# When was Jesus crucified?

Iver Larsen, this version slightly revised, December 2022 and October 2026. A footnote with reference added in July 2024

Scholars have long debated the chronology of the passion week of Jesus. It is almost impossible not to be confused if one reads an account like the one in Wikipedia.[1] It is not possible to review all the many suggestions within a fairly short paper, so I am trying here to focus on the arguments that I find most crucial.

## What year was Jesus crucified?

Most scholars today believe that the year was 30 AD. The year 30 is based on several pieces of information.

Emperor Tiberius began his reign in 14 AD. Luke 3:1 tells us that John the Baptist began his ministry in the 15th year of Tiberius' reign, which would be around 28 AD. (Since people counted inclusively, the first year is 14 AD, and the 15th year would be AD 28.) We are also told in John 2:20 that the building of the Temple had been ongoing for 46 years. That was at the very beginning of the ministry of Jesus, so it would also be around AD 28 based on the information above. Josephus tells us that Herod started the Temple project in the 15th year of his reign[2] by doubling the foundation area and building a huge wall. This would have taken several years. Herod's reign is assumed to have begun in 37 or 36 BC which would mean that he started on the Temple foundation around 22 or 21 BC. However, there is also the following information to consider: "On September 25, 2007, Yuval Baruch, archaeologist with the Israeli Antiquities Authority announced the discovery of a quarry compound which may have provided King Herod with the stones to build his Temple on the Temple Mount. Coins, pottery and an iron stake found proved the date of the quarrying to be about 19 BCE. Archaeologist Ehud Netzer confirmed that the large outlines of the stone cuts is evidence that it was a massive public project worked by hundreds of slaves."[3] When the actual re-building of the Temple itself started is not clear, so we cannot pin down these 46 years with certainty, but since 46 years after 19 BC is about 28 AD, 28 AD or earlier is more likely than a later year.

## When was Jesus born?

Luke 3:23 tells us that Jesus was about 30 years old when he started his ministry, but when was Jesus born? He was probably born about a year before Herod the Great died. It is usually assumed that Herod died in 4 BC, but some scholars believe that he actually died in 1 BC.[4] This is also the traditional date until it was revised to 4 BC. If 1 BC is correct, Jesus would have been born around 2 BC and therefore be about 30 in AD 28. Some have proposed a very specific date for the birth of Jesus on Sept 24, 3 BC or 15th of Tishri in the Jewish calendar, the day when the Feast of Tabernacles started. Others suggest the Tishri 1

date (Sept 10) which would be the beginning of the Jewish new year. But if we take into consideration what the star of Bethlehem was, and when it appeared, we can arrive at a more exact possible date. Some have suggested that the star of Bethlehem was a supernova or a comet, but none of those options fit with the descriptions in the New Testament. It is much more likely that it was a conjunction of two planets or stars.

Humans have always studied the stars and wanted to discover if there are signs in the stars that tell us something about what happens on Earth. The biggest planet is Jupiter, and it is called "The Great King" or "King of Kings". It has been connected to the greatest God which is Zeus for the Greeks, Jupiter for the Romans and Thor in Nordic mythology. The brightest planet seen from Earth is Venus, since it is not far from the Earth and about the same size. Venus is connected to a female god and in general with femininity. The icon for Venus is ♀. The icon for Mars is ♂ (Men are from Mars and women are from Venus). Venus is also called the Morning Star, a name used in the Bible to point to Jesus=Messiah. Now, when two planets or stars line up together in the sky, it appears as if they are one bright star, even though they may be very far apart. But when they line up, they shine extra bright. There was such a conjunction of the supreme God star **Jupiter** and the female star **Venus** on August 12, 3 BC. It happened within the constellation of Leo (Lion) which also points to Jesus as the Lion of Judah.

Another bright light was seen on Feb 17, 2 BC and also on May 8, 2 BC when **Jupiter** was seen together with **Regulus**, the brightest star in Leo. Regulus means "Small King" in Latin. It is very likely that the bright light on August 12, 3 BC was the sign of the conception of Jesus as the greatest God stood together with the mother planet Venus and May 8, 2 BC (about 9 months later) was the sign of the birth of Jesus. The great king watched the birth of the small king. The astrologers in the East had noticed these conjunctions and understood that a new king had been born, especially since the same two stars met twice within a few months in February and May. They went to Jerusalem and were directed to Bethlehem. Another bright light appeared on June 17, 2 B.C. when **Jupiter** again met with **Venus**. This may well have been the bright star the astrologers noticed once more as they approached Bethlehem in the night. This is 41 days after the birth of Jesus, and we know that Joseph and Mary brought Jesus to the temple 40 days after the birth. This fits well with the visit from the astrologers, and Joseph had to take Mary and child to Egypt soon after that visit.

Jesus came to the Passover in Jerusalem 3 times during his adult ministry, which suggests that if the first Passover was in AD 28, the last and third was in AD 30. He cleansed the Temple both in his first and his third year. Other arguments can be put forward, but I shall accept in this paper that the year of the crucifixion was most likely 30 AD.

## What day was the crucifixion?

All the gospels agree that Jesus died on a Friday, the day before a Sabbath, in connection with the Passover festival. They also agree that Jesus had a last festive meal the evening before he was killed and that this meal was the Passover meal which was to be eaten in the evening of Nisan 14 after sunset. Some have questioned whether the meal that John describes is the Passover meal, but when we read the gospels together, it is natural to conclude that it was the Passover meal. They all describe the same meal and what happened immediately after the meal. John 13:1-2 also suggests that the time here was just before the Passover Feast, and the Passover meal followed soon after on the same day in the evening.

Jesus rose from the dead on the third day after Friday, which is Sunday according to the inclusive way that the Bible counts days. In the Western world days are counted exclusively so that three days after Friday is Monday, but in much of the rest of the world people count inclusively so that the third day after Friday is Sunday. We sometimes use inclusive counting like: It is now my third day in hospital.

There is some disagreement about whether this Friday was the 14th or 15th Nisan. Passover falls on Nisan 14, and Nisan 15 is the first day of the Festival of Unleavened Bread. The Passover meal is eaten in the evening after sunset, and it can easily last until midnight.

Some people say that the only year between 27 and 34 AD that Nisan 14 (Passover day) fell on a Thursday is AD 30.[5] It corresponds to April 6 according to the calculations by the same source. This makes Friday to be Nisan 15 (April 7). However, people disagree on these calendars, so we find different opinions at different websites. Some say that Nisan 15 rather than Nisan 14 was a Thursday in the year 30.[6] This website states that Thursday fell on Nisan 10 in the years 28, 31 and 32, that Thursday fell on Nisan 11 in the year 29, that Thursday fell on Nisan 13 in the year 33, and that Thursday fell on Nisan 15 in the years 27 and 30. The calendar conversions are complex, so it is not surprising that different people come to different conclusions. The modern conversions are based on computer models and astronomical data for the movement of the moon, but the actual designation of the beginning of the new month at the time of Jesus was based on the first sighting of the new moon, and that could vary depending on the people in charge of these sightings and the amount of clouds. Modern conversions are therefore not an accurate basis for knowing these calendar dates that are based on the moon's appearance. They can easily be one day off, but probably not more than one day. If that is the case, it is possible that the Thursday in year 30 was in fact Nisan 14 instead of Nisan 15.[7]

If we look at the testimony of the New Testament itself, it seems fairly certain that Palm Sunday was Nisan 10 (the day the lambs were presented for public scrutiny, and the day Jesus presented himself in the Temple), Easter Sunday was Nisan 17 (the resurrection day of Jesus as the spiritual first fruit of the resurrected, see Lev 23:10-11 and 1 Cor 15:20), the Sabbath (Saturday) during that week would then be Nisan 16, Friday would be Nisan 15 (the first day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread), and Thursday would be Nisan 14, that is the

Passover day where the meal was eaten in the evening after preparing everything on that day. In Hebrew/Jewish terminology, Nisan 14 would then be erev Pesach (jsp bru) preparation for Passover) and Nisan 15 erev shabbat (tbv bru) preparation for Sabbath), the day of the crucifixion.

The Gospels agree that Jesus died on the day after the main Passover meal had been eaten in the evening. All four gospels agree that Jesus had the Passover meal with his disciples and thereafter went to the garden of Gethsemane. That would be Friday, Nisan 15, as the new day started at sunset. Some people suggest that Jesus died at the same time that the lambs were slaughtered on Nisan 14, but in my view that is based on a misunderstanding of especially 18:28 and 19:14 in John's Gospel and the desire to have Jesus killed at the same time as the lambs in order to point to Jesus as the Passover Lamb. I shall discuss these verses below.

There is an old Jewish/Hebrew/Aramaic tradition that Jesus was crucified on erev Pesach, which would be the preparation day for the Passover meal, Nisan 14. The Syriac translation (Peshitta) understands it this way. This translation is partly based on older translations into Syriac that go back to sometime in the 2nd century. The OT was translated from Hebrew and the NT from Greek. It appears that the translator misunderstood the Greek expression "preparation day of the Passover" as if it meant "preparation for Passover/eve of Passover". The Aramaic Targum from around 200 AD seems to have the same understanding. It may have come to this conclusion based on an early Syriac translation, or it could be an independent Jewish tradition. Dr. Randall Buth has a comment on the Syriac translation of the Greek gospels: "A comparison of the Greek text with Syriac translations is complicated and ultimately unhelpful for understanding Matthew and Mark".[8] The comment is related to how the Peshitta mistranslates or misrepresents the Hebrew Word "Eli" (my God) as simply "El" (God?). He further says that the Peshitta might reflect an abstract Hebrew word for "power", and this would then be reflected in the so-called Gospel of Peter 19 which has in Greek "My power, my power, you have left me."

The "Gospel of Peter" apparently also supports the view of erev Pesach rather than erev shabbat. We do not know when this book was written, maybe around 150 AD, but it was considered heretic already around 200 AD.[9] It claims to be written by Peter, which is obviously not true, and we cannot put much trust in this book. The remark by Dr. Buth above supports that its Greek translation was based in part on inaccurate Aramaic/Syriac translations of the original Greek Gospels. In any case, it seems clear that the understanding of Jesus dying on the eve of the Passover is a very old tradition among Jews and apparently also some Hebrew/Aramaic speaking Christians.

It looks like the Syriac tradition of Nisan 14 as the day Jesus died is based on two verses in John. In 18:28 we read: "By now it was early morning, and to avoid ceremonial uncleanness the Jews did not enter the palace; they wanted to be able to eat the Passover." The expression to "eat a feast" is common in many languages (but not English) for celebrating a

feast that focuses on important meals. The Passover festival included the Festival of Unleavened Bread, and it lasted for a whole week. The meal referred to here cannot be the main Passover meal which everybody, including Jesus and the disciples, had celebrated the evening before. It must refer to the important Chagigah meal which was eaten on Nisan 15, probably in the early afternoon. It could not refer to the Passover meal, because that meal is eaten after sunset when a new Jewish day has officially begun. Although Jews would become unclean if entering the house of a Gentile, that uncleanness only lasted until sunset (or evening, see Lev 11), so they would have been clean for the evening Passover meal if the day had been Nisan 14. If a Jew has touched a dead body, the uncleanness would last for a week, but there is no reason to assume that there had been dead bodies in the palace of Pilate, or that the Jewish leaders thought so. Based on this verse, the day has to be Nisan 15, the first holiday in the Feast of Unleavened Bread. Although the Greek word *pascha* is used for the Passover on Nisan 14, it was also used to refer to the two festivals together as is clear from Luke 22:1 (Now the Feast of Unleavened Bread, which is called the Passover, was approaching). The word was also used to refer to the Passover lamb and the Passover meal, so it is a matter of context how it is used. “Eating” the Passover, could refer to the Passover meal as well as the whole festival with its various festival meals, in particular the meal on Nisan 15.

John 19:14 says “It was the day of Preparation of Passover Week” (NIV). The Greek word used here is *paraskeuē* (παρασκευη). It means ”the preparation (day) for the Sabbath”. It corresponds to *erev shabbat* (evening of the Sabbath) in Hebrew. Mark 15:42 explains it clearly when it talks about the day Jesus was killed and buried: “It was Preparation Day (that is, the day before the Sabbath).” John uses the word 3 times. “Now it was the day of Preparation, and the next day was to be a special Sabbath. Because the Jews did not want the bodies left on the crosses during the Sabbath, they asked Pilate to have the legs broken and the bodies taken down.” (NIV John 19:31.) It is the same Greek word referring to the same day, the Friday when Jesus was killed. That this Sabbath was special, was because it was a double holiday. A Sabbath within a week of holidays. John 19:41-42 uses the same word again: “At the place where Jesus was crucified, there was a garden, and in the garden a new tomb, in which no one had ever been laid. Because it was the Jewish day of Preparation and since the tomb was nearby, they laid Jesus there.” In Modern Greek, the same word is still used for Friday (try Google translate). When John uses the same word “preparation day” three times in the same chapter, and two of those clearly refer to Friday, the third one should also refer to Friday, so that John 19:14 means “It was the Passover Friday.” Since Passover (or Easter) lasts a whole week, it is natural to talk about “Passover Monday/Sunday/Friday” for these various days within the week.

In Hebrew they use the word for afternoon-evening (erev) not only as the eve of or preparation for the Sabbath, but also as the eve of other feast days, including *erev Pesach* (evening of/preparation for Passover.) But that is not how John and the Greek New

Testament use the word. We find the word *paraskeuē* six times in the NT (Mat 27:62; Mark 15:42; Luke 23:54; John 19:14,31,42). It corresponds to *preparation day (for the Sabbath)* in English and *erev shabbat* in Hebrew. In Greek there is no need to add the word "Sabbath" because *paraskeuē* always refers to the day before the Sabbath and never the eve before another festival like the Passover. The word in itself means "the day of preparing for the Sabbath." That is also the reason that the word is used in Greek for Friday. (Hebrew has a different way of referring to Friday, the sixth day). In five of the six places, the modern Hebrew translation of the NT uses the two words together *erev shabbat* to translate the one Greek word *paraskeuē*. That is fine and correct. It is worth noting that John 19:31 and 42 refer to the same day as 19:14 with the same Greek word *paraskeuē*. The Hebrew NT faithfully translates that Friday as *erev shabbat* in 31 and 42, but it changes to *erev Pesach* in 19:14 in line with the old tradition mentioned above. I suggest it should have been *erev shabbat* of/during Passover to be faithful to the Greek text (*paraskeuē tou pascha*). So, the Hebrew translation following the old Syriac tradition claims that Jesus was crucified on the eve/preparation day of Passover, Nisan 14, on the same day that the Passover lambs were slaughtered and the Passover meal eaten in the evening. By doing this, they introduce a contradiction to the other gospels. If Jesus was killed on Nisan 14, then the meal in John 13 is not the Passover meal. However, it was an evening meal which suggests the Passover meal, and immediately after the meal they went to Gethsemane (John 18:1). It must be the same meal that the other Gospels clearly describe as the Passover meal. John's Gospel was written many years after the other three gospels, and we can assume that not only did John himself know those other gospels, but his readers would also know them. It is unlikely that the meal he talks about would be a different meal than the one described in the other gospels. John supplements the other gospels, but he does not contradict them.

John does refer to Jesus as the Lamb of God (John 1:29,36), but that does not require that Jesus had to be sacrificed at the same time as the lambs of the old covenant. After all, Jesus was a different kind of lamb that introduced the new covenant. Already during the Passover meal, Jesus asked his disciples to eat his body and drink his blood, so at that time he had spiritually speaking been sacrificed. It appears that no lamb was eaten by the disciples during this Passover meal, because it was Jesus who now became the Passover lamb. So, they were eating the "body" of Jesus, represented by the bread and wine.

We can also look at the chronology of that last week. Let me suggest two scenarios.

Possibility 1: Thursday, Nisan 14 is Passover. With this hypothesis we can then describe what happened on the various days:

Nisan 8, Friday - Six days before Passover Jesus arrived in Bethany (John 12:1). This fits with Jesus having walked from Jericho to Bethany that day so that the meal he is invited to in Martha's house is the regular Sabbath meal on Friday evening. Edersheim explains, "Jesus had arrived at Bethany six days before the Passover - that is, on a Friday. The day

after was the Sabbath and they made him a supper (John 12:1). It was the special festive meal of the Sabbath."[10]

Nisan 9, Saturday, Sabbath - Jesus and the disciples rested during that Sabbath in Bethany.

Nisan 10, Sunday - Jesus and disciples entered Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, the first day of Passion week (See Edersheim, Book 5, chapter 1). Nisan 10 fits with the day the lambs were to be publicly inspected for any flaws. After the triumphal entry, Jesus went to the Temple and looked around before returning to Bethany (Mark 11:11).

Nisan 11, Monday - The second day of Passion Week (Edersheim, Book 5, ch 2). Mark 11:12 tells us that the next morning, they left Bethany for Jerusalem. On the way, they passed a fig tree full of leaves, but with no fruit. Jesus cursed the tree. While the vineyard symbolically stands for the people of Israel as a whole, the fig tree stands for the Jewish leaders. They looked very nice on the outside, but there was no spiritual fruit. Jesus denounced both the Sadducees and Pharisees as well as the scribes. This symbolic action foreshadowed the cleansing of the temple which happened the same day as Jesus entered the Temple (Mark 11:15.) When they passed the tree the following morning, it was Peter who asked Jesus about it. Although Mark often follows Matthew,[11] he also has some details which he probably got from Peter. This is the reason I think that Mark has the more accurate description of when the fig tree was cursed and when they saw it having withered. Mark has the cleansing of the Temple in between the symbolic cursing of the fig tree and the resultant withering, whereas Matthew moves the cleansing of the Temple up before the cursing. Matthew is not nearly as concerned with chronology as Mark and Luke, so I assume that Matthew moved the cleansing up to the previous day for a thematic reason to connect it to the first day when Jesus entered the Temple. In English thought pattern the time sequence is important. Not so in Jewish thought pattern. However, even if we were to follow Matthew and move the cleansing forward one day, this does not alter the other events during this week.

Nisan 12, Tuesday - The whole day was spent in the Temple where many events and teaching took place (Matt 21:20-23:39; Mark 11:20-12:44; Luke 20:1-21:4). Edersheim covers it in 3 chapters (Book 5; ch. 3-5). In the evening, Jesus went with the disciples to the Mt. of Olives where he explained to them about the future (Matt 24:1-26:5; Mark 13:1-14:2; Luke 21:5-22:2). Matthew (26:1-2) tells us that when Jesus had finished telling his disciples all these things, it was two days before Passover, that is, still Tuesday Nisan 12. This may have been after sunset, so strictly speaking it would be already Nisan 13, but in this situation, one is thinking that there are still two nights ahead of them to sleep, so one can say "two days" in that situation.

Nisan 13, Wednesday - This day was spent in Bethany where we hear about a meal in the house of Simon the Leper. No other activity takes place that day and no time reference is given (Matt 26:6-16, Mark 14:3-11, Luke 22:3-6.) Jesus is resting after a busy day and the

late evening on the previous day, Tuesday. It is on that Wednesday that Judas went to the Jewish leaders offering to betray Jesus. He did not need to follow Jesus that day since Jesus did not go anywhere. After what Jesus had told the disciples the previous evening, Judas now realized that Jesus was not the kind of freedom fighter, he had hoped for. Jesus had repeatedly said that he was going to be handed over to be crucified, and he had said it once more the previous evening.

Nisan 14, Thursday - This day is Passover Day although Matthew 26:17, 14:12 and Luke 22:7 all call it the first day of the Unleavened Bread. However, both Mark and Luke identify the day as the day when the lambs were slaughtered. Their Passover meal took place in the evening after sunset.

Nisan 15, Friday - Jesus is accused before Pilate and Herod, crucified and buried.

Possibility 2: Friday, Nisan 14, is Passover. With this hypothesis, we can again try to match the activities of the week with the Gospel accounts.

Nisan 8, Saturday, Sabbath - Six days before Passover Jesus arrived in Bethany. This is a problem, because Jesus could not have walked from Jericho to Jerusalem on a Sabbath. Although the Bible uses inclusive counting in the expression “on the third/fourth/eight day/year” when a day is related to a starting day, the Greek construction used here is different. While “the second day” is the same as “the next day”, the day before is the day before. You cannot say the “second day before” and mean the day before. Matt 26:2 and Mark 14:1 say that Passover would be “after two days” (meta duo hēmeras). This day can hardly be on Nisan 13, the day before Passover, but must be two days before, Nisan 12. Matthew 26:2 tells us that this was said after Jesus had finished speaking all those words. It must refer to everything that happened that day from Mark 11:20 and Matt 21:20, a very full day in the Temple. If it had been Nisan 13, they would have said: Tomorrow is Passover.

We then have to assume that they spent Sabbath in Jericho and travelled on the following day.

Nisan 9, Sunday - Despite the problem of the six days before, this day would in this scenario be the day that Jesus walked to Bethany and had a meal in the evening which would then not be the Sabbath meal.

Nisan 10, Monday - Jesus entered into Jerusalem and presented himself in the Temple. In this scenario it would also be Nisan 10, which fits the symbolism of presenting the lambs for inspection, but we then need to rename Palm Sunday to Palm Monday. They returned to Bethany in the evening.

Nisan 11, Tuesday - The fig tree and cleansing of the Temple. (Same difference between Matthew and Mark as above. We follow Mark here.) That evening they went “outside the

city" (Mark 11:19) which probably refers to the Mount of Olives rather than Bethany. (See also Luke 21:37).

Nisan 12, Wednesday - As they were on the way to the Temple area, they noticed that the fig tree had withered. Jesus spent the whole day teaching in the Temple and they went again out to the Mount of Olives in the evening.

Nisan 13, Thursday - Jesus had a meal in the house of Simon the Leper in Bethany, but otherwise rested in Bethany. Judas went to betray Jesus to the chief priests.

Nisan 14, Friday, Passover day - The meal was eaten by other Jews in the evening, but Jesus was accused before Pilate the same morning and crucified. He could not have eaten the Passover meal unless he had followed another calendar that allowed him to celebrate Passover a day before the others. This would then mean slaughtering lambs on two consecutive days, or the earlier Passover celebration would be without a lamb.

It seems to me that the first possibility fits the Gospel records best, partly because it has Jesus travelling to Bethany six days before the Passover and because we can then keep our Palm Sunday. In my view, therefore, the Gospel records require Passover, Nisan 14, to fall on a Thursday, not a Friday.

Some have argued that if Jesus was crucified on the first day of the Unleavened Bread (Nisan 15), that day was considered a Sabbath, so the Sanhedrin was not allowed to meet and reach a verdict on that day. And it would not be possible for Joseph to buy a linen cloth for the burial (Mark 14:46).

These points can be addressed by noting that the Sanhedrin was not afraid to break the rules for a cause that they considered extremely important. They even went to Pilate on the Saturday, the Sabbath, to get permission to seal the tomb, and they went to the tomb with guards and sealed it.

According to Lev 23:7 no laborious work was to be done on the first day of the Unleavened Bread. The Hebrew word used here ('abodah) can refer to work in the field and work done by slaves. It is not the word for not doing anything that is used for a Sabbath. Whether a few shops would still be open is difficult to know. Theological Workbook on the Old Testament has this to say about the Hebrew word: "There were also to be special feast days on which there was to be "no laborious work" (Lev 23:7–8, 21, 25, 35, 36; Num 28:25–26; 29:1, 12, 35). The type of work included under this term ranges from agricultural work in the fields (Ex 1:14) to constructing the tabernacle (Ex 35:24), repairing the temple (II Chr 34:13), and working in fine linen (I Chr 4:21). Even God's work of judgment is so termed (Isa 28:21)."[12] It is interesting that the word used for laborious work on all these feast days is different from the word used for not doing any work on the Sabbath (Ex 31:14-15, Lev 23:3, Deut 5:12-15). The Day of Atonement is special as a fast day, and on that day no work whatsoever was to be

done (Lev 16:29, 23:26-32). The Day of Atonement is the only day apart from the regular Sabbaths that is also called a Sabbath, because it requires total rest. The prohibition about refraining from all work whatsoever on the holy Sabbath is different from the laborious work that one needs to rest from on feast days. In other words, the rules about rest on the Sabbath were much more strict than the rules about rest on the feast days. This is what the Bible teaches, but the Pharisees may have made more restrictions. Not all Jews at the time of Jesus were following the stricter rules of the Pharisees, and Jesus was certainly opposed to them. Josephus also mentions that rules for a feast day were different than for a Sabbath, but traveling was not allowed on any of the two, since this was laborious work. Josephus says, "*When Antiochus had erected a trophy at the river Lycus, upon his conquest of Indates, the general of the Parthians, he stayed there two days. It was at the desire of Lyrcanus the Jew, because it was such a festival derived to them from their forefathers, whereon the law of the Jews did not allow them to travel." And truly he did not speak falsely in saying so; for that festival, which we call Pentecost, did then fall out to be the next day to the Sabbath. Nor is it lawful for us to journey, either on the Sabbath day, or on a festival day*."[13] So, the two days of rest are based on a Sabbath followed by the festival day called Pentecost, that always followed a Sabbath.

Neither buying nor selling a burial cloth would be "laborious work" or the work of slaves. Edersheim also tells us that the law applying to a feast day was much less strict than that of the Sabbath.[14] This explains why the disciples thought that Judas might have been sent to purchase something needed for the 15$^{th}$ of Nisan on that feast day (John 13:29). The Sabbath rules were also less strict when the "work" was related to a funeral or preparations for a funeral, so it is likely that shops selling funeral equipment (linen shrouds) might be open on a Sabbath and certainly on this feast day (Friday) which was even less strict than a Sabbath.

It has also been suggested that Simon from Cyrene could not have come from work in the field on such a feast day. (Mark 15:21; Luke 23;26). However, the Greek word here is not necessarily a field. It simply refers to the open countryside as opposed to a city. He would not be returning from work in a farm so early in the morning anyway. So, it just means that while Jesus was leaving the city, Simon was coming in the opposite direction towards the city from the countryside.

## The day of the resurrection and first fruits?

All agree that Jesus was resurrected on the day after the Sabbath, that is Sunday morning. But was this also the day of the wave offering (first fruits) or not? Was it Nisan 16 or 17?

The day of the wave offering was supposed to be the day after the Sabbath (Lev 23:11). However, there was a dispute about this between the Pharisees and the Sadducees. It depends on the definition of "Sabbath".

According to the Pharisees, this day of wave offering was understood as the day after the first day of Unleavened Bread which means it would always be on Nisan 16. They interpreted the Sabbath in Lev 23:11 as referring to the first day of the Festival of Unleavened Bread, even though this feast day is never called a Sabbath in the Bible. If Friday was Nisan 14, then Nisan 16 would be Sunday. The Pharisaic interpretation of "Sabbath" conflicts with Lev 23:15-16: "From the day after the Sabbath, the day you brought the sheaf of the wave offering, count off seven full weeks. Count off fifty days up to the day after the seventh Sabbath, and then present an offering of new grain to the LORD." This is the Feast of Weeks, also called Pentecost as we know it from the NT and it is also mentioned in the quote from Josephus above as falling on a day after the Sabbath so there were two days without travel. In these verses we have seven Sabbath days in succession. Since all Sabbath days mentioned have to be regular Sabbaths (our Saturday), the first Sabbath also must be a regular Sabbath (Saturday.) If we study the festivals in Lev 23, it is interesting that all except one is required to be on specific dates, the Passover on the 14$^{th}$ day of the first month, the Feast of Trumpets (New Year) on the first day of the 7$^{th}$ month, the Day of Atonement on the 14$^{th}$ day of the 7$^{th}$ month, the Tabernacles start on the 15$^{th}$ day of the 7$^{th}$ month. The Feast of Weeks has no such date, but is set in relation to the Feast of First fruits. Since Passover (Nisan 14) could fall on any weekday, the Sabbath within the weeklong Festival of Unleavened Bread could fall on any calendar date. Likewise, the Feast of Weeks could also fall on any date, but it had to be the day after a Sabbath. The Pharisees decided to not follow this regulation, but instead chose to fix the Feast of Weeks on a specific date (Sivan 6 or 6$^{th}$ day of the third month, seven weeks after their wave offering day, Nisan 16) regardless of the weekday and in clear contradiction to the Scriptural regulation. Why they decided to disobey the Scriptural regulation is not clear to me. Maybe they just preferred the fixed dates of Nisan 16 and Sivan 6 for convenience.

According to the Sadducees, it should be as the OT regulation from Lev 23 indicates, the day after the Sabbath. If Friday was Nisan 15, the day after the Sabbath would be Nisan 17, but still a Sunday. If the wave offering was done according to the rules of the Pharisees, that is on Nisan 16, and if we maintain that Nisan 14 was a Thursday, then Nisan 16 would be a Sabbath. The physical wave offering according to the Pharisees would then be done while Jesus was in the tomb, but the spiritual first fruit event reflected in the resurrection would still be on Sunday, which according to the regulation of Lev 23 ought to have been the day of the first fruit wave offering. As far as we know according to a number of sources (Josephus, Philo, Talmud etc.) this wave offering was done on Nisan 16 in the Temple following the interpretation of the Pharisees. The barley sheaf was cut in the evening of Nisan 15 at almost the same time that Jesus was cut down from the cross and laid in the tomb. The spiritual fulfillment of this first fruit offering is different from the Pharisaic ritual at this time, but it can still fulfill the symbolism. It happened on the day where the first fruits should have been

celebrated according to the Biblical stipulation. Jesus opposed the Pharisees repeatedly, and even in his resurrection.

## What time was it?

Assuming that the day of crucifixion was Friday, April 7, in the year 30 AD, it is worthwhile to find out when sunrise was on this day. Sunrise would have been at 5:20, solar noon at 11:40 and sunset at 18:00 in Jerusalem.[15]

The crucifixion happened at the third hour (Mark 15:25) which is our 9 a.m. John 19:14 tells us that Jesus was still with Pilate at the sixth hour. This would normally be understood as 12 noon, but that cannot be a correct interpretation, since he was already crucified at 9 a.m. Many different suggestions have been put forward in order to explain this apparent contradiction.

Dr. James Davis has a good discussion of these options, and he lists the following:[16]

1) a confusion of the numerals 3 and 6 in the manuscript transmission of John,

2) John's use of a Roman time reckoning system of a civil day that started at midnight,

3) Mark's reference to crucifixion as a general statement that included some event(s) that led up to the actual lifting of Jesus on the cross and,

4) the times being loose approximations that can be reconciled due to the fact that modern systems of time accuracy did not exist at the time in which the events occurred.

The first option can be quickly discarded. The manuscript change is late and only in a few copies. It is a clumsy attempt to reconcile John with Mark. Surprisingly, several Church Fathers have adopted this view, e.g., Ignatius, Eusebius and others (See James Davis). Why these Church Fathers went astray is difficult to say, but they have clearly made the wrong assumption that the sixth hour meant noon.

The third option has no basis in the text. Mark refers to the crucifixion, not to events leading up to it. Augustine seems to suggest such an option when he says "at the third hour the Lord was crucified by the tongues of the Jews, at the sixth hour by the hands of the soldiers." Fanciful, but unconvincing.

The fourth option is a slightly better attempt, because getting the time from the sun's position is not as accurate as our watches today. However, it is not reasonable to say that the sixth hour is approximately the same as the third hour. It is not difficult to see the difference between the sun at noon or sunrise and at midmorning. Some argue that people only used three-hour intervals, because it was so inaccurate. But this is not correct, since we have time references like $7^{th}$, $10^{th}$ and $11^{th}$ hour in the New Testament. The driving force behind this option is a desire to merge the third and sixth hour to around midmorning, but it does not

solve the problem, since the 9 a.m. reference is the crucifixion and the 6th hour in John is when Jesus is before Pilate, long before the crucifixion. Although we do not come across half-hour intervals, one-hour intervals are commonly used. So, we can accept up to one hour leeway, especially if the text says "about", but 3 hours is not reasonable. The length of the day also varies with the time of year. The shortest day in Jerusalem is about 10 hours and the longest about 14 hours. When each day is divided into 12 sections, then each section or "hour" can vary between 50 and 70 minutes. At this time in early April the day would have been 12½ hours as noted above. The "hour" would then be 62½ minutes, a pretty normal hour.

James Davis does not mention a fifth option: Either John was mistaken or Mark was mistaken. In my view that is the very last option after all other options have been discarded.

However, option 2 above can solve the problems without having one writer disagreeing with another. It is likely that both Matthew, Mark and John were eye witnesses to the crucifixion, and Luke has based his Gospel on eye witness accounts. (I assume that the young man in Mark 14:51-52 is the writer himself, the same John Mark we meet in Acts.) These eye witnesses could hardly be mistaken or have forgotten the time of day for this crucial moment. Only Mark 15:25 gives the actual time of the crucifixion, but the events and time sequence is the same in the other Gospels. Could John have been using the Roman way of indicating hours of the day?

The arguments against this view are based mainly on silence and are not convincing. The Church Fathers did not seem to discuss this option. Why not? We don't know, but their strength was not logic or thorough exegesis. They preferred allegories and preaching. The rare sun-dials at that time had markers for dividing the day into 12 sections, but they apparently did not have numbers on them at the time John was writing. That is not important, since sun-dials would naturally mark and count hours from sunrise to sunset. There were also sand clocks and water clocks in use to keep track of hours.

Another argument is that if John's sixth hour refers to the final verdict, there would not have been enough time for all the events that happened between sunrise and this point in time. However, it is a dubious interpretation to assume that John's sixth hour refers to the final verdict rather than when Jesus was being brought and accused before Pilate. This kind of wrong interpretation seems to be the result of Western commentators imposing their time orientation onto John's Gospel without due consideration for how the Greek language worked and the Hebrew mind thinks. There is a parallel situation in John 1:39 which reads in English: "So they went and saw where he was staying, and spent that day with him. It was about the tenth hour." (NIV84). The time reference about the tenth hour refers to the beginning of what has just been mentioned, their stay with Jesus. It is not the end of their stay. It is background information that points to the beginning of the event.

All commentators agree that the common, everyday way of referring to time was by hours from sunrise. There is also agreement that the official Roman way was to count the day from midnight. James Davis cites the following:

*One testimony to this comes from Pliny the Elder: "The actual period of the day has been differently kept by different people: the Babylonians count the period between two sunrises, the Athenians that between the two sunsets; the Umbrians from midday to midday; the common people everywhere from dawn to dark; the Roman priests and the authorities who affixed the official day, and also the Egyptians and Hipparchus, from midnight to midnight."*

*Another Roman writer Macrobius, citing an earlier source Marcus Varro (116 – 27 BC; his work, now lost, was entitled, Human Antiquites), writes, "People born in the twenty-four hours that run from one midnight to the next are said to be born on a single day." Later, Macrobius states, "The civil day as (the Romans called it) begins at the sixth hour of the night."*

So, some people in the Roman world would in certain situations use the system we now use in English, while everyday activities were commonly referred to by hours from sunrise. We have historical records that tell us: "Polycarp is said to have been martyred at Smyrna at the eighth hour (Mart. Poly. 21) while a later Christian Pionius was killed at the tenth hour also at Smyrna." It was normal for such events not to happen later than 10 a.m. The Jewish historian Philo "notes that in the shows which started with the persecution of Jews the first portion of it lasted from the first (πρῶτος) to the third or fourth hour (Philo, *Flaccum*, 1:85)."[17]

Philo as a Jew is likely to have used the Jewish, everyday system so that these 'lion shows' were over by 10 a.m. If this is correct, then the martyrdom mentioned should not have taken place after 10 a.m. so the 8$^{th}$ hour would be 8 a.m. and the 10$^{th}$ hour 10 a.m.

Hipparchus lived approximately 190-120 BC in Asia Minor, not far from Ephesus. He was born in Nicaea and died in Rhodes. It seems that the potential usage of the Roman day in historical and official records are concentrated in Asia Minor where John also lived and wrote his Gospel.

We have only little evidence outside the New Testament of historical records like John's Gospel using the Roman civil day. But we do not have much evidence one way or the other, and there is no evidence that John did NOT use the Roman civil day. Since both systems were in use in Asia Minor where John and his audience lived, we cannot with any certainty claim that John did not use the Roman official way in a historical record. We need to keep in mind that John was writing towards the end of the first century in Ephesus to an audience of Greek-speaking Christians who were very much influenced by Roman culture and were probably familiar with Hipparchus who also used this way of referring to time. It is entirely

different from the other Gospels and Acts which were written many years before while the Jewish nation still existed.

There is no doubt that all other books of the New Testament assume hours to be counted from sunrise. The normal working day had 12 hours which were counted from sunrise. (Matt 20:1-6; John 11:9). The major reference points would be sunrise, midmorning, noon, midafternoon and sunset, but people were capable of judging time from the position of the sun with about one hour accuracy taking into account that the "hour" would vary in length from 50 to 70 minutes. They also had a good idea about the length of dawn before sunrise and dusk after sunset. One could estimate about one hour before sunrise and one hour after sunset. We also hear about night watches where the night was divided into three or four watches.

Since extra-biblical evidence is not conclusive, what does John's Gospel tell us? Is there internal evidence that will allow us to make a decision, one way or the other? The answer is yes, because there are no less than 4 time references in John's Gospel. We shall look at these now:

In John 1:29 we read "The next day he [John the Baptist] saw Jesus coming toward him, and said, "Behold, the Lamb of God,…" John does not tell us more about what Jesus was doing on that day, but John the Baptist probably continued his preaching. It is most likely that John baptized Jesus on that same day and then Jesus could soon start his ministry. John 1:33 has the Baptist's testimony that Jesus would baptize with the Holy Spirit. This is parallel to Matt 3:11 and Mark 1:7-8. The baptism of Jesus comes after these verses in Matt 3:12-17.

Then we hear about the first followers of Jesus, some of whom used to be followers of the Baptist (1:35-39): "The next day again John was standing with two of his disciples, and he looked at Jesus as he walked by and said, "Behold, the Lamb of God!" The two disciples heard him say this, and they followed Jesus. Jesus turned and saw them following and said to them, "What are you seeking?" And they said to him, "Rabbi" (which means Teacher), "where are you staying?" He said to them, "Come and you will see." So, they went and saw where he was staying, and spent that day with him. It was **about the tenth hour**." (NIV84)

The first sentence suggests the start of a new working and preaching day. The two disciples spent the rest of the day with Jesus. Both of these points suggest that a time of 10 a.m. is more likely than a time of 4 p.m. The later hour is not impossible, but the earlier hour is certainly much more likely.

The next time reference is in John 4:3-8:

"He [Jesus] left Judea and departed again for Galilee. And he had to pass through Samaria. So, he came to a town of Samaria called Sychar, near the field that Jacob had given to his son

Joseph. Jacob's well was there; so Jesus, wearied as he was from his journey, was sitting beside the well. It was **about the sixth hour**. A woman from Samaria came to draw water. Jesus said to her, "Give me a drink." (For his disciples had gone away into the city to buy food.)" (ESV)

Jesus and the disciples knew that they were not welcome in Samaria, so they prepared to stay overnight outside by the well after the disciples had bought food form the town. It was the sixth hour. Now was that at noon or at 6 p.m.? The evidence points to 6 p.m. for several reasons.

a) Jesus was tired after the long journey. He seems to have started from Judea, maybe a bit north of Jerusalem. The distance from Jerusalem is 50 kms in a straight line, but longer when following the road. Walking that kind of distance in one day would make anyone very tired, even though they were young men and used to walking long distances. Unless they had stayed overnight on the way, they could not have reached that place until around 6 p.m. A marathon runner can cover this distance is less than 3 hours, but walking the same distance would take 12 hours or more.
b) it was normal to buy food in the late afternoon or early evening.
c) Alfred Edersheim tells us that this particular well was not the closest to the city.[18] Another well was called 'Ain 'Askar and was much closer to the city on the East side. Most of the women would probably have gone there to fetch water, and this Samaritan woman may have chosen Jacob's well because she lived nearby. Late afternoon was the normal time to fetch water.

The noon-time may not be absolutely impossible, but it is highly unlikely based on the text we have.

The next reference is 4:46-52:

"So, he came again to Cana in Galilee, where he had made the water wine. And at Capernaum there was an official whose son was ill. When this man heard that Jesus had come from Judea to Galilee, he went to him and asked him to come down and heal his son, for he was at the point of death. So Jesus said to him, "Unless you see signs and wonders you will not believe." The official said to him, "Sir, come down before my child dies." Jesus said to him, "Go; your son will live." The man believed the word that Jesus spoke to him and went on his way. As he was going down, his servants met him and told him that his son was recovering. So, he asked them the hour when he began to get better, and they said to him, "***Yesterday*** **at the seventh hour** the fever left him." The father knew that was the hour when Jesus had said to him, "Your son will live." (ESV).

Jesus arrived in Cana to stay for a while, maybe at the home of Nathanael (John 21:2). The news that he was now back in Galilee travelled to Capernaum. We cannot know with certainty when the official got the news. Since news were brought by people travelling, it is

likely that the news reached Capernaum around noon. How far apart are the two cities? Assuming that the Biblical Cana is where the ruins of Khirbet Kana are found today, the distance is 26 kms in a straight line.[19] When following the road through a couple of other small towns it is about 29 kms. Let us round up to 30 kms. The modern road is about 34 kms, much longer than the track one could walk by foot in those days. How long does it take to walk that distance? A fast walker can cover 1 km in 7 minutes, but a normal walk is about 10 minutes. The 30 kms would then take 300 minutes or 5 hours. The road would be ascending at various places, so it might have taken longer to go to Cana from Capernaum than the other way. Let us increase it to 6 hours. Cana has an elevation of about 230 meters.[20] It is not a high mountain to climb, but about 300 meters up along 30 kms. It is likely that the official was walking as fast as he could, maybe even running at times, because his son was about to die. He had a high fever. If the official left in the morning (assuming he got the news the previous day) he might have arrived in Cana by noon. If he left at noon, he would have arrived around 6 p.m.

After Jesus had told the official that his son would live, the official left Jesus. We are not told whether or not he immediately set out for home. If the time was 1 p.m., he would probably have hurried home even though he was tired. The hope and expectation would have given him "wings" and he might be half running down to the city. If the time was 7 p.m. it was probably already dark, and he would have stayed overnight in Cana, because it was too dangerous to travel in the dark where robbers often attacked travelers. We are not told when the servants left home to tell the father the good news. The healing was dramatic and instantaneous. The fever left the boy abruptly. If it took place at 1 p.m. it is likely that they would have left soon after to meet the father on the way or in Cana, since they would be able to reach Cana before dark. If it was 7 p.m. they would have left early next morning.

When the father met the servants, he enquired about the time when the son was healed. They said: "Yesterday at the seventh hour". The crucial word here is "yesterday". If it had been 1 p.m. and both parties had left right away, they would have met at around 3-4 p.m. But in that case, it was the same day, not "yesterday". So that option is out of the question. If it had been 7 p.m., they would have met the following morning at around 9 a.m. (The third hour). We can assume that when these people spoke to one another they were using the normal Jewish way of referring to time, so they would have said "Yesterday at the first hour". It is John who apparently uses a different system when he retells the story to a different audience in a different culture and time more than 60 years later, just like we might translate the original "third hour" by 9 o'clock. If they had met at the third hour it would not be enough to say that it happened at the first hour because that would be two hours earlier. They would need to say yesterday at the first hour. (This could theoretically be 7 a.m., but at that time the father had not left home, so it is clear that it must be 7 p.m.)

It is possible that even if the healing happened at 1 p.m., the official may have stayed the rest of that day and the following night in Cana and the servants likewise waited the rest of the day and the following night. However, if that is the case, John should have framed it differently. He should have said either that the official did not go home right away, because he was too tired, or he could have said: "The next morning, the father left for home." This argumentation is based on Relevance Theory. If the time was 7 p.m. it is not necessary to mention an overnight stay, because that would be assumed anyway by the readers at the time of writing. But if the time was only 1 p.m., it would be necessary to explain why, against expectation, the officer did not go home immediately, but waited for many hours.

Based on 4:52 alone it has been shown beyond reasonable doubt that John was using Roman civil day and meant 7 p.m. Even if none of these 3 cases are considered completely convincing on their own, they all lean towards Roman time. The combined effect of all of them presents a solid case to support that Roman civil time was used in John's Gospel.

Finally, we have John 19:12-16:

From then on Pilate sought to release him, but the Jews cried out, "If you release this man, you are not Caesar's friend. Everyone who makes himself a king opposes Caesar." So, when Pilate heard these words, he brought Jesus out and sat down on the judgment seat at a place called The Stone Pavement, and in Aramaic Gabbatha. (It was the day of Preparation of the Passover. It was **about the sixth hour**.) He said to the Jews, "Behold your King!" They cried out, "Away with him, away with him, crucify him!" Pilate said to them, "Shall I crucify your King?" The chief priests answered, "We have no king but Caesar." So, he delivered him over to them to be crucified. (ESV).

We know from other gospel records that the Jewish leaders had interrogated Jesus during Thursday night (Friday morning) after the Passover meal and probably after midnight. He was brought first to the house of Annas and then to the house of Caiaphas. The accusations and discussion happened in the last part of the night, but it was not considered proper for the Jewish council to reach a final and authoritative verdict until after sunrise. Matt 27:1-2 tells us when they reached the final verdict: "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 over to Pilate the governor." (ESV). Mark 15:1-2 says the same. As soon as they had pronounced the final, official verdict, Jesus was taken to Pilate. Luke 22:66-71 gives the impression that all the deliberations of the Jewish leaders took place after sunrise, but when we compare with the other gospels, it becomes clear that most happened before sunrise. Only a small group of leaders were with the chief priests at the houses of Annas and Caiaphas for the interrogation so that a full meeting was needed at sunrise in order to have some semblance of official judgment. It was a matter of getting final consent to a verdict that the chief priests had already decided on. Luke 22:66 suggests that the final verdict was reached at the official meeting place of the council. (When it was day,

the Council of elders of the people assembled, both chief priests and scribes, and they led Him away to their council chamber- NASB). This could be done fairly quickly, in less than half an hour. Since sunrise was at 5:20, they could be at Pilate's residence by 6 a.m. We do not know if Pilate came out immediately as this high ranking delegation arrived, but that is a good guess. Several things now happened. Pilate asked some questions; Jesus was sent to Herod nearby (about 5 minutes' walk) and came back to Pilate before the final discussion and verdict. John gives us the time of this appearance before Pilate two times. In 18:28 we are told it was early morning. Here we are told that it was about 6 a.m.

Some commentators have assumed that John wants to tell us that the time of the sixth hour refers to the final verdict, but that is not necessary. The statement about the time is a parenthetical background comment and not part of the storyline. (This is shown by the Greek particle *de,* sometimes translated into English as "now", but often left out.) As already mentioned, if we look at John 1:39, the time statement is placed last after we have heard that they spent the day with Jesus. The time here clearly does not refer to the end of the day, but to the beginning of their time with Jesus. The statement in John 19:14 probably refers to when Jesus was first brought to Pilate, but it might also be an approximate time for the whole scenario that could have lasted from 6 to 7:30 a.m. After all, John says "about" the sixth hour, and it is a different way of saying "early", a bit more precise. 1½ hours is more than enough for the events before Pilate and Herod, and it still leaves time before the crucifixion at 9 a.m.

So, if we want to take John's Gospel seriously, it is clear that for various reasons he is using the Roman civil hours instead of the more common daily hours.

If we accept these arguments, it means that all four gospels agree that Jesus had his Passover meal with the disciples on Thursday evening, Nisan 14 (April 6, 30 AD), after sunset like all the others, that he was captured and taken to the Jewish leaders during the night, that he was handed over to the Romans in the early hours of Friday, Nisan 15, that he was crucified around 9 a.m. and died around 3 p.m.

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NOTES

1. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chronology_of_Jesus ↩
2. The Wars of the Jews, chapter 21,1. ↩
3. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Temple ↩
4. See, for instance, http://www.hope-of-israel.org/herodsdeath.html; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herod_the_Great ↩
5. http://www.truthmagazine.com/archives/volume28/GOT028159.html ↩
6. https://www.timeanddate.com/calendar/monthly.html?month=4&year=30&country=34 ↩
7. See When Was Jesus Born? A Response to a Recent Proposal at Academia.edu or at https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/byusq/vol51/iss3/3/ ↩

8. Buth, Randall. “The Riddle of Jesus’ Cry from the Cross.” In Randall Buth and R. Steven Notley, eds. “The Language Environment in First Century Judaea” (Brill, 2014). ↩
9. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gospel_of_Peter ↩
10. Edersheim, Alfred. (1886). The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah. P. 720. (Book 4, ch 24). ↩
11. It is often assumed that Mark was written first. However, there are strong reasons to believe that Matthew was written first in Mishnaic Hebrew before being translated into Greek. Matthew has a Jewish audience in view, while Mark writes to non-Jews. ↩
12. Kaiser, W. C. (1999). 1553 עָבַד. R. L. Harris, G. L. Archer Jr., & B. K. Waltke (Eds.), Theological W*ordbook of the Old Testament* (electronic ed., p. 640). Chicago: Moody Press. ↩
13. The antiquities of the Jews, Book 13, ch. 8,4. ↩
14. Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah, Appendix 17, p. 1055. ↩
15. https://www.esrl.noaa.gov/gmd/grad/solcalc/ ↩
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18. Edersheim, A. (1986) The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah (p. 283) ↩
19. https://www.distancefromto.net/distance-from/Capernaum,Israel/to/Cana,Israel ↩
20. https://www.freemaptools.com/elevation-finder.htm ↩