

Paul's Cephas is Caiphas – Author of 1Peter and Hebrews

A.A.M. van der Hoeven, www.JesusKing.info, June 21, 2011.

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Paul's Cephas is Caiphas

1. Introduction

Concerning the person called Cephas, in the New Testament only mentioned by Paul, exist some obscurities and contradictions. In this article it will be shown that these all can be clarified when he is identified more precisely than before. For example, Paul gives us a list of some of the people to whom the risen Jesus appeared:

Now I would remind you, brethren, in what terms I preached to you the gospel, which you received, in which you stand, by which you are saved, if you hold it fast—unless you believed in vain.
For I delivered to you as of first importance what I also received,
that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures,
that he was buried, that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures,
and that he appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve.
Then he appeared to more than five hundred brethren at one time, most of whom are still alive, though some have fallen asleep.
Then he appeared to James, then to all the apostles.
Last of all, as to one untimely born, he appeared also to me. (1Cor 15,1-8 RSV)

When Cephas is equated with Simon Peter ('Peter' is the Greek translation of the Aramaic name 'Cephas'), this list seems in contradiction with John's description of the first three appearances of Jesus to his disciples: according to the Gospel of John, Simon Peter didn't have a first appearance before the rest of the apostles.¹ And in Paul's list Cephas and the twelve and the five hundred don't even seem to be apostles, as "all the apostles" are only mentioned after James.

1.1. Simon Peter and Cephas

In Galilee Jesus had chosen twelve men to be his apostles, and one of these was Simon Barjona (= 'son of Jona' or 'son of John'). The Gospel of John says that Jesus gave this Simon the Aramaic name/title Cephas, which is translated into the Greek name Peter.²

Jesus looked at him and said, "You are Simon, son of John: you shall be called Cephas" —that is to say, Peter (or 'Rock'). (John 1,42 Weymouth NT translation)

The Greek text of this verse says: ὁ ἑρμηνεύεται Πέτρος, ("which is by interpretation Petros"³, 'Petra' being the Greek word for 'rock'). The mentioning of the name Cephas here for Simon Peter is unique, even in the Gospel of John. When Simon is indicated for the first time in John (John 1,40) he is called "Simon Peter", and in John 1,44, so directly after the mentioning of the name/title Cephas, he is simply called "Peter" again. In the other Gospels it is said "you are Peter" (Matt 16,18), "and Simon he surnamed Peter" (Mark 3,16), and "Simon, (whom he also named Peter)" (Luke 6,14).

Anywhere else in the Gospels and Acts Simon is indicated as "Simon"⁴, "Simon, son of Jona"⁵ or "Simon, (who is) called Peter"⁶ or "Simon Peter"⁷ or – most often – simply as "Peter"⁸, never as

¹ John 20 and 21, especially 21,14

² John 1,42

³ (Authorized Version) John 1,42 NA²⁷ (= NESTLE-ALAND, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, Stuttgart, 27. Ausgabe 1993, 8. Druck 2001)

⁴ e.g. Matt 17,25; Marc 1,16.29.30.36 etc.

⁵ Matt 16,17; John 21,15-17 etc.

⁶ Matt 4,18 10,2; Acts 10,18.32 etc.

⁷ Matt 16,16; Luke 5,8; John 6,8.68 etc.

⁸ Matt 8,14 14,28.29 15,15; John 13,6.8.37 18,11 etc.

‘Cephas’. It’s important to note that when Simon is personally addressed by Jesus, or by a voice from heaven, or by an angel, he is simply called “Peter” (“I tell you, Peter” (Luke 22,34); “Rise, Peter, kill and eat” (Acts 10,13 and 11,7); “tell his disciples and Peter” (Mark 16,7), and when Cornelius has to go and ask for Simon Peter, the voice says he has to ask for “Simon, who is called Peter” (Acts 10,5)). And Simon Peter himself also introduces his letter 2Peter by calling himself “Simon Peter” and not Cephas.⁹ So, the Aramaic name/title Cephas wasn’t used for Simon, only the Greek translation Peter.

Nevertheless, in the Greek New Testament texts the name “Cephas” appears eight times, but only in two of Paul’s letters: four times in his first epistle to the Corinthians¹⁰ and four times in his epistle to the Galatians¹¹. In all these cases “Cephas” need not be the same person as Simon Peter, but could be one specific other person. Since Paul’s Cephas is mentioned in the direct context of “James the Lord’s brother”¹² in six of the eight times in which Paul mentions Cephas – in all four places in the Galatians letter and in two of the four places in 1Corinthians – it is more than probable that Paul’s Cephas is one and the same person in all these eight places.

That for Paul the one he calls Cephas is not the same as Simon Peter, appears from his choice of words in the epistle to the Galatians, where he uses the name Peter and the name Cephas in a single sentence:

but on the contrary, when they saw that I had been entrusted with the gospel to the uncircumcised, just as Peter had been entrusted with the gospel to the circumcised (for he who worked through Peter for the mission to the circumcised worked through me also for the Gentiles), and when they perceived the grace that was given to me, James and Cephas and John, who were reputed to be pillars, gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, that we should go to the Gentiles and they to the circumcised; (Gal 2,7-9)

This remarkable fact is clearly present in the Greek manuscripts, as published in the 27th Nestle-Aland edition, and also in the new Vulgate (= the Latin Bible), but in modern translations it is often polished away by replacing the word “Cephas” by the word “Peter”.

In the letter 1Clement to the Corinthians of about 96 CE Clement of Rome uses both the name “Cephas” and “Peter” as well: “Cephas” is used when describing the Corinthian polarization concerning Apollos and Paul and Cephas, and “Peter” is used when describing the martyrdom of the apostles.¹³

Simon Peter was a fisherman and not a scribe. By the members of the Great Sanhedrin he was even regarded as an “unlearned and ignorant” man.¹⁴ This ex-fisherman from the Hellenized (= Graecized) Galilee would have used the Greek name (Simon) Peter for himself in the Greek Corinth (as he did in 2Pe 1,1: “Simon Peter, a servant and an apostle of Jesus Christ”) and he would have been designated by the Corinthians by his Greek name Peter (‘Petros’) too, rather than by the Aramaic name Cepha(s). And that the Corinthians knew a “Peter” is shown by the above mentioned letter 1Clement to the Corinthians. Nevertheless, also the name Cephas was known in Corinth (1Cor 1,12 3,22 9,5 15,5), just as it was in the Greek-speaking and Greek-reading Galatia (Gal 1,18 2,9.11.14), and it is not probable that these Greeks would have used two different names – the Greek name *and* its Aramaic origin – for one and the same person. This is a third reason why it is probable that Paul’s Cephas in 1Corinthians and in Galatians was not Simon Peter.

⁹ 2Pet 1,1

¹⁰ 1Cor 1,12 3,22 9,5 15,5, NA²⁷

¹¹ Gal 1,18 2,9. 11. 14, NA²⁷

¹² Gal 1,19; in 1Cor 9,5 Paul mentions “the brethren of the Lord and Cephas”. Of these brethren James was the most important to the church: Simon Peter wants his departure from Jerusalem be told to “James and the brethren” (Acts 12,17).

¹³ 1Clement 47,3; 5,4

¹⁴ Acts 4,13

1.2. Cephas: nickname of Joseph, the official high priest of the Old Covenant

The high priest of the Old Covenant known from the Gospels as the one who expressed the idea to have Jesus killed and who condemned Jesus to death, is called Caiaphas, Caiapha, Caiphaz and Caipha. All four variants are in the Greek manuscripts in the Nestle-Aland²⁷ edition.¹⁵ From the first-century historian Flavius Josephus we know that his proper name was Joseph, and that he “was also called Caiaphas” – so ‘Cai(a)pha(s)’ was not his family name –, and that he was the Jewish high priest from 18 to 36 CE.¹⁶

Already in 1968 some Dutch scholars who contributed to the Oosthoek's Encyclopedie held that the name Caiaphas was a corruption of ‘Cephas’, which they regarded as the nickname, meaning ‘rock’, of both the high priest Joseph and the apostle Simon.¹⁷ Others, among whom Allegro, have suggested that ‘Caiaphas’/‘Caiphaz’ was the original form, stemming from the Arabic word qā’if^{un}, meaning ‘investigator, prognosticator’¹⁸ or ‘fortune-teller’,¹⁹ and that ‘Cephas’ was either a dialectal version or an adapted form – alluding to the meaning ‘rock’ – of the variant ‘Caiphaz’.²⁰

So, it is possible that ‘Cephas’ at some point was the nickname of the high priest Joseph. Therefore, when John wrote that Jesus gave Simon the name Cephas, John’s intention may have been to express that Jesus gave Simon the name and function of the high priest.

2. The name Rock – “Cephas” and “Caiphaz” interchangeable

Not a proper name

The Greek word Kēphas (Κηφᾶς spelled kappa-eta-phi–alpha–sigma) is a transliteration into Greek letters of the Aramaic word Keypha (כֵּיפְחָא spelled caph-yod-peh-aleph = kyp)²¹ for ‘rock’, for John explains in his Greek Gospel that Simon’s new name Kēphas means ‘rock’ (and is translated into ‘Petros’)²². In December 2004 Hurtado wrote, in response to Doudna:

1) [...] we have no verified usage of Keypha as an Aramaic name prior to the NT usage. 2) We do in fact have a few cases of TITLES being translated from Semitic languages into Greek: Mashiach/Christos; Thomas/Didymus; Abba/Pater; etc. So, the move from Keypha to Petros is by no means without parallel in early Christianity. 3) All indications are that Keypha arose NOT as a name but as a title or nickname (i.e., either a formal or informal sobriquet), and was early on matched by a

¹⁵ In the Greek text of Matt 26,3.57 Luke 3,2 John 11,49 18,13 Acts 4,6 besides ‘Kaiaphas’ also ‘Kaiphaz’ appears. E.g.: εἰς δὲ τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν Καϊαφᾶς (Καϊφᾶς: P^{45,75vid} D it vg^{cl} sa ac²) John 11,49, and ἐν γὰρ πενθῆρος τοῦ Καϊαφᾶ (Καϊφᾶ: C D it vg^{cl} sa ac² pbo) John 18,13. In John 18,14.24.28 only Καϊαφᾶς is found. The Vulgate uses only ‘Caiphaz’ (Matt 26,3.57; Luke 3,2; John 11,49 18,13.14.24.28; Acts 4,6). [NA²⁷ (*Novum Testamentum Graece*, Stuttgart 27. Ausgabe 1993, 8. Druck 2001)]

¹⁶ Jos., *J.Ant.* 18,2,2: “and when he (Simon, the son of Camithus) had possessed that dignity (of high priest) no longer than a year, Joseph Caiaphas was made his successor.” 18,4,3: “Besides which, he also deprived Joseph, who was also called Caiaphas, of the high priesthood”.

¹⁷ *Oosthoek's Encyclopedie* (Utrecht 1968) 8, p. 328 at “Kefas”

¹⁸ According to Allegro Kaiapha(s) is a Greek transliteration of the Arabic word qā’if^{un}, which means ‘investigator, prognosticator; physiognomist’ and is the participle of the Arabic verb qāfa, meaning ‘follow; examine, investigate’ (J.M. ALLEGRO, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Christian Myth* (1979, 2nd revised American edition: New York 1992) p. 212-13, 236-37).

¹⁹ W. LODDER, *Historische nevenfiguren uit het N.T.* (Amsterdam 1938) p. 114-115

²⁰ A third interpretation of the name ‘Caiaphas’ is that it stemmed from the Hebrew qyp, which means ‘as comely’ (Strong’s concordance number 2533 in the lexicon of the *Online Bible*, Importancia, Dordrecht, 1997 (ISBN 90-5719-011-7)). But it seems that, as a title, ‘the comely’ would have been more appropriate in this case.

²¹ In M. JASTROW, *Dictionary of the targumim, talmud babli, yerushalmi and midrashic literature* (New York: the Judaica Press 1982, reprint of 1903) p. 634, the first consonant of the word is a caph (and the Hebrew word for ‘rock’ is כֵּף (caph-peh) or כֵּיפְחָא (caph-yod-peh)).

²² John 1,42 NA²⁷

Greek usage (Petros [...]). Such a “titular” term would be more readily be “translated” than would an established proper name (which might more readily be Graecized). [...] ²³
“Kypha” is most likely NOT a “proper name” but is a nickname or sobriquet, and “Petros” is likely the same sort of item. Simon’s surname in all the sources giving one was “Bar Yona”, NOT Petros. ²⁴

As already stated, according to Josephus, the name Caiaphas of the high priest Joseph was not a proper name or family name either, so it may have been a title or nickname too, just as Simon’s name Cephas. And that ‘Caiaphas’ was interchangeable with ‘Cephas’, is implied in both of the above mentioned theories on ‘Caiaphas’ – Oosthoek’s and Allegro’s –, and is easily explained (see fig. 1).

If the Aramaic word Keypha was the origin, there were two possibilities for its transliteration into Greek (= Graecizing): the Aramaic vowel in the first syllable was a long vowel, probably a tsere-yod sound, ²⁵ and it could be transliterated both with the long Greek vowel eta (Κηφα(ς) = Cephas) and with the combination of the two Greek vowels alpha-iota (Καίφα(ς) = Caiaphas). These two transliterations, with different vowels, are phonetically almost the same: “there is reasonable evidence that the eta was pronounced long, perhaps not all that different from what is in modern Greek the “ee” sound, or perhaps an “ai” [as in Cain]”. ²⁶ This freedom in transliterating names is confirmed by the fact that transliteration of Jewish names with different Greek spellings was already common in these days, not only for aristocratic persons. Examples are: 'Iasōn and 'Iēsous for Jeshua, Mousaios and Mōusēs for Moses, Simōn and Sumeōn for Shimeon. ²⁷ The two interchangeable transliterations Cephas and Caiaphas for Keypha could also be compared to the classical Itacism, which interchanges the Greek spellings eta and alpha-iota. So, ‘Cephas’ and ‘Caiaphas’ were interchangeable forms of the same nickname/title.

And if, according to Allegro’s theory, ‘Caiaphas’ and ‘Cephas’ were the more original, Graecized Arabic, names, ‘Caiaphas’ was very near in sound to ‘Cephas’: to a Hebrew person ‘Caiaphas’ and ‘Cephas’ both sounded as his own Hebrew word Keypha, for ‘rock’. So a Hebrew who didn’t know the Arabic meaning of ‘Cai(a)phas’ and wanted to write down in Greek the high priest’s name which sounded as Keypha, would readily have used either the form ‘Caiaphas’ or ‘Cephas’.

And Keypha (= rock) had also a very appropriate meaning, applicable to the high priest Joseph.

2.1. Meaning ‘rock’

The meaning ‘rock’ for the nickname of the high priest Joseph would have been very suitable:

1. his immovability

The function of high priest was a hereditary function. But from the time that the Romans started to govern the Jewish people, the high priest’s (oldest) son did not automatically inherit this function from his father any longer, for the Romans appointed and dismissed the high priest at will. Joseph’s three predecessors and most of his successors in the high priesthood didn’t remain much longer than one year in this high position ²⁸; most of them performed the unique high priestly ministry – the liturgical ministry of the annual Day of Atonement – only once. This could have been the reason for

²³ <http://www.ibiblio.org/bgreek/archives/greek-3/msg00821.html>

²⁴ <http://www.ibiblio.org/bgreek/archives/greek-3/msg00828.html>; Existing is a slave name ‘Aqab, son of Kepha’, mentioned in an Aramaic list dated 416 BCE in Elephantine, but slaves often got nicknames, and according to Hurtado “Bar Kepha” may not be a family name but a ‘moniker’ = “Son of stone” (perhaps referring to some personality characteristic) (<http://www.ibiblio.org/bgreek/archives/greek-3/msg00828.html>).

²⁵ L.W. HURTADO, Dec. 1994, <http://www.ibiblio.org/bgreek/archives/greek-3/msg00828.html>

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ S. SAFRAI a.o. eds., *Jewish People*, p. 1051-52.

²⁸ Jos. *J.Ant.* 18, 19 and 20 (see also appendix 2 “High Priests and Second Priests”)

John to write that Caiphas was “the high priest of that year”²⁹, since the Jews were used to seeing a new high priest every year, and also Caiphas could get removed by the Roman authorities at any time. But, against all expectations, Joseph remained the high priest year after year after year: Joseph Caiphas was like the rock of the Temple Mount itself, which would not be removed from its place. He remained the high priest for the extraordinary long period of eighteen years (18-36 CE), and was only dismissed when the emperor appointed a new governor of Syria and this new governor dismissed Pilate and on the occasion of his visit to Jerusalem just dismissed Pilate’s colleague Joseph as well.³⁰

2. his place of residence

Furthermore, the high priest Joseph Caiphas probably had a house in the temple tower (the tower of Hananeel), built on the massive rock described by Josephus, and rebuilt and enlarged by Herod to become the temple fortress Antonia: “Antonia ... it was erected upon a rock of fifty cubits in height, and was on a great precipice.”³¹ That the high priest’s palace, where Jesus was brought in, may have been in Antonia, is shown in the following:

Simon Peter and Jesus in the temple prison in Antonia

(taken from my article “John Mark – Author of the Gospel of John with Jesus’ mother”³²)

Josephus describes Antonia as a building that looked like a fortress from the outside, but was like a palace inside: “a palace, it being parted into all kinds of rooms and other conveniences, such as courts, and places for bathing, and broad spaces for camps” (Safrai: 984; Josephus: War 5,238-45). Historically several high priests before Caiphas, and probably also after him, have lived in the temple and in the temple fortress (Hilkiah and Jehoiada (2Kings 22,3-5 2Chron 22,11-12), Simon the Maccabean, and Hyrcanus, and “his sons and ... their sons after them”, e.g. Aristobulus I, and his widow queen Salome Alexandra, and Hyrcanus II (1Macc 13,52; Josephus: Antiquities 18,4,3), and probably also Jesus ben Gamala in ± 64 CE (Josephus: Antiquities 20,9,4; this Jesus’ wife Martha demanded that a carpet was laid before her feet when she went to (the sanctuary of) the temple (Rops: 191)). Also Edersheim (ch. 4, p. 65) states that the high priest possessed a house in the temple. And it is important to note that not only the prison’s ‘hypēretai’, but also the ordinary captains of the temple were sitting in the high priest’s courtyard after Jesus had been brought in there (Luke 22,52-55). They even lit a fire there, as if they were at home (Luke 22,52.55 John 18,18). So, the high priest’s courtyard apparently was shared by and accessible to both the prison guards and the ordinary temple guards. And as the ‘hypēretai’ were sitting “below” by the fire in the high priest’s courtyard in the night when they had taken in Jesus (Mark 14,66 John 18,18), the high priest’s palace may very well have been in one of the upper floors of Antonia. Moreover, the chambers where the high priest and the standing Council of the Temple (the high priestly council which regulated in detail everything connected with the affairs and services of the sanctuary) used to gather, were inside the sanctuary, in the south western corner of the Court of the Priests, and were only accessible during day-time, and then only by priests and Levites (Edersheim: ch. 4 and 2). So, these chambers could not be used when Jesus was brought in. It is probable that in the night when the ‘hypēretai’ were sent to arrest Jesus on the Mount of Olives, Annas and Caiphas were both waiting for Jesus’ arrival in Caiphas’ palace in Antonia, for then Matthew 26,57, which says that the ‘hypēretai’ brought Jesus “to Caiphas” (i.e. to Caiphas’ palace in Antonia), does not contradict John 18,13, which says Jesus was brought “to Annas first”, and then sent to Caiphas (John 18,24).

That the high priest’s palace and courtyard were not far from the prison and the barracks of the ‘hypēretai’ in the western temple gate, the Watch Gate, and that they even were in the same building, is proved by Simon Peter’s movements in this night (see fig. 2 and table 1). Peter had entered the high priest’s courtyard through the porch just like Jesus, and even after Jesus had been brought from Annas to Caiphas, Peter just needed to have walked “out into the porch” to be able to see Jesus turn and look at him; only after that Peter “went out” (Mark 14,68//Matt 26,71 (AV); Luke 22,61; Matt 26,75//Luke 22,62). This proves that Annas and Caiphas saw Jesus in the same building. But when and where did Peter see Jesus turn and look at him? Scripture says that Jesus turned and looked at Peter at the moment when Peter, while standing in the porch, denied Jesus for the third time and the cock crew. For Peter to be able to see Jesus, one usually imagines Jesus as, very coincidentally, being led across the high priest’s courtyard at that particular moment (to be brought to the prison, in order to be ready for the examination by the Great Sanhedrin, which took place

²⁹ John 11,49.51; “the high priest of that year” probably means the high priest who officiated in the liturgy of the Day of Atonement of that year; this description distinguished him from the second priest, who also was called “the high priest” (e.g. Acts 4,6) but who was not appointed by the Romans and thus could remain in his position for many years (see appendices 1 and 2).

³⁰ Jos. *J.Ant.* 18,4,3(95)

³¹ Jos., *Ant.* 15,8,5(292) and *The Wars of the Jews* 5,5,8(238)

³² www.JesusKing.info, 04-11-2008.

in the temple's court room the next morning). But at Peter's third denial Jesus was not being led in the direction of the porch, where Peter was, for Jesus had to turn to be able to look at Peter in the porch. This proves that Jesus still wasn't leaving the building and that also the prison thus was in the same building. (It is improbable that Jesus had already passed Peter in the porch and was leaving the building when He turned and looked at Peter when Peter denied Jesus, for then Peter would have seen Jesus approaching the porch and would have understood that Jesus was being led out of the building, and thus would have gone outside, out of the porch, immediately, to be able to follow Jesus and the 'hypēretai' secretly when they were outside the building, leading Him to some other place. He would not have waited until Jesus had passed him in the porch and have let a servant interrogate him about Jesus then.) So, the eye-contact in the usual reconstruction described above, would have to have been even briefer and more coincidental, for right after Peter denied Jesus, Jesus must not only have crossed Peter's sight from the porch, but Peter must also have looked in that direction (as if he knew Jesus was there), like also Jesus must have known that Peter was in the porch, to be able to turn and look at him. All of this just seems too coincidental. The following reconstruction is a more plausible explanation of Peter's looking at Jesus: While Jesus is interrogated by Annas inside Caiphas' palace in Antonia, Peter is interrogated in the courtyard by one of the maids. After his first denial of Jesus Peter goes "out into the porch", the porch of the Watch Gate at the foot of Antonia. While Jesus is interrogated by Caiphas and the Council of the Temple, by this time assembled in Caiphas' palace, Peter gets interrogated for the second time as well, by another maid, and he denies Jesus again. But he keeps waiting in the porch, as he wanted "to see the end" (Matt 26,58). "After an interval of about ... an hour" another man interrogates Peter and after his third denial of Jesus the cock crows for the second time, and then "the Lord turned and looked at Peter" (Luke 22,59-61): after the Council of the Temple had condemned Jesus to death, He had been taken to and locked up in Antonia's "public prison", which was in the same building and also 'in full view of all' in the Watch Gate, where Peter was still waiting to see the end. So, here in the Watch Gate, after Peter and Jesus had already seen and recognized each other, and after the cock crew, Peter saw how Jesus turned and looked at him from the prison, and he "went out and wept bitterly" (Luke 22,62 Matt 26,75). Then the "men who held Jesus" – Mark 14,65 specifies they were 'hypēretai' – "mocked Him and beat Him" (Luke 2,63). This is something the 'hypēretai', as officers of the public temple prison, would and could do in the temple prison.

In the upper city on the western hill of Jerusalem archaeologists found the so-called "house of Caiphas", with a store-house, treasury, palace, court of justice, guardroom and cells, complete sets of weights and measures, used only by priests, and a huge stone door-lintel inscribed: 'This is Korban or offering'; "In the very centre of the courtroom is the mouth of the bottle-necked prison, into which the condemned prisoner could be lowered after trial" and also the other prisoners were in the gloom of the lower floor beneath the courtroom: "Descending to a third level there is a complete guardroom, all round the walls of which are still the staples for the prisoners' chains. On one side is a small window opening on to the bottle-necked condemned cell. Below this window, ..., is a block on which the guard stood to peer down into the gloom of the cell below him" (Brownrigg: 26). This again proves that Jesus was in the public prison of Antonia, for if Jesus had been trialled by Caiphas in his private house in the upper city, He would have been in a dark cell under the courtroom, and thus would not have been visible to Simon Peter. And the temple's 'hypēretai' certainly wouldn't have lowered themselves into Caiphas' dark pit cell to mock and beat Jesus there.

So, Joseph's living high on the rock and his immovability like the rock's, were two specific reasons for giving him the Aramaic nickname 'rock' (Keypha), especially when his Arabic name Qā'if^{um}/Caiphas already sounded as 'rock'.

3. his place of ministry

A third reason for giving the high priest Joseph the nickname 'rock' was that only the sacrifices which were brought on the rock of the mount Moriah – the Temple Mount in Jerusalem on which the altar was founded – were valid sacrifices.³³ The daily communal morning and evening sacrifice on the rock of the Temple Mount (a lamb and bread and wine) were remembrances of the sacrifices made by the high priest Melchisedek (bread and wine) and by Abraham (a ram instead of his only son Isaac) on this very rock.³⁴

4. his fundamental position in the high priestly hierarchy

Not only was the place crucial for the validity of these sacrifices, the sacrifices also had to be made in the name of the official high priest,³⁵ the high priest at the top (or at the fundament) of the high priestly hierarchy, 'the rock of the high priesthood'.

³³ D. ROPS, *Het dagelijks leven*, p. 434

³⁴ Ge 22,8.14; H.G. KOEKKOEK, *De Geheimen Van De Offers*, Alphen aan de Rijn 1985, p. 127

³⁵ S. SAFRAI a.o. eds., *The Jewish People in the First Century*, Assen/Amsterdam, 1976, p. 874-875

Corroboration

When Luke wrote his Gospel he used the expression: ‘epi archiereōs Anna kai Kai(a)pha’ which, when translated, is: under the high priest (singular!) Annas and Caiphas.³⁶ The absence of the designation “high priest” for Caiphas proves that the word “Caiphas” already expressed sufficiently the unique function of this official high priest, and that writing “the high priest Caiphas” for Joseph would be a pleonasm.³⁷

Another corroboration is found in Jesus’ metaphor:

"And I tell you, you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the powers of death shall not prevail against it. I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." (Matt 16,18-19)

By giving Simon the name Peter or Cephas, Jesus gave Simon the nickname of the high priest Caiphas and thus appointed Simon to be (the earthly) high priest of the New Covenant, as the vicar of Jesus Christ Himself, who is the eternal High Priest (Heb 10,10-14). Peter’s high priesthood would have to last just as long and to be just as fundamental with respect to the validity of the priestly ministry as Caiphas’ high priesthood was.³⁸ Jesus, in saying that He would build his church “on this rock”, used the metaphor of the rock of the Temple Mount, which was at that moment the fundament, on which Herod was rebuilding the temple. By saying that the powers of death would not prevail against the church, Jesus elaborated the metaphor of the temple, for Herod’s temple was near the valley of Ge-hinnom – which was to the south west of the temple –, and which name in Jesus’ time was connected to death because of the heathen child-sacrifices that had been brought there and because it was a burial place, just as the Kidron Valley, adjacent to the Temple Mount on the East side.³⁹ From these valleys an enemy could hardly prevail over the temple, high on the rocks and guarded by three armies in Antonia (a Roman guard, the city guard and the temple guard). That Peter would be given the keys of the kingdom of heaven, in this same metaphor may be a reference to the keys of the temple, with which the temple gates were opened and closed every morning and evening. And by saying that whatever Peter would bind or loose on earth would be bound and loosed in heaven, Jesus’ metaphor may have alluded to the loosening validity of the Jewish reconciling sacrifices – loosening man from sin – under the condition that they were performed in the name of the high priest and on the rock of the Temple Mount.

And much later, Paul too, just as Jesus, used the metaphor of the temple, when he referred to “James and Cephas and John” as “pillars”⁴⁰ of the church as opposed to the ‘rock’ Simon Peter: the temple had a great many pillars, of which e.g. the two main pillars in the front of the sanctuary were legendary,⁴¹ but it was built on only one rock.

So, the meaning ‘rock’ for “Caiphas” makes much sense and this meaning is affirmed by Jesus’ and Paul’s metaphor alluding to the high priest and the temple.

2.2. Usage of the variants

Though it isn’t certain which name was the high priest’s original nickname/title – the Arabic Qā’if^m/Caiaphas or the Aramaic Keypha/Cephas –, it seems most likely that Joseph, when he was appointed high priest in 18 CE, had the nickname/title Caiaphas, stemming from the Arabic word

³⁶ ἐπι ἀρχιερέως Ἀννα καὶ Καί(α)φά, Luke 3,2 NA²⁷

³⁷ It would be like saying “the Holy Father the Pope”.

³⁸ In the Roman Catholic Church the pope is in this function for life, and every Roman Catholic Mass is celebrated in the name of the bishop, all other priests being his delegates. “Let only that Eucharist be regarded as legitimate, which is celebrated under [the presidency of] the bishop or him to whom he has entrusted it.” (Catechisme of the Catholic Church §1369) The bishop represents the apostolic succession, with the pope as its head.

³⁹ Jer 31,40

⁴⁰ Gal 2,9

⁴¹ These pillars even had names: Boaz and Jachin (1 Kings 7,15-22)

for investigator/prognosticator and that only after he had been the Jewish high priest for some years his name Caiaphas was slightly adapted towards Caipha(s)/Cepha(s), which name sounded as – and was also meant to be the equivalent of – the Aramaic word Keypha for ‘rock’. That Joseph’s nickname/title would have corrupted from Cepha(s) to Caiaphas – as the scholars of the Oosthoeks Encyclopedie held –, seems less probable, because the meaning ‘rock’ was less appropriate at the beginning of his high priesthood than the meaning investigator/prognosticator. This last meaning was suitable at the start of his high priesthood as he may have had the gift of prophecy from his youth. John referred to this gift, when he wrote that Caiphas “prophesied that Jesus should die for the nation, and not for the nation only, but to gather into one the children of God who are scattered abroad.”⁴² In the year 27 CE, the supposed year of the start of Jesus’ public mission, when He gave Simon the nickname/title Cephas, Joseph Cephas probably had already earned to be called ‘rock’, as he had already proved to be the immovable ‘rock’ of the high priesthood for nine years.

Noteworthy is that on a piece of parchment from one of the caves near the Dead Sea a name/title (כעפס caph-ayin-peh-samech = k‘ps) appears in Hebrew letters above a clinical record of medical treatments: Allegro⁴³ holds that these Hebrew letters are a transliteration of the Greek ‘Caiaphas’, originating from the Arabic word qā’if^{un} for investigator/prognosticator. (The gift of insight and prophecy was supposed to be needed by the physician to recognize (the unclean spirit that caused) the illness, to prognosticate the course of the disease, the most efficacious treatment, and its most likely outcome.) The thesis of Allegro is that qā’if^{un}/Caiaphas was the title of the physician of the Qumran-community, and that it at some point had been given to Joseph. So, it is possible that Joseph’s nickname/title Qā’if^{un}/Caiaphas was at first transliterated with the Hebrew letters כעפס = k‘ps and that only after he had been the high priest for some years one deliberately started to vocalize this כעפס = k‘ps (and any other Hebrew variants, perhaps כ״פס = kyp(s)) as the Aramaic Keypha – ‘rock’– and to transliterate it with the Greek Caiphas/Cephas, the two interchangeable forms (see fig. 1).

In the New Testament the first Greek transliteration of the nickname ‘rock’ was made by Paul in his epistle to the Galatians, written in 48/49 CE.⁴⁴ He chose the eta (Cephas) and, according to this study, meant the high priest Joseph Caiphas (when indicating Simon Peter he used the Greek name Πέτρος (Peter), also meaning ‘rock’).⁴⁵ John, in the beginning of his Gospel (John 1,42), also used the Greek transliteration Cephas with eta for the new nickname/title of Simon.⁴⁶ In the rest of his Gospel John uses only “Simon” and/or “Peter”. Only near the end of his Gospel, John mentions the person of the high priest himself,⁴⁷ but now he uses the transliteration Caiphas (with alpha-iota) or Caiaphas, maybe simply to distinguish the person of the high priest from the already mentioned apostle Simon Peter (already named and spelled Cephas, with eta). Anyway, according to Thiede “it is quite usual for authors and scribes to use variant spellings for the same words in ancient texts.”⁴⁸

Having considered all this, it is not unreasonable to assume that anyone who knew that the nickname/title of the Jewish high priest was or had been Caiphas/Cephas, even without knowing its meaning ‘rock’, would understand from John’s Gospel that Jesus gave Simon the title and function of high priest of his Church. And any Greek-speaking person who knew that the meaning of the high priest’s nickname Caiphas/Cephas was ‘rock’, would understand, even without having read or heard the Gospels, that the nickname “Peter” (rock) for Simon was the translation of the nickname of the Jewish high priest and that it thus meant that Simon Peter was the high priest of the Christians.

⁴² John 11,51-52

⁴³ J.M. ALLEGRO, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Christian Myth*, p. 128, 210-14, 236-37

⁴⁴ This date will be explained in paragraph 4.4. *The new chronology*

⁴⁵ Cephas: Gal 1,18 2,9.11.14; Petros: Gal 2,7.8 NA²⁷

⁴⁶ Perhaps John knew that Paul had already used the eta in the transliteration Cephas for the high priest.

⁴⁷ John 11,49 18,13.14. 24.28

⁴⁸ C.P. THIEDE, *Jesus: Life or Legend*, Oxford 1997, p. 150.

2.3. Disputed inscriptions

The inscriptions found in 1990 on a beautifully ornamented first-century ossuary are the words ‘Joseph son of Qeypha’, with ‘Qeypha’ spelled in Hebrew letters: קפא qoph-peh-aleph = qp’ and קפא qoph-yod-peh-aleph = qyp’ or קפא qoph-waw-peh-aleph = qwp’; a third inscription was found on another ossuary in the same burial cave: only ‘Qeypha’ spelled קפא = qp’.⁴⁹ So, here a ק qoph is used in stead of the כ caph of the Hebrew and Aramaic words for ‘rock’ (Keypha).

It needs to be specified now that a third theses on the name Caiaphas is, that it stemmed from the Aramaic קפא qoph-yod-peh-aleph = qyp’, meaning ‘as comely’.⁵⁰ But this origin seems unlikely because the title ‘the comely’ with the article ‘the’ (ה ha-) would have been more appropriate than the title ‘as comely’ with ‘as’ (ק qa-). But because one of the spellings on the ossuaries (קפא qoph-yod-peh-aleph = qyp’) is the same as this *supposed* origin of ‘Caiaphas’ – ‘as comely’ –, it is thought, but it isn’t certain, that these inscriptions are the Aramaic origin of the name of the high priest Joseph Caiphas.

Another possibility, however, is that it was the other way around: that the inscriptions on the ossuary were not the original Aramaic name, but only were a re-transliteration of the Greek name Caiaphas/Caiphaz to Hebrew letters, just as the Hebrew letters כעפס = k’ps on the Dead Sea parchment. This re-transliteration on the ossuaries may have been done by a first-century person or even by a more modern person who thought that Caiphas meant ‘as comely’, as the authenticity of the inscriptions “is still disputed”⁵¹. Such a person, who wanted to write down the Greek name of Joseph Caiphas in Hebrew letters on the ossuaries, would have needed to choose between the caph and the qoph. And the reason for choosing the qoph may have been that in modern Hebrew a foreign word with a k-sound, as Caiphas, is transliterated to Hebrew letters with a qoph, for example: the word ‘coffee’ is transliterated with קפה qoph-peh-heh = qph.⁵² The author of the authentic medical record on the Dead Sea parchment, however, chose the caph.

Another consideration is that the ossuary inscriptions, if authentic, instead of indicating the high priest Joseph, may as well, or even more probably, have indicated another Joseph, since the high priest Joseph was not a *son* of Caiphas but was only *nicknamed* Caiphas. And it is not probable that the ossuary belonged to a Joseph who was a son of the high priest Joseph Caiphas, for a Jew wasn’t prone to give his son his own name (Joseph son of Joseph), but rather the name of his own father.⁵³ A possibility is that the ‘Joseph son of Qeypha’ was a son of the high priest Elioneaus,⁵⁴ who reigned from 43 until 47 CE at the most. In the Mishnah this high priest Elioneaus is given the Hebrew title הקיי = hqyyp,⁵⁵ which has been vocalized by Allegro as haqqayyāph and interpreted as the combination of the Hebrew article (ha-) and a Hebrew transliteration qayy^hphā of the Arabic ‘prognosticator’.⁵⁶ So, the title Caiphas possibly was re-used for this new high priest Elioneaus, one of Joseph Caiphas’ later successors, and the ossuary inscription קפא = qp’ may have been just another arbitrary Hebrew transliteration of this title. Thus the ossuary may have belonged to a Joseph, son of Elioneaus, and not to Joseph Caiphas. Another possibility is that the ‘Joseph son of Qeypha’ was a son of a person with the proper name Qeypha (although there is doubt whether this proper name existed) or even the son of a person with the proper name or nickname Qopha (if the

⁴⁹ Z. GREENHUT, Burial cave of the Caiaphas Family, *Biblical Archeology Review*, 18/5 (1992), p. 28-36; R. REICH, Caiaphas name inscribed on bone boxes, *Biblical Archeology Review*, 18/5 (1992), p. 38-44; E. PUECH, A-t-on redécouvert le tombeau du grand-prêtre Caïphe? *Le Monde de la Bible*, 80 (1993), p. 42-47.

⁵⁰ Strong’s concordance number 2533 in the Greek-English lexicon of the *Online Bible*, Importantia, Dordrecht, 1997 (ISBN 90-5719-011-7)

⁵¹ C. CLAUSEN (University of Munich), Caiaphas in Context, *Expository Times* 117, 7, p. 297-298

⁵² A. GEBHARD, *Melet*, Muiderberg 1979, p. 24

⁵³ The name Annas, son of Annas, is an exception for the fifth son that became high priest after his father Annas.

⁵⁴ Jos, *J.Ant.*, 20,1,3

⁵⁵ M.Para 3,5

⁵⁶ J.M. ALLEGRO, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 236-37

inscribed yod/waw is actually a waw). So, for various reasons, it can not be verified that the inscription with qoph actually indicated the high priest Joseph Caiphas.

Conclusively, there are at least two arguments why the inscriptions with qoph can not be used as proof that Paul's Cephas could not be the 'rock' (with caph) of the high priesthood, the high priest Joseph Caiaphas: 1) the inscriptions don't necessarily indicate the person of the high priest Joseph Caiaphas 2) the inscriptions are not necessarily the origin of the Greek name Caipha(s) – they could be nothing more than an (arbitrary) Hebrew transliteration of the Arabic qā'if^{un} or of the Greek Caiaphas – and 3) the inscriptions may not be authentic.

3. The kerygma: Cephas, the Twelve and the five hundred

3.1. The temple order in the first century

The Council of the Temple – the high priest and twelve 'elders of the priests'

The first century the temple, built by Herod, was guarded by watches made up of Levites and priests. The overseer of all these watches was called "the captain of the temple".⁵⁷ The captain of the temple was subordinate to the seven 'Ammarcalin': the priests who had the supreme command over all the temple gates.⁵⁸

The high priest (in Jesus' days Caiphas), and/or the so-called 'second priest' (Annas), who's duty it was to replace the high priest if necessary, and who would generally act as his assistant⁵⁹,

the two 'Katholikin' (chief treasurers and overseers),

the seven 'Ammarcalin' (supreme command over all the gates) and

the three 'Gizbarin' (under-treasurers)

constituted the standing Council of the Temple, which members were also called 'the elders of the priests' or 'the counsellors',⁶⁰ and which regulated everything connected with the affairs and services of the sanctuary.⁶¹ It was this "council",⁶² which consisted of 2 + 7 + 3 = 12 ordinary members and which was presided over by "Caiaphas, the high priest",⁶³ that in the Paschal night condemned Jesus for blasphemy and thought Him "guilty of death"⁶⁴: the second priest Annas appears not to have belonged to this council – at least not necessarily when the high priest Caiphas officiated as its president –, for Annas, also called "the high priest"⁶⁵, was the one who in the evening had "sent" Jesus, bound but not condemned, from his own (court)room "to Caiaphas".⁶⁶ So, it was the high priest Caiphas with the twelve ordinary 'elders of the priests' of this council, who condemned Jesus to death at night. Lightfoot says the following about the Council of the Temple:

⁵⁷ Acts 4,1 5,24.26

⁵⁸ EDERSHEIM, *The Temple* ch. 4, p. 70

⁵⁹ The Hebraist JOHN LIGHTFOOT (1602-1675) in his "Commentary on the New Testament from the Talmud an Hebraica" already stated: "It is easy distinguishing this *captain of the mountain of the Temple* from the *ruler of the Temple* or the *sagan*. The former presided only over the guards; the latter over the whole service of the Temple. And so we have them distinguished, Acts 4:1: there is the *captain of the Temple*, and Annas, who was the *sagan*" (commentary on Luke 22,4). The same contention is in Easton's revised Bible Dictionary at "Caiaphas": "Annas .. probably the vicar or deputy (Heb. Sagan) of Caiaphas". The word sagan סָגָן (S. SAFRAI a.o. eds., *The Jewish People*,. p. 875) is used for the "second priest" (2Ki 25,18 Jer 52,24).

⁶⁰ EDERSHEIM, *The Temple* ch. 4, p. 70

⁶¹ "These were the priests who fulfilled important functions in the Temple, such as treasurers, administrators and the like. These priests were members of a court that rendered legal decisions affecting the priesthood and constituted a distinct bloc within the Sanhedrin." (S. SAFRAI a.o. eds., *The Jewish People*,. p. 602)

⁶² Matt 26,59 Mark 14,55

⁶³ Matt 26,57 Mark 14,53 and "Caiaphas" as president of the Council of the Temple: John 18,24

⁶⁴ Matt 26,66 Mark 14,64

⁶⁵ "Annas [...] the high priest" John 18,13.19; "Annas the high priest" Acts 4,6.

⁶⁶ John 18,24; in Luke 22,54 "the high priest's house" is the house of Caiphas, where he presided over the Council of the Temple at night (Matt 26,57 John 18,24) (see paragraph III.2.1. Meaning, 2. his place of residence).

“This judicatory, which ordinarily did not busy itself with criminal questions, apparently took a leading part in the condemnation of Jesus.”⁶⁷

In the morning Jesus was led before the Great Sanhedrin (or “all the Senate of the children of Israel”), which besides the members of the Council of the Temple and other chief priests and scribes also included the “elders of the people”⁶⁸ (see table 1) and which was presided over by the second priest Annas (this is elaborated in appendix 1, “The Two Councils in the Acts”).⁶⁹ Just as the Council of the Temple consisted of twelve ordinary members plus the president (either the high priest or the second priest), thus also the Great Sanhedrin (or Senate) consisted of seventy ordinary members plus the president (either the second priest or the so-called ‘Nasi’ (נָסִי = ‘nasy’ is a Hebrew word for ‘prince’)⁷⁰; when it was assembled as the court of justice the second priest, also called the ‘abed-beth-din’ (= father of the house of justice) – in Jesus’ case Annas –, was the president; when it assembled as a court of civil affairs the Nasi presided, who wasn’t necessarily a priest, but who was a rabbi or scribe.⁷¹ So, it seems the Jewish temple had a Cephias (the high priest Joseph Caiaphas), a Twelve (of the Council of the Temple) – the number “Twelve” distinguished these ‘elders of the priests’ from the twenty-four elders of the courses of priests and the many elders of the families of priests –, a Seventy (of the Great Sanhedrin, as an allusion to the seventy elders of Israel in Numbers 11,16.24.25)⁷² and an Eleven (of the temple police).

This distinction between the Council of the Temple with the high priest as its president, and the Great Sanhedrin including the elders of the people and with the second priest as its president, can be found in other biblical cases as well (see appendix 1, “The Two Councils in the Acts”). For a chronological list of the high priests and second priests see appendix 2, “High Priests and Second Priests”.

Officiating priests – on feast-days above five hundred

According to Jewish tradition, half of each of the twenty-four ‘courses,’ into which the priesthood were divided, were permanently resident in Jerusalem; the rest scattered over the land. It is added, that about one half of the latter had settled in Jericho, and were in the habit of supplying the needful support to

⁶⁷ EDERSHEIM, *The Temple*, ch. 4, p. 70

⁶⁸ “These [...] priests [of the Council of the Temple] ... constituted a distinct bloc within the Sanhedrin” (S. SAFRAI a.o. eds., *The Jewish People*, p. 602). “When morning came, all the chief priests and the *elders of the people* took counsel against Jesus to put him to death; and they bound him and led him away and delivered him to Pilate the governor.” (Matt 27,1-2); “When day came, the assembly of the *elders of the people* gathered together, both chief priests and scribes; and they led him away to their council.” ... “Then the whole company of them arose, and brought him before Pilate.” (Luke 22,66 27,1); Mark 15,1; “Caiaphas” as the name by which the place of the Great Sanhedrin was designated: “Then they led Jesus from the house of Caiaphas to the praetorium. It was early. ... Pilate went out to them” John 18,28-29.

⁶⁹ The “Senate” (Acts 5,21) translates the Greek designation ‘gerousia’ (NA²⁷), denoting “the chief council of nations or cities” (Strong’s 1087). In the meeting of “all the Senate of Israel”, with the apostles on trial, the “high priest” (Annas) with “We strictly charged you not to teach in this name” (Acts 5,21.27-28) is referring to what he, “Annas the high priest” (Acts 4,6) had commanded Simon Peter in the previous meeting: “not to speak or teach at all in the name of Jesus” (Acts 4,18.21). See also Appendix 1.

⁷⁰ “The Jewish sanhedrim is sometimes said to consist of seventy one, and sometimes of seventy two; though commonly said to be of the round number seventy” (Gill’s commentary on Luke 10,1) <http://www.searchgodsword.org/com/geb/view.cgi?book=lu&chapter=010&verse=001>

⁷¹ D. ROPS, *Het dagelijks leven* p. 74. When the Sanhedrin was assembled as a court for religion, Halakah, jurisprudence and civil affairs, it was presided over by a certain ‘Nasi’, who seems to have been one of the leading Pharisean sages (Chagiga 2,2; Horajoth 2:5 3:1; Eddowjoth 5:6; Pesachim 6:33; Sabbath fol.15a etc.) [D. ROPS, *Het dagelijks leven*, p. 74]; In Acts 25,2 both presidents seem to be present: the second priest Ananias, called “the high priest”, and the ‘Nasi’, called “the chief of the Jews”. See also appendix 1 “The Two Councils in the Acts” for the difference between the second priest (‘abed-beth-din’) and the official high priest.

⁷² The numbers twelve and seventy, designating the ordinary members of the Council of the Temple (consisting of twelve plus the president = the high priest) and of the High Council (consisting of seventy plus the president = the ‘abed-beth-din’ (D. ROPS, *Het dagelijks leven*, p. 74) = the second priest), seem to be no accidental image of the model by which Jesus organised the church of the New Testament, from the start: twelve apostles (Luke 6,13) and seventy disciples (Luke 10,1.17). An even older image is in the twelve tribes of Israel and the seventy wise men with Moses as their leader (Num 11,16).

their brethren while officiating in Jerusalem. (...) When a 'course' was on duty, all its members were bound to appear in the Temple. Those who stayed away ... had to meet in the synagogues of their district to pray and to fast each day of their week of service, except on the sixth, the seventh, and the first." "Each 'course' of priests ... came on duty for a week, from one Sabbath to another. The service of the week was subdivided among the various families that constituted a 'course' (...).⁷³

The number of 'families' (or 'houses of fathers') in each course was not fixed but could vary from one course to another, e.g. some had five 'houses', others six, eight or nine.⁷⁴

The new company of priests and Levites who are to conduct the services of the morrow [of the Sabbath] are coming up from Ophel under the leadership of their heads of houses, their elders.⁷⁵

On Sabbaths the whole 'course' was on duty; on feast-days any priest might come up and join in the ministrations of the sanctuary; and at the Feast of Tabernacles all the twenty-four courses were bound to be present and officiate. While actually engaged on service in the Temple, the priests were not allowed to drink wine, either by day or by night. The other 'families' or 'houses' also of the 'course' who were in attendance at Jerusalem, though not on actual duty, were, during their week of ministry, prohibited the use of wine, except at night, because they might have to be called in to assist their brethren of the officiating 'family,' which they could not do if they had partaken of strong drink.⁷⁶

There must have been each day about fifty priests on duty.⁷⁷

Tradition has it that on the Day of Atonement no less than five hundred of priests were wont to assist in the services. On other feast-days even more must have been engaged.⁷⁸

During their sojourn in Jerusalem, they slept within the temple precincts.⁷⁹

The same division in courses, with ministration for a week in turns, was also made for the Levites who assisted in the sacrificial service, "but the sources do not indicate a specific division into father's houses as in the case of the priests".⁸⁰

3.2. Cephas, beside the Twelve – "we see Jesus"

- 3 For I delivered to you as of first importance what I also received,
that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures,
 - 4 that he was buried, that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures,
 - 5 and that he appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve.
 - 6 Then he appeared to more than five hundred brethren at one time,
most of whom are still alive, though some have fallen asleep.
 - 7 Then he appeared to James, then to all the apostles.
 - 8 Last of all, as to one untimely born, he appeared also to me.
 - 9 For I am the least of the apostles, unfit to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God.
- (1Cor 15,3-9)

Of this citation the verses 3 through 5 (more precisely the three lines starting with "(and) that..."), plus maybe the verses 6 and 7, are the so-called 'kerygma' (= proclamation), the pre-Pauline

⁷³ EDERSHEIM, *The Temple* ch. 4, p. 56-62

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ EDERSHEIM, *The Temple* ch. 7, p. 109

⁷⁶ Ibid p. 62

⁷⁷ EDERSHEIM, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, Peabody, Mass., Hendrickson, 1993, Book II, chapter 3, and note 626: "If we reckon the total number in the twenty-four courses of, presumably, the officiating priesthood, at 20,000, according to Josephus (Ag. Ap. ii. 8), which is very much below the exaggerated Talmudic computation of 85,000 for the smallest course (Jer. Taan. 69 a), and suppose, that little more than one-third of each course had come up for duty, this would give fifty priests for each week-day, while on the Sabbath the whole course would be on duty. This is, of course, considerably more than the number requisite, since, except for the incensing priest, the lot for the morning also held good for the evening sacrifice."

⁷⁸ EDERSHEIM, *The Temple* ch. 6, p. 103

⁷⁹ S. SAFRAI a.o. eds., *The Jewish People*, p. 870.

⁸⁰ Ibid p. 872.

formula, which, according to Craig, is of Palestinian origin and no later than Paul's first post-conversion Jerusalem visit, when he met Cephas and James.⁸¹

As Paul, after having cited the kerygma, counts himself as "last" (1Cor 15,8), it seems reasonable to assume that the list of the kerygma is a chronological list⁸². But it probably is an hierarchical one as well, for Paul says he was the last because he was the least. So, the persons of the kerygma may have been: "Cephas" the high priest, the first Jewish human authority after the authority of "the Scriptures", which in the kerygma are mentioned before Cephas twice. After the Scriptures and Cephas follow "the Twelve", probably the 'elders of the priests' of the Council of the Temple, then follow the "five hundred brethren" as ordinary priests officiating and sleeping in the temple in the Paschal week, then "James" as the Davidic head of the deputations of the Israelites in the temple,⁸³ and "all the apostles" as the Eleven and their servants of the temple prison (and perhaps also the twelve Galilean men).⁸⁴ The women, to whom Jesus appeared first of all, in the early morning of Easter,⁸⁵ didn't belong to any hierarchy, which may have been the main reason for not mentioning them in the kerygma.

The high priest Cephas must have been known in both the Jewish and the Gentile world: in the first century the temple of Jerusalem was considered the most beautiful temple of the world,⁸⁶ to which even Roman emperors contributed sacrifices,⁸⁷ and, at the moment of Jesus' death (assumed in 30 CE), Caiphas had been its high priest for twelve years. For this reason the proclamation that he had seen the risen Jesus would have much more impact in the Greco-Roman world than the proclamation that some Galilean fisherman and disciple of Jesus (called Simon Peter) had seen Jesus in an appearance. According to Craig the kerygma originated from the first encounter of the converted Paul with Cephas at the latest, and this probably took place when Cephas was still high priest.⁸⁸ The institution and nickname of the "Twelve", beside Cephas, will have been known to all Jews, whether in Palestine or in the Dispersion, and since Cephas and the Twelve were known to be priests, there was no need to specify in the kerygma that the five hundred brothers, mentioned after Cephas and the Twelve, were priests as well. And after mentioning these temple priests, "James" needed no further specification either, because he was tightly connected to the temple⁸⁹ and, if he was the main representative of the Israelite people in the temple liturgy, he too will have been known to all Israelites.⁹⁰ According to Eusebius he "was esteemed by all as the most just of men" and was "called the Just by all" – "all" being all Jews, whether Christian or not.⁹¹ If the James in the kerygma was one of the original Galilean apostles, i.e. James, the son of Zebedee, or James, the son

⁸¹ W.L. CRAIG, *Assessing* p. 15 and 23

⁸² That the formula of verses 3-7 ("vs. 3-7 is a tradition interrupted by v. 6b and appended with v. 8") was a "smooth chronological and historical sequence of related events of a common subject, Χριστος (1 Cor. 15:3)", and that it "was received by Paul as a unity" including the names of witnesses, is defended by W.L. Craig against R.H. Fuller (W.L. CRAIG, *Assessing* p. 6, 23, 24).

⁸³ This is to be discussed in my article "James and the brothers – Davidic representatives in the temple liturgy".

⁸⁴ "All the apostles" (the group of the Eleven (and the Galilean apostles)) is the "pre-Pentecost" "limited body, which was nevertheless larger than the Twelve", defined by W.L. Craig. He also holds that it is most likely that the appearance to "all the apostles" occurred prior to Pentecost, and he suggests that it occurred at the event of the ascension (W.L. CRAIG, *Assessing* p. 51-53).

⁸⁵ Matt 27,1.9 Mark 16,9 John 20,1.14-16

⁸⁶ Jos., *J. Wars* 4,4,3 (262)

⁸⁷ The decision made during the reign of high priest Matthias, son of Theophilus, (± 65 CE) to exclude sacrifices brought by Gentiles, even those brought by the Roman Emperor, was the cause of the outbreak of the Jewish-Roman war (Jos., *Wars* 2,17,2 (409)).

⁸⁸ This will be explained below in paragraph 4.4. The new chronology, *First visit - Cephas still high priest*.

⁸⁹ Cf. Acts 21,18; Chilton, commenting on the sources that speak of James, attests that "A tight association with the temple on James's part is attested throughout and from an early period" and that "James is found virtually *only* there (in the temple) after the resurrection" (B. CHILTON, "James, Jesus' Brother", in *The Face of New Testament Studies*, ed. S. MCKNIGHT AND G.R. OSBORNE, Grand Rapids, 2004, p. 257, 262).

⁹⁰ This subject is to be discussed in my article "James and the brothers – Davidic representatives in the temple liturgy".

⁹¹ Eus., *H.E.* II,23,2.4

of Alphaeus, his name would have needed a further specification. So, the fact that James is not further specified in the kerygma proves that his identity could be deduced from the persons mentioned before him, and this is only so when these persons were the various temple priests mentioned above. If they were the Galilean apostles and disciples, the identity of the James in the kerygma would have remained unclear, not only for Christian disciples, but especially for the still unbelieving Jews to whom the proclamation was addressed in the first place, since in the kerygma the Scriptures are the first witnesses.

So, it seems that the part of the kerygma which lists the persons was both a chronological and hierarchical list, meant to convince Jew and Gentile of the fact that Jesus had really appeared, namely, to some well known Jewish leaders, and that He thus had risen.

When Paul is defending his right to be a Christian apostle accompanied by a woman, he refers to another hierarchy, viz. the hierarchy in the church as he saw it when he wrote 1Cor, i.e. in about 52-54 CE: first the apostles, then the brothers of the Lord and then Cephas,⁹² who had caused “no small dissension and disputation” with Paul in Antioch.⁹³ But the kerygma refers to the fixed sequence of the Jewish temple hierarchy at the time of the appearances, i.e. about 30 CE, starting with the high priest Cephas and ending with the apostles of the temple prison (the Eleven).⁹⁴

The third day

The concept of Jesus’ resurrection “on the third day according to the scriptures”⁹⁵ may refer to Hosea 6,2, but the Scriptures also speak of an appearance of the God of Israel “on the third day”:

And it came to pass on the third day in the morning, that there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud; so that all the people that was in the camp trembled. ... Then went up Moses, and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel: and they saw the God of Israel: and there was under his feet as it were a paved work of a sapphire stone, and as it were the body of heaven in his clearness. And upon the nobles of the children of Israel he laid not his hand: also they saw God, and did eat and drink. (Exod 19,16 24,9-11 AV)

This appearance of the glory of the Lord on Mount Sinai “on the third day” in the sight of the nobles of Israel, namely Moses, Aaron and his sons Nadab and Abihu and the seventy elders,⁹⁶ may have been the Old Testament equivalent of Jesus’ appearance in the temple on the Temple Mount (Mount Moriah) on the third day, with James the Just as the equivalent of Moses, the high priest Cephas the equivalent of Aaron, the twelve ‘elders of the priests’ (the priest-counsellors) the equivalent of Aaron’s sons Nadab and Abihu, and the five hundred priests as the equivalent of the seventy elders/nobles.⁹⁷ The cloud of the glory of the Lord had filled the (first) Temple of Solomon once, and the glory of the Lord was (and perhaps is) still to return to his temple one day by the eastern temple gate.⁹⁸ So an appearance of Jesus on the third day in the (second) temple would be in line with Scripture.

⁹² See above 1Cor 9,5

⁹³ Gal 2,11-14 Acts 15,1-2

⁹⁴ When Paul, after having cited the kerygma, continues his exposition by mentioning Jesus’ appearance to him, calling himself “the least of the apostles”, he compares himself to James and all the apostles, and not to Cephas and the Twelve and the five hundred, who weren’t apostles at the time of the appearances or at the time of the shaping of the kerygma (see paragraph III.3.4. below). But the temple hierarchy expressed in the kerygma, may have inspired Paul to call himself the least of the apostles.

⁹⁵ 1Cor 15,4

⁹⁶ Exod 19,11.16.20.24 24,1-2.9-11

⁹⁷ “The Sanhedrin consisted chiefly of priests, Levites, and Israelites, although the original precept was for the priests and Levites only. “The command is, that the priests and Levites should be of the great council; as it is said, Thou shalt go unto the priests and Levites: but if such be not to be found, although they were all Israelites, behold, it is allowed.” (J. LIGHTFOOT (1602-1675), *A Commentary on the New Testament from the Talmud and Hebraica*, St. Luke Chapters 20-23). Also in the temple liturgy “the priests only represented the people” (S. SAFRAI a.o. eds., *The Jewish People*, p. 873).

⁹⁸ Temple of Solomon: 1 Kings 8,10-11 2 Chron 5,13-14; the eastern temple gate: Eze 43:1-6 44,1-4

A promise

That the expression “the twelve” in the kerygma designated ‘the elders of the priests’, who had condemned Jesus to death in the Council of the Temple, with the high priest Caiphas (= Cephas) as its president,⁹⁹ is corroborated by the words which Jesus spoke to these men during his trial:

But I tell you, hereafter you will see the Son of man seated at the right hand of Power, and coming on the clouds of heaven.¹⁰⁰

Jesus fulfilled the first part of his promise to them: Jesus was seen indeed by Cephas and the Twelve (elders of the priests) as proclaimed in the kerygma.¹⁰¹

he appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve. (1Cor 15,5)

They needn’t have become disciples of Jesus immediately and they may not even have become his disciples at all; this is the same for the five hundred ordinary priests.¹⁰² Joseph of Arimathea, who was a member of the Council of the Temple – the title by which he is designated in Mark 15,43 is exactly the same word as that applied in the Talmud to the members of this priestly council –¹⁰³, was an exception, for he already was a secret disciple of Jesus before the crucifixion.

Cephas, however, became an active apostle, for he made Christian disciples in Corinth,¹⁰⁴ and he became the author of the high priestly epistle to the Hebrews¹⁰⁵, in which he wrote:

But we see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour. (Heb 2,9)

Note that to the seventy members of the Great Sanhedrin, presided over by Annas, however, Jesus had not said that they would see Him, but only that “Hereafter shall the Son of man sit on the right hand of the power of God”.¹⁰⁶ When the deacon Stephen got accused of “blasphemous words against this holy place, and the law” and told “the high priest” – in the first half of the Acts Annas¹⁰⁷ – and “the council” (= the Great Sanhedrin) that he saw “the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God”, “they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, And cast him out of the city, and stoned him”: the Pharisees and Sadducees in this council got their “sign of Jona”¹⁰⁸, promised by Jesus to the Pharisees and Sadducees who tempted

⁹⁹ Matt 26,57-68 Mark 14,53-65 Luke 22,54 Joh 18,24

¹⁰⁰ Matt 26,64 Mark 14,62

¹⁰¹ By them He may have been seen “sitting on the right hand of power”, but only at the Parousia, when Jesus will return in glory to his temple (Eze 43,1-6 44,1-4), He will be seen (by all) “coming on the clouds of heaven” (Matt 26,64).

¹⁰² The Twelve and the five hundred probably had not received Jesus’ explicit mission to be his witnesses and some may not even have become his disciples. This explains why they were “not invested with (apostolic) authority” (CRAIG, *Assessing*, p. 27) although they had seen the risen Jesus.

¹⁰³ Edersheim, in “The Temple ...” chapter 4, p. 56; Matt 27,57-60 John 19,38

¹⁰⁴ 1Cor 1,12 3,22

¹⁰⁵ This authorship is discussed below in chapter 6.

¹⁰⁶ Luke 22,69

¹⁰⁷ Annas is “the high priest” in the first half of the Acts: in Acts 5,27-28 he refers to what he, as “Annas, the high priest” had decided in Acts 4,6; in Acts 5,17.21.27 he is “the high priest” before Caiphas, as in Luke 3,2; he is (most probably) also the high priest and president of the Great Sanhedrin in Acts 6,12.15 7,1: the council that stoned Stephen (Acts 7,56-58); and finally he is “the high priest” who authorized Saul to bring Christians bound to Jerusalem Acts 9,1. From Acts 23,2 “the high priest” (Acts 23,4.5 24,1) is “the high priest Ananias” (23,2). (See also appendix 1).

¹⁰⁸ Matt 16,1-4 “The Pharisees also with the Sadducees came, and tempting desired him that he would shew them a sign from heaven.”

Jesus, the “wicked generation”¹⁰⁹, the ones who were actually with Jesus when He was crucified and died.

3.3. The five hundred

The kerygma says that Jesus was seen risen by “above five hundred brethren at one time”, and this is stated before Paul speaks of the appearance to James and to “all the apostles”. Because of this the impression is that these five hundred brothers weren’t apostles. And they can’t have been “the brothers of the Lord” either, for these counted less than hundred and twenty men.¹¹⁰ A reasonable assumption therefore is that they were ordinary priests, who were called ‘brothers’ because they were all of the tribe of Levi and descendants of Aaron and because they officiated in courses, each consisting of a number of specific families. When Jesus had risen “on the first day of the week”,¹¹¹ which was the festive Paschal week, according to tradition above five hundred priests were ministering in the temple¹¹² to offer the three individual offerings that every Jew had to bring: one “if possible on the first, or else on one of the other six days of the feast”.¹¹³ Jesus may have appeared to these priests, “above five hundred brethren at one time”, when they were gathered for their evening meal in the temple or when they were gathered in the Hall of Hewn Stones for the morning lot which appointed certain priests for the offering of the daily communal whole-offering.¹¹⁴ Here Jesus may have appeared to them without giving them the commission to become his apostles or even disciples. Paul, when writing down the kerygma, probably in 52-54 CE, knows that of the five hundred brothers “the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep”, which suggests that the life or death of these brothers was a public concern, as it was for the public office of the priests. Initially it was probably not easy to find a priest who was willing to testify to Jesus’ appearance, first, because after the Paschal week the priests will have returned to their homes, all over the country, and second, because of these five hundred men initially probably only a small number will have become public disciples of Jesus. Most of the five hundred will have been reluctant to testify, for fear to be put out of their office by their elders and the Pharisaic party, in analogy to the many leaders, who had believed in Jesus already during his public life but who hadn’t confessed it openly for fear of being banned from the synagogue by the Pharisees.

Nevertheless many even of the authorities believed in him, but for fear of the Pharisees they did not confess it, lest they should be put out of the synagogue: for they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God. John 12,42-43

But, in the case of the priests, not much later, when the apostles – with one accord in the Porch of Solomon of the temple – had done “many signs and wonders”, and the “sick folks” had been “healed every one”¹¹⁵,

a great many of the priests were obedient to the faith. (Acts 6,7)

This happened before Paul started his persecution of the church. So, already before Paul started his persecution, and thus long before he wrote down the kerygma, (part of) the formula of the kerygma

¹⁰⁹ Matt 16,4 AV

¹¹⁰ 1Cor 9,5 Acts 1,14-15. The identity of these brothers will be described in my article “James and the brothers – Davidic representatives in the temple liturgy”.

¹¹¹ Luke 24,1 John 20,1

¹¹² See above paragraph 3.1. The temple order in the first century, *Officiating priests* (EDERSHEIM, *The Temple* ch. 6, p. 103).

¹¹³ EDERSHEIM, *The Temple* ch. 11, p. 170

¹¹⁴ gathering for the meal: S. SAFRAI a.o. eds., *The Jewish People*, p. 890 (probably in the “large dining hall” in the Beth-ha-Moked, A. EDERSHEIM, *The Temple* ch. 2, p. 28) (see fig. 4); gathering for the lot: EDERSHEIM, *The Temple* ch. 7, p. 113

¹¹⁵ Acts 5,12.16

may have been composed from the declarations of the priests who had courageously become “obedient to the faith” (immediately or after a short while) and thus had become willing to testify to Jesus’ appearance to them.

3.4. Sources and transmission of the elements of the kerygma

The elements of the kerygma

1. Jesus’ death for our sins according to the Scriptures

The element in the kerygma, which is unique in the New Testament, viz. the element which says that Jesus’ death was “for our sins in accordance with the scriptures”, probably had its source in the Eleven and those who were with them, to whom the risen Jesus had explained

everything written about me in the law of Moses and the prophets and the psalms.¹¹⁶

For on the first day of his resurrection

he opened their minds to understand the scriptures, and said to them, "Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer and on the third day rise from the dead, and that repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached in his name to all nations, beginning from Jerusalem. (Luke 24,45-47)

So, during these instructions, Jesus, referring to himself as “the “Christ” (Luke 24,46), will have explained to them exactly which parts of the Scriptures were in accordance with his death for our sins, such as e.g. Isaiah’s chapter 53 about the suffering servant, whose soul had been made “an offering for sin” and who “bore the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors”.¹¹⁷

2. He rose on the third day according to the Scriptures

The Eleven of the temple prison, with their superior Simon of Clopas, must also have been the conveyors of the doctrine about Jesus’ resurrection they had received from the risen Jesus himself:

Then he opened their minds to understand the scriptures, and said to them, "Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer and on the third day rise from the dead, ... (Luke 24,45-46)

The element of this doctrine that declares that it was “written” that Christ should “on the third day rise from the dead”, is also one of the characteristic elements of the kerygma: “that He rose again the third day according to the Scriptures” (1Cor 15,4). The concept of the third day as written in the Scriptures, distinguishes Jesus’ words to the Eleven and the words of the kerygma from all other New Testament testimonies, which may speak of the third day,¹¹⁸ but nowhere state that this third day was written in the Scriptures.¹¹⁹

3. The appearance to Cephas and the Twelve and the five hundred

Cephas himself must have been the source of the element in the kerygma about Jesus’ appearance to him. The appearance to the Twelve (the twelve priest-counsellors of the Council of the Temple) will have been reported to the Eleven and/or the Galilean apostles by Joseph of Arimathea, who was a member of the Council of the Temple himself and a secret disciple of Jesus, who had even buried Him in his own new tomb.¹²⁰ The appearance to the more than five hundred ordinary priests all at

¹¹⁶ Luke 24,44

¹¹⁷ Isa 53,1-12

¹¹⁸ For instance in Simon Peter’s speech to Cornelius in Acts 10,40

¹¹⁹ According to Craig “all the third day references are said to be in the Easter kerygma, not in the Easter reports” (W.L. CRAIG, *Assessing* p. 71). But this is a mistake, for one has overlooked the third day reference in Luke 24,46.

¹²⁰ Edersheim, in “The Temple ...” chapter 4, p. 56; Matt 27,57-60 John 19,38

the same time will also have been reported by some of these priests to others, including probably their direct superiors in the Council of the Temple, among whom Joseph of Arimatea. Thus Joseph of Arimathea may have reported this element of the kerygma, too, to the apostles. He may also have reported the appearances to the Twelve and the five hundred to his own direct superior: the high priest Cephias. In response to Joseph of Arimatea's testimony, Cephias may have told him about Jesus' appearance to himself. Thus, all of these three appearances may have been reported to the apostles by Joseph of Arimathea, eventually via the officers of the temple prison, the Eleven (see fig. 3).

4. The appearance to James and then to all the apostles

The element of the kerygma which speaks of an appearance to James ("the Lord's brother" Gal 1,19), must have had its source in James himself, who will have told his fellow Galileans about Jesus' appearance to him. This may have happened at the latest, when, after Jesus' Ascension, "his brothers" were with the Galilean apostles in the Cenacle (= the room of Jesus' Last Supper, Acts 1,14). The appearance to the Eleven of the temple prison (Luke 24) will also have been shared by the big group of apostles at the latest, when the Eleven and the Galilean apostles were together on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2,1.14).

So, it is possible that all the information that constituted the kerygma was already gathered and known by the apostles on the day of Pentecost. From that day this information may have been categorized and in the course of time have been shaped into in a single formula, the formula of the kerygma, as it finally appeared in 1Cor 15.

How Paul received the kerygma not later than at his first post-conversion visit

In Paul's epistle to the Galatians he mentions the name Cephias four times: first, twice when describing two of his own visits to Jerusalem, departing from Antioch (Gal 1,18-20 and Gal 2,1-10), and then twice, when describing Cephias' visit to Antioch (Gal 2,11-14). Paul's first visit to Jerusalem took place three years after his conversion, and he went to visit "Cephias" and he also saw James, the Lord's brother (Gal 1,18-19).

First, Paul had gone to Damascus – to persecute the Christians – "with authority and commission of the chief priests"¹²¹. It had been Paul himself, who had taken the initiative to go "to the high priest", to receive this authority and commission, which was also known by "all the council of the elders", from whom Paul "also ... received letters to the brethren"¹²². This "high priest" beside "all the council of the elders" was the president of the Great Sanhedrin, the second priest Annas, as has already been explained.¹²³ Now it is easier to understand that Paul, after his conversion to Christ, took the initiative to go to Cephias first: the official high priest Caiphas probably was the only one with a higher authority than Annas and the one who could discharge him of the commission to persecute the Christians received from Annas. During this visit to Cephias, when Paul also saw James, Paul – if he didn't know the formula of the kerygma yet – must have been informed by these two men about the kerygma, which speaks of both Cephias and James. Also according to Craig "the formula could be no *later* than Paul's Jerusalem visit, since then he would have heard from Cephias and James themselves what took place".¹²⁴

A next question could be: when did Paul first hear the kerygma? Of course, when Paul consented to Stephen's death and decided to start persecuting the Christians, he must have had some impression of the Gospel preached by the apostles, for else he would not have known why he was persecuting the Christians, and some of the elements of the kerygma must have been known to him already, yet without convincing him. It is possible that the kerygma did not take shape yet before Paul went to Damascus, and that Paul, if it took shape after he had left Damascus, was not in the

¹²¹ Acts 26,12

¹²² Acts 9,1-2 22,5

¹²³ See one of the notes to paragraph 3.2. A promise, and see appendix 1.

¹²⁴ W.L. CRAIG, *Assessing* p. 23. Paul probably visited Cephias and James in 33 CE, three years after Paul's conversion in the year 30 CE, the most probable year of Jesus' death and resurrection (argument a.2 in the list of arguments in paragraph 4.5.).

opportunity to hear it because of his journey to Arabia. But after this journey he returned to Damascus and stayed there until he went to visit Cephas in Jerusalem, three years after his conversion.¹²⁵ It seems improbable that in these three years the kerygma still hadn't been shaped into a fixed formula and hadn't reached Damascus yet. So, Paul probably heard the formula of the kerygma from the disciples in Damascus.

In this case the presence of Jesus' appearance to Cephas in the kerygma implied that Cephas had spoken about it and that he thus probably had become a disciple of Jesus (without becoming an apostle yet) by the time Paul heard the kerygma. This information about Cephas may have given the converted Paul the confidence to go and visit him in Jerusalem, and to ask him for being discharged of his commission to persecute the Christians.

Cephas and the Eleven explaining the scriptural evidence of the kerygma to Paul

If it is correct that Paul already heard the kerygma before his visit to Cephas, it is still possible that Cephas and the apostles which he saw during this visit (the Eleven) explained it to him more thoroughly, viz. exactly which parts of the Scriptures say that Jesus had to die for the sins of every one. That it is possible that Paul only heard the scriptural evidence of the kerygma, which said

that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures,
that he was buried, that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures (1Cor 15,3-4),

when he visited Cephas and not earlier, is indicated by the following: before Paul visited Cephas, or any other apostle, he had already "confounded the Jews who lived in Damascus" and "in the synagogues (he) ... proclaimed Jesus, saying, "He is the Son of God." ... proving that Jesus was the Christ" (Acts 9,20-22). But after Paul had visited Cephas and had seen the apostles of the temple prison, he also spoke of the necessity of the suffering of Christ *according to the Scriptures*:

for three weeks he argued with them [the Jews of Thessalonica] from the scriptures, explaining and proving that it was necessary for the Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead, and saying, "This Jesus, whom I proclaim to you, is the Christ." (Acts 17,2-3).

These words are almost a citation of Jesus' words to the Eleven in Luke 24,46:

"Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer and [...] rise from the dead. "

The scriptural necessity of Jesus' death for our sins may especially have been emphasized by Caiphas, who already prophesied of the sacrificial death of Jesus before it happened, saying that it was "expedient for you that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation should not perish"; his words are explained by the author of the fourth Gospel stating:

He did not say this of his own accord, but being high priest that year he prophesied that Jesus should die for the nation, and not for the nation only, but to gather into one the children of God who are scattered abroad. (John 11,49-52)

And in the epistle 1Peter Caiphas considered himself "a witness of the sufferings of Christ" (1Pet 5,1) and in the epistle to the Hebrews¹²⁶ he would choose the words:

But we see Jesus, who for a little while was made lower than the angels, crowned with glory and honor because of the suffering of death, so that by the grace of God he might taste death for every one. (Heb 2,9)

And Caiphas also wrote about the prophets of Scripture, such as the prophet Isaiah (chapter 53), concerning the "salvation of ... souls":

¹²⁵ These activities of Paul are described in Gal 1 and Acts 7,58-8,3 and 9,1-26.

¹²⁶ The discussion of the authorship of 1Peter and the Hebrews epistle is in chapter 6 of this article.

... you obtain the salvation of your souls. The prophets ... searched and inquired about this salvation; they inquired what person or time was indicated by the Spirit of Christ within them when predicting the sufferings of Christ and the subsequent glory. (1Pet 1,9-11)

These facts support the thesis that Paul heard the scriptural evidence for the kerygma from the high priest Caiphas in Jerusalem, three years after Paul's conversion.

Not Simon Peter who conveyed the kerygma to Paul

It is improbable though that Simon Peter would have conveyed the kerygma to Paul when he visited Jerusalem for the first time, three years after his conversion, for it seems that Simon Peter at that moment was not even present in Jerusalem at all. This will be discussed below, in paragraph 4.4.

4. The chronology: Cephas and Paul

The Acts of the Apostles, written by Luke, and the Galatians letter, written by Paul, both contain descriptions of Paul's activities, but they are not dated in these texts. Nevertheless, a common chronology of the Acts and the Galatians letter can be made by following the parallels.

4.1. Galatians

In his epistle to the Galatians Paul gives a review of his activities after his conversion to Jesus as the Christ. He describes his two visits to Jerusalem and a conflict in Antioch. On his first visit to Jerusalem Paul meets Cephas.

1st Visit, Gal 1:

Then after three years [after Paul's conversion] I went up to Jerusalem to visit Cephas, and remained with him fifteen days. But I saw none of the other apostles except James the Lord's brother. (In what I am writing to you, before God, I do not lie!). (Gal 1,18-20)

Paul's second visit to Jerusalem took place after fourteen years, and now he meets Cephas again. 2nd Visit, Gal 2, the so-called 'revelation visit':

1 Then after fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus along with me. 2 I went up by revelation; (...) 6 And from those who were reputed to be something (what they were makes no difference to me; God shows no partiality)—those, I say, who were of repute added nothing to me; 7 but on the contrary, when they saw that I had been entrusted with the gospel to the uncircumcised, just as Peter had been entrusted with the gospel to the circumcised 8 (for he who worked through Peter for the mission to the circumcised worked through me also for the Gentiles), 9 and when they perceived the grace that was given to me, James and Cephas and John, who were reputed to be pillars, gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, that we should go to the Gentiles and they to the circumcised; 10 only they would have us remember the poor, which very thing I was eager to do. (Gal 2,1.2.6-10)

Paul doesn't specify whether this second visit in the Galatians' letter took place fourteen years after his conversion or fourteen years after his first visit. When writing about this second visit, Paul, in a single sentence, describes the apostle work of (Simon) "Peter" and the meeting with "James and Cephas and John"¹²⁷. This gives the strong impression that Paul's Cephas and Simon Peter were not the same person.

Immediately after the description of his second visit to Jerusalem, Paul describes the arrival of "Cephas" and "certain (men) from James" in Antioch and a conflict with them:

Conflict in Antioch:

¹²⁷ Gal 2,9

11 But when Cephas came to Antioch I opposed him to his face, because he stood condemned. 12 For before certain men came from James, he ate with the Gentiles; but when they came he drew back and separated himself, fearing the circumcision party.¹²⁸ 13 And with him the rest of the Jews acted insincerely, so that even Barnabas was carried away by their insincerity. 14 But when I saw that they were not straightforward about the truth of the gospel, I said to Cephas before them all, "If you, though a Jew, live like a Gentile and not like a Jew, how can you compel the Gentiles to live like Jews?" (Gal 2,11-14)

Then Paul continues his Galatians letter with theological discussions and admonitions, without speaking of an apostolic council or of its decrees or of any other visit to Jerusalem or missionary activities.

4.2. Acts of the Apostles

In the Acts of the Apostles Luke also describes two visits of Paul to Jerusalem, and then a conflict in Antioch. Then Luke describes the Apostolic Council in Jerusalem, in which Paul also participated. The first visit in the Acts (Acts 9,26) is generally regarded as the parallel of the first visit in Galatians (Gal 1,18-20).

1st Visit, Acts 9:

26 And when he had come to Jerusalem he attempted to join the disciples; and they were all afraid of him, for they did not believe that he was a disciple. 27 But Barnabas took him, and brought him to the apostles, and declared to them how on the road he had seen the Lord, who spoke to him, and how at Damascus he had preached boldly in the name of Jesus. (Acts 9,26-27)

Paul's second visit of the Acts is the so-called 'famine visit', but in this study it is called the 'famine revelation visit', because the revelation of the prophet Agabus of a *coming* famine made the Antiochians send relief to Judea by the hands of Barnabas and Paul.¹²⁹ In the description of this visit there is no mention of any meeting of Paul and Barnabas with the apostles. It only says that they were sent to "the elders", without mention of any specific persons. Instead, there is a description of how James, son of Zebedee, was killed by Herod, and how Simon Peter was imprisoned, was liberated by an angel, and fled from Jerusalem.

2nd Visit, Acts 11-12, the 'famine revelation visit':

27 Now in these days prophets came down from Jerusalem to Antioch. 28 And one of them named Agabus stood up and foretold by the Spirit that there would be a great famine over all the world; and this took place in the days of Claudius. 29 And the disciples determined, every one according to his ability, to send relief to the brethren who lived in Judea; 30 and they did so, sending it to the elders by the hand of Barnabas and Saul. (... description of James' death and Simon Peter's imprisonment and liberation ...) Then he (Peter) departed and went to another place. (... description of the death of Herod ...) 12,25 And Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem when they had fulfilled their mission, bringing with them John whose other name was Mark. (Acts 11,27-12,25)

Just as the Galatians letter, after Paul's second visit to Jerusalem, described a conflict between Paul and Cephas in Antioch, concerning the Jewish law for Gentile Christians, also the Acts after Paul's second visit to Jerusalem describe a conflict in Antioch, involving Paul and Barnabas, about the Jewish circumcision for Gentile Christians. But the Acts do not mention any specific person as the opponent of Paul and Barnabas, only "some men from Judea".

Conflict in Antioch, Acts 15,1-2:

¹²⁸ Gentiles = not-Jews (either Christians or not-Christians); circumcisionparty = Jews who wanted to compel Christian Gentiles to become Jews: to be circumcised and to keep the Law of Moses e.g. about what a Jew was allowed to eat.

¹²⁹ According to Barnes, Dachs, Gill and other commentators the famine actually took place in Judea in the fifth, sixth and seventh year of Claudius (Jos., *J.Ant* 20,2), so in 45-47 CE. Herod died in 44 CE and Simon Peter's imprisonment and Barnabas' and Saul's/Paul's visit thus all took place before the famine.

15,1 But some men came down from Judea and were teaching the brethren, "Unless you are circumcised according to the custom of Moses, you cannot be saved." 2 And when Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and debate with them, Paul and Barnabas and some of the others were appointed to go up to Jerusalem to the apostles and the elders about this question. 3 So, being sent on their way by the church, they passed through both Phoenicia and Samaria, reporting the conversion of the Gentiles, and they gave great joy to all the brethren. (Acts 15,1-3)

After this conflict and the sending out of a delegation the book of Acts immediately continues with the arrival of Paul and Barnabas in Jerusalem and with the Apostolic Council, in which Simon Peter participated.

3rd visit: Acts 15,4-11, the Apostolic Council visit:

4 When they came to Jerusalem, they were welcomed by the church and the apostles and the elders, and they declared all that God had done with them. 5 But some believers who belonged to the party of the Pharisees rose up, and said, "It is necessary to circumcise them, and to charge them to keep the law of Moses." 6 The apostles and the elders were gathered together to consider this matter. 7 And after there had been much debate, Peter rose and said to them, "Brethren, you know that in the early days God made choice among you, that by my mouth the Gentiles should hear the word of the gospel and believe. (...) 10 Now therefore why do you make trial of God by putting a yoke upon the neck of the disciples which neither our fathers nor we have been able to bear? 11 But we believe that we shall be saved through the grace of the Lord Jesus, just as they will." (Acts 15,4-7.10-11)

See table 2 for a short survey of the above mentioned events concerning Cephas and Simon Peter.

4.3. The old chronology

The most simple harmonisation of the above mentioned visits and conflicts is that Paul's first visit in Galatians corresponds to his first visit in Acts, that the second visit in Galatians corresponds to the second visit in Acts (this is the 'early date theory'), and that the conflict described in Galatians is the conflict described in Acts 15. Nevertheless, the general view until the eighteenth century was that Paul's second visit of the Galatians letter (the 'revelation visit' of Gal 2, when Paul meets Cephas) is not the same as the Acts' second visit (the 'famine revelation visit' of Acts 11-12, when Paul meets the elders without seeing Simon Peter), but the same as the Acts' third visit (the 'Apostolic Council visit' of Acts 15, when Paul does meet Simon Peter) (see table 3). This is the 'late date theory'.

The fundamental problem that caused the adherence to this stretching out of the Galatians epistle and the combination of Gal 2 with Acts 15 – even after the nineteenth century, when a new chronology was proposed –, is the problem of the contradictions between the phrases about Cephas in the Galatians letter and those about Simon Peter in the Acts:

- In Gal 2 Paul meets the "pillars" James, Cephas and John in Jerusalem, and in Acts 11 he is sent to "the elders"; the problem was that the Acts don't mention the apostle Simon Peter here. In fact, at this stage, the book of Acts even describes how Simon Peter is imprisoned and flees Jerusalem. That is why in the old chronology the timing of Galatians' second visit skips the Acts' second visit (Acts 11-12) and ends up at the third visit, the Apostolic Council visit of Acts 15, where Simon Peter was present.
- Another problem was that there was a conflict between Cephas and Paul in Antioch (Galatians 2,11), but Simon Peter at the Council uses Paul's arguments against Cephas: beside the late dating of the Gal 2 visit, this is another reason why in the old chronology the timing of Galatians' conflict skips the conflict in Antioch and the Apostolic Council of Acts 15 and ends up somewhere between Acts 18,22 and Acts 18,23, after Paul's Second Missionary Journey.

Of course, these problems of contradiction between Cephas and Simon Peter disappear when Paul's Cephas need not be Simon Peter.

Another reason for the composition of and the adherence to the old chronology was the so-called North Theory, which follows the Church Fathers in their (mistaken) geographical interpretation of the term “Galatians” in Paul’s letter. In this theory “Galatia” is interpreted as only the geographical and ethnic region Galatia inhabited by the Gauls (= Celts) in the North of Asia Minor, which was only visited by Paul only *after* the Apostolic Council: perhaps during his Second Missionary Journey (Acts 16,6) and probably during his Third Missionary Journey (Acts 18,23). The North Theory implies that Paul could only have written his letter to these Galatians after his Second Missionary Journey and thus after the Apostolic Council. And this would imply that the ‘revelation visit’ of Gal 2 could describe the Apostolic Council visit of Acts 15, and doesn’t necessarily describe the visit of Acts 11. Now there is also a South Theory, which says that Paul’s “Galatia” was the whole Roman province ‘Galatia’ – the geographical regions Galatia, South-East Phrygia, Lycaonia, Isauria and a portion of Pisidia –, not only the northern part of it which was inhabited by the Gauls. Paul visited the southern part of Roman Galatia before the Apostolic Council, on his so-called First Missionary Journey (Acts 13,1 to 14,28) or even before that, if it was somewhere in Galatia where Paul had to stay because of “a bodily ailment” during his private journey to Syria and Cilicia.¹³⁰ If he visited the South-Galatian churches before the Council, he thus could also have sent them his letter before the Council. And if he sent the letter before the Apostolic Council, Gal 2 can not describe the Apostolic Council of Acts 15, but must describe the visit of Acts 11.

The objection against the old chronology, in which the Gal 2 and Acts 15 visits are equated, is the production of several inexplicable gaps in the Galatians letter compared to the story of the Acts (see table 3). The old chronology implies that either Paul made a mistake in the Galatians letter, by omitting another visit of his between the first visit and the ‘revelation’ visit – but at least since 2004 it is commonly assumed that Paul in Gal 1-2 included all his visits to Jerusalem prior to the letter’s composition¹³¹ –, or Luke made a mistake in the Acts, by describing the second visit – the ‘famine revelation visit’ – between the first visit and the Apostolic Council. And it implies a gap in Luke’s Acts if the Galatians conflict in Antioch would have taken place after the Apostolic Council, for in the Acts there isn’t any conflict in Antioch after the Apostolic Council. But it seems more probable that the old chronologists were mistaken, and that Paul and Luke both were right.

4.4. The new chronology, most logical if Paul’s Cephas is Caiphas

In this chapter it will be shown that it is most probable that the Galatians’ second visit (Gal 2) simply corresponds to the Acts’ second visit (Acts 11-12), and that Paul wrote his Galatians letter before the Apostolic Council. In this new chronology the epistle to the Galatians is a simple chronological report, not omitting the second visit mentioned in Acts 11-12 (see table 4).

In 1865 Father Pujol SJ already published the thesis that Paul’s Cephas and Simon Peter couldn’t have been the same person and proposed the new chronology.¹³² And the new chronology, vioced again by Ramsay in 1894, and by Weber in 1898, has already been discussed in several articles and books.¹³³ The ‘early date theory’ has received “widespread support in recent times”,¹³⁴

¹³⁰ Gal 4,13-15 (cf. Gal 2,5)

¹³¹ B.N. FISK, “Paul – Life and Letters” in *The Face of New Testament Studies*, ed. S. MCKNIGHT and G.R. OSBORNE, (Grand Rapids, Baker Academic, 2004) p. 299.

¹³² James Likoudis recapitulated Pujol’s arguments in his article *Were the Apostles Peter and Cephas of Antioch the same person?* (<http://credo.stormloader.com/Doctrine/cephas.htm>).

¹³³ E.g. F.F. BRUCE, Galatian Problems, 2, North or South Galatians?, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 52 (Spring 1970) p. 243-66; BRUCE, Galatian Problems, 4, The Date of the Epistle, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 54 (Spring 1972) p. 250-67; R.N. LONGENECKER, Galatians, *Word Biblical Commentary* 41 (Dallas, 1990). C.J HEMER, “Acts and Galatians reconsidered”, *Themelios* 2 (1977) 81-88, p. 87

¹³⁴ S.D. FOUTZ says this on his webpage “New Testament Study Helps: Paul’s Letter to the Galatians” (www.theologywebsite.com under “new testament” and “galatians”, 2003). The support is found in e.g. the article of D. WENHAM, “Acts and the Pauline Corpus: II Pauline Parallels”, in *The Book of Acts in its Ancient Literary Setting*, ed. B.W. WINTER AND A.D. CLARKE, BAFC 1 (Carlisle: Paternoster; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 215-258, and on several recent webpages, e.g. on D. MALICK, “An Introduction to the Book of Galatians”,

i.e. before the year 2003, even without the detachment of Simon Peter from Paul's "Cephas". And Fiensy stated in 2004 that "a certain weight of inevitability seems to have shifted toward the southern Galatia view."¹³⁵ Note that the validity of the South Theory is not indispensable for the validity of the 'early date theory', for also if Paul wrote to the Galatians after the Council, Gal 2 can describe Acts 11. The arguments for the early and late date theories and for the North and South Theories will be listed in paragraph 4.5. below.

Now, this chapter will show that also in the epistle to the Galatians it is possible to identify Paul's "Cephas" with the high priest Joseph Caiphas. It appears that the identification of "Cephas" with Caiphas makes the new chronology even more logical and easy to understand.

First visit – Cephas still high priest – Simon Peter in Samaria and Judea

This visit has already been discussed in my article on the Eleven.¹³⁶ The arguments for the identification of Galatians' first visit with Acts' first visit and for the identification of the visited Cephas with Caiphas are listed in the following:

1. Paul brought to "the apostles"

Hitherto there was a problem in the parallel of the first visits (Gal 1,18-19 and Acts 9,32): in Gal 1 Paul maintains so decidedly that he, having seen Cephas, saw none of the "other" ('heteron') apostles except James, the Lord's brother, when he came to Jerusalem the first time after his conversion (Gal 1,18-20), but Luke's Acts tell that he failed to join the disciples but was brought "to the apostles" by Barnabas (Acts 9,27).

The classic interpretation is that Cephas was Simon Peter and that of the *rest* of the apostles Paul only saw James, the Lord's brother. But the problem is that in this case Paul saw only two apostles, Simon Peter and James, who didn't live in the same house (cf. Acts 12,12), and this doesn't comply with the fact that Paul was simply brought "to the apostles" by Barnabas. This objection made Wenham suggest that Luke was "historically misleading" in stating that Paul was brought "to the apostles".¹³⁷ The new interpretation of my articles is that the "disciples", whom Paul failed to join (Acts 9,26),¹³⁸ were Jesus' disciples from the Galileans and the ordinary people, but the "apostles", to whom he was brought by the "Levite" Barnabas (Acts 9,27 4,36), were the men of the group around the Eleven, the officers of the temple prison at the foot of the fortress Antonia. With "to the apostles" Luke didn't refer to Simon Peter and James, but to these temple officers. And Paul did not speak about Simon Peter and the *rest* of the apostles either, but about Cephas and about the other, *different*, apostles ('heteron' = the other of two): he spoke about the high priest Caiphas on the one hand, and about the Galilean apostles on the other, of whom he saw no-one except James, the Lord's brother. So, the conclusion is that Paul saw Caiphas, James, the Lord's brother, and the officers of the temple prison, and that Luke was historically accurate indeed.

2. Cephas an apostle, of the kind of the Eleven

During his first visit to Jerusalem Paul saw Cephas and saw no 'different' ('heteron') apostle except James the Lord's brother (Gal 1,18-19).¹³⁹ So, in Galatians Paul states that (the apostle) Cephas and the apostles he did see were one kind of apostles, and that James and the apostles he didn't see were a different kind of apostles.

www.bible.org/page.asp?page_id=1833, 1996, and on G. HERRICK, "The Date and Destination of Galatians", www.bible.org/page.asp?page_id=1338, 2000.

¹³⁵ D.A. FIENSY, "The Roman Empire and Asia Minor" in *The Face of New Testament Studies*, ed. S. MCKNIGHT and G.R. OSBORNE, Baker Academic, Michigan, 2004, p. 50.

¹³⁶ A.A.M. VAN DER HOEVEN, *The Eleven (Luke 24,9.33 Acts 2,14) – Jesus appeared risen to the Officers of the Temple Prison*, www.JesusKing.info, 20-12-2008.

¹³⁷ D. WENHAM, "Acts and the Pauline Corpus: II Pauline Parallels", in *The Book of Acts in its Ancient Literary Setting*, ed. B.W. WINTER AND A.D. CLARKE, BAFC 1, p. 226

¹³⁸ "And when he had come to Jerusalem he attempted to join the disciples; and they were all afraid of him, for they did not believe that he was a disciple."

¹³⁹ NA²⁷

The only option for these two kinds of apostles is, as has been proposed in my article on the Eleven¹⁴⁰ and as has been repeated above, that the apostles that Paul did see were the officers of the temple prison (the Eleven), and the high priest Cephas (Caiphas) – both officers in the temple and living in Jerusalem –, and that the apostles he didn't see were the Galileans. The two theses – the first about Cephas and the second about the apostles that Paul saw (the Eleven) – corroborate each other in this detail, since Cephas and the apostles that Paul saw have to be of the same kind of apostles. That they were temple officers is corroborated by the fact that Paul, when he visited Cephas and saw the similar apostles, also saw James, who was nearly always in the temple.¹⁴¹ Apart from distinguishing between Jerusalem temple officers and Galileans (1), Paul may also have distinguished the apostles according to the moment in which they had become disciples (2): Cephas and the Eleven only after Jesus' death and resurrection, and the Galileans (also James¹⁴²) already before these events. A third similarity between Paul's Cephas and the Eleven is the delay between becoming disciples and becoming active apostles (3). The Eleven only became active apostles after the delay of fifty days in which they had to wait for the Holy Ghost to come, as they were summoned by Jesus.¹⁴³ In this way Cephas, too, may have been told by the risen Jesus to wait for the end of his high priesthood before becoming an active, "free" apostle like Paul.¹⁴⁴ Paul himself, who had persecuted the church, was told by the risen Jesus to stop this persecution and he was temporarily blinded (for three days) and instructed to wait and hear what he had to do.¹⁴⁵ Cephas had condemned Jesus to death, and had done this "by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God",¹⁴⁶ but he had not persecuted the Christians as Paul had done, for the high priest who had the apostles beaten, Stephen stoned, and the Christian disciples imprisoned, was not Caiphas, but Annas.¹⁴⁷

By the time Paul wrote the epistle to the Galatians (not earlier than in 48-49 CE, immediately before the Apostolic Council)¹⁴⁸ Cephas had become a free apostle: he had been deprived of the high priesthood in 36 CE and Paul wrote that Cephas was an apostle and even "reputed to be" one of the "pillars" of the church beside James.¹⁴⁹ Cephas, as an ex-high priest, was also one of "those who seemed to be something" – just as James, for instance, as the head of the deputations –, but to Paul Cephas' former high priesthood was neither impressing nor contemptible, for Paul wrote: "those who were reputed to be something (what they were makes no difference to me; God shows no partiality)".¹⁵⁰ And Cephas would remain an apostle, for in about 53 CE, in the epistle 1 Corinthians, Paul describes him as someone who had Christian disciples in Corinth, just as the apostles Apollos and Paul himself had.

3. Cephas an active apostle only after Paul had become an apostle

Paul also distinguished the apostles according to the length of time during which they had been apostles, and he especially distinguished between a longer or shorter apostleship than his own apostleship (4), for in this same letter to the Galatians he says that he didn't go to "those who were apostles before me" (Gal 1,17) – i.e. the twelve Galileans and the Eleven and James –, and in the

¹⁴⁰ A.A.M. VAN DER HOEVEN, *The Eleven (Luke 24,9.33 Acts 2,14) – Jesus appeared risen to the Officers of the Temple Prison*, www.JesusKing.info, 20-12-2008.

¹⁴¹ cf. Acts 21,18; James' presence in the temple will be discussed in my article "James and the brothers – Davidic representatives in the temple liturgy".

¹⁴² James the Just probably had already been a (secret) disciple of Jesus before Jesus' death and resurrection (this is implied by Jerome in "*De viris illustribus*" 2).

¹⁴³ Luke 24,46-49

¹⁴⁴ "Am I not free? Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Jesus our Lord? Are not you my workmanship in the Lord?" 1Cor 9,1

¹⁴⁵ Acts 9,5-9.17-19

¹⁴⁶ Acts 2,23

¹⁴⁷ See appendix 1.

¹⁴⁸ This date is discussed below in paragraph 4.4. The new chronology

¹⁴⁹ Gal 1,18-19 2,9

¹⁵⁰ Gal 2,

next verse he says that he went up to Cephas. Cephas thus probably became an active apostle only after Paul had become one, and thus wasn't Simon Peter (Gal 1,18).¹⁵¹

Then Paul continues his letter by swearing that on this occasion he (still) didn't see the Galilean apostles (except James) (Gal 1,19-20) and that, after he left Jerusalem for Syria and Cilicia, he thus "was still not known by sight to the churches of Christ in Judea" (Gal 1,21-22). This last remark may have been intended as corroboration of the fact that Paul was still unknown by sight to the original twelve apostles, especially Simon Peter. This would comply with Simon Peter's absence during this first visit of Paul to Jerusalem: he was preaching in Samaria and Judea.

4. Simon Peter's absence

During Paul's persecution the Eleven of the temple prison had sheltered the Galilean apostles for a while, for the apostles had been able to stay in Jerusalem in spite of Paul's persecution (Acts 8,1). But after Paul had left Jerusalem for persecuting the Christians in Damascus, the Galileans either returned to the Cenacle or left Jerusalem to go preaching (cf. Acts 11,1). For instance, Simon Peter and John were sent to Samaria (Acts 8,14) and after a while

they returned to Jerusalem, preaching the gospel to many villages of the Samaritans. (Acts 8,25)

The text here doesn't necessarily speak of an arrival in Jerusalem, as the verb used here for "return" (hupostrophō) can mean 1) to turn back, to turn about 2) to return; this verb designates the beginning and the direction of the journey but not necessarily an arrival at its goal. The aorist form of this verb can, among other things, designate the beginning or the end of the action, or an attempt to perform the action. And the preposition ('eis') used here and translated with "to", can mean 'towards'.¹⁵² Moreover, the phrase about the 'returning' is followed by the phrase about the preaching in many villages on their way back to Jerusalem.

The next time Simon Peter is mentioned – and this is only after the passage about Paul's first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion (Acts 9,26-31) – , the text refers to these same preaching activities of Peter of verse 8,25, for it resumes Peter's story with the Greek particle 'de', translated with "now":

Now as Peter went here and there among them all, he came down also to the saints that lived at Lydda. (Acts 9,32)

Lydda was a Judean town, not far from the border with Samaria.¹⁵³ After having cured the lame Aeneas here, Peter was called to Joppe, where the deceased Tabitha was resurrected (Acts 9,36-42), and from there he was led to Caesarea, to preach the Gospel to the Gentile Cornelius and eat with him (Acts 10). In this period some, if not all, apostles were in Judea, for Acts 11,1 says that

the apostles and brothers who were in Judea heard that the Gentiles also had received the word of God.

Only after these visits to Lydda, Joppe and Caesarea, Simon Peter finally "went up to Jerusalem" and there he was criticized by the circumcision party (Acts 11,2-3).

¹⁵¹ Paul may have visited Cephas in 33 CE – three years after Paul's conversion in 30 CE (see argument a.2 in paragraph 4.5. Arguments for the new chronology) –, which means that Paul may indeed have visited Cephas when he was still the high priest and not yet an active apostle. Caiphas reigned until the Passover Feast of 36 CE (*De Bijbel, Willibrordvertaling*, Katholieke Bijbelstichting, Boxtel, 1991, p. 1851). So, even if one assumes that Paul's first visit took place in 36 CE, as Craig does (W.L. CRAIG, *Assessing* p. 282), it may still have happened while Caiphas was high priest.

¹⁵² In fact this interpretation of Luke's expression "returned to Jerusalem" is the same as the interpretation of Luke's expression "returned to Nazareth" (Luke 2,39). The interpretation of Luke 2,39 is elaborated in my article *From Bethlehem to Nazareth – And a memorial in Bethany*, www.JesusKing.info, January 26, 2008.

¹⁵³ Lydda was on "the way of the sea" (Mt 4,15) that lead from Caesarea Phillipi through Galilee and Samaria and Judea to the region of Gaza and Egypt (R.H. GUNDRY, *A Survey of the New Testament*, Zondervan, Grand Rapids, 1970, 4th edition 2003, map p. 27).

So, the recount of the Acts is most direct and natural when interpreted as describing Simon Peter's activities in Samaria and Judea, while in the meantime Paul visits the high priest Caiphas (= Cephias) in Jerusalem. Peter's journey throughout Judea and Samaria explains why he was considered an apostle with a "mission to the circumcised (= the Jews)", as Paul wrote about "Peter" in Gal 2,7-8.

5. Paul's initiative to visit the high priest first

When Paul wanted to start his persecution of Jesus' disciples in Damascus, he took the initiative and went to ask authorization letters from the "high priest"¹⁵⁴ named Annas, who both in Luke's Gospel and in his Acts is called "(the) high priest" even before Caiphas.¹⁵⁵ But three years after his conversion, Paul, without having accomplished his "commission" received from Annas,¹⁵⁶ took the initiative again and returned to Jerusalem for the first time "to see Cephias",¹⁵⁷ the only high priest who was a higher authority than Annas, since Caiphas was the official high priest from 18 until 36 CE; Cephias may have discharged Paul of his commission to persecute the Christians.

Second visit – the revelation – the famine revelation – Simon had just fled

Since Paul's Cephias needn't be Simon Peter, it seems obvious, that the "revelation" by which Paul went up to Jerusalem again "after fourteen years", according to the epistle to the Galatians, also stating that he met James and Cephias again,¹⁵⁸ is the warning the prophet Agabus made in Antioch, according to the Acts, concerning the coming great famine in Judea, upon which Barnabas and Paul were sent to Judea "to the elders" with material relief.¹⁵⁹ The Acts then describe the imprisonment, liberation, and departure of Simon Peter¹⁶⁰, just before Herod's death in 44 CE. After Simon had fled from Jerusalem James, the Lord's brother, became Jerusalem's bishop.

According to the Galatians letter, when Paul arrives in Jerusalem – possibly 14 years after his conversion in 30 CE, which, according to Fisk, is the assumed year of Jesus' death¹⁶¹ – he meets James and also Cephias as some of the pillars of Jesus' church in Jerusalem, and Paul mentions Cephias in his epistle only after James: "James, Cephias, and John". This order would have been unlikely if this Cephias was Simon Peter, for Simon Peter was the leader of the whole church. But if he was Caiphas his place indeed was after James, the bishop of Jerusalem. Cephias (Caiphas) had been dismissed from the high priesthood in 36 CE by Vitellius, the governor of Syria,¹⁶² but that he had been a high priest didn't give him a higher status than James in the Jerusalem church. Paul counts Cephias as one of "those who were reputed to be something (what they were makes no difference to me; God shows no partiality)" and he receives from "James and Cephias and John" the right hands of fellowship. This John was probably John Mark, for, according to the next verse after this visit that mentions a John (Acts 12,18-24), Paul took John Mark with him when he left Jerusalem for his First Missionary Journey. This is in accordance with the agreements just made in Jerusalem that "James, Cephias and John" would go to the Jews and Paul and Barnabas to the Gentiles, for on their journey Paul, Barnabas, and John visited both the synagogues – probably for

¹⁵⁴ "Then Saul ... went to the high priest" Acts 9,1

¹⁵⁵ Luke 3,2; Acts 4,6 (5,17.21.27 9,1); see appendix 1.

¹⁵⁶ "Thus I journeyed to Damascus with the authority and commission of the chief priests" Acts 26,12; see appendix 1.

¹⁵⁷ Gal 1,18

¹⁵⁸ Gal 2,1-2

¹⁵⁹ Acts 11,27-30; This is also C.J. Hemer's contention in "Acts and Galatians reconsidered", *Themelios* 2 (1977) 81-88, p. 87

¹⁶⁰ Acts 12,17

¹⁶¹ "A consensus has been building toward the year 30 CE for the crucifixion of Jesus. Dates for Paul's conversion typically fall within a few years of Jesus' death, but so far there is no widespread agreement." B.N. FISK, "Paul – Life and Letters" in *The Face of New Testament Studies*, ed. S. MCKNIGHT AND G.R. OSBORNE, (Grand Rapids, Baker Academic, 2004) p. 298-99. That the time interval between Jesus' death and Paul's conversion may have been only a couple of months is defended by C.J. Hemer (C.J. HEMER, "Acts and Galatians reconsidered", *Themelios* 2 (1977), 81-88, p. 87-88, see argument a.2. in paragraph 4.5. below)

¹⁶² Jos. *J. Antiq.* 18,4,3

John Mark's sake of going to the Jews, and for the principle 'Jews first' (Rom 1,16 2,9-10) – and the Gentiles. The 'pillars' James, Cephas and John also asked Paul to keep supporting the poor (of the church and possibly the temple) of Jerusalem materially, which Paul "was eager to do",¹⁶³ after his Third Missionary Journey he indeed brought money and sacrifices not only to the Christians,¹⁶⁴ but also to the nation, in the temple:

Now after some years I came to bring to my nation alms and offerings. As I was doing this, they found me purified in the temple, without any crowd or tumult. (Acts 24,17-18)

James, in particular, may have asked these alms and offerings of Paul, as James was probably the head of the representatives of the Isrealite people in the temple. This, and the fact that Paul's "nation" was embodied in e.g. the four poor Nazarites who were in the temple and whose offerings were paid by Paul (Acts 21,23-26) – which was a Jewish religious devotion –, will be discussed in another article.¹⁶⁵ John Mark's association with the temple – he may have been the secretary of the Council of the Temple – has been discussed in my article "John Mark – Author of the Gospel of John with Jesus' mother".¹⁶⁶

The identification of Paul's alms-asking "pillars" James, Cephas and John of Gal 2, with Luke's "elders" of Acts 11-12, is corroborated by the fact that, when Paul after his Third Missionary Journey visited James in the temple, it were James and "all the elders" again who asked Paul to pay the poor Nazarites' offerings for the Jewish temple.¹⁶⁷ So, the Acts' "elders", and James and "all the elders", indeed twice asked the same thing as Galatians' "James, Cephas and John", and therefore they probably were the same persons. So, when Paul visited Jerusalem for the second time after his conversion, "Cephas" (Caiphas) probably was one of the elders of Jerusalem's church and no longer the official high priest.

The conflict in Antioch – Cephas a Jew

The epistle to the Galatians after the description of Paul's second visit to Jerusalem immediately describes the conflict in Antioch between Paul and Cephas, but nevertheless the general assumption was that this conflict only took place after the Apostolic Council (with Simon Peter), described further in the Acts. For it wouldn't be logical, if first there was a conflict with Simon Peter in Antioch, that Paul would then go to the same Simon Peter in the Apostolic Council in Jerusalem, where this Simon Peter all of a sudden even contradicts his own point of view of Antioch. So, as long as one equated Simon Peter and Cephas, one had to turn these events around: first the Apostolic Council, perforce combined with the Galatians' second visit to Jerusalem, when "Cephas" (still interpreted as Simon Peter) gave Paul the right hand of fellowship, and after this the Galatians' conflict in Antioch with "Cephas" (also still interpreted as Simon Peter) assumed to be erring only in his personal behaviour, after having consented in the Council's decrees. Note that if John had not written that Simon Peter's name-title "Petros" (Peter) was a translation of "Cephas", no one would ever have thought that Paul's "Cephas" in Antioch would be Simon Peter.

But if Cephas in Antioch is not the same person as the Simon Peter of the Council, the conflict in Antioch can easily be recognized and found before the Apostolic Council both in the Galatians letter and in the Acts. That Paul resisted "Cephas" openly in Antioch, concerning table fellowship and circumcision and other Jewish laws for Christian not-Jews, is described in the epistle to the Galatians, and in the Acts a similar conflict in Antioch is described, prior to the Council: "Paul and

¹⁶³ Gal 2,6.9-10

¹⁶⁴ to "the saints": Rom 15,25-27 1Cor 16,1-2 2Cor 8,1-9.15 9,1; Not only the Christians were called "saints" by Paul, but in the Scriptures of the Old Testament priest and Levites who officiated in the temple, are also called "saints" ('qodesh' = sanctified, set apart: Pss 50,5 89,7 132,9.16) and they can be considered "poor", for their tribe originally possessed no land, but had to live of the contributions to the temple liturgy.

¹⁶⁵ This will be discussed in my article "James and the brothers – Davidic representatives in the temple liturgy".

¹⁶⁶ A.A.M. VAN DER HOEVEN, *John Mark – Author of the Gospel of John with Jesus' mother*, www.JesusKing.info, 04-11-2008.

¹⁶⁷ Acts 21,18.23-26

Barnabas had no small dissension and debate” with “some men (which) came down from Judea”.¹⁶⁸ And according to the Galatians letter these men were “Cephas” “a Jew” (which complies with the identity of Caiphas) and “men ... from James”¹⁶⁹ and not Simon Peter, who was “a Galilean”, not only in Luke’s Acts (1,11) but also in Luke 22,59 and Mark 14,70. Simon Peter had already eaten with Gentiles, e.g. with Cornelius in Caesarea, long before the conflict in Antioch and the Council, and he had also freely spoken about it to the Christian Jews in Jerusalem already.¹⁷⁰ He had consistently defended the freedom for the Christian Gentiles and so it is very unlikely that he would have caused the conflict in Antioch, and would have wanted Gentiles to live like Jews. This contradiction made Esler accuse Luke and write that it is “historically incredible” that Peter would have eaten with Cornelius.¹⁷¹ But, even if Simon Peter had caused the conflict, it would still be very unlikely that he would not have given in to Paul’s arguments about freedom of the Gentiles there and then in Antioch¹⁷² and that he would have gone to the Council with Paul and suddenly would have used Paul’s argument there:

(...) Peter rose and said to them, (...) Now therefore why do you make trial of God by putting a yoke upon the neck of the disciples which neither our fathers nor we have been able to bear? (Acts 15,7.10)

So, the natural chronology of the Galatians-letter and the Acts would produce severe problems against logic, if Cephas were Simon Peter. But they were not one and the same man. Whereas Simon Peter, according to the Acts, had a free mind about eating with Gentiles, Paul’s Cephas in Antioch didn’t continue eating with the Gentiles for fear of the Jewish men from James, and he withdrew himself. Another indication for Cephas’ high priesthood might be that he not only “withdrew” from eating with the Gentiles in Antioch, but also “separated himself” (Gal 2,12), possibly meaning that he did a ritual sanctification/purification befitting an (ex-) high priest who had defiled himself.¹⁷³

And, moreover, according to Paul, Cephas even wanted to make Gentiles live like Jews.¹⁷⁴ Paul said:

If you, though a Jew, live like a Gentile and not like a Jew, how can you compel the Gentiles to live like Jews?" (Gal 2,14)

Such an attitude of Cephas – trying to make Gentiles live like Jews – and also the ready acceptance of this attitude by the Antiochians and Galatians would have been highly improbable if it took place after the Apostolic Council, for its decrees for freedom of the uncircumcised would then already have been made known to the Gentiles of Antioch by Paul.¹⁷⁵ They already would have known that they didn’t have to live like Jews and wouldn’t have accepted Cephas’ attitude. And Paul would also have used these apostolic decrees in his argument with Cephas, but the only accusation he makes is the hypocrisy of Cephas, being “a Jew” who cannot even keep the Jewish law himself and

¹⁶⁸ Acts 15,1-2

¹⁶⁹ Gal 2,11-14

¹⁷⁰ Acts 9,43-11,18

¹⁷¹ S. WALTON, “Acts, Many Questions, Many Answers” in *The Face of New Testament Studies*, ed. S. MCKNIGHT and G.R. OSBORNE, (Grand Rapids, Baker Academic, 2004) p. 235. P.F. ESLER, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts: The Social and Political Motivations of Lucan Theology*, SNTSMS 57 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) p. 95-96.

¹⁷² Wenham even states that Paul in Galatians suggests that “Peter” (in fact Cephas) in Antioch was essentially on Paul’s side of the debate by conviction (D. WENHAM, “Acts and the Pauline Corpus...”, p. 242). He probably means that Cephas was in favour of freedom for the Gentiles. But this is in contradiction to the fact that Paul in Antioch accused Cephas of wanting to make Gentiles live like Jews. So, either Paul made a false accusation or Cephas did want to make Gentiles live like Jews and acted against this conviction by eating with the Gentiles.

¹⁷³ Strong’s 06942: שָׁדַד qadash = to sanctify, to set apart/separate (cf. Ex 28,41 Heb 2,11)

¹⁷⁴ Acts 10,9-48; 11,1-18; 15,7-11 and Gal 2,11-14

¹⁷⁵ Acts 15,30-31

still wants to make the Gentiles live like Jews. This all indicates that at the time of the conflict the decrees weren't issued yet, and that the conflict thus took place before the Apostolic Council.

Also according to the Acts the conflict in Antioch about the Jewish law for Gentiles did not take place *after* the Apostolic Council, but was the very reason to send Paul and Barnabas to Simon Peter and the rest of the apostles and elders in Jerusalem, to ask for their decision.¹⁷⁶

Cephas one of the Seventy

“This is the account of Clement in the fifth book of his Hypotyposes, in which he also says that Cephas was one of the seventy disciples, a man who bore the same name as the apostle Peter, and the one concerning whom Paul says, "When Cephas came to Antioch I withstood him to his face.” (Eus., *Historia Ecclesiastica.*, I,12,1)

It has already been explained that because of the strong connection of Paul's Cephas with James it is not probable that the Cephas who caused the conflict in Antioch in the context of James, would be another person than the Cephas mentioned twice by Paul in the rest of the Galatians letter in the context of James and in 1 Corinthians also in the context of James. So, if Paul's Cephas was Caiphas and Paul's Cephas was one of the Seventy, the high priest Caiphas must have been or become one of the Seventy. It is indeed not impossible that the high priest Cephas/Caiphas was one of the Seventy, mentioned by Clement, cited by Eusebius, since these Seventy, among whom James, the brother of the Lord, and the apostle Barnabas from Cyprus, and Cleophas from Emmaus, later all became bishops, and one of the Seventy seems to have been “Cephas, bishop of Konia” (Gill's commentary on Luke 10,1¹⁷⁷). Caiphas/Cephas was an apostle in Corinth (1Cor 1,12 3,22) and as an apostle might as well have become a bishop too.¹⁷⁸ The Seventy, mentioned by Clement, are interpreted by Eusebius as seventy “disciples”, which makes one think of the ones sent out from Samaria or Judea by Jesus during his public life (Luke 10,1). But the Seventy mentioned by Clement may also have been or have developed into another group of the young Church after Pentecost, called the Seventy, as an advising body beside the Twelve (Galilean apostles), as a parallel of the seventy ordinary members of the Great Sanhedrin beside the twelve ordinary members of the Council of the Temple¹⁷⁹. So, just as the Jewish temple had a Cephas (= rock) (Joseph Caiphas), a Twelve and a Seventy (and an Eleven), thus also the young church had a Cephas (= rock) (Simon Peter), a Twelve (Galilean apostles) and a Seventy (bishops), among whom possibly many former officers of the temple prison, the Eleven.

Third visit – the Apostolic Council with Simon Peter

When Paul and Barnabas had left Antioch after the conflict and arrived in Jerusalem, which was Paul's third post-conversion visit to Jerusalem, the Apostolic Council was convoked. Here it was Simon Peter who made a plea for freedom for the uncircumcised (= Gentiles),¹⁸⁰ using the same argument of hypocrisy as Paul had used against Cephas in Antioch:

Now therefore why do you make trial of God by putting a yoke upon the neck of the disciples which neither our fathers nor we have been able to bear? (Acts 15,10)

Simon Peter was answered by James and the whole church assembly with approval; they decided to lay upon the Gentiles no greater burden than the four necessary things, called the commandments of Noah: “to abstain from the pollutions of idols and from unchastity and from what is strangled and

¹⁷⁶ Acts 15,1-5

¹⁷⁷ <http://www.searchgodsword.org/com/geb/view.cgi?book=lu&chapter=010&verse=001>

¹⁷⁸ Konia may have been Iconium, the capital of Lycaonia, visited by Paul on his First and Third Missionary Journeys (Acts 13,50.51 14,21.22 18,23). Iconium was on the route leading from Ephesus to Tarsus and Antioch, and the Euphrat (Smith's Bible Dictionary); it is now is called Konieh or Konya (also Koniah, Konieh, Konia, and Qunia) (<http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/Konieh>).

¹⁷⁹ The composition of the Council of the Temple has been discussed in chapter 3 (paragraph 3.1)

¹⁸⁰ Acts 15,6-11

from blood” (Acts 15,20). Upon this Paul returned to Antioch with a letter from the Council, and there one “rejoiced for the consolation”.¹⁸¹ After this there was no conflict.

That the epistle to the Galatians does not mention the result of the Council is only logical if the epistle about the conflict was already written and sent prior to the Council. But if the conflict had taken place after the Council, the decision of the Council should have been in Paul’s arguments against Cephas and in the report he made of them in the epistle to the Galatians. But this is not the case: the Galatians letter was sent prior to the Council.

4.5. Arguments for the different theories

Below follows a survey of arguments for the early and late dates of the Gal 2 visit and for the South and North Theories. This list has been composed with the help of the articles of Herrick and Malick, both proponents of the ‘early date theory’ and the South Theory.¹⁸² The thesis of this article, that Cephas needn’t be Simon Peter but could be Caiphas, has been used to add new arguments to the list. These new arguments are printed in normal type letters and the ‘older’ arguments are printed in small type. Note that with the new thesis the major old argument against the ‘early date theory’ (see argument a.1) no longer exists.

a) Arguments against an early date

The early date of the Galatians 2,1-10 visit means that Gal 2 describes the famine relief visit of Acts 11,30 and not the Council visit of Acts 15. The main argument for a late date of the Gal 2 visit and against an early date is not valid any longer:

1. In Acts 11,30 (second visit) no meeting with any of the twelve original apostles is mentioned, though Cephas and James and John are mentioned in the second visit of Gal 2,1-10. But if Cephas and James and John are no original Galilean apostles but other influential, converted, persons of the Jerusalem church, viz. the ex-high priest Caiphas and the head of the representatives James the Lord’s brother, (and the secretary John Mark) this argument is no longer a hindrance to the early date:

- If Cephas is not Simon Peter, then although the apostles are not mentioned in the Acts (Simon Peter fled Jerusalem), Paul and Barnabas could still meet the ‘pillars’ James, Cephas and John.
- If Cephas is not Simon Peter, then even though Cephas caused the conflict with Paul in Antioch before the Council, Simon Peter could of course still use Paul’s arguments against Cephas at the Council in Jerusalem.

Wenham, who generally supports the ‘early date theory’, concludes that the only objection left is that Luke’s account in the Acts is “very partial”, e.g. in his “failure to mention the meeting with the ‘pillars’ in the famine relief visit”.¹⁸³ But there wasn’t a failure to mention the “pillars” in the Acts at all, for Luke did mention Paul’s “pillars” (James, Cephas and John (Mark)) but he called them “the elders”, as they weren’t the apostles Simon Peter and James of Zebedee and his brother John, but Caiphas, James, the Lord’s brother, and John Mark. Note that James, the Lord’s brother, is in the context of “the elders” in Acts 21,18 too.

Three other arguments against an early date can be refuted too:

2. The new chronology from Jesus’ death to Paul’s second visit to Jerusalem is not a problem, when the fourteen years mentioned by Paul are counted from his conversion in 30 CE, the year of Jesus’ death and resurrection,¹⁸⁴ to 44 CE, the year of Herod’s death. Hemer holds

¹⁸¹ Acts 15,22-35

¹⁸² G. HERRICK, *The Date and Destination of Galatians*, (www.bible.org/page.asp?page_id=1338, 2000); D. MALICK, *An Introduction to the Book of Galatians*, (www.bible.org/page.asp?page_id=1833, 1996).

¹⁸³ D. WENHAM, *Acts and the Pauline Corpus: II Pauline Parallels*, 1993, p. 242-243.

¹⁸⁴ “A consensus has been building toward the year 30 CE for the crucifixion of Jesus. Dates for Paul’s conversion typically fall within a few years of Jesus’ death, but so far there is no widespread agreement.” B.N. FISK, “Paul – Life

that “the events in Acts 1-9, from Jesus’ appearances and ascension to Paul’s conversion, may well have happened within a space of months. The three and fourteen years are probably both to be reckoned from Paul’s conversion, concurrently rather than consecutively: ancient practice regularly reckoned fractions inclusively.”¹⁸⁵

3. Wenham’s other example of Luke’s assumed partiality is his “silence on the controversy between Paul, Peter and Barnabas at Antioch”. He explains this silence with Luke’s unwillingness to shed “unhappy light on the three heroes of his story (Peter, Paul and Barnabas).”¹⁸⁶ But Luke didn’t silence the controversy: he did mention Paul and Barnabas in his description of the conflict. And the reason why he didn’t mention the name Cephas in this controversy, may have been either that he didn’t know that it was Cephas who had caused the conflict in Antioch, or that he didn’t see the need to mention his name, since Cephas was *not* one of the heroes of his story: as Wenham himself states, Luke’s heroes were Simon Peter, Paul and Barnabas and not Caiphas/Cephas who caused the conflict. Luke designated the men who caused the conflict with the general phrase “men come down from Judea”.
4. It seems that Paul had been in Galatia twice before he wrote the Galatians epistle. But Paul’s “first” stay with the Galatians forced by “a bodily ailment” (Gal 4,13) could refer to when he founded the South Galatian churches on his First Missionary Journey, in contrast to the next time he visited them on the way back of this same journey. Another, maybe better, possibility is that Paul’s first stay in (southern) Galatia was already a part of his personal journey to Syria and Cilicia (Gal 1,21) – Cilicia being the south-eastern part of Asia Minor, adjacent to the Roman province Galatia. This would explain how the Gospel came to be “with you” (Gal 2,5) before Paul’s second post-conversion visit to Jerusalem (Gal 2,1-10).

The other arguments for of a late date have already been refuted for the following reasons:

5. The visits in Gal 2 and Act 15 seem similar in the sense that the same issue seems to be at stake: a strong opposition from a Judaizing sect. However, Boice has mentioned some discrepancies, e.g. that Galatians gives the impression that Paul had a private meeting with the (local) leaders, but in Acts 15 Paul has a public meeting with the assembled church. Furthermore, in Galatians Paul went to Jerusalem due to a revelation, but in Acts 15 Paul went as an envoy of the church of Antioch, to ask for a decision from the Church in Jerusalem (Herrick).¹⁸⁷ So, Gal 2 and Acts 15 aren’t similar at all, and they weren’t the same visits.
6. Stein contended that at the time Acts 11-12 happened, those in Jerusalem could not have recognized Paul as an apostle for the Gentiles yet (as they did in Gal 2).¹⁸⁸ But Longenecker has demonstrated that this contention ignores Paul’s own idea of his calling to preach to the Gentiles, which he received already at his conversion (Gal 1,15-16)¹⁸⁹ (Herrick).
7. Stein also contended that the leadership of Paul in Gal 2 complies with the expression “Paul and Barnabas” in Acts 15,2. In Acts 11,30 it was still “Barnabas and Saul”.¹⁹⁰ In Herrick’s opinion however, Paul is not a leader in Gal 2, but is only writing of “his own experience in the light of those who are trying to undercut his gospel and discredit him. He is not talking about Barnabas per se, but is instead fighting for the freedom of the churches he has planted”.
8. Lightfoot held that the content of the Galatians letter is very similar to that of the Romans letter (written in about 57 CE), and that this presupposes a similar time frame in which they were written.¹⁹¹ But Longenecker has argued that theological indices (i.e. the theological content of the letter) may not be made primary witnesses in debates such as these. Besides, the Gospel with its attendant freedoms was revealed to Paul very early (cf. 1Cor 15,3-4) (Herrick).

and Letters” in *The Face of New Testament Studies*, ed. S. MCKNIGHT AND G.R. OSBORNE, (Grand Rapids, Baker Academic, 2004) p. 298-99.

¹⁸⁵ C.J. HEMER, “Acts and Galatians reconsidered”, *Themelios* 2 (1977), 81-88, p. 87-88

¹⁸⁶ D. WENHAM, *Acts and the Pauline Corpus: II Pauline Parallels*, p. 242-243.

¹⁸⁷ J.M. BOICE, “Galatians” in *The Expositors Bible Commentary*, ed. FRANK. E. GAEBELEIN, vol. 10. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1976, p. 418

¹⁸⁸ R.H. STEIN, “The Relationship of Galatians 2:1-10 and Acts 15:1-35: Two Neglected Arguments”, *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 17 (1974) 239-42, p. 242.

¹⁸⁹ R.N. LONGENECKER, *Galatians*, Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 41, Dallas, Word Books, 1990, p. 81.

¹⁹⁰ R.H. STEIN, “The Relationship of Galatians 2:1-10 and Acts 15:1-35 ...”, p. 242

¹⁹¹ J.B. LIGHTFOOT, *Saint Paul’s Epistle to the Galatians*, London, Macmilland, 1866; reprint, *The Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians*, Grand Rapids, Zondervan, 1957, p. 48, 49

9. Burton has interpreted the aorist verb ‘espoudasa’ (Gal 2,10) as he “strove” (to relieve the poor of Jerusalem), and thus as referring to a visit in the past, before the visit of Gal 2.¹⁹² Herrick, however, contends that the admonition of James and Cephas came at the end of the visit of Gal 2, and thus was exhorting Paul to continue to remember (in a durative sense) the poor as he had done on this particular occasion, at the beginning of this visit (of Gal 2 and Acts 11-12) and not necessarily in the remote past. Paul responded that it was the very thing he ‘had (always) sought (‘espoudasa’)’ to do.

The only minor argument left against the early date is the following:

10. Titus, mentioned in Gal 2,1, fits better in Acts 15 than in Acts 11-12. But he fits in both.

b) Arguments for an early date

The arguments for an early date are numerous and decisive:

1. In Galatians 2,1-10 the meeting with Paul and Barnabas took place with leaders of the Jerusalem church – James, Cephas and John (the “elders” of Acts 11) –, whereas in Acts 15,1-35 the meeting takes place before the apostles of an assembled church (Malick).
2. The apostolic decree of Acts 15,22 is not mentioned in Galatians’ second visit (2,1-10) (Herrick and Malick).
3. Gentile churches such as the Galatian church would have been quite a bit less willing to go along with the heretics from Jerusalem if they had the knowledge of the decree of the Council (Herrick).
4. Cephas’ actions and Paul’s accusations and argumentations in Antioch (Gal 2,11-15) are far less likely after Acts 15 than before it (Herrick and Malick). And that the apostolic decree of Acts 15,20-22 is not mentioned in Galatians conflict (Gal 2,11-15) also would be very strange if the Galatians letter was written after the Apostolic Council.
5. Marcion (144 CE) asserted that Galatians was the first of Paul’s epistles. His next epistles were 1 and 2 Thess, written in about 50 CE, during Paul’s Second Missionary Journey.
6. Luke does not need to be charged with error as some do to harmonize Galatians 2 with Acts 15 (Malick).

New arguments are:

7. Paul could not have omitted the famine revelation visit of Acts 11-12 – as is asserted by some who hold to the Acts 15 view –, for his argument depends on accuracy, and in Gal 2,1 he uses the word ‘palin’ (anew, again): “Then fourteen years after I went up again to Jerusalem” (Herrick and Malick). It is now commonly assumed that Gal 1-2 includes all of Paul’s Jerusalem visits prior to the letter’s composition.¹⁹³
8. Gal 2 says Paul went up to Jerusalem because of a revelation, and Acts 11 says Paul went to Jerusalem because of the revelation of a coming famine made by the prophet Agabus. The famine in Judea came before the Apostolic Council.
9. The Acts don’t describe any conflict in Antioch after the Apostolic Council.

c) Arguments against the South Theory

The South Theory is that Paul founded and visited the churches of Galatia, interpreted as the Roman province Galatia, on his First Missionary Journey before the Apostolic Council. Thus he may also have addressed his epistle to the Galatians to these southern churches before the Council.

1. Proponents of the North theory hold that by using the designation “Galatians” (= Celts), Paul in his letter could not have addressed the inhabitants of the southern part of the Roman province Galatia. However, according to Fiensy “S. Mitchell, G.W. Hansen, and especially C.J. Hemer have cited inscriptions that clearly indicate that non-Celts from the Roman province often were called Galatians. (...) Thus, it appears that this argument against the South Galatia theory has been effectively refuted.”¹⁹⁴
2. Proponents of the North theory also hold that Luke in Acts would not have used the provincial title Galatia. This argument depends on the interpretation of the word ‘Phrygian’ in Acts 16,6: ‘tēn phrugian kai galatikēn chōran’. Is it a noun (did Paul visit “Phrygia *and* the Galatian country”, interpreted as Phrygia and the northern region of Asia Minor), or is it

¹⁹² E. DE WITT BURTON, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, The International Critical Commentary, Edinburgh, T & T Clark, 1921, p. 115

¹⁹³ B.N. FISK, “Paul – Life and Letters” in *The Face of New Testament Studies*, 2004, p. 299

¹⁹⁴ D.A. FIENSY, “The Roman Empire and Asia Minor”, in *The Face of New Testament Studies*, ed. S. MCKNIGHT and G.R. OSBORNE, Baker Academic, Michigan, 2004, p. 49-50.

an adjective (did he visit the “Phrygian-Galatian country”, i.e. only the Phrygian part of the Roman province Galatia)? Fiensy states that “C.J. Hemer has found examples of the term [Phrygia] used as an adjective (...) in several classic sources and in inscriptions”.¹⁹⁵ So the word ‘Phrygian’ may well have been used by Luke as an adjective to Galatian. In that case Luke here used “Galatian” to designate the Roman province and Paul may have visited only the Phrygian part – i.e. the south-western part – of this Galatia during his Second Missionary Journey and not North Galatia.

According to Herrick, the other arguments for the North Theory are not decisive:

3. In another verse (Acts 18,23) Luke used another term viz. ‘tēn galatikēn chōran kai phrugian’. Grammatically Acts 16,6 and 18,23 on the most natural reading refer to two separate territories: Acts 16 to the South and Acts 18 to the North and South. But Herrick states that even if Acts 16,6 and 18,23 would both refer to the North, it doesn’t necessarily mean that Paul’s letter was directed there. Paul was in South Galatia first anyway (already on his First Missionary Journey).
4. The ‘fickle character’ of the Galatians is deduced from the fact that they quickly turned from the true apostolic Gospel to another Gospel. This would be a characteristic of the Gallic peoples (Celts) in North Galatia. But Herrick states that “one could possibly argue that these characteristics have been found in people groups from time immemorial”. Bruce mentioned the example of the Lycaonians in the southern part of Galatia (Herrick).¹⁹⁶
5. In Acts 16,6 the term ‘kōluthentes’ (“they were forbidden” NKJV and KJ21) can be interpreted as a participle of antecedent time. This would designate that Paul received the prohibition not to preach in Asia, when he was still in Lycaonia, and that he then moved North (= towards the geographical region Galatia). But the participle might as well be a participle of subsequent time (Askwith¹⁹⁷). In this case Paul would already have left Lycaonia and have visited the Phrygian-Galatian region before he received the prohibition (Herrick). Besides, if Paul moved North from Lycaonia, he needn’t have gone so far as northern Galatia, for there were other routes (Malick).

As already stated, according to Fiensy, and as can be seen in the above listed arguments, a certain weight of inevitability seems to have shifted toward the southern Galatia view.¹⁹⁸

d) Arguments for the South Theory

The arguments in favour of the South Theory are decisive:

1. Paul used provincial titles. He speaks of the provincial titles Judea, Syria and Cilicia (cf. Gal 1,21), but never of the geographical regions Lycaonia, Pisidia, Mysia and Lydia (Galatia was the name of the Roman province including the geographical regions Galatia, South-East Phrygia, Lycaonia, Isauria and a portion of Pisidia) (Herrick and Malick).
2. Acts mentions the names of the South Galatian churches (Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, Pisidian Antioch), but fails to give names of northern churches (Herrick and Malick).

And a last corroborating argument is the following:

3. None of Paul’s travelling companions in Acts 20,4ff are from North Galatia, which supports the South Theory (Malick).

Conclusively, a strong argument for the distinction between Cephas and Simon Peter is the fact that, if one assumes that the one called “Cephas” and “a Jew” by Paul¹⁹⁹ is not the same as the “Galilean” Simon Peter²⁰⁰, it is possible to make a far more easy parallel chronology of Paul’s epistle to the Galatians on the one side and Luke’s book Acts of the Apostles on the other side. It is no longer necessary to stretch out the epistle to the Galatians to try and make it fit with the Acts, but both can be read in a plain and straightforward chronological way, without encountering any contradictions between them (see tables 3 and 4). Especially the two second visits reciprocally comply very well.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. 49

¹⁹⁶ F.F. BRUCE, “Galatian Problems, 2 North or South Galatians?”, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 52 (1969, 70), p. 250.

¹⁹⁷ E.H. ASKWITH, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, London, Macmillan, 1899, p. 39, 43, 44.

¹⁹⁸ D.A. FIENSY, *The Roman Empire and Asia Minor*, p. 50.

¹⁹⁹ Gal 2,6-16

²⁰⁰ Mark 14,70; Luke 22,59

This means that neither Luke nor Paul was mistaken, which is in accordance with Paul's vigorous exclamation: "In what I am writing to you, before God, I do not lie!", and also with Luke's explicit declaration: "it seemed good to me also, having followed all things closely for some time past, to write an orderly account for you, most excellent Theophilus, that you may know the truth concerning the things of which you have been informed".²⁰¹

5. The scribes Paul, Apollos and Cephas in Corinth

In the first epistle to the Corinthians, apart from its use in the kerygma, discussed in chapter three of this article, Paul uses the name Cephas another three times, describing the apostolic work of Cephas in Corinth as equal in value to his own apostolic work and to that of the scribe Apollos.²⁰²

What I mean is that each one of you says, "I belong to Paul," or "I belong to Apollos," or "I belong to Cephas," or "I belong to Christ." (1Cor 1,12)
whether Paul or Apollos or Cephas or the world or life or death or the present or the future, all are yours; (1Cor 3,22)

Apollos was "an eloquent man ('logios' = learned), well versed in the scriptures" and he "powerfully confuted the Jews in public, showing by the scriptures that the Christ was Jesus".²⁰³ And Paul was a very learned man too. He was "brought up ... at the feet of Gamaliel", and "in the synagogues immediately he proclaimed Jesus, saying, "He is the Son of God." ... and (he) confounded the Jews who lived in Damascus by proving that Jesus was the Christ".²⁰⁴ He did the same in Thessalonica: "for three weeks he argued with them from the scriptures, explaining and proving that it was necessary for the Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead, and saying, "This Jesus, whom I proclaim to you, is the Christ".²⁰⁵ And also to the chief of the Jews in Rome Paul "expounded the matter ... from morning till evening, testifying to the kingdom of God and trying to convince them about Jesus both from the law of Moses and from the prophets."²⁰⁶

As the people in Corinth had heard Apollos and Paul and probably also Cephas, and as every one chose one of these speakers as his or her favourite, it is not probable that Cephas, of whom it was also said "I belong to Cephas", was unlearned or didn't know the Scriptures very well. Still, this is the way Simon Peter (and John) were designated in the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem: as "uneducated common men" ('agrammatos' = un-lettered, and 'idiōtēs').²⁰⁷ The high priest Caiphas, on the other hand, will have been learned and also well acquainted with the Scriptures, as the high priest with the representatives of the people used to read the Torah to the public in the temple synagogue.²⁰⁸

Do we not have the right to be accompanied by a wife, as the other apostles and the brothers of the Lord and Cephas? (1Cor 9,5)

That "Cephas" is mentioned last in Paul's enumeration of disciples concerning the right to be accompanied by a woman, is explained by regarding "the other apostles and the brothers of the Lord and Cephas" as the church's hierarchy as Paul sees it at that moment: first the apostles (of Galilee and of the Eleven), then the Davidic representatives (James and his brothers) and as the last Cephas, the ex-high priest who had been one of Paul's opponents in the conflict in Antioch.

²⁰¹ Gal 1,20 Luke 1,3-4

²⁰² Acts 17,2-3 22,3 18,24-28; 1Cor 1,12 3,22 9,5

²⁰³ Acts 18,24-28 NA²⁷

²⁰⁴ Acts 22,3 9,20-22

²⁰⁵ Acts 17,1-3

²⁰⁶ Acts 28,23

²⁰⁷ Acts 4,13

²⁰⁸ S. SAFRAI a.o. eds., *The Jewish People*, p. 904-05.

And, as mentioned before, in the letter 1Clement to the Corinthians of about 96 CE both the name “Cephas” and “Peter” are found: “Cephas” is used when describing the Corinthian polarization concerning Apollos and Paul and Cephas, and “Peter” is used when describing the martyrdom of the apostles.²⁰⁹

6. The author of Hebrews and 1Peter: Jewish high priest becomes Christian author

An argument that might be used against the identification of Paul’s “Cephas” with Joseph Caiphas could be that the Christians seemingly didn’t write about the tremendous fact that the very high priest, who had been one of the main agitators for the death of Jesus, had become a public Christian Jew himself.²¹⁰

But this fact was used by Christians indeed: not only in the kerygma – using Cephas’ authority right beside that of the Scriptures –, but, most of all, by Cephas himself. Joseph Cephas was probably the author of the high priestly epistle, now called “to the Hebrews”, and also of the epistle now called “the first epistle of Peter”, where “Peter” is a Greek translation of his Aramaic nickname Cephas = rock²¹¹. When Cephas himself had written so clearly about the new and everlasting high priesthood of Jesus Christ in the Hebrews epistle,²¹² there was less need for the other Christians to write about Caiphas’ former Old Testament high priesthood, especially after the destruction of the temple by the Romans in 70 CE and the historical end of the Jewish high priesthood.

1Peter

The extraordinary high level of the use of the Greek language and of the Septuagint in 1Peter wasn’t attained by the author of 2Peter, who called himself “Simeon Peter”.²¹³ So, 1Peter’s author most probably wasn’t Simon Peter. That he may have been the ex-high priest Cephas can be made plausible: the author of the Greek epistle 1Peter calls himself “Peter, an apostle of Jesus Christ”, which Joseph Cephas could do, for ‘Peter’ is the Greek translation of ‘Cephas’, and Simon Peter may have been dead already (he died in 64 CE). And Paul’s Cephas was considered an apostle by Paul in Gal 1,18-19. And the author of 1Peter called himself an

elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ (1Pet 5,1).

This can be said of Caiphas/Cephas, since he was an elder²¹⁴ and since he was a witness of Jesus’ sufferings, unlike Simon Peter, who had fled when Jesus was arrested, and who denied and left Jesus in the porch of the high priest’s courtyard.

The high priest Caiphas/Cephas was the main witness of Jesus’ stupefying silence before his accusers in the Council of the Temple at night, in which Cephas himself was the judge who judged Him (see Matt 26,59-64). In 1Peter 2,22-23 he emphasizes this extraordinary behaviour:

He committed no sin; no guile was found on his lips. When he was reviled, he did not revile in return; when he suffered, he did not threaten; but he trusted to him who judges justly. (1Pet 2,22-23)

²⁰⁹ 1Clement 47,3; 5,4

²¹⁰ Only the Sahidic Fragment of the apocryphal Assumption of the Virgin Mary recounts a story of how Caiphas, referred to as “the high priest”, became a Christian (J.K. Elliot, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 700-701, http://www.amazon.com/Apocryphal-New-Testament-Collection-Translation/dp/0198261829/ref=sr_1_2?ie=UTF8&qid=1309166603&sr=8-2#reader_0198261829).

²¹¹ The discussion of the reason why Cephas translated his name/title into “Peter” after the death of Simon Peter, is beyond the scope of this essay, but will hopefully be in a next publication of my study.

²¹² Heb 2,17; 3,1; 4,14.15; 5,1.5.10; 6,20; 7,1.26; 8,1.3; 9,7.11.26; 10,21; 13,11.

²¹³ 2Peter 1,1; “Without denying that Peter was able to use and speak Greek, some authors consider that he could not write it in the almost classic manner of this Epistle.” *Catholic Encyclopedia*; see also *Oosthoeks Encyclopedie* (Utrecht 1968) book 11, p. 661 at “Petrus” and P.H.R. VAN HOUWELINGEN, *1Petrus* (Kampen, 1991) p. 11-12.

²¹⁴ cf. Acts 11,30, Gal 2,9 and Acts 21,18 (see par. 4.4., The new chronology, *Second visit*)

and he continues with:

He himself bore our sins in his body on the tree, that we might die to sin and live to righteousness. By his wounds you have been healed. (1Pet 2,24)
So I exhort the elders among you, as a fellow elder and a witness of the sufferings of Christ (1Pet 5,1)

Caiphas/Cephas, as the author of 1Peter, remembers the suffering, the stripes and crucifixion of Jesus very vividly, but Simon Peter had fled. The epistle 1Peter treats the concept of the suffering of – and the suffering like – Christ very often indeed: at least ten times.²¹⁵ The expression “by his wounds you have been healed” (1Pet 2,24) refers to the suffering servant of Isaiah 53, the connection of whom with the Messiah (= Christ) will have been revealed by Jesus in the teaching given to the Eleven of the temple prison (Luke 24,44-47), who conveyed this teaching to their superior, the high priest Cephas. That Jesus put “his body on the tree” (‘to xulon’ = 1 wood, 2 tree)”, as 1Peter says (1Pet 2,24),²¹⁶ may to the high priest Cephas have been a parallel of the sacrifice that Abraham made by laying his son Isaac “upon the wood” (‘tōn xulon’ Gen 22,9 LXX), which he mentions in Heb 11,17 as an example of faith, and also a parallel of the morning and evening sacrifice that had been made by himself (or in his name), by laying the parts of the lamb, as a remembrance of the lamb that substituted for Isaac, “upon the wood” (‘epi ta xula’ Lev 1,8 LXX) of the altar of the temple. It’s also striking that the “Temple-community motif”, derived from Eze 8-11, is important in the epistle 1Peter, as Schutter wrote in 1989.²¹⁷ Note that beside Caiphas/Cephas we don’t know any other elder called Peter who was such a witness of the sufferings of Christ. The author of 1Peter knows “Silvanus” (1Pet 4,12), who is generally identified with Silas,²¹⁸ whom Caiphas could have met already in Antioch after the conflict of “Cephas” with Paul, when the decrees of the Council were brought there by Paul, Silas and others (Ac 15,22-40).

Hebrews

Also the author of the epistle to the Hebrews may have been the former high priest Caiphas. Just as 1Peter the Hebrews epistle was written in a strikingly pure and elegant Greek style.²¹⁹ There is also the fact that Hebrews’ author was capable of giving even more details about the sanctuary – especially of the Most Holy Place where “only the high priest ... , and he but once a year”²²⁰ was allowed to enter –, than he already had done extensively in this letter (see Heb 9,1-5), for he wrote: “Of these things we cannot now speak in detail” (Heb 9,5). The Most Holy Place was empty in Jesus’ days, except for a stone that had remained there after the ark was taken away. But Hebrews’ author seems to have known more details about the sanctuary than what was commonly known, so he may have had a special interest, being a high priest. Also, Hebrews’ priestly vocabulary and priestly subjects suggest both a clerical speaker and a clerical audience; see for example:

Therefore, holy brethren, who share in a heavenly call, consider Jesus, the apostle and high priest of our confession. (Heb 3,1)
And one does not take the honor [of the high priesthood] upon himself, but he is called by God, just as Aaron [= the first high priest] was. (Heb 5,4)
but into the second [tabernacle = Most Holy Place] only the high priest goes, and he but once a year, and not without taking blood which he offers for himself and for the errors of the people (Heb 9,7)

²¹⁵ 1Pet 1,11 2,20 3,14.17 4,13.15.19 5,1.9.10

²¹⁶ NA²⁷; Strongs 3586

²¹⁷ R.L. WEBB, “The Petrine Epistles” in *The Face of New Testament Studies*, ed. S. MCKNIGHT and G.R. OSBORNE, (Grand Rapids, Baker Academic, 2004) p. 379. R.L. Webb here refers to the work of W.L. SCHUTTER, “Hermeneutic and Composition in 1Peter”, *WUNT* 2.30 (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck]), 1989, p. 161-63, 176-77.

²¹⁸ <http://www.studydrive.org/enc/isb/view.cgi?word=silas&action=Lookup>

²¹⁹ “... the striking purity of language and elegance of Greek style that characterized the Epistle to the Hebrews. [...] In fact the author of the Epistle shows great familiarity with the rules of the Greek literary language of his age. Of all the New Testament authors he has the best style. His writing may even be included among those examples of artistic Greek prose whose rhythm recalls the parallelism of Hebrew poetry.” *Catholic Encyclopedia* (www.newadvent.org/cathen)

²²⁰ Heb 9,7

For by a single offering he [Jesus] has perfected for all time those who are sanctified. (Heb 10,14)
Therefore, brethren, since we have confidence to enter the sanctuary by the blood of Jesus (Heb 10,19)

Spicq has argued that Hebrews was addressed to a group of priests, who had been in contact with Qumran.²²¹ Note that Joseph's nickname Caiphas/Qā'if^{un} was a title from Qumran. And the majority of commentators now place the recipients of the Hebrews epistle in Rome.²²² So, the "most excellent Theophilus" in Rome, who probably was the ex-high priest and son of Annas, and for whom Luke wrote his Gospel and Acts, may have belonged to Hebrews' audience too.²²³ That Hebrews' author was the ex-high priest Cephas can also be made plausible by the following: according to Guthrie the author of Hebrews is "a preacher/leader of the church".²²⁴ This would fit Cephas, who had preached in Corinth. Hurst suggests that the author may have been a disciple of Paul at one time, because they have the same ideas and develop the same themes in a similar way.²²⁵ But then the connection between Hebrews' author and Paul might as well have been the other way around: Paul may have been a disciple of the author of Hebrews (Cephas) at one time, namely at Paul's first post-conversion visit to Cephas, when Paul heard the doctrine – of Jesus' death for our sins in accordance with the Scriptures – from Cephas, who had received it from the Eleven, who had received it from Christ right after his resurrection.²²⁶ It's noteworthy now, that Hebrews' author states with respect to this "purification for sins" (Heb 1,3):

how shall we escape if we neglect such a great salvation? It was declared at first by the Lord, and it was attested to us by those who heard him. (Heb 2,3)

Jesus, when on trial before Caiphas and the Twelve of the Council of the Temple, had promised them:

hereafter you will see the Son of man seated at the right hand of Power (Matt 26,64 Mark 14,62)

That the author of the epistle to the Hebrews had seen the risen and glorified Jesus as was promised, also appears from his words:

But we see Jesus, who for a little while was made lower than the angels, crowned with glory and honor (Heb 2,9)

After he had provided purification for sins, he sat down at the right hand of the Majesty in heaven (Heb 1,3)

Now the point in what we are saying is this: we have such a high priest, one who is seated at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in heaven (Heb 8,1)

But when Christ had offered for all time a single sacrifice for sins, he sat down at the right hand of God (Heb 10,12) (See also Hebrews' two other places about Jesus at the right hand of God: Heb 1,13 12,2)

In 1Peter he speaks of the same:

the resurrection of Jesus Christ, who has gone into heaven and is at the right hand of God, with angels, authorities, and powers subject to him ... (1Pet 3,21-22)

Verbal and theological parallels

That the author of the Hebrews epistle is also the author of the epistle 1Peter has been made plausible by the comparison of their vocabulary and other literary characteristics by experts.

²²¹ C. SPICQ, *L'Épître aux Hébreux, Apollon, Jean-Baptiste, les Hellénistes et Qumran*, Revue de Qumran 1, 1959, p. 365-90

²²² G.H. GUTHRIE, "Hebrews in Its First-Century Contexts", in *The Face of New Testament Studies* p. 440

²²³ Luke 1,3 Acts 1,1; Luke's Theophilus knew who "the Eleven" and "Simon" were (Luke 24,33-34). Theophilus Annas' son reigned in 37-41 CE (Jos., *J.Ant.*, 18,5,3 (783) 18,6,2 (818)).

²²⁴ G.H. GUTHRIE, *Hebrews in Its First-Century Contexts*, p. 433

²²⁵ L.D. HURST, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: Its Background of Thought*, SNTSMS 65, Cambridge, 1990, p. 124

²²⁶ This has been discussed in paragraph 3.4.

When it comes to the use of the OT [= Old Testament], 1Peter stands out among the NT [= New Testament] letters, especially when one compares the number of citations and allusions to the length of the letter. 1Peter contains about the same number of OT references per unit of text as does Hebrews.²²⁷

The apparent connections of the Hebrews epistle with 1Peter are also reflected on in recent research.²²⁸ Guthrie states that 1Peter is the writing “shown to have extensive verbal and conceptual parallels with Hebrews” and that “both the number of verbal parallels and their depth of theological correspondence at points seem impressive and suggest some form of literary connection, though the nature of the connection probably is beyond the reach of modern research.”²²⁹ So, it certainly isn’t beyond reason to suggest that the epistles’ connection is that they had the same author.

Here follow a few examples of the parallels that can be found by any reader: “grace” (‘charis’), “suffering” (‘pathema’), “glory” (‘doxa’), and “angels” (‘angelos’) (NA²⁷), and the concept of salvation for everyone, are all used in both letters within the scope of three verses:

1Peter

The prophets who prophesied of the **grace** that was to be yours searched and inquired about **this salvation**; they inquired what person or time was indicated by the Spirit of Christ within them when predicting the **sufferings** of Christ and the subsequent **glory**.

It was revealed to them that they were serving not themselves but you, in the things which have now been announced to you ..., things into which **angels** long to look. (1Pet 1,10-12)

Hebrews

But we see Jesus, who for a little while was made lower than the **angels**, crowned with **glory** and honor because of the **suffering** of death, so that by the **grace** of God he might taste death **for every one**. (Heb 2,9)

The author of the epistle 1Peter talks about angels (1Peter 1,12 3,22) just as the author of the Hebrews epistle does (Heb 1,4-7 1,13 2.5.7.9.16 12,22 13,2), and they both have the same point of view, namely that Jesus is more powerful than the angels (1Pet 3,22 Heb 1,4) and that not “the angels” but “the seed of Abraham” are ministered with the Gospel (1Pet 1,12 Heb 2,16).

1Peter

who has gone into heaven and is at the right hand of God, with **angels**, authorities, and powers **subject to him**. (1Peter 3,22)

It was revealed to them (the prophets) that they were serving not themselves but **you**, in the things ... the good news ... things into which **angels** long to look. (1Pet 1,12)

Hebrews

In many and various ways God spoke of old to our fathers by the prophets; but in these last days he has spoken to us by a Son ... having become as **much superior to angels** as the name he has obtained is more excellent than theirs. (Heb 1,1-4)

For surely it is not with **angels** that he is concerned but with **the descendants of Abraham**. (Heb 2,16)

The following words are also used in the same sense in both epistles: “**sprinkling/sprinkled**” (‘**rantismos**’) – this word isn’t in any other New Testament text! – and “without spot”/“without blemish” (‘**amōmos**’) and “blood” (‘**haima**’) and “Spirit” (‘**pneuma**’) (NA²⁷). Note that it was the high priest himself who used to sprinkle the blood of the spotless lamb in the Most Holy Place of the temple once a year on the Day of Atonement.

1Peter

chosen and destined by God the Father and sanctified by the **Spirit** for obedience to Jesus Christ and for **sprinkling** with his **blood** (1Pet 1,2)

but with the precious **blood of Christ**, like that of a lamb **without blemish** or spot. (1Pet 1,19)

Hebrews

²²⁷ P.H. DAVIDS, *The First Epistle of Peter*, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids/Cambridge, 1990, p.24

²²⁸ G.H. GUTHRIE, *Hebrews in Its First-Century Contexts*, p. 417. Guthrie refers to the work of L.D. HURST, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: Its Background of Thought*, SNTSMS 65, Cambridge, 1990.

²²⁹ G.H. GUTHRIE, *Hebrews in Its First-Century Contexts*, p. 439-440

and to Jesus, the mediator of a new covenant, and to the **sprinkled blood** that speaks more graciously than the blood of Abel. (Heb 12,24)

how much more shall the **blood of Christ**, who through the eternal **Spirit** offered himself **without blemish** to God, purify your conscience from dead works to serve the living God. (Heb 9,14)

And this is a parallel concerning “baptism” (‘baptisma’), “a clear conscience” (‘agathēs/kalēs suneidēsis’) and “resurrection” (‘anastasis’) (NA²⁷):

1Peter

Baptism, which corresponds to this, now saves you, not as a removal of dirt from the body but as an appeal to God for a **clear conscience**, through the **resurrection** of Jesus Christ (1Pet 3,21)

Hebrews

with instruction about ablutions (= ‘baptisma’), the laying on of hands, the **resurrection** of the dead, and eternal judgment. (Heb 6,2)

Pray for us, for we are sure that we have a **clear conscience**, desiring to act honorably in all things. (Heb 13,18)

The Greek word ‘suneidis’ = “conscience” occurs five times in the epistle to the Hebrews and three times in 1Peter.²³⁰ And the word ‘parepidēmois’ (= “strangers”, “pilgrims”) is used solely in 1Peter and Hebrews (1Pe 1,1 2,11 Heb 11,13). It was a Greek designation, used in the Septuagint for migrant people (Ge 23,4 Ps 39,12), as the Rechabite temple prison officers (= the Eleven) were, who formed a part of the Qumran community.²³¹ Another parallel between these two letters is the following:

1Peter

love one another earnestly from the heart. You have been born anew, ... through the living and abiding word of God; ... the word of the Lord abides for ever." (1Pet 1,22-25)

Hebrews

For the word of God is living and active, sharper than any two-edged sword, ... discerning the thoughts and intentions of the heart. (Heb 4,12)

7. Discussion

The possibility that Paul’s Cephias and Simon Peter were two distinct individuals is not a new issue: There are references from as far back as the early decades of the twentieth century.²³² Also, the thesis that Paul’s Cephias may be Caiphias is not entirely new. In the year 1968 the Dutch Oosthoeks Encyclopedie stated that the name Caiphias was a corruption of the name Cephias, the nickname of both Simon and the high priest Joseph, and in 1979 Allegro wrote about the possible identity of Cephias and Caiphias,²³³ but his suggestion was never seriously discussed.

Here follows a summary of the arguments against the identification of Paul’s Cephias with Simon Peter and for the identification with Caiphias.

7.1. Argument against Cephias as Simon

²³⁰ Heb 9,9.14 10,2.22 13,18; 1Pet 2,19 3,16.21 (NA²⁷) (“conscience” is nineteen times in the Pauline epistles and it is not in 2Peter at all).

²³¹ This is described in my article *The Eleven (Luke 24,9.33 Acts 2,14) – Jesus appeared risen to the Officers of the Temple Prison*, www.JesusKing.info, 20-12-2008.

²³² See the refs. in R.E. BROWN, K.P. DONFRIED, J. REUMANN (eds.), *Peter in the New Testament*, Augsburg & Paulist, 1973, 24, n.54; See also the article of B. EHRMAN, "Cephias and Peter," *JBL* 109 [1990] p. 463-474

²³³ *Oosthoeks Encyclopedie* (Utrecht 1968) 8, p. 328 at “Kefas”; J.M. ALLEGRO, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Christian Myth*, Prometheus Books, New York, 1984 (originally Westbridge Books, U.K., 1979) p. 212

1. Paul mentions Simon Peter and Cephas in a single sentence.
2. Clement of Rome uses both the name Peter and the name Cephas in a single document: the letter 1Clement.
3. Simon Peter in the Gospels and Acts is only addressed and mentioned with “Simon” and/or “Peter”, never with “Cephas”.
4. Simon Peter was one of the ten apostles at Jesus’ first appearance of Easter in the Cenacle, but Cephas is mentioned alongside “the twelve” in the kerygma.
5. Simon Peter got his third appearance after the two appearances to the disciples in the Cenacle, but Cephas got his first appearance before “the twelve”.
6. Simon Peter was a Galilean fisherman and an “unlearned and ignorant” man, and certainly not a scribe or Jewish teacher, but Cephas is called “a Jew” by Paul and had disciples in Corinth.
7. Simon Peter was passing throughout Samaria and Judea, when Paul visited Cephas in Jerusalem and saw James.
8. Simon Peter belonged to those who were apostles before Paul, and Paul’s argument in Gal 1 is that he didn’t go and visit any of these apostles. So the Cephas he did visit, three years after his conversion, was not Simon Peter, but the high priest Caiphas who hadn’t become an apostle yet.
9. Simon Peter is the ‘rock’ of the church and had fled Jerusalem, but when Paul visited Jerusalem for the second time he saw Cephas, one of the ‘pillars’ of the church after James.
10. The Acts and the Galatians-epistle, when “Cephas” is equated with Simon Peter, have no plain common chronology: the epistle to the Galatians would omit the Acts’ second visit to Jerusalem and at the same time it is stretched out to combine Galatians’ second visit to James, Cephas and John with Paul’s third visit in Acts, when he meets Simon Peter at the Council. Nevertheless, the epistle to the Galatians omits the decrees of the Council. And the Acts don’t describe a conflict in Antioch after the Council.
11. The “Galilean” Simon Peter already ate with Gentiles before the conflict in Antioch and before the Council, and he freely spoke about it in favour of freedom for the Gentiles before and at the Council (Acts 10,9-48 11,1-18; 15,7-11), but Paul’s Cephas is “a Jew” and seemed ashamed of eating with the Gentiles in Antioch and, according to Paul, tried to make Gentiles live like Jews.
12. Simon Peter at the Council uses the argument Paul had used against Cephas in Antioch.

7.2. Arguments for Cephas as Caiphas

The arguments in this article for the identification of Paul’s Cephas and Caiphas are the following:

1. Arguments from the name
 - a. Cephas nor Caiphas is a proper name.
 - b. Cephas and Caiphas are both Greek transliterations of the Aramaic Keypha (‘rock’), and the name ‘rock’ is very meaningful with respect to the high priest Joseph Caiphas: it represents both his immovability from his office, and his place of residence, and place of ministry and his hierarchical position.
 - c. Also Jesus’ metaphor of the rock of the temple implies that Cephas was the high priest: the building of the Church parallels the building of the temple, the rock Peter parallels the rock Caiphas, the head of the Church’s ministry parallels the head of the temple’s ministry.
 - d. That the name Cephas was given to Simon by Jesus, confirms that Simon would have a function in the New Covenant corresponding to the function of Joseph Caiphas in the Old Covenant.
2. Arguments from the appearance stories
 - a. An appearance to Cephas (the high priest) makes sense in relation to the appearance to the twelve, the five hundred and James and all the apostles: it were appearances to

the high priest, the elders of the priests in the Council of the Temple, the ordinary priests in the temple and the head of the representatives of the Israelites in the temple (James) and the captains of the temple prison.

- b. The kerygma is a chronological and hierarchical list (Paul says he was last because he was least) and in the kerygma Cephas is the authority after the Scriptures, and before “the Twelve” and the “five hundred”: he is the high priest of the Old Testament before the twelve elders of the priests and the ordinary priests.
 - c. That James’ identity was not specified in the kerygma, proves that his identity could be deduced from the identities of the persons mentioned before him, especially from Cephas, the high priest, whose name is the only one mentioned before James.
 - d. The presence of (the secret disciple) Joseph of Arimathea in the Council of the Temple explains how the information about the appearances to Cephas, the twelve and the five hundred priests, was transmitted to Jesus’ first and public disciples.
 - e. Jesus appeared risen to Cephas and the Twelve (of the kerygma), as He had promised Caiphas and the Twelve of the Council of the Temple during his trial: “hereafter you will see the Son of man seated at the right hand of Power”.
3. Arguments from the new chronology
- a. Paul may have visited the high priest Cephas to be discharged of his (abandoned) mission received from the second priest Annas, the president of the Great Sanhedrin.
 - b. Cephas, who is almost always mentioned in the context of James, can be the high priest beside James, the head of the representatives in the temple:
On his first return to Jerusalem Paul meets Cephas and, consequently, also James, in their original functions of high priest and head of the representatives of the Israelites, respectively. On his second return Paul meets James and, consequently, also (the ex-high priest) Cephas as ‘pillars’ of the Christian community; James and Cephas and John were leaders of the local Jerusalem church and called “elders” according to Acts 11,30 and 21,18.
 - c. Cephas belonged to “those who were reputed to be something (what they were makes no difference to me; God shows no partiality)”, which is in accordance with his former high priesthood.
 - d. James and Cephas wanted Paul to make contributions to the poor of Jerusalem and Paul brought alms and offerings to the nation in the temple.
 - e. Cephas not only withdrew from the Gentiles in Antioch, but he also “separated himself”, possibly meaning that he did a ritual sanctification/purification fitting an (ex-) high priest who had defiled himself.
 - f. Cephas is accused by Paul of the hypocrisy of a teacher who doesn’t teach himself, and is called “a Jew”.
4. Cephas’ apostolic work in Corinth is equal in value to that of the learned scribes Paul and Apollos.
5. Arguments from the other epistles
- a. Paul’s Cephas, who saw the risen Jesus, may have been the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, for its author says he had seen the risen Jesus seated at the right hand of Power; and its author may have been Caiphas, as the epistle to the Hebrews has many references to the high priesthood, and was probably addressed to Jewish priests who had been in contact with Qumran (‘Caiaphas’ was a Qumran title), and was written in high quality Greek.
 - b. Paul’s Cephas may have been the author of 1Peter, since his name Cephas only needed a translation to Peter. And its author may have been Caiphas, as the epistle 1Peter says it was written by an “elder” and someone who had been “a witness of the sufferings of Christ” – unlike Simon Peter –, and since the author was also able to write high quality Greek, and elaborates the “Temple community motif”. Caiphas was one of the “elders” (Acts 11,30) whom Paul met during his second post-conversion visit to Jerusalem (Gal 2,9), and not only a witness of Jesus’ bodily

sufferings, but also of his stupefying silence before his accusers in trial, which is emphasized in 1Peter.

- c. That the high priestly epistle to the Hebrews and 1Peter may have had the same author, the high priest Cephias/Peter, is corroborated by the verbal and theological parallels between these two letters, and by some unique elements they have in common.
6. And as a last argument, but not the least: we only know of two men with the same nickname and same function: Joseph Caiphas and Simon Peter. The presence of a third Christian Cephias in Judea (Paul's Cephias belonged to "men which came down from Judea" Acts 15,1-2) is improbable, for the name Cephias is most likely not a proper name²³⁴ and as a nickname it was already used for Simon and the high priest Joseph, as the earthly high priests of the New and the Old Covenant respectively. Only a reigning Jewish high priest may have received the same nickname, e.g. Elioneaus, but he certainly wasn't a Christian. So, Paul's Cephias must have been either Simon Peter or Joseph Caiphas²³⁵ and, unlike Simon Peter, Joseph Caiphas appears to fit surprisingly well with the profile of Paul's Cephias.

7.3. One argument against Cephias as Caiphas

One might say of the thesis that Paul's Cephias is Caiphas that it is strange that the identification isn't referred to in other biblical or extra-biblical texts. Explanations might be:

- 1) The reference to the high priest in the kerygma had already such an impact, that further references in other texts were not necessary.
- 2) And, as already stated, when Cephias had written so clearly about the new and everlasting high priesthood of Jesus Christ in the Hebrews epistle,²³⁶ there was less need for the other Christians to emphasize Caiphas' former Old Testament high priesthood, especially after the destruction of the temple by the Romans in 70 CE.
- 3) And a third argument might be that, after the fall of the temple and the expulsion of the Christians from the Jewish synagogue by the Jewish Council in Jamnia in 80 CE, which caused the strict separation of Christianity from Judaism, this probably led to a weaker evangelisation of Jews. Paul's policy 'to the Jew first, then to the Greek' could hardly be maintained, since Christians couldn't preach in synagogues any longer, and a Jew would have to stop being Jewish for becoming a Christian, which was very difficult. So, if there was less focus on and less effect of the evangelisation of Jews, also the proclamation that Jesus had appeared risen to the very high priest who had condemned Him to death – which was more persuading to Jews than to Gentiles –, needed no extra emphasizing any longer either, especially when the formula of the kerygma was still proclaimed.
- 4) A last argument is that many things just weren't written down or their descriptions got lost. An example is the uncertainty about even Simon Peter's activities after he fled from Jerusalem in 44 CE. We only know that he was present at the Apostolic Council in Jerusalem in 49 CE, but other dates and places are lacking in the New Testament. He isn't even mentioned or greeted in any of the New Testament letters. And the first letter he wrote, to which he referred in 2Pet 3,1, got lost. So, if this could happen to the inheritance of Simon Peter, the 'rock' of the Church, then the fact that we know no details about the high priest Caiphas' conversion and little about his activities afterwards, needn't be a surprise.

²³⁴ L.W. HURTADO, <http://www.ibiblio.org/bgreek/archives/greek-3/msg00828.html>, 2004.

²³⁵ When Eusebius says that it wasn't Simon Peter but the Cephias of the Seventy (Cephias the bishop of Konia), this probably also was Caiphas.

²³⁶ Heb 2,17; 3,1; 4,14.15; 5,1.5.10; 6,20; 7,1.26; 8,1.3; 9,7.11.26; 10,21; 13,11

8. Conclusion

As ‘Caiphas’ and ‘Cephas’ are not proper names but interchangeable nicknames, as equivalent Greek transliterations of the Aramaic nickname ‘Keypha’, meaning ‘rock’, Paul’s Cephas must have been either Joseph Caiphas or Simon Peter, for it is unlikely that a third Christian in Judea would have had the same nickname as these two leaders.

Joseph Caiphas appears to be a better chronological (Galatians compared to Acts), theological (the conflict in Antioch compared to the Apostolic Council), contextual (James, the Lord’s brother – tightly associated to the temple – and the learned scribes Apollos and Paul), hierarchical (the twelve and five hundred priests; and “James and Cephas” in stead of ‘Cephas and James’), harmonic (the kerygma compared to John) and literary fit (1Pet and Heb compared to 2Pet) than Simon Peter, the fisherman.

The new thesis that Paul’s Cephas is the ex-high priest Joseph Caiphas has many arguments in favour, but so far only one contra-argument – that it seems there is no explicit record that Paul’s Cephas was Caiphas –, which may not be of significant value, because many other historical facts, even about Simon Peter, were unrecorded. The old assumption that Paul’s Cephas is Simon Peter, however, has many contra-arguments. The misfits and contradictions between the various New Testament texts, encountered when the texts were read with the old assumption, are, now they are *all* resolved by the new thesis, the best evidence of the integrity and accuracy of the texts’ various authors: Paul and Luke were right. Only the old chronologists who identified Cephas with Simon Peter were mistaken.

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John 18	Luke 22	Mark 14		Matt 26		conclusions
13 to Annas	54 into the high priest's house	53 to the high priest		57 to Caiaphas the high priest (indicating the place, not the man)		Annas and Caiaphas both waited for Jesus in Caiaphas' house in Antonia; Jesus to Annas first
15 entered the 'aule' of the high priest	55 in the middle of the 'aule'	54 into the 'aule' of the high priest	66 And as Peter was below in the 'aule'	58 Peter into the high priest's 'aule' "to see the end"	69 Now Peter was sitting outside in the 'aule'	Peter into the 'aule' of the Antonia tower next to the Watch Gate
17 maid	56-57 maid		66-68 one of the maids		69-70 maid	first question and denial
			68 Peter went out into the porch (pro-aulion) (cock crowed)		71 Peter gone out into the porch (puloon)	Peter out of the 'aule' into the porch of the Watch Gate (cock crowed)
24 Jesus to Caiaphas		55 the whole council		59 the whole council		Annas sends Jesus to Caiaphas and the Council of the Temple
25 they	58 someone else		69-70 maid		71-72 maid	second question and denial
	59 after an interval of about an hour		70 after a little while			When the meeting of the Council of the Temple had ended
26-27 servant	59-60 still another		70-71 the bystanders		73-74 they	third question and denial
27 cock crew	60 cock crowed		72 second .. cock crowed		74 cock crowed	cock crowed (second time)
	61 the Lord turned and looked at Peter					Jesus in public prison ('in view of all') in the Watch Gate, where Peter was
	63-65 the men who were holding Jesus ..., beat him		65 the guards ('hyperetai') received him with blows		67-68 some slapped him	the Eleven and 'hyperetai' in the prison of the Watch Gate
	66 day, the elders of the people		15,1 morning, whole council		27,1 morning, elders of the people	In the morning Jesus was led before the Great Sanhedrin (possibly in Caiaphas' house in Antonia)
28 from Caiaphas to the praetorium, early, 29 Pilate	23,1 before Pilate		15,1 to Pilate		27,2 to Pilate	To Pilate

Table 1 The two councils and the porch and prison of the Watch Gate

Galatians		Acts of the Apostles	
1st visit Gal 1,18-20	Paul meets Cephas but no different (= Galilean) apostles	1st visit Acts 9,26-30 1	Paul meets “the apostles” (the Eleven) Simon Peter in Samaria and Judea Acts 8,25 9,32
2nd visit ‘revelation’ Gal 2,1-10	Paul meets the “pillars” among whom Cephas	2nd visit ‘famine revelation’ Acts 11,27-30 12,25 2	Paul meets “the elders” Simon Peter already fled from Jerusalem Acts 11,30 12,1-17
Conflict in Antioch Gal 2,11-14 about making Gentiles live like Jews	Paul meets Cephas Cephas wants to ‘make Gentiles live like Jews’	Conflict in Antioch Acts 15,1-2 3	Paul meets “men .. from Judea” who want Jewish circumcision and the Jewish Law for Gentiles
<hr/>	<hr/>	3rd visit Apostolic Council Acts 15,4-29 decides Gentiles are free of Jewish law 4	Simon Peter participates Acts 15,7-11 Simon Peter: ‘why put yoke on Gentiles?’

Table 2 Parallels in Galatians and Acts

Epistle to the Galatians	Acts of the Apostles	Year CE
Gal 1,15-17	Ac 9,1-25 Paul's conversion and own journey from Damascus to Arabia	36-37
Gal 1,18-20 FIRST VISIT TO JERUSALEM 1 after three years I went up to Jerusalem to see Cephas ... other of the apostles saw I none, save James	Ac 8,25 9,26-30.32 FIRST VISIT TO JERUSALEM 1 disciples were all afraid of Paul Barnabas brought Paul to the apostles Simon Peter passed throughout all quarters	39
Gal 1,21-24 to Syria en Cilicia, unknown by face to the churches of Judea.	Ac 11,22-26 own journey Paul and Barnabas at Antioch - "christians"	43
no mention ?! (when did the Gospel get to be "with you" Gal 2,5 ?)	Ac 13,1 – 14,28 First Missionary Journey Antioch - Pafos - Derbe- and back	between 45-49
no mention ?! story of Galatians is stretched out and important events seem to have been skipped by Paul	Ac 11,27-28 prophets from Jerusalem arrive at Antioch Agabus predicts famine; material help sent to the elders by the hands of Barnabas and Paul Ac 11,29-30 12,25 SECOND VISIT TO JERUSALEM 2 Simon Peter imprisoned and fled + death of Herod, Barnabas and Paul return to Antioch	48-49
no mention ?!	Ac 15,1-3 certain men from Judea arrive at Antioch, no small dissension and disputation at Antioch 3	48-49
Gal 2,1-10 14 years after I went up again to Jerusalem .. I went up by revelation.. with Barnabas SECOND VISIT TO JERUSALEM 2 Cephas is wrongfully identified with Simon Peter James + Cephas +John give right hands of fellowship	Ac 15,3-29 Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, THIRD VISIT TO JERUSALEM COUNCIL of the apostles 4 Simon Peter and James speak	48-49
no mention of decrees of Council?!	Ac 15,30-35 Return to Antioch with Council decrees, which are received with joy	48-49
no mention ?! or first stay with "bodily ailment" Gal 4,13?	Ac 16,1 - 18.22 Second Missionary Journey (16,6 "Phrygia and Galatian country"), appears before Gallio at Corinth	50-52
no mention ?!	Ac 18,22 fourth visit to Jerusalem ?	52
Gal 2,11- 21 CONFLICT with Cephas at Antioch 3 when Cephas was come to Antioch, I opposed him to his face.. ...certain came from James	no mention ?!	
Is second stay in Galatia ? (cf. "first" stay Gal 4,13) Paul writes the epistle to the Galatians from Ephesus in 57 CE ?	Ac 18,23-21,17 Third Missionary Journey (18,23 "Galatia")	53-58
	Ac 21,17-21 last visit to Jerusalem	58
	Ac 21,27 Paul arrested in Jerusalem - captivity in Ceasarea and in Rome - end of the Acts.	58-63

Table 3 The old chronology

Epistle to Galatians - Gal	Acts of the Apostles - Ac	Year CE
Gal 1,15-17	Ac 9,1-25 Jesus' death and resurrection. Persecution by Paul. Paul's conversion and own journey from Damascus to Arabia	30
Gal 1,18-20 FIRST VISIT TO JERUSALEM 1 after three years I went up to Jerusalem to see Cephas ..other of the apostles saw I none, save James	Ac 8,25 9,26-30.32 FIRST VISIT TO JERUSALEM 1 disciples were all afraid of Paul Barnabas brought Paul to the apostles Simon Peter passed throughout all quarters	33
Gal 1,21-24 own journey to Syria and Cilicia, Gal 1,21. "First" stay in South Galatia forced by "a bodily ailment" ?(Gal 4,13) and thus the Gospel got to be "with you" (Gal 2,5) .	Ac 11,22-26 own journey	between 33-44
	Paul and Barnabas at Antioch - "christians"	43
Gal 2,1-10 14 years after I went up again to Jerusalem .. I went up by revelation..	Ac 11,27-28 prophets from Jerusalem arrive at Antioch Agabus predicts famine	44
Gal 2,1-10 went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas SECOND VISIT TO JERUSALEM 2 James, Cephas , and John give the right hands of fellowship. Paul and Barnabas agree to go to the Gentiles and to remember the poor of Jerusalem.	Ac 11,29-30 12,25 material relief sent to the elders by the hands of Barnabas and Paul to bring the gifts of the brothers after the revelation of Agabus. SECOND VISIT TO JERUSALEM 2 Simon Peter imprisoned and escaped; fled Jerusalem death of Herod 44 CE, Barnabas and Paul return to Antioch	44
Gal 2,10 I also was forward to remember the poor (first or first and second stay in South Galatia cf. Gal 4,13)	Ac 13,1 – 14,28 First Missionary Journey Antioch – Pafos – Antioch(2) – Ikonium – Lystra – Derbe – and back (interpreted as <u>southern Galatia</u>)	± 45 – 48
Gal 2,11- 21 CONFLICT with Cephas at Antioch 3 when Cephas was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face.. ..certain came from James	Ac 15,1-3 certain men from Judea arrive at Antioch no small dissension and disputation at Antioch 3	48
<p>Paul writes epistle to Galatians The epistle to the Galatians was sent from Antioch in 48 CE prior to the Council. That is why it doesn't not mention the results of the Council.</p>	Ac 15,3-29 Paul and Barnabas go up to Jerusalem, THIRD VISIT TO JERUSALEM: COUNCIL of the APOSTLES 4 Simon Peter and James speak	48
	Ac 15,30-35 return to Antioch with the letter of decrees, which is received with joy	48/49
	Ac 16,1 – 18,22 Second Missionary Journey, (Phrygian-Galatia: 16,6), appears before Gallio in Corinth	50-52
	Ac 18,23-21,17 Third Missionary Journey, (Galatia: 18,23)	52-58
	Ac 21,17-21 last visit to Jerusalem	58
	Ac 21,27 Paul captive in Jerusalem and Rome - end Acts.	58-63

Table 4 The new chronology

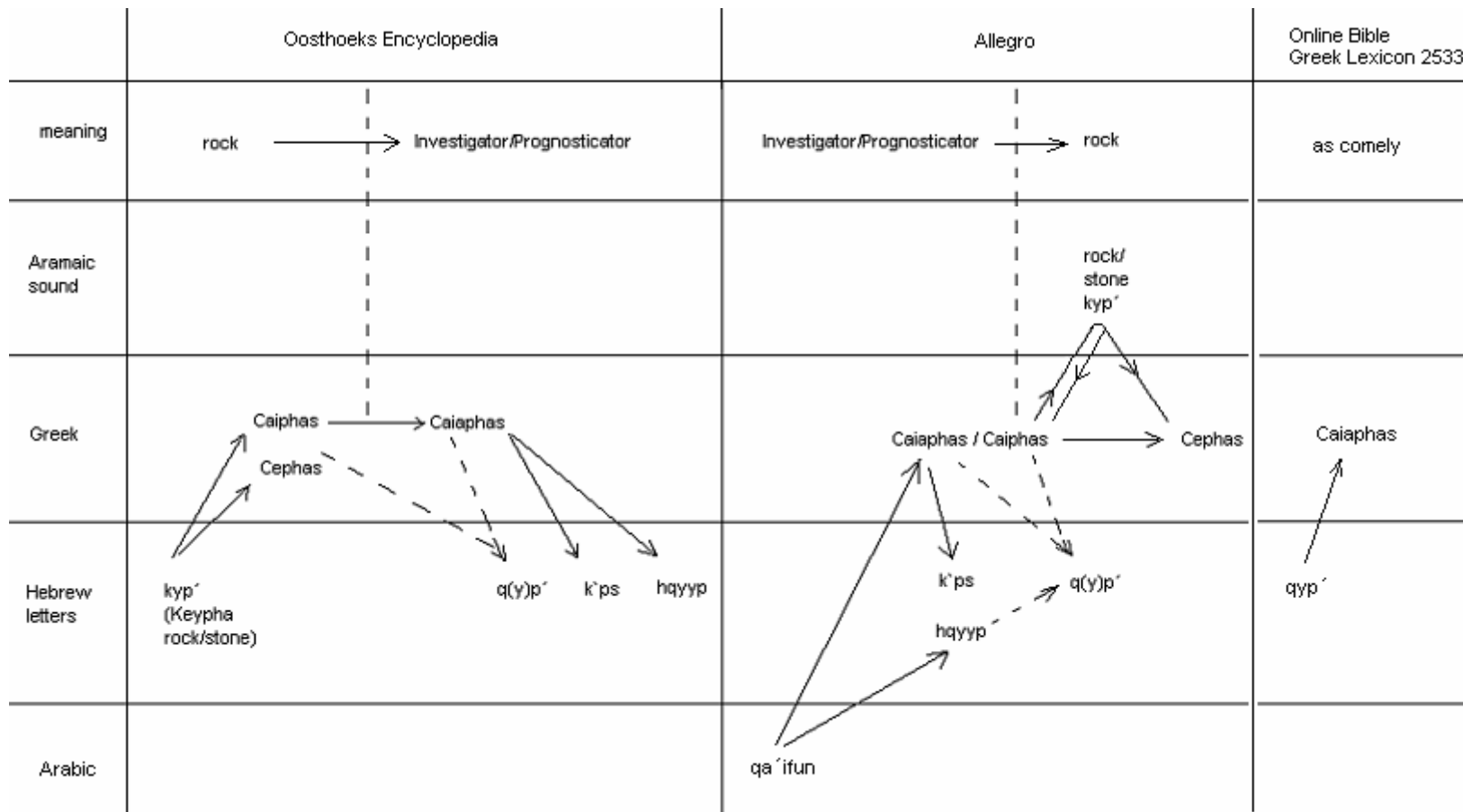


Fig. 1 The variants of Caiaphas/Caiphas/Cephas

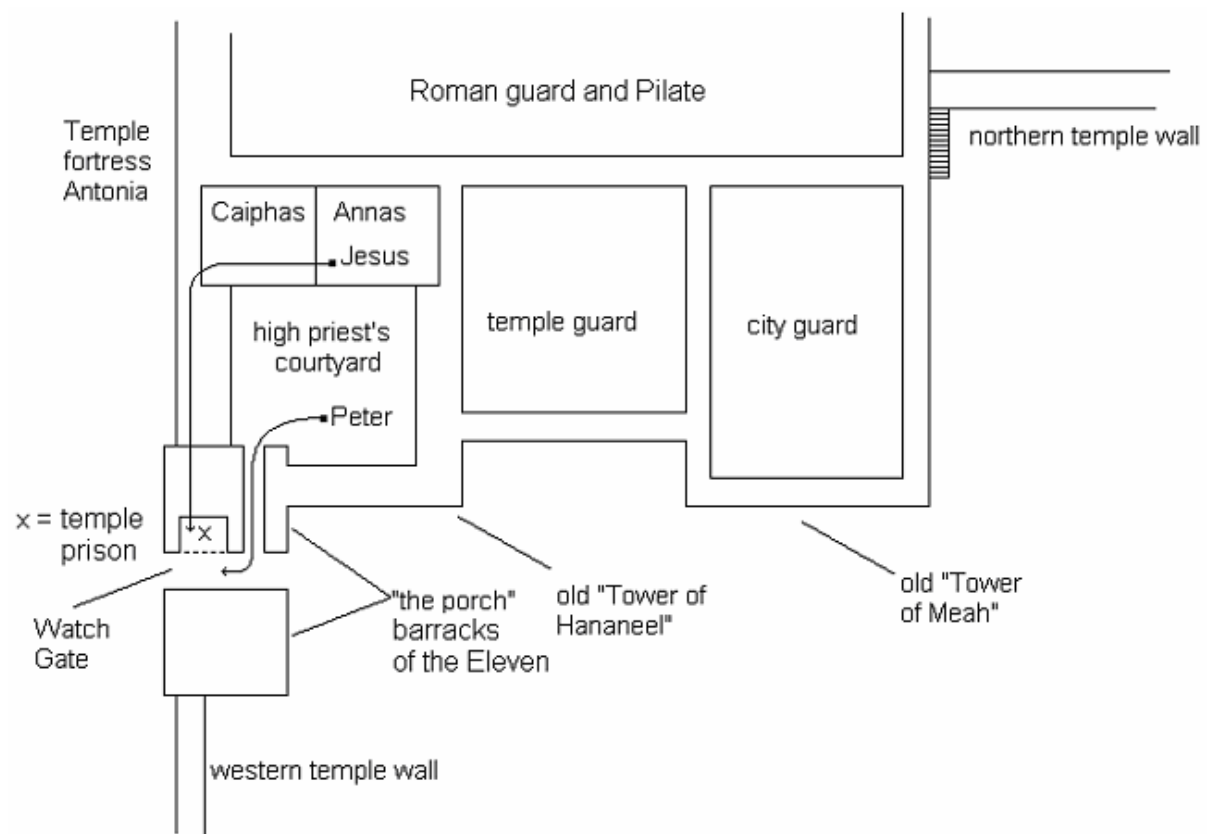


Fig. 2 A possible configuration of the Watch Gate and the temple prison

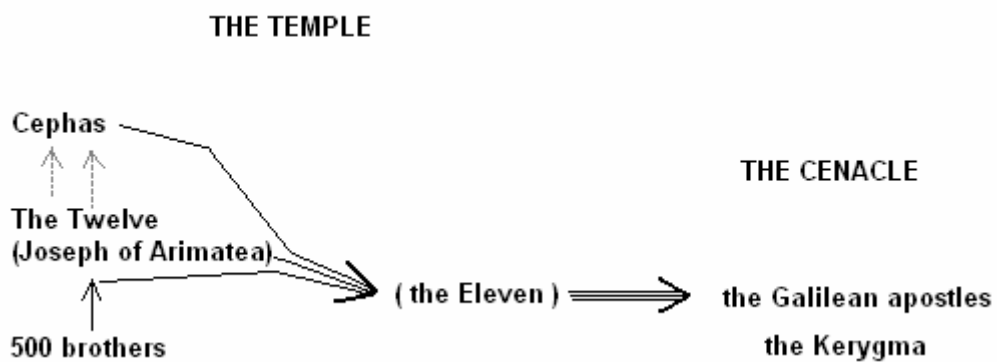


Fig. 3 Elements of the kerygma reported

APPENDIX 1 "THE TWO COUNCILS IN THE ACTS"

This is a chronological description of the councils in the Acts:

"Annas the high priest": second priest and president of the Great Sanhedrin

accused persons: - Simon Peter and John

It was the Great Sanhedrin that was addressed with "rulers of the people and elders of Israel" by Simon Peter, when on trial with John before the president "Annas the high priest" (Acts 4,5-6.8 (AV)).

- the apostles

In the next trial, now of the apostles before "all the senate of the children of Israel" and "the high priest" (Annas), it is Annas who refers to the decision he made in the previous council, and in both cases it was the Great Sanhedrin, for "the elders of Israel", "the children of Israel", were present (Acts 5,21.27-28 AV).

- Stephen

When some members of a certain synagogue in Jerusalem disputed with Stephen, and were not able to "resist the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake", "they stirred up the people, and the elders, and the scribes, and came upon *him*, and caught him, and brought *him* to the council". Here again it is "the high priest" (Luke still means Annas), who presides over the Great Sanhedrin, for also "the people" were involved (Acts 6,10-12 7,1 AV).

- Saul

Saul went to "the high priest" (Luke again still means Annas) to ask for letters authorizing him to persecute the Christians, and of this "the whole council of elders" (i.e. the elders of both the priests and the people = the Great Sanhedrin) could "bear ... witness" (Acts 9,1 22,5).

Ananias, first "God's high priest" and then second priest

Only in Acts 23,2 Luke introduces a new high priest: "the high priest Ananias". King Herod of Chalcis had made this Ananias, son of Nedebeus, high priest in 47 CE and in this year Jonathan, son of Annas, was the second priest.²³⁷

- Ananias high priest with the chief priests and all their council = the Council of the Temple

When Felix still was the procurator, so before 60 CE, Paul was brought before "the chief priests and all the council" with "the high priest Ananias", who is still the official high priest, since he is called "God's high priest",²³⁸ which distinguishes him from the other 'high priest': the second priest (Jonathan). And this court was probably the Council of the Temple, for there is no mention of people or Jews or Israelites. The night and morning after this trial Paul is brought to Felix in Caesarea and after five days it are "Ananias the high priest ... with some elders" who come to Caesarea to accuse Paul before Felix.²³⁹ These elders may have been some of the 'elders of the priests'. Then, according to Josephus, Felix has Jonathan killed (Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, 20,8,5) (or Jonathan had been killed just before the trial and deportation of Paul), then Agrippa dismisses Ananias from the high priesthood (59 CE, Ant. 20,8,8), and then, in 60 CE, two years after Paul's trial and deportation,²⁴⁰ Festus succeeds Felix as procurator of Judea (Ant. 20,8,9).

After Jonathan's death the office of second priest had become vacant. About the same time king Agrippa II took the high priesthood from Ananias. Nevertheless, the text of Josephus in the next chapter says that "as for *the high priest Ananias*, he increased in glory every day, and this to a degree, and had obtained the favor and esteem

²³⁷ Jos., *J. Ant.*, 20,5,2 (the years are from Jos., *De Joodse Oorlog & Uit mijn leven*, Baarn 1992; See also below appendix 2: "High priests and second priests".) Jonathan had been the high priest in 36-37 CE, succeeding Caiphas (18,4,3), but when he could become the high priest for a second time in 42 CE, he refused it and proposed it would be given to his brother Matthias (19,6,4). The reason for the refusal probably was that he had become the second priest after his first high priesthood. In the next book of the Antiquities (20,8,5) he is called "Jonathan the high priest", like the second priest Annas had been called "the high priest" (both in the Acts and in Josephus), and this office was much more influential and esteemed and stable, for the second priest was not appointed by the Romans as was the case with the high priest, who got removed from the office almost every year. And in the office of second priest Jonathan would be the president of the Sanhedrin, when it was a court of justice. See appendix 2 "High priests and second priests".

²³⁸ Acts 22,30-23,4

²³⁹ Acts 24,1

²⁴⁰ Acts 24,7

of the citizens in a signal manner; for he was a great hoarder up of money: he therefore cultivated the friendship of Albinus, and of the high priest, by making them presents” (Ant. 20,9,2). Ananias, as a *high priest* beside “the high priest”, thus may have become the second priest, succeeding Jonathan, just as Annas and Jonathan before him had become second priests after they had been deprived of the official high priesthood.²⁴¹ Ananias’ glory, favour and esteem fit those of a second priest, just as Annas once had been the most influential priest while he was second priest and ‘*abed-beth-din*’ of the Great Sanhedrin.

- Ananias second priest with the principle men of the Jews = the Great Sanhedrin

At the arrival of the new procurator Festus Ananias will have been the second priest. And when Festus is in Jerusalem, he is informed about Paul by “the high priest (Luke still means Ananias) and the principal men of the Jews”.²⁴² About this information Festus later tells king Agrippa: “the chief priests and the elders of the Jews gave information about him”.²⁴³ As “the elders of the Jews” are mentioned next to “the chief priests”, they weren’t elders of the priests but elders of the people in the Great Sanhedrin. So, here another example is found of the fact that the second priest was the president of the Great Sanhedrin, which included the elders of the people.

Annas son of Annas – high priest not allowed to assemble a Sanhedrin

A last example: Annas the son of Annas, when he was appointed high priest by king Agrippa II and when Albinus was made procurator of Judea (62 CE), “assembled the Sanhedrim of judges and brought before them the brother of Jesus ... and some others ...and ... he delivered them to be stoned: ... some ... went to meet Albinus, ... and informed him that it was not lawful for Ananus to assemble a Sanhedrin without his consent”.²⁴⁴ The official high priest had not this right concerning the Great Sanhedrin (the Sanhedrin of judges), since he was not its president. The second priest was the president of the Great Sanhedrin.

²⁴¹ See appendix 2 “High priests and second priests”.

²⁴² Acts 25,2 AV

²⁴³ Acts 25,15

²⁴⁴ Jos., *J. Antiquities*, 20,9,1

APPENDIX 2 "HIGH PRIESTS AND SECOND PRIESTS"

Time	start (CE)	High priest	J.Ant.	Second priest	second priest to high priest
Herod I (king)	37 BCE	Ananel	15,2,4		
	35	Aristobulus(3) = Jonathan, grandson of Hyrc.II and brother of Mariamme	15,3,1		
	34	Ananel	15,3,3		
		Jesus of Phabet	15,9,3		
	25	Simon s.o. Boethus	15,9,3		
	5	Mattias(1),s.o. Theophilus	17,4,2	Joseph of Ellemus	
	4	Joazar s.o. Boethus	17,6 4		J.Ant. 17,6,4
	4	Eleazar s.o. Boethus	17,13,1		
	3	Jesus s.o. Sias = Joshua ben See	17,13,1		
	3	Joazar s.o. Boethus (2nd time)	18,1,1	?Jesus ben See	predecessor (?father or brother)
Cyrenius (president)	6 CE	Ananus I = Annas ben Sethi	18,2,1	(Jesus Chr. 12 years old)	
Valerius Gratus (procurator)	15	Ismael of Phabi	18,2,2	Ananus I ben Sethi = "the high priest Annas" Acts 4,6 Luke 3,2 John 18,13,24	predecessor
	16	Eleazar s.o. Annas	18,2,2		father
	17	Simon of Camithus	18,2,2		
Pilate (procurator)	18	Joseph Caiphas (for 18 years)	18,2,2		father-in-law
Vitellius (president)	36	Jonathan, s.o. Annas	18,4,3		father
	37	Theophilus, s.o. Annas	18,5,3	Jonathan, s.o. Annas ("the high priest" [J.Ant. 20,8,5 J.Wars 2,12,5.6 2,13,3])	predecessor brother
Agrippa I (king)	41	Simon of Boethus, Cantharas	19,6,2		
	42	Matthias, s.o. Annas	19,6,4	(Jonathan refuses high priesthood J.Ant. 19,6,4)	brother
	43	Elioneus s.o. Citheus/ Cantheras ('Hakkof')	19,8,1 20,1,3		
Herod of Chalcis (ethnarch)	44	Josephus of Cantos/ of Camydus	20,5,2 20,1,3		
Quadratus (president)	47	Ananias(1), s.o. Nedebeus			
Felix (procurator)		" (to Rome)		(to Rome)	
	(58)	"	20,5,2	(gets killed [J.Ant. 20,8,5])	
Agrippa II (king)	59	Ismael of Phabi	20,8,8	Ananias(1), s.o. Nedebeus ("the high priest" J.Ant. 20,9,2 J.War 2,17,6.9 Acts 25,2 AV)	predecessor
	(60)				
Festus (procurator)	61	Josephus Cabi	20,8,11		
Albinus (president) Agrippa II (king)	62	Ananus(2), s.o. Annas	20,9,1		
	62	Jesus s.o. Damneus	20,9,1		
	64?	Jesus s.o. Gamaliel = Joshua ben Gamala	20,9,4		
	65	Matthias(2) s.o. Theophilus	20,9,7	(gets killed)	
	(66)			(?Joshua ben Gamala and Ananus(2) s.o. Annas ("eldest of the high priests" [J.War 4,3,9 4,4,3]))	predecessors, temple is occupied
	68	Phannias s.o. Samuel ("a mere rustic")	J.War 4,3,8	(get killed J.War 4,5,2)	

Table "Second Priests" © A.A.M. van der Hoeven, The Netherlands, 2004²⁴⁵

From high priest to second priest
 Second priests called "the (high) priest",

²⁴⁵ Oniads and Hasmonean high priests and kings from J.T. NELIS, *De Makkabeen I*, Roermond 1972, p. 71 and table in F. Josephus, *De Joodse Oorlog & Uit mijn leven*, Baarn 1992, and table in R.L. HARRIS, *Exploring the World of the Bible Lands*, London 1995, p. 117.

The arguments why the high priests and second priests are sorted like this are in my personal study material which is not ready for publication yet. Conclusions that might be drawn from this table are:

- A high priest, when dismissed from this position, **often became the second priest** (= the so-called sagan).
 - The second priest is the **president of the Great Sanhedrin** (abed-beth-din).
 - Three second priests are simply called **“the high priest”** and Jesus and Ananus are together considered 'the high priests':
 - **Annas** 1 (Luke 3,2 Acts 4,5-7,14 5,17-28 7,1 9,1-2) [maybe also “Ananus, the ancientest of the high priests” ? Jos., *J. Wars* 4,3,7 (151)]
 - **Jonathan** [Jos., *J. Wars* 2,12,5-6 (240.243) 2,13,3 (256)] [Jos., *J. Ant.*, 20,8,5 (162)]
 - **Ananias** 1 (Acts 25,2 AV) [Jos., *J. Wars* 2,12,6 (243) 17,2.6.9 (409.429.442)], [Jos., *J. Ant.* 20,9,2 (205)]
 - “the best esteemed also of the high priests, **Jesus, the son of Gamala** and Ananus, the son of Ananus” [Jos., *J. Wars* 4,3,9 (160)] / “**Jesus**, the eldest of the high priests next to Ananus” [Jos., *J. Wars* 4,4,3(238)]
 - (Ananus / Annas 2 [Jos., *J. Wars* 2,20,3 (563) 4,3,9 (160)]
- Already in earlier times some second priests were called “the (high) priest” under the official high priest:
- **Eleazar** “the priest” Nu 19,3-4 under Aaron (cf. Nu 20,28)
 - **Ahimelek**, “the priest” 1 Sa 21,1,6.9 and the father of the “high priest Abiathar” under Abiathar Mark 2,26 1 Sa 22,20 30,7
 - **Azariah**(?) “the high priest” 2 Chron 26,17.20, under Zekariah(2) 2 Chron 26,5
 - **Eliashib** “(the house of) the high priest Eliashib” Neh 3,1.20, under Jeshua (Ezra 5,2 10,18-22 Neh 3,1-20 Neh 12,26 Hag 1,1.12 2,2.4 Zec 3,8 6,11) or Jojakim the son of Jeshua (Neh 3,1-20 Neh 12,26)
 - **Alcimus** “who had been high priest” 2 Macc 14,3, under Menelaus (2 Macc 4,23-29 3,4)
 - **Judas** the Maccabean “high priest” [Jos., *J. Ant.*, 12,10,6 (416)] under Menelaus (2 Macc 4,23-29 3,4) [Jos., *J. Ant.* 12,10,6 (416)]
- At least three of the listed second priests are called the **biggest in reputation and influence**:
 - Jonathan (and Ananias) [Jos., *J. Wars* 2,12,5-6 (240.243)],
 - Ananias [Jos., *J. Ant.* (20,5,2 6,2 8,8) 20,9,2 (860)],
 - Jesus ben Gamala (and Ananus) [Jos., *J. Wars* 4,3,9 (160) 4,3,7 (151) 4,3,10 (162-164) 4,4,3 (238.251)]
 - An official high priest in function on the Day of Atonement is indicated with an **extra definition**:
 - “the high priest of that year”, Caiphaz (John 11,49.51) and
 - “the high priest”/“the high priest of God”, Ananias (Acts 23,2.4.5)
 - In at least three cases the name of the second priest is **mentioned prior** to the name of the official high priest:
 - Zadok and Abiathar (2Sa 15,(29).35 17,15 19,11 20,25 1Ki 4,4 (1Ch 15,11))
 - Annas and Caiphaz (Luke 3,2 Acts 4,6)
 - Jonathan and Ananias [Jos., *J. Wars* 2,12,6 (243)]
 - Jesus ben Gamala (and Ananus) [Jos., *J. Wars* 4,3,9 (160), 4,4,3 (238)]

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Abbreviations

AV	Authorized Version
BCE	Before Christian Era or Before Common Era
CE	Christian Era or Common Era
J.Ant.	Jewish Antiquities by Flavius Josephus
J.War	Jewish War " " "
Jos	Flavius Josephus
KJ21	21st century King James Version
NA ²⁷	Nestle-Aland 27th edition
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
RSV	Revised Standard Version