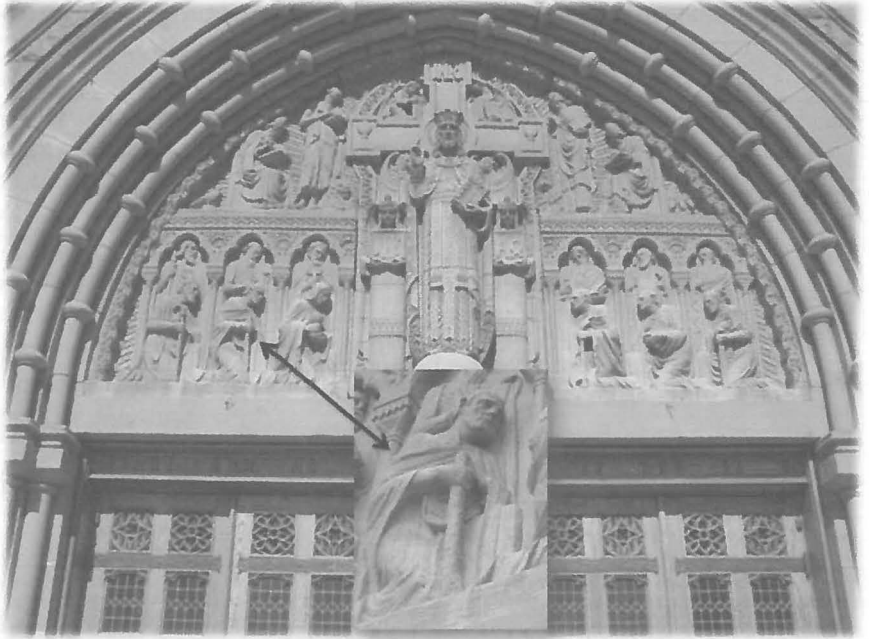


Fig. 7: Francis Aretz, *Tympanum* with Christ, surrounded by the four doctors of the Church (Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory and Augustine), the symbolism of the four evangelists and the twelve Apostles (1917) the Cathedral of the Madeleine, Salt Lake City.

Fig. 8: KJV Front Rowland Lockey (?) and Christopher Switzer, James the Less from 1611 KJV front-piece, by engravers Rowland Lockey (?) and Christopher Switzer.



This symbolism, again, appeared in the Churches of the Reformation as well, as we can see in this image from the New Testament front-piece of the 1611 original edition of the King James Bible (Fig. 8). Earlier we pointed out how James the Greater, the son of Zebedee, had appeared in his Compostela pilgrim garb in Cornelis

Boel's familiar 1611 King James Old Testament front-piece. James the Less also appears there with his traditional fuller's club as well right next to James the Greater at the top right (Fig. 9).



Fig. 9: Cornelis Boel, 1611 KJV Old Testament front piece.

The reader should note that in each of these cases James the Less is depicted as one of the twelve apostles, perpetuating the confusion between James the brother of Jesus, and the Apostle James son of Alphaeus, an issue we hope to discuss in a future article.

A variation on the fuller's club motif that should be discussed for the benefit of anyone trying to identify James the Less in paintings and sculptures from German speaking areas. The first example of this motif I ever encountered, was this typically Styrian sculpture of James the Less from the castle-like Church of Saint Nicholas, in Judenburg, Austria (Fig. 10). When I first visited this church in 2006 and was noting down the features of the various apostolic sculptures, I didn't know what to make of what James the Less was holding, and noted down only that it looked like a "bow like for a cello." What was the story here? Unfortunately,

even the priest of the Judenburg church could provide no explanation. As it turns out, what James is holding here is a hatter's bow, used in the production of felt for hats. Presumably it seemed to hatters that since they as well as fullers worked with cloth, the patronage of Saint James the Less could be claimed by them as well.



Fig. 10: *James the Less (Jacobus Minor), St. Nicholas Church, Judenburg, Austria.*

Depictions of James being beat to death with the hatter's bow sometimes show the bow as strung other times not, as can be seen for example in successive editions of the *Nuremburg Chronicle* (Fig. 11).¹⁴



Fig. 11: James the Less being martyred with a hatter's bow in successive editions of the *Nuremburg Chronicle*. Unstrung on the left (1493), strung on the right (1496).



Fig. 12: Hatter's bow in use, from Richard P. Bedford, *St. James the Less: A Study in Christian Iconography* (London: Bernhard Quaritch, 1911), 22.

¹⁴ For one of the fullest (indeed perhaps one of the only) discussions of the feature of the hatter's bow, see Richard P. Bedford, *St. James the Less: A Study in Christian Iconography* (London: Bernhard Quaritch, 1911), 21-34.

TALKING ABOUT JAMES THE LESS WHILE SHOWING PICTURES OF JAMES THE GREAT

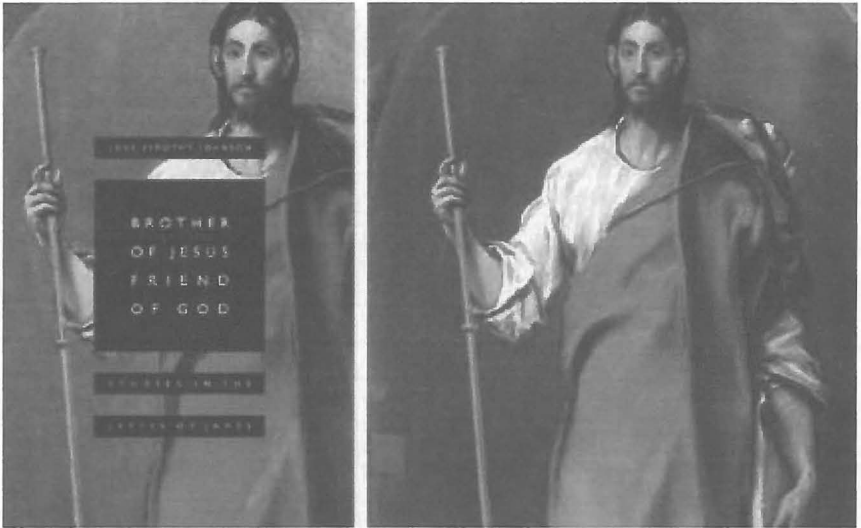


Fig. 13: R: Luke Timothy Johnson, *Brother of Jesus Friend of God: Studies in the Letter of James* (Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge, UK, 2004) / L: *St. James the Great as a Pilgrim* (1597-1603) Toledo, Santa Cruz Museum.

We may now examine a few examples of places where discussions of James the Less (the brother of Jesus) are wrongly illustrated with artistic depictions of James the Great (the son of Zebedee). Our first example comes from Luke Timothy Johnson, R.W. Woodruff Professor of New Testament and Christian Origins at Emory University's Chandler School of Theology. In 2004 Johnson published a book on James the Less entitled *Brother of Jesus Friend of God: Studies in the Letter of James*. It was published by the venerable Christian firm, William B. Eerdmans of Grand Rapids, Michigan / Cambridge, U.K. On the cover we find a painting by the celebrated El Greco of James the son of Zebedee in his traditional Compostela pilgrim garb, but the picture itself has been cropped in such a way as to conceal that this was in fact the case. Furthermore, when the picture is identified on the back cover of the book, it is only described as a "detail of Saint James by El Greco," rather than by its more common name: "St. James the Great as a Pilgrim." As we compare the cover art detail with a larger one from the original El Greco painting, we see that what was cropped out was the characteristic pil-

grim's hat upon to which we see attached not one but three scalloped shells (Fig. 13).¹⁵

JAMES TABOR AND THE BROTHER OF JESUS



Fig. 14: Anonymous, *Christ between Saint Peter and Saint James Major*, Italian (late 13th cent.) National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Now we come to our second example. In a recent blog posting entitled “Jesus, his brother James, and Peter: A Picture Worth A Thousand Words,” James D. Tabor, Chair of the Department of Religious Studies at the University of North Carolina, Charlotte, again wrongly identifies a depiction of James son of Zebedee as James the brother of Jesus (Fig. 14). He then attempts substantive commentary based upon his misidentification. Let us begin with what Tabor said about the picture and then examine the picture itself:

This painting with Jesus in the center, flanked by Peter and James the brother of Jesus, seems to say it all. Notice how James is almost a “twin” of Jesus, both in expression, hair style, clothing, and general demeanor, whereas Peter is clearly “odd man out” in terms of the way he is portrayed. He even seems to be scowling over at James, perhaps jealous of his status and closeness to Jesus.... One has to wonder what this unknown artist

¹⁵ Email requesting comment from Luke Timothy Johnson have remained unanswered.

knew or thought he knew about the complexities of early Christian leadership and any possible rivalry between Peter who is associated more with Rome and the West, and James the Brother of Jesus who receives great emphasis in the East....¹⁶

Several things that Tabor says about this painting are true. Whether intentional or not the apostolic figures in the side panels clearly do appear more interested in one another than in the figure of Christ in the central panel. Furthermore it may even seem that one or both of them are regarding the other with a jaundiced eye. What Tabor says about some of the other details of this triptych become more conspicuously true when viewing the original in color. The similarity of clothing between the figures of Jesus and James is indeed striking. Their clothes are the same color (maroon garments with blue cloaks), but so is their hair (light brown). In



Fig. 15: James the Brother of Jesus (Adelphotheos)

contrast Peter wears a green garment with a yellow-orange cloak. Peter's hair is gray. In this regard, however, the choice of these details on the part of the artist has more to do with iconographical convention than individual creative choice. In the triptych the artist largely follows the conventions of Eastern Orthodox iconography, and these dictate at least some of the details Tabor mentions. The *Hermeneia* (or "Painter's Manual") of Dionysius of Fournia (1670 - after 1744), lays out the norms for the depictions of Peter and James Zebedee along much the same lines as we find them depicted in Figure 14. Dionysius says that Peter is to be painted as old and with rounded beard, just as we find him here.¹⁷ In contrast, James son of Zebedee is to be portrayed as a young

man with a nascent beard.¹⁸ The reason Zebedee's son is represented as a young man is that he was one of the first Christian martyrs (Acts 12:2).

¹⁶ James Tabor, "A Picture Worth a Thousand Words," (jamestabor.com, 4 Sept 2012).

¹⁷ Dionysius Fournia, *Hermeneia* ("Painters' Manual"). Edition used here: *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne, grecque et latine* (intro. and notes, M. Didron; trans. Dr. Paul Durand; New York: Burt Franklin, 1845), 299.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 300. James son of Alpheus is to be painted as young as well, but with a pointed beard. (*Ibid.*, 309, 317).

In contrast, according to Dionysius, James the brother of Jesus is endowed with a special title, *Adelphotheos* (brother of God), and is to be depicted as old with curly hair and a great beard.¹⁹ In the East it was also traditional to present James the brother of Jesus dressed as a bishop, indicating his traditional role as first bishop of Jerusalem (Fig. 15). To return then to the James of the triptych, on the basis of what has just been said we can confidently identify him as James son of Zebedee *not* James the brother of Jesus.

This should not surprise us, since, as the title of the triptych Tabor discusses as given by the National Gallery indicates, the figure being depicted is not James the brother of Jesus but James the son of Zebedee.



And even granting that his image is closer to Eastern than Western models, so that the figure is not holding a pilgrim's staff or wearing a pilgrim's hat. Nevertheless the artist leaves us in no doubt as to the figure's intended identity by including the most important symbol for identifying James son of Zebedee, namely the scalloped shell, which we can clearly see pinned to his cloak (Fig 16).

Fig. 16: Scallop shell on the cloak of James the Great.

Apparently Tabor was not the first to confuse the James of this triptych with the brother of Jesus. The cover of Jeffery J. Bütz's book, *The Brother of Jesus and the Lost Teachings of Christianity* (2005), had as its cover art a picture based on the National Gallery triptych, again, with the scallop shell clearly visible on the shoulder of the figure on the right (Fig. 17). The back cover of Bütz's book however, unlike that of Luke Timothy Johnson, correctly identifies the figure of Saint James Major, but apparently without understanding the significance of the word *Major*,

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 309, 317.

as an indicator that is James son of Zebedee in the picture not James the brother of Jesus, i.e., James *Minor*.

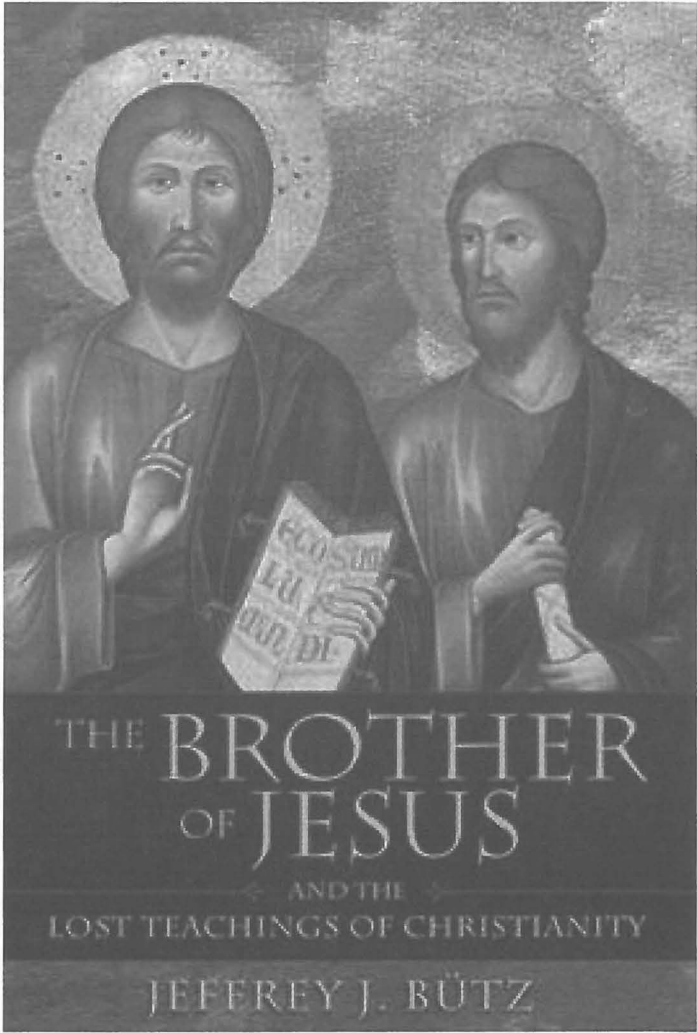


Fig. 17