

James and the brothers – Davidic representatives in the temple liturgy

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1. Introduction

“James, the Lord’s brother” (Gal 1,19), is mentioned fifteen times in the New Testament. He was one of the four brothers of Jesus: “James and Joses/Joseph and Simon and Judas” (Matt 13,55/Mark 6,3). The discussion of the question what kind of brother James was to Jesus, e.g. a full or half brother or a cousin, is beyond the scope of this article, but we may infer that James was a descendant of king David just as Jesus’ father Joseph (Mt 1,6-16 Lu 3,23-31). James’ mother was present at Jesus’ cross and empty grave (Matt 27,56 Mark 15,40 16,1 Luke 24,10).

There were also many women there, looking on from afar, who had followed Jesus from Galilee, ministering to him; among whom were Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joseph, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee. (Matt 27,55-56) (RSV)¹

This James, the Lord’s brother, is not the same as either the apostle James, son of Zebedee, or the apostle James, the son of Alphaeus (Matt 10,1-4, cf. Mark 3,21.31 and John 7,5). Jesus appeared to James, the Lord’s brother, and to all the apostles (1 Cor 15,7). James was seen by Paul at Paul’s first post-conversion visit to Jerusalem (Gal 1,19). Simon Peter sent James notice that he had escaped from Herod’s prison and would leave Jerusalem (Acts 12,17). At Paul’s second post-conversion visit to Jerusalem James gave Paul the right hand of fellowship and asked him to keep remembering the poor (Gal 2,9). Later, “men from James” came from Jerusalem to Antioch, where they disputed about the circumcision for Gentiles² (Gal 2,12), but they did this without James’ commission (Acts 15,24). He spoke with authority against circumcision for Gentiles in the Apostolic Council in Jerusalem (Acts 15,13). While he was in the temple, he was visited by Paul again, who then had accomplished his Third Missionary Journey (Acts 21,18) and had come to bring alms and offerings for his nation. He wrote the epistle of James (Jas 1,1), and is mentioned in the epistle of Jude (Jude 1,1). Jerome described how James was a disciple of Jesus before Jesus’ death and resurrection (De Viris Illustribus 2). Eusebius wrote about James becoming the bishop of Jerusalem (H.E. 2,1,1-4). James’ death is described by Flavius Josephus (Ant. 20,197-203) and by Eusebius (H.E. 2,23,1-25); in this account Eusebius listed many characteristics and activities of James in the temple, and said that he was called James, the Just, and also ‘the son of David’ (if this is a reference to James and not to Jesus). According to Eusebius James was killed by being thrown down from the pinnacle of the temple and then being stoned and beaten to death with a club by a fuller.

The modern scholar Chilton, commenting on the sources that speak of James, states 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”; Chilton continued by stating that “the specificity of that location raises the issue of James’ relation (...) to those responsible for the operation of the temple”.³ It is this issue which this article seeks to answer.

¹ All bible citations are taken from the RSV version, unless otherwise indicated.

² A ‘Gentile’ was anyone who was not a Jew.

³ 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

The controversial thesis of Eisenman, that James is to be identified with the “righteous teacher” of the Essene sect of Qumran,⁴ is not discussed here. According to Chilton perhaps the most mature and effective response to this thesis is that of Painter.⁵ James the Lord’s brother may originally have been an Essene though, and more specifically a member of the Nazarene branch of the Essenes, as he probably was from Nazareth, just as his and Jesus’ “sisters”, who lived in Nazareth.⁶ The connection between Nazareth and the pre-Christian Jewish Nazarene sect (not the Christian) has been described in my article “The Eleven”.⁷

2. Deputations of the people – ‘districts’ and ‘families’

In the first century CE Israelites would come to the temple for various reasons, and one of these reasons was to participate in temple worship alongside the priests. Daily worship in the temple started with the communal whole-offering of a lamb in the morning and ended with an identical communal whole-offering of a second lamb in the afternoon. Individual free-will and obligatory offerings were sacrificed between these two daily communal whole-offerings. And just as an individual had to stand alongside the priests when his individual offering was brought, also the representatives of the whole community of Israel had to stand alongside the priests when the communal offerings were sacrificed. These representatives of the people were called ‘stationary men’ or (as a group) a ‘deputation’.

The participation of the Israelites in the ritual of the sacrifices was by deputations (מעמד). The Mishnah states: ‘What are the deputations? In that it is written: ‘Command the children of Israel and say unto them: my obligation, my food’ how can a man’s offering be offered while he doesn’t stand by it? Therefore the First Prophets ordained twenty-four courses, and for every course there was a deputation in Jerusalem made up of priests, Levites and Israelites’ (M. Taanith 4:2). ... The division into deputations was based upon the geographical constitution of the twenty-four districts; the terms deputation and district were interchangeable in talmudic literature. The men of the deputations stood beside the priests during their ministration and, after the completion of the sacrifices, gathered for the daily reading of the Torah and for the prescribed prayers. Throughout most of their week they fasted. We are unable to determine how each deputation was composed.⁸

Each of the twenty-four ‘courses’ into which not only the priests and Levites, but also all Israel, by means of representatives, were divided, served for one week, from Sabbath to Sabbath, distributing the daily service among their respective ‘families’ or ‘houses’.⁹ “‘representatives of the people’ (or ‘stationary men’) ... (who)... had been prevented from ‘going up’ to Jerusalem in their turn, 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.”¹⁰

There were synagogues and schools in Jerusalem and in the Temple court-yards. During weekdays and feasts the ritual of the daily whole-offering was linked with the divine service of

⁴ R.H. EISENMAN, *James the Brother of Jesus: The Key to Unlocking the Secrets of Early Christianity and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Viking, 1996)

⁵ B. CHILTON, “James, Jesus’ Brother” p. 251; J. PAINTER, *Just James: The Brother of Jesus in History and Tradition*, Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1997

⁶ “Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary and brother of James and Joses and Judas and Simon, and are not his sisters here with us?” And they took offense at him.” (Mark 6,3)

⁷ *The Eleven (Luke 24,9.33 Acts 2,14) – Jesus appeared risen to the Officers of the Temple Prison*, 20-12-2008, www.JesusKing.info

⁸ S. SAFRAI a.o. eds., *The Jewish People*, p. 873

⁹ A. EDERSHEIM, *The Temple*, ch. 7, p. 11

¹⁰ *Ibid.* ch. 4, p. 56

the synagogue, with the gathering of the priests for prayer and the recitation of the shema or with the reading of the Torah by the high priest and the deputations.¹¹

Their (the deputations') duty was twofold: to represent all Israel in the service of the sanctuary, and to act as a sort of guide to those who had business in the Temple. Thus, at a certain part of the service, the head of the course brought up those who had come to make atonement on being cleansed from any impurity, and ranged them along the 'Gate of Nicanor', in readiness for the ministry of the officiating priests. The 'men of station' were dispensed from attendance in the Temple on all occasions when the 'Hallel' was chanted, possibly because the responses of the people when the hymn was sung showed that they needed no formal representatives.¹²

For a lawfully composed gathering in a synagogue at least ten men of Israel had to be present,¹³ so the number of Israelites constituting the daily deputation in the temple will certainly not have been less than ten.

The Court of the Israelites, which is the court where the deputation stood to be present at the communal whole-offerings, was adjacent to the Court of the Priests, where the offerings were slaughtered and put on the fire on the altar by the priests. Only Jewish men were allowed to enter the Court of the Israelites. The Jewish women were allowed to enter the third of the three inner courts of the temple: the Court of the Women. Gentiles could only visit the outer court: the Court of the Gentiles (see fig.1).

3. James 'the Just' and 'Mourner'

Eusebius in his description of James¹⁴ quotes Flavius Josephus and also quotes Hegesippus' account on James' death in 62 CE. In this account James gives an authoritative speech (on Jesus) to the multitude in the temple at the request of the Jews and scribes and Pharisees, which indicates that he may have had an office or prominent position in the temple.

In Hegessipus' account James' characteristics are abundantly represented.¹⁵ Most of them, cited and listed in table 1, have an analogy in the description and activities of the deputations of the Israelites in the temple (see table 1).

	James, the Just (citations from Eusebius H.E. 2,23,1-25)	Head of deputations (according to Edersheim, Safrai and Koekkoek)
A	Because of his exceeding great justice he was called the Just the most just of men; called the Just by all; thou art just ; his justice	The stationary men had to be 'just' men. ¹⁶
B	called the Just and ' oblias ' (= Mourner) piety which he exhibited in his life was frequently found upon his knees begging forgiveness for the people upon his knees .. constantly bending them in his worship of God, and asking forgiveness for the people	The stationary man probably had to mourn the sins of the people ¹⁷ and said the prescribed prayers in the temple; those who had been unable to go up to Jerusalem said the prayers in their synagogue.

¹¹ S. SAFRAI a.o. eds., *The Jewish People*, p. 904-05

¹² A. EDERSHEIM, *The Temple*, ch. 10, p. 154

¹³ D. ROPS, *Het dagelijks leven* p. 450.

¹⁴ Eus., *H.E.* 2,23,14-17; Epiph., *Haer* 78,14

¹⁵ Eus., *H.E.* 1,12,4 2,1,2-4 2,23,1-25 see www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf201.iii.vi.xii.html and www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf201.iii.vii.ii.html and www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf201.iii.vii.xxiv.html

¹⁶ H.G. KOEKKOEK, *De Geheimen Van De Offers*, Alphen a/d Rijn, Stichting Het Licht des Levens, 1986, p. 128

¹⁷ *Ibid* p. 82

C	esteemed by all ; called the Just by all from the time of our Saviour to the present day; begging forgiveness for the people ; asking forgiveness for the people ; danger that the whole people would be looking for Jesus (because of James); restrain the people ; we all have confidence in thee; for the whole people, and all of us also , have confidence in thee; persuade all ; we bear thee witness, as do all the people , that thou art just; persuade the multitude ... that thy words may be readily heard by all the people . For all the tribes , with the Gentiles also, are come; so admirable a man and so celebrated among all for his justice	representative of the whole people (= all the tribes) of Israel
D	he alone was permitted to enter into the holy place he was in the habit of entering alone into the temple , and was frequently found upon his knees many ...gloried in the testimony of James, and said, 'Hosanna to the Son of David ;',the brother of the Lord (Davidic) ... a brother of Jesus	(just as the king (the prince of the house of David) was the only one allowed to sit down in the Court of the Priests) ¹⁸
E	for he wore not woollen but linen garments	(just as king David wore a linen garment before the Lord in the temple) ¹⁹ ; all garments of temple personnel had to be linen (Ex 28,42)
F	in the habit of entering alone into the temple was frequently found upon his knees	The head of the ministering course of priests was present in the temple during the whole week of its service, day and night, ²⁰ this may have been the same for the head of the ministering representatives.
G	he alone was permitted to enter into the holy place in the habit of entering alone into the temple, and was frequently found upon his knees	(It seems he entered the Holy Place alone, e.g. by the small wicket gate through which the man entered that had to open the great doors of the Holy Place from within.)
H	Leading him into their midst ... he spoke out before the whole multitude and confessed as many as believed did so on account of James danger that the whole people would be looking for Jesus (restrain the people; persuade all that have come to the feast; persuade the multitude; declare to us, what is the gate of Jesus many were fully convinced and gloried in the testimony of James)	In the synagogues and schools in the temple, the daily whole offering was linked with the reading of the Torah; the high priest and deputations read the Torah to the multitude in these temple synagogues and schools. ²¹
I	the excellence of ascetic virtue a) he was holy from his mother's womb; and he drank no wine nor strong drink, nor did he eat flesh. b) No razor came upon his head; he did not anoint himself with oil, and he did not use the bath.	a) the deputations fasted throughout most of their week of service ²² b) these are all practices of mourners; the stationary men probably had to mourn the sins of the people ²³
J	many even of the rulers believed (before Jesus' death)	e.g. the rulers of the 24 deputations?

Table 1 Similarities between James' and a representative's activities.

¹⁸ "none other than a prince of the house of David might sit down within the sacred enclosure of the Priests' Court" (EDERSHEIM, *The Temple*, ch. 2, p. 30). cf. Ez 44,3: "It is for the prince; the prince, he shall sit in it to eat bread before the LORD" and Psalm 2,6-7: "I will declare the decree: the LORD hath said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee" and Ps 110,1-3: "The LORD said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool". Psalm 110,1-3 is "addressed to the king on the day of his inauguration 'at the right hand' of God beside the Arch of the Covenant in the temple of Jerusalem. The remembrance of the divine 'begetting' was part of the official crowning protocol. Thus the king became God's deputy in defending justice" (translation of 'Word of the Pope' in Katholiek Nieuwsblad 27-8-'04, 's-Hertogenbosch 2004. p. 7).

¹⁹ 2 Sam 6,14 1 Chron 15,27; the garment of priests and levites was made of linen (Ex 29,27 2 Chron 5,12); "and the sons of David were priests ('cohen')" 2 Sam 8,18 (RSV)

²⁰ EDERSHEIM, *The Temple* ch. 7, p. 112 and ch. 2, p. 28

²¹ S. SAFRAI a.o. eds., *The Jewish People*, p. 904-05

²² S. SAFRAI a.o. eds., *The Jewish People*, p. 873

²³ Ibid p. 82

Ad A and B: The communal daily morning and evening offerings were offered for the (unknown) sins of the whole people, and, according to Koekkoek, every time a number of just men had to be present at these offerings, to represent the people. He also indicates that “Simeon” who held the baby Jesus in his arms in the temple, and who is called “just” (Luke 2,25), may have been present in the temple as a representative.²⁴ And, also according to Koekkoek, when an individual sinner brought his offering to the temple, he had to confess his sins to the priest with grief.²⁵ So, it may be inferred that likewise the representatives of the people mourned the sins of the people. Thus, the titles given to James by all, namely the ‘Just’ and ‘Oblias’ (= ‘Mourner’) – the same name is given to James by Eusebius, Epiphanius, Dionysius the Areopagite, and others –, and his activity mentioned twice by Eusebius – “begging forgiveness for the people” –, exactly correspond to the activities of representatives of the people.²⁶ James’ title ‘oblias’ can be translated with ‘Mourner’, since

the title ‘oblias’ is easily related to the Aramaic term *’abēl*, which means “to mourn” and the use of the term is attested in the recent finds in the vicinity of the Dead Sea.²⁷

That James’ other practices also largely correspond to the practices of a mourner is discussed below (ad I). Hegesippus in his comment said ‘oblias’ meant ‘periochē tou laou’ (περιοχή του λαου)²⁸, which when literally translated is ‘encompassing of the people’ or ‘portion of the people’. This could be interpreted as ‘representative of the whole people’ or ‘deputed portion of the people’.

Ad C: James was clearly associated with the whole people of Israel, and not only with the people that belonged to the lineage of David. This supports the assumption that James was (or was considered as) the head or supervisor of all the twenty-four deputations of the whole people of Israel, instead of being the head of only the representatives of the Davidic family of the district of Jerusalem, the “city of David”²⁹ (see below chapter 4. James and the brothers in the New Testament). This assumption is also supported by his constant presence in the temple, where a single deputation only ministered for a week (see ad F and chapter 4, *Almost always in the temple*). In a way he resembled a king (during the Roman occupation the Jews had no king), and maybe for this reason he was called ‘Son of David’ (the regal title) by the multitude in the temple – if with this title they addressed James and not Jesus –, and was he alone allowed to enter the Holy Place, as only the priests and the king could (Eze 44,3 Ps 110,1-3), and could he wear the priestly linen, as the king could (2Sam 6,14 8,18 1Chr 15,27) (see table 1, D and E).

Ad D: Maybe it was James who was called “Son of David” in Hegesippus’ account.

Ad F: The temple precincts on the temple mount were closed by night and the gates were guarded by temple guards. But the ‘temple’, of which Eusebius says that James entered it alone frequently, may also be the sanctuary of the temple: the three inner courts, enclosed by a wall. The gates of these inner courts, too, were closed at night and guarded. James, now, may have slept somewhere in the temple precincts, outside the inner courts, as the ministering priests did,³⁰ and may have entered ‘the temple’, interpreted as the inner courts, frequently

²⁴ H.G. KOEKKOEK, *De Geheimen Van De Offers*, p.128

²⁵ Ibid p. 82

²⁶ Eus., *H.E.* 2,23,6-7 and its note 262 of the ‘Great Books and Classics’-site on www.grtbooks.com

²⁷ B. CHILTON, “James, Jesus’ Brother”, p. 257

²⁸ Eus., *H.E.* 2,23,7 and its note 495 on <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf201.iii.vii.xxiv.html>

²⁹ 2Chron 5,2

³⁰ S. SAFRAI a.o. eds., *The Jewish People*, p. 870. They may have slept in rooms built on the ‘chel’, the broad terrace or platform surrounding the three inner courts (cf. A. EDERSHEIM, *The Temple*, ch. 7, p. 112 and ch. 2, p. 28) (see fig. 1).

alone at night, as someone well known to and trusted by the guards and their superiors. His entering “frequently” indicates that he was there more often than the duty of his Davidic deputation required, which was only about twice a year, as there were 24 deputations and 52 weeks. That he may have been present in the temple nearly always, day and night, is suggested in Acts 21,17-18 and will be discussed below in chapter 4.

Ad G: When the morning sacrifice was bound to begin the temple gates were opened, which was ordered by the elders of the priests who carried the keys. Then the priests with three blasts on their silver trumpets summoned the Levites and the representatives of the people to their duties. Immediately upon this the great gates which led into the Holy Place itself were opened to admit the two priests who were to cleanse the candlestick and the altar of incense;³¹ “Two-leaved doors, * (...) formed the entrance into the Holy Place. (* There was also a small wicket gate by which he entered who opened the large doors from within)”³². Was this person who entered through the wicket gate James the Just, who had entered the Court of the Israelites – either alone, as was his habit, or with the other representatives –, and who alone was permitted to enter into the Holy Place? It was not opened by one of the priests who had to cleanse the candlestick and the altar of incense, for the big doors were opened to admit them. The fact that James the Just was frequently “found” on his knees, means that the place where he sat could not be seen from outside: this was the case in the Holy Place. So, it is possible that James was found in the Holy Place by the two priests for the cleansing of the candlestick and incense altar and, later, by the priest who was to burn the incense. These three priests also kneeled down in the Holy Place before leaving it.³³

Ad H: Even before James was asked to speak from the pinnacle of the temple, many already believed in Jesus as the Christ on account of an earlier speech of James, who had already spoken to a multitude in the midst of the Jews. The place where he had done this may have been the synagogue of the temple, where every Jew could speak to the audience if he wished, and where the high priest and the representatives of the people gathered for the daily reading of the Torah to the people.

Ad I: In Eusebius’ citation of Hegesippus, James is pictured as a Nazarite,³⁴ as he drank no wine or strong drink and no razor came upon his head. In James’ case we have no reference to the third vow of a Nazarite: to have no contact with a corpse, even if it was a close relative. But if James was in the temple always, day and night, this would preclude the possibility of having contact with a corpse. Also his being holy from his mother’s womb is something that could be interpreted as pertaining to a Nazarite vow for life made by the Nazarite’s parents.³⁵ So, if Hegessipus was right, James may have been a Nazarite. But a Nazarite did not make his vow to ask forgiveness for the people, but to ask for, or thank for, a special (personal) grace.³⁶ So, perhaps James wasn’t a Nazarite after all.

What we also hear from Hegesippus is that James not only abstained from wine and strong drink, but also didn’t eat flesh. And as he also excelled in ascetic virtue, this may mean that he fasted on the days that a representative (and a priest)³⁷ had to fast, and ate a sober meal on the days when a representative (and a priest) was allowed to eat. And as the priests on duty were

³¹ A. EDERSHEIM, *The Temple* ch. 8, p. 123

³² *Ibid* ch. 2, p. 33

³³ H.G. KOEKKOEK, *De Geheimen Van De Offers*, p. 175-77; James probably could not have been “found” upon his knees in the Court of the Israelites, if he had entered it alone, before the ministering priests and Levites did, for then he would already have been visible to the priests and Levites who guarded the inner courts.

³⁴ B. CHILTON, “James, Jesus’ Brother”, p. 256-257.

³⁵ cf. Samuel 1,11

³⁶ D. ROPS, *Het dagelijks leven* p. 474

³⁷ A. EDERSHEIM, *The Temple* ch. 4, p. 62 (see paragraph 3.1. of my article *Paul’s Cephas is Caiphaz – Author of 1Peter and Hebrews*, www.JesusKing.info)

not allowed to drink wine or strong drink, either by day or by night during their week of ministry,³⁸ this probably was the rule for representatives on duty as well. James' other practices – not anointing himself, not using the bath, and not shaving (no razor came upon his head), and wearing linen garments, largely correspond to the practice of a mourner: not to anoint the body, not to take a bath, not to shave, not to wear sandals, not to cohabit, and to wear the 'saq' (the 'saq' was a rough, linen or goat's hair, garment, signifying penitence).³⁹ So, all of James' practices comply with those of a penitent, mourning the sins of the whole people that he represented in the temple.

All the characteristics listed in table 1 indicate that James probably was the most prominent and authoritative representative of the people in the temple liturgy. This picture complies with the descriptions concerning James in the New Testament, from which we can infer that he had many (Davidic) brothers and was almost always in the temple, day and night.

4. James and the brothers in the New Testament

James, "the brother of the Lord" (Gal 1,19), is often mentioned in the New Testament in the context of, or in connection with, some "brothers": in the first place he was connected with Jesus' "brothers" in the Cenacle⁴⁰ ("his brothers" Acts 1,14-15), since James himself was a "brother of the Lord"; subsequently, he is mentioned in the context of "the brothers" (Acts 9,22-30) who brought Paul safely to Caesarea after his visit to Cephas and James (Gal 1,18-19); then Simon Peter, before he fled from Jerusalem, said that "James and the brethren" (Acts 12,17) had to be told of his escape and departure; and finally he is related to "the brothers of the Lord" (1 Cor 9,5) who were accompanied by a wife.

Hundred and twenty persons – "his brothers"

All these with one accord devoted themselves to prayer, together with the women and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brothers (ἀδελφοίς = 'adelphois'). In those days Peter stood up among the brethren (ἀδελφῶν = 'adelphōn') (the company of persons was in all about a hundred and twenty), and said, (Acts 1,14-15 NA²⁷)

The term "his brothers", referring to Jesus, probably didn't designate Jesus' disciples here, for "his brothers" are mentioned after "the mother of Jesus", which indicates that they may have been Jesus' near relatives, like his mother, or else his more remote relatives in the sense of fellow Davidic men, or else both kind of relatives. Jesus' disciples in Acts are also called "brothers" by each other, e.g. in Acts 11,1-3, but they were brothers in the faith, and brothers to each other, but not brothers of Jesus.⁴¹ So, the "brothers" of Jesus in the Cenacle may have been the Davidic 'family' or 'house' of the representatives of the district Jerusalem. These Davidic "brothers" were in some way related to each other and to James the Just, who was also a Davidic because he was a brother of Jesus, who was of Davidic descent.⁴²

³⁸ A. EDERSHEIM, *The Temple* ch. 4, p. 62

³⁹ B. CHILTON, "James, Jesus' Brother", p 257; D. ROPS, *Het dagelijks leven* p. 262, 404 (D. Rops attests that the 'saq' was made of linen, but others, such as Faussett's and Easton's bible dictionaries, say that it was made of goat's hair); cf. Matt 11,21 Luke 10,13

⁴⁰ Cenacle = room of the Last Supper of Jesus in the Upper City of Jerusalem

⁴¹ In John 20,17-18, when Jesus tells Mary Magdalena to go to his "brothers", she goes to his disciples, which included the Galilean apostles. But here in Acts the apostles are not included, for they were already mentioned before the women and Jesus' mother, so it is less likely that Jesus "brothers" designated his disciples here.

⁴² Matt 1,1-16 / Luke 3,23-31; Matt 13,55 Mark 6,3; What kind of "brother" James was to Jesus is not the question now.

That the “brothers” who were present in the Cenacle after the ascension of Jesus most probably were the Davidic representatives of Jerusalem indeed and not Jesus’ full or half brothers or cousins, is shown by the fact that here the twelve Galilean apostles, the women, the mother of Jesus, and “his brothers”, were a group of hundred and twenty persons.⁴³ And Jesus’ brothers were present as a majority, for when Peter stood up the original text says it was “in the midst of the brethren”.⁴⁴ So, the brothers were outnumbering the Galilean apostles and the women. For instance, if the Galileans with the women were about forty persons, about eighty “brothers” must have been present. This number, or even a number of seventy “brothers” of Jesus, seems too high for only his near relatives. But it seems a reasonable number for the representatives of the ‘family’ of David of the district Jerusalem, as on a normal day in the temple about fifty priests were officiating before the stationary men.⁴⁵

Almost always in the temple

James had free access to the temple (see table 1 F) and so he may have stayed in the temple precincts almost every day and night. In that case he probably was daily present with the deputation and family on service on that day. Luke writes about his own and Paul’s arrival in Jerusalem in about 58 CE after Paul’s Third Missionary Journey:

When we had come to Jerusalem, the brethren received us gladly. On the following day Paul went in with us to James; and all the elders were present. (Acts 21,17-18)

The “brethren” (= brothers) here might be mainly the representatives of the family of David, of whom some, already after Paul’s first visit to Cephas and James, had probably brought him safely to Caesarea: “when the brothers learned this, they brought him down to Caesarea” (See below in chapter 4. *The brothers not belonging to the churches of Judea or to “the disciples”*).⁴⁶ Then the text says that Paul “went in” to James. The manuscripts of this verse use the Greek verb ‘εἰσεῖμι’ (‘eiseimi’)⁴⁷ for “went in”, which indeed means: ‘to go in, enter’, but is used only four times in the New Testament: three times in Acts and once in the epistle to the Hebrews.⁴⁸ In these four cases it is used solely for the entering of the temple. After the verses cited above the verb appears again six verses further: “Paul ... the next day purifying himself with them entered (‘εἰσηεῖ – of ‘εἰσεῖμι’ –) into the temple” (AV).⁴⁹ The third case is about the lame man who, when he saw “Peter and John about to go into the temple” asked for alms, and the fourth time it is about the priests who “went always into the first tabernacle, accomplishing the service of God” (AV).⁵⁰ As the lame man sat at the Beautiful Gate which opened on the inner Court of the Women⁵¹, and as the priests entered the “first tabernacle”, which in Herod’s temple were the inner courts, the conclusion is that Paul will also have visited James in one of the inner courts of the temple. This will most probably have been the Court of the Israelites (also called the Court of the Men), where the deputation of the Israelites

⁴³ Acts 1,13-15

⁴⁴ Some manuscripts, among which the codex Bezae (D), have “in the midst of the disciples”, and one even “in the midst of the apostles”, but the text in NA²⁷ is “in the midst of the brothers (‘tōn adelphōn’)” (NA²⁷)

⁴⁵ A. EDERSHEIM, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, Peabody, Mass., Hendrickson, 1993, Book II, chapter 3, and note 626

⁴⁶ Gal 1,18 Acts 9,20-31; See below in chapter 4. *The brothers not belonging to the churches of Judea.*

⁴⁷ NA²⁷

⁴⁸ Acts 3,3 21,18 21,26 Heb 9,6 (Strong’s 1524); The other verb for ‘to enter’ (‘εἰσερχομαι’ Strong’s 1525) is used 198 times in the N.T.

⁴⁹ Acts 21,26 NA²⁷

⁵⁰ Acts 3,3 Heb 9,6 NA²⁷

⁵¹ Acts 3,2; see fig. 1.

– the stationary men – had to be present to witness the communal sacrifices. James’ presence in the inner courts of the temple indicates that he indeed may have been in the temple every day as the head of all the deputations, just as the head of the ministering course of priests was there every day and night.⁵²

Another indication is that Luke writes that Paul and he arrived in Jerusalem as a “we”, but he then immediately writes that Paul went in into James “with us”, i.e. with Luke and the brothers. This means that the brothers already were going to James, and that Paul only accompanied the brothers, which would be a natural thing to do for James’ Davidic brothers of his deputation. It also means that Luke belonged more to the brothers than to Paul, which would also be natural if Luke had been a temple physician⁵³ and the brothers were the temple’s stationary men. And Luke’s next verse reveals that the brothers weren’t elders, for all the elders were already present when the brothers arrived.

A next indication is inferred from the facts that the deputations ministered for just one week, and that “the brethren” (of James) weren’t in the temple when Paul arrived in Jerusalem – they probably were at home. So, when James was in the temple, he was not there as representative of his own Davidic family – for then the rest of the Davidic brothers would have been there as well –, but probably because he was at least the head of the Jerusalem deputation and possibly also the head of all the deputations of the land.

A fourth indication is that James apparently stayed there also at night, for Paul, in order to see James, could not visit him at night – so James was not at home –, but had to go from the homes of the brothers to the temple the following day: the temple-complex was closed from the evening to the morning, and also the head of the ministering course of the priest slept inside the temple-complex.⁵⁴ The possibility for someone who was not a priest or Levite, to spend the night in the temple is shown in the example of the prophetess Anna, who “did not depart from the temple, worshiping with fasting and prayer night and day.”⁵⁵

That James may have left the temple on certain occasions is indicated by Jerome’s remark that James had drunk the Lord’s cup before Jesus’ death;⁵⁶ this must have taken place in the Cenacle at the feast of Passover, for this was the only time Jesus had offered “the Lord’s cup” before his death. James’ absence from the temple on this occasion is explained by the fact that the deputations were off duty on the occasions when the ‘Hallel’ was sung in the temple, which was the case at the feast of Passover.⁵⁷

Christian Jews

As already stated, James the Just and his fellow Davidic representatives of the people of Jerusalem may have been called “his brothers” referring to Jesus, and “James and the brothers”, and “the brothers of the Lord”.⁵⁸ These fellow representatives, who were of the family of David and thus more or less akin to James, may have been disciples of Jesus before his death, just as their leader James. For Jerome wrote that James drank the Lord’s cup before

⁵² EDERSHEIM, *The Temple*, ch. 7, p. 112 and ch. 2, p. 28.

⁵³ See my article *The Eleven (Luke 24,9.33 Acts 2,14) – Jesus appeared risen to the Officers of the Temple Prison*, 20-12-2008, www.JesusKing.info, p. 4.

⁵⁴ EDERSHEIM, *The Temple*, ch. 7, p. 112 and ch. 2, p. 28. The heads of the ministering course and families slept on the Chel, in the Beth-ha-Moked, just outside the inner courts (see fig. 1).

⁵⁵ Luke 2,36-37; some commentaries hold that this meant that she only attended all the morning and evening communal sacrifices (e.g. Barnes, Gill, and Peoples N.T. notes), but other commentaries (e.g. the commentary of Jamieson, Fausset and Brown) hold that she had been assigned a chamber in the temple, and thus could stay in the temple also at night.

⁵⁶ Jerome, *De viris illustribus* 2

⁵⁷ EDERSHEIM, *The Temple*, ch. 11, p. 175-176

⁵⁸ Acts 1,14-15; Acts 12,17; 1Cor 9,5 (all NIV)

Jesus' death.⁵⁹ But if they weren't disciples of Jesus yet before his resurrection, then at least after Jesus' appearance to James, mentioned in 1Cor 15,3-7, James will have been able to convince his fellow Davidic representatives that Jesus really was the Christ⁶⁰. This would explain why these "brothers" of Jesus suddenly showed up in the Cenacle (Acts 1,14) after Jesus' ascension. These Davidic brothers were already a distinct group at this moment and stayed a distinct group of Christian Jews – "the brethren of the Lord" are still mentioned in the polarisation concerning Cephas, Apollos and Paul in 1Cor 9,5 in about 52-54 CE –, yet without being apostles. When James became the bishop of Jerusalem in 44 CE,⁶¹ many disciples had already been added to the Jerusalem church, as various texts in the Acts assert,⁶² and some of these, called "certain men from James", were in favour of the keeping of the Jewish law – which included besides the circumcision also the maintaining of the temple liturgy –, not only by Christian Jews but also by Christians from the Gentiles.⁶³ When these men started to judaize⁶⁴ the new Christians from the Gentiles, although James had given these men "no such commandment" (AV),⁶⁵ a conflict arose in Antioch, which was settled by Simon Peter and James the Just and the whole Apostolic Council in Jerusalem in 48/49 CE with a decree: the Gentiles converted to Christ (= "turned to God" (AV)) were to keep only four of the seven so-called commandments of Noah: "abstain from what has been sacrificed to idols and from blood and from what is strangled and from unchastity".⁶⁶

⁵⁹ Jerome wrote:

"Also the Gospel according to the Hebrews, lately translated by me into Greek and Latin speech, which Origen often uses, tells, after the resurrection of the Saviour: 'Now the Lord, when he had given the linen cloth unto the servant of the priest, went unto James and appeared to him (for James had sworn that he would not eat bread from that hour wherein he had drunk the Lord's cup until he should see him risen again from among them that sleep)', and again after a little, 'Bring ye, saith the Lord, a table and bread', and immediately it is added, 'He took bread and blessed and brake and gave it unto James the Just and said unto him: My brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of Man is risen from among them that sleep'." (*De viris illustribus* 2).

Jesus' (other) brothers from Galilee ("James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas" Matt 13,55 27,56 Mark 6,3 15,40.47), were sceptical regarding Jesus' mission or even unbelieving (John 7,3-5). Nevertheless, after Jesus had gone "up unto the feast" and "taught" in the temple, as his brothers had advised Him to do (John 7,10.14), at least James will have become a disciple of Jesus if it is true that James "had drunk the Lord's cup". The mother of Jesus' brothers had become a disciple, for she was present at the foot of the cross (Matt 27,56 Mark 6,3 15,40 16,1 Luke 24,10). And as she is called "Mary the mother of James the less and of Joses" (Mark 15,40 cf. 15,47 Matt 27,56), this suggests that also her sons James and Joses had already become disciples before Jesus' death. When Jesus Himself told Mary Magdalena to report his resurrection to "my brethren", Mary went to "the disciples" (John 20,17-18). This means that Jesus and Mary Magdalena regarded the following men as Jesus' brothers and disciples: the apostles of Galilee and also the disciples among the 'brethren of the Lord' (the Davidic representatives) and maybe Joses; after the message of the resurrection and appearances all the Davidic stationary men may have become disciples in imitation of their head James. If Mary Magdalene was one of the unnamed disciples in the boat on the lake of Galilee (John 21,2), she can have reported Jesus' resurrection also to any brothers still in Galilee (Simon and Judas).

⁶⁰ The "Christ" (Greek for 'anointed one') was the biblical title for the everlasting universal righteous king promised to the Jews in Scripture (e.g. Ps 2,2 20,6 45,7 Lu 1,32-33 2,11).

⁶¹ *Eus.*, H.E. 2,1,1-4

⁶² Acts 2,41(three thousand souls) 4,4 (men ... about five thousand) 5,14 (multitudes of both men and women) 6,1 (disciples ... multiplied) 6,7 (disciples multiplied ... a great company of the priests) 9,31 (churches ... throughout all Judaea and Galilee and Samaria...were multiplied).

⁶³ "certain *men* from James" Gal 2,12; circumcision and the law: Acts 15,24

⁶⁴ to try to impell Gentiles who had become Christians to start observing the Jewish religious law (the so-called Law of Moses).

⁶⁵ Acts 15,24

⁶⁶ "Antioch ...no small dissension and disputation" Acts 14,26-15,2 Gal 2,11-14; Acts 15,19-29; commandments of Noah: Gen 9,8-9.16, Talmud Sanh.56a, Mishnah Torah, Law of Kings 8:10

When Paul came to Jerusalem in about 58 CE, James and the elders could tell him about the Christian Jews: “You see, brother, how many thousands there are among the Jews of those who have believed; they are all zealous for the law”, and they asked Paul to purify himself and pay for offerings in the temple publicly, in order to show that he had remained Jewish and therefore didn’t teach the Jews living among the Gentiles to forsake their own Jewish law.⁶⁷ In 62 CE James the Just was asked by the Jews and scribes and Pharisees to declare unto the people in the temple what was ‘the gate of Jesus’. By saying that Jesus “is about to come upon the clouds of heaven” James possibly declared ‘the gate of Jesus’ to be the Eastern Gate of the temple (the Golden Gate), by which God himself would enter the temple one day⁶⁸: Jesus would come down from heaven and not have forgotten the First Covenant with the Jews and its temple. But the separation of the Christian community from the Jewish seems to have started after the murder of James in 62 CE in the temple. After the destruction of the temple in 70 CE by the Romans, this common place of worship and meeting place of ordinary Jews and Christian Jews was gone and the separation of Christians and Jews deepened. It seems to have become definitive with the official condemnation of the Christian faith and the expulsion of the Christians from the synagogue by the Jewish council at Jamnia in 80 CE at the latest.⁶⁹

Below follows a chronological description of some events in Jerusalem related to James and the brothers, mainly from the Acts but also from some of the epistles.

Simon Peter flees - James and the brethren not in the Cenacle

After Simon Peter’s escape from Herod’s prison in Jerusalem, when his guards didn’t know anything yet, Simon, when this had become clear to him, went to the house of John Mark, where many were in prayer, and which probably was the house of the Cenacle in the Upper City of Jerusalem.⁷⁰ Peter wants his escape to be reported also to “James and to the brethren”,⁷¹ who apparently were not in the house, probably because they were, as usual, in the temple and/or in their homes elsewhere in the city. Then Peter leaves for another place.

The brothers not belonging to the churches of Judea or to “the disciples”

Paul, during his first post-conversion visit to Jerusalem, when he saw Cephas and James, remained “not known by sight to the churches of Christ in Judea”,⁷² but still was safely brought from Jerusalem to Caesarea by “the brothers”, when his life was threatened by the Hellenists.⁷³ So, these “brothers” could not have been Judean or Galilean disciples of the churches of Judea, for Paul remained unknown to them, nor the Galilean apostles themselves, for Paul swears he didn’t see them (Gal 1,18-20), so they probably were Davidic representatives of the Jerusalem deputation, related to James, the Lord’s brother, the only Galilean apostle whom Paul saw and who had seen that Paul wasn’t dangerous to Christians

⁶⁷ Acts 21,18.21.26 22,17

⁶⁸ *Eus.*, H.E. 2,23,12-13; Eze 43,4 44,1-3

⁶⁹ C.P. THIEDE, *Jesus, Life or Legend?*, (Oxford 1997) p. 78

⁷⁰ Acts 12,11-12; Simon Peter understood that at this moment he was still able to go to his own place of abode, because he wasn’t searched for by Herod’s soldiers yet. If he wanted to show himself to the people in this house as a free man, he would have to do it now, for as soon as his escape would be discovered, he would be searched for here immediately. That the damsel that kept the door recognizes his voice, also indicates that he was a well known person there (the discussion of the place of the Cenacle and who were its owners is in my article *John Mark – Author of the Gospel of John with Jesus’ mother*, www.JesusKing.info, 04-11-2008).

⁷¹ Acts 12,17

⁷² Gal 1,22

⁷³ Acts 9,26-30

anymore. It is not probable that “the brothers” were ordinary Jerusalem Christians, for at that moment “the disciples ... were all afraid of him” and Paul failed “to join” them.⁷⁴

The Eleven, Cephas, and James the Just

The thesis that James was the head of the representatives of the people in the temple is not necessary to support the thesis that Paul, except James, only saw the high priest Cephas/Caiphaz and the apostles of the temple prison on his first post-conversion visit to Jerusalem (Gal 1,18-19).⁷⁵ James’ tight association with the temple already supports this thesis. But James’ being a representative of the people implies that James was also in the company of the high priest daily, since the high priest and the deputation read from the Torah in the temple on a daily basis.⁷⁶ So, taking this fact into account, it is even more logical that Paul during his visit to Jerusalem did see the Eleven, Caiphaz, and James the Just, but none of the rest of the Galilean apostles.

James, Cephas and John – men from James – the dwelling of David

After the flight of Simon Peter out of Jerusalem, and when James, the Lord’s brother, had become the head of the Jerusalem church, both in 44 CE,⁷⁷ Paul visits Jerusalem for the second time after his conversion, and then “James, Cephas and John” give him and Barnabas the “right hand of fellowship; that we (Paul and Barnabas) should go to the Gentiles, and they (James, Cephas and John) to the circumcised”.⁷⁸

Nevertheless, not long after this agreement “certain (men) from James ... them which were of the circumcision” (Gal 2,12 AV) – “certain men which came down from Judaea” (Acts 15,1 AV) – would become Paul’s judaizing rivals in Antioch, teaching the Christians from the Gentiles to “be circumcised” although James had given these men “no such commandments” (Acts 15,24 AV).⁷⁹ These men will have belonged to the “circumcision party” (Acts 11,1-3) probably consisting of “certain of the sect of the Pharisees which believed” in Jerusalem (Acts 15,5 AV) and possibly also of certain Davidic representatives of Jerusalem. After all, the Davidic men of the Jerusalem deputation, just as the other representatives of the people, had an interest in the flourishing of the temple service, as they were respected as partakers of it and were possibly exempted from all taxation (and perhaps from military service) because of this office, just as the priests and Levites and nethinim,⁸⁰ and the circumcision for the Gentiles meant the imperative to obey the whole Jewish law, including supporting the temple service.

The matter is brought before “the apostles and elders” (= the Apostolic Council) in Jerusalem by Paul and Barnabas (this is Paul’s third journey to Jerusalem)⁸¹ and there it is settled by “Simeon” (= “Peter”) and “James” and “the apostles and elders, with the whole

⁷⁴ Acts 9,26

⁷⁵ See my articles *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, and *Paul’s Cephas is Caiphaz – Author of 1Peter and Hebrews*, www.JesusKing.info, 04-01-2009.

⁷⁶ S. SAFRAI, a.o. eds., *The Jewish People*, p. 873 and 904-05

⁷⁷ *Eus., H.E.*, 2,1,2; This was the year in which king Herod Agrippa I died (Strongs 2264), as described in Acts 12,20-23, immediately after Peter’s escape and flight in Acts 12,1-19.

⁷⁸ Gal 2,9; The simultaneousness of the events in Gal 2,1-10 and Acts 11,29-30 12,25 and of those in Gal 2,11-14 and Acts 15,1-2 has been explained in chapter 4 of my article *Paul’s Cephas is Caiphaz – Author of 1Peter and Hebrews*, www.JesusKing.info, 04-01-2009.

⁷⁹ This chronology has been discussed in paragraph 4. of my article *Paul’s Cephas is Caiphaz – Author of 1Peter and Hebrews*, www.JesusKing.info, 04-01-2009.

⁸⁰ Acts 15,5 (Ezra 7,24 and EDERSHEIM, *The Temple* ch. 4, p. 60-61).

⁸¹ This chronology has been discussed in my article *Paul’s Cephas is Caiphaz – Author of 1Peter and Hebrews*, www.JesusKing.info, 4-1-2009, chapter 4. The chronology

church”:⁸² the Christians from the Gentiles needn’t observe the Jewish law. This took place in the year 48-49 CE.⁸³ James, on this occasion, speaks of Amos’ prophecy that God, also for the sake of the Gentiles, would “rebuild the dwelling of David”,⁸⁴ in which James will have had a main interest as the head of the Davidic representatives of the people, and which would be an eloquent argument for his fellow (perhaps judaizing) Davidic representatives.

Paul went in unto James – we have four men who are under a vow; take these men

A long time after the Apostolic Council, when Paul, returning from his Third Missionary Journey, arrived in Jerusalem for the fourth time after his conversion, he “went in unto James”, which means, as already explained, that Paul went into the temple’s inner courts, probably to the Court of the Israelites, where James still was a representative of the people of Israel in the temple liturgy.⁸⁵ Here James and the elders showed Paul that there were “many thousands of Jews ... which believe” (AV) and that they were “all zealous of the law”. Here they also told him:

... We have four men who are under a vow; take these men and purify yourself along with them and pay their expenses, so that they may shave their heads (...). Then Paul took the men, and the next day he purified himself with them and went into the temple, to give notice when the days of purification would be fulfilled and the offering presented for every one of them. (Acts 21,23-24.26)

Persons under a (Nazarite) vow had business to attend to in the temple, for they had to offer certain sacrifices (a burnt-offering, a sin-offering and a peace-offering), by handing over the animals to the ministering priests at the Court of the Israelites – if they were men –, or at the Gate of Nicanor – if they were women. After this they also had to have their heads shaved at “the door of the tabernacle”,⁸⁶ in Herod’s temple probably also the Gate of Nicanor. Because of the advice to “take these men”, and Paul’s immediate response – “Then Paul took the men” – it seems that the four Nazarites were already present in the temple, where James and the elders spoke about them to Paul. When arranging that Paul would pay for these poor Nazarites’ sacrifices – this was deemed a mark of Jewish generosity –⁸⁷ and would give notice to the priests when the sacrifices would be offered, James seems to have been present at the Nicanor Gate and have acted as the head of the representatives who had the duty to be a guide for any Jew who had business to attend to in the temple⁸⁸, whether Christian or not. According to Chilton “James’s focus was purity in the temple”⁸⁹ and this would correspond to his duty as head of the deputation to line up the cured lepers and others who had come to the temple “to make atonement on being cleansed from any impurity” at the Gate of Nicanor in readiness for the ministering priests.⁹⁰

⁸² Acts 15,6-29

⁸³ *De Bijbel, Willibrordvertaling* Boxtel 1991, p. 1824. Paul had to appear before Gallio in Corinth (Acts 18,12-17) and this Gallio was the proconsul of Achaje from May 51 to May 52 CE, so this must be the year when Paul was there. From here “a year and six months” are counted backwards to arrive at the time in which Paul arrived in Corinth (Acts 18,1-11), on his Second Missionary Journey, which he had started after having delivered the apostolic decrees, concerning the observation of the Jewish law, in Antioch (Acts 15,30-36).

⁸⁴ Acts 15,16; Amos 9,11

⁸⁵ Acts 21,18; In Acts 21,26 only the Codex Bezae (D) has changed the verb ‘εἰσεἰμι’, only used for entering into the temple, into ‘εἰσελθεῖν’ (of ‘εἰσερχομαι’) which is the neutral verb for entering (NA²⁷).

⁸⁶ Barnes New Testament Notes at Acts 18,18

⁸⁷ Jamieson, Fausset and Brown Commentary on Acts 21,24

⁸⁸ A. EDERSHEIM, *The Temple*, ch. 10, p. 154

⁸⁹ B. CHILTON, *James, Jesus’ Brother*, p. 256

⁹⁰ EDERSHEIM, *The Temple*, ch. 10, p. 154

Paul himself described the occasion of Acts 21 as follows:

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)

This indicates that the expenses that Paul paid for the four poor Nazarites may have been part of the alms and offerings he brought for the Jewish nation and not solely for the Jerusalem church. This enhances the probability that the four poor Nazarites weren't some specific Christians, known to James, but ordinary poor temple visitors whose guidance was entrusted to James and the rest of the representatives of the people. Now it is also of more significance that the 'pillars' of the Jerusalem church – James, Cephas and John – already asked Paul at the end of his second post-conversion visit to keep supporting the poor of Jerusalem materially, which Paul was eager to do.⁹¹ Especially James may have asked this from Paul because of his responsibility for this part of the temple service as head of the deputations. And his duty of lining up equally the cured lepers and any other (wealthier) persons at the Nicanor Gate, may have inspired him to write that (also) Christians should not deliberately give the poor a lowly place in their meetings (Jas 2,1-6).

James, to the twelve tribes in the Dispersion, greeting

James, while being the bishop of Jerusalem, and calling himself “a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ”, still addressed his epistle with many concrete and serious admonitions “to the twelve tribes in the Dispersion”.⁹² This complies with his position of head representative of the people: of all the twelve tribes of the Israelites, wherever they might be. That the concept of Israel's twelve tribes was still alive is also shown by Paul's words before king Agrippa, describing God's promise of raising the dead as a promise unto which “our twelve tribes hope to attain”.⁹³ In fact, in 62 CE, when the scribes and Pharisees try to convince James to speak to the people, they use the argument that for the Passover “all the tribes, with the Gentiles also” had gathered,⁹⁴ probably implying that this would be a good occasion for James to speak to the twelve tribes he himself represented.

Paul: “other apostles, the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas”

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)

In this verse, that may list the Church's hierarchy as Paul sees it, Paul compares himself to a) “other apostles (‘the rest’, ‘loipoi’)” and b) “the brothers of the Lord” and c) to “Cephas”,⁹⁵ referring to: a) the twelve Galilean apostles and the apostles of the Eleven and James the Just, and then b) to James' fellow Davidic representatives of the Israelites, and finally c) to the ex-high priest Caiphas, who caused the dispute with Paul in Antioch.⁹⁶ From this verse it appears that the “brothers of the Lord” are distinguished from the apostles; so they weren't apostles except their leader James. This confirms the same distinction, made in the Cenacle, between “his [Jesus'] brothers” and the apostles.

⁹¹ Gal 2,6.9-10

⁹² Jas 1,1

⁹³ Acts 26,6-8

⁹⁴ Eus., H.E., II,23,11

⁹⁵ 1Cor 9,5 NA²⁷

⁹⁶ See my article *Paul's Cephas is Caiphas – Author of 1Peter and Hebrews*, www.JesusKing.info, 04-01-2009.

The Kerygma: He appeared to James, then to all the apostles

In the 'kerygma' (1Cor 15,3-7) Paul writes that Jesus "appeared to James; then to all the apostles", which implies that this James was an apostle. This was also implied by Paul when he wrote to the Galatians "I saw none of the other apostles except James the Lord's brother".⁹⁷

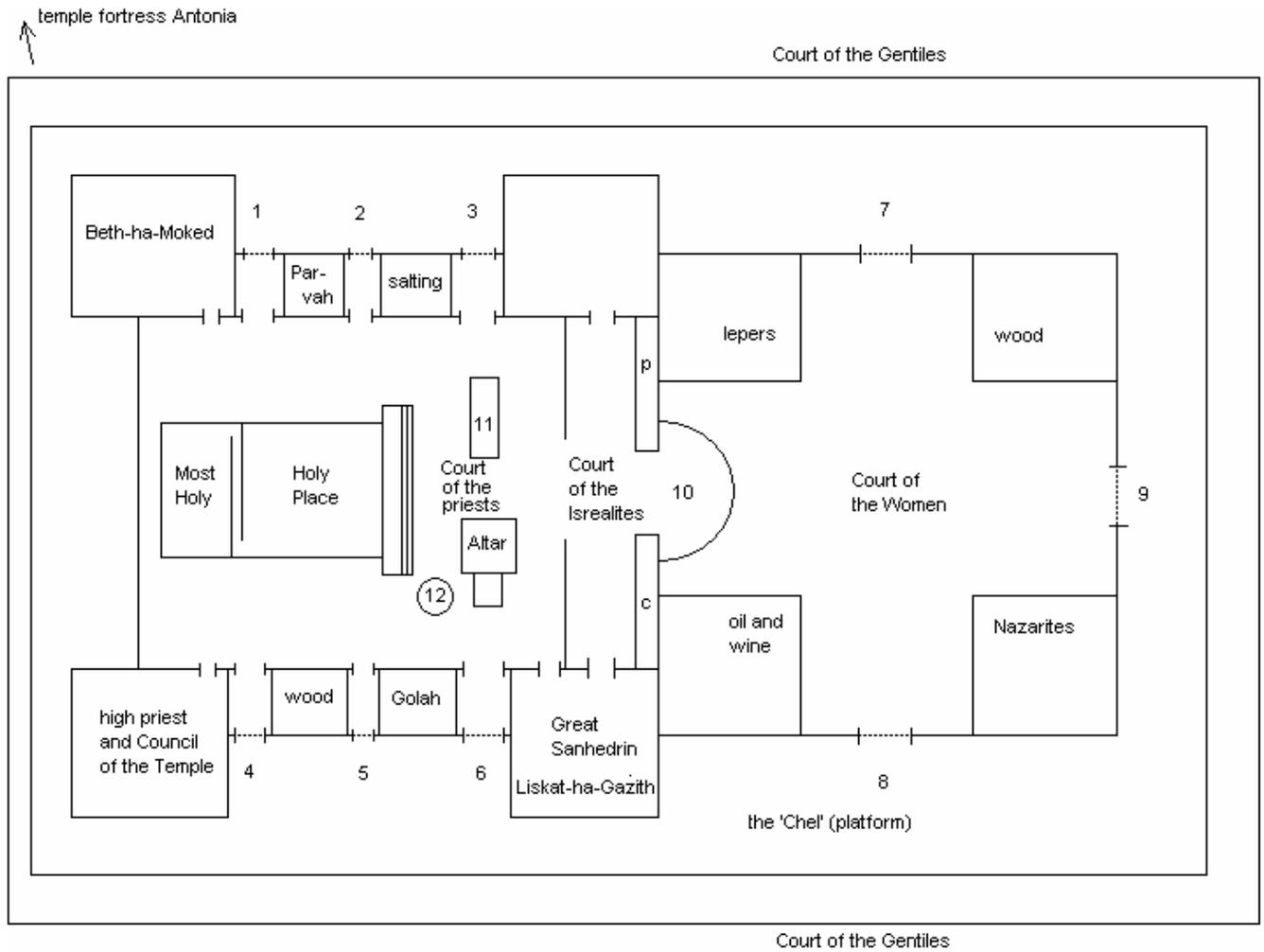
5. Conclusion

The issue, raised by Chilton, concerning "the nature of James' apparent relation to those responsible for the operation of the temple", is successfully answered by the thesis of this article, that James was the Davidic head of the representatives of the people in the daily communal liturgy of the temple, who also had the duty to guide those who had private business in the temple, especially the poor, during the time between the two daily communal rituals: the morning ritual and the evening ritual, and who also read the Torah in the temple synagogue with the high priest. The thesis is supported by the evidence from the New Testament (cf. Acts 15,16 21,17-18.23-26 24,17-18 Gal 2,6-10 Jas 1,1.27 2,1-5) and from Christian tradition (Hegesippus and Eusebius, who describe James' virtues, activities in the temple, and nicknames, especially 'the Just' and 'Mourner').

James' being the head of the representatives prior to, and after, Jesus' resurrection would also explain how James could come to such a prominent position in the Church too: he may already have been a prominent Jew before he became a Christian, and his apostolic status, obtained from Jesus' appearing to him, in combination with his prominence among the Jews, will have led to his being elected to become Jerusalem's bishop after Simon Peter had left.

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⁹⁷ 1Cor 15,7 Gal 1,19



- 1 = Gate of the Beth-ha-Moked
- 2 = Gate of Sacrifices
- 3 = Spark Gate (Nitzutz)
- 4 = Wood Gate
- 5 = Gate of the Firstlings
- 6 = Water Gate
- 9 = Beautiful Gate
- 10 = Nicanor Gate
- 11 = Slaughter house
- 12 = Water laver

- Beth-ha-Moked = 'house of the stoves', main guard room and dormitory of the priests
- Parvah = chamber for salting the skins of the sacrifices
- salting = chamber for salting the sacrifices
- p = Chamber of Pinehas (= chamber of high priest's vestements)
- c = chamber of baked cakes
- Golah = chamber for the water apparatus which emptied and filled the laver
- Liskat-ha-Gazith = Hall of Hewn Stones (or of Square Stones), the courtroom of the Great Sanhedrin

Fig. 1 A sketch of the sanctuary of the temple

(according to Edersheim's description in "The Temple: Its Ministries and Services", chapter 2)

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Abbreviations

Ant.	Jewish Antiquities (work of Josephus)
AV	Authorized Version
CE	Christian Era or Common Era
Epiph.	Epiphanius
Eus.	Eusebius
Haer.	Haereses (work of Epiphanius)
H.E.	Historia Ecclesiastica (= Church History) (work of Eusebius)
NA ²⁷	Nestle-Aland 27th edition of the Greek text of the New Testament
NIV	New International Version
RSV	Revised Standard Version