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Paul's Activity After His First Roman Imprisonment

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PAUL'S ACTIVITY AFTER HIS FIRST ROMAN IMPRISONMENT

**A Thesis Presented to
The Faculty of Concordia Seminary
Department of New Testament Theology**

**In Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
Bachelor of Divinity**

**by
Elmer Kroening**

May, 1944

Approved by _____

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may varied opinions regarding the activity of Paul during these years. It is indeed regrettable that so little is known regarding the last days of such a great apostle and lover of our Savior, but one must say that what we do know of him is sufficient to give us a fairly definite picture of the close of his career. The object of this brief paper is to take again those known facts from Scripture and to see what we think is the most reasonable picture of the final days of the great apostle. The greater part of our material is found in the Pastoral Epistles. For this reason we will begin this paper with an examination of the Pauline authorship and genuineness of these Epistles; for if this genuineness should not be accepted, the latter days of Paul would always remain a total mystery. After having firmly established in our minds the author-

PAUL'S ACTIVITY AFTER HIS FIRST ROMAN IMPRISONMENT

Many men have written detailed accounts regarding the last years of Paul's life; their basis being a few known facts which are found in the New Testament. For this reason we meet many varied opinions regarding the activity of Paul during these years. It is indeed regrettable that so little is known regarding the last days of such a great apostle and lover of our Savior, but one must say that what we do know of him is sufficient to give us a fairly definite picture of the close of his career. The object of this brief paper is to take again these known facts from Scripture and form what we think is the most reasonable picture of the final days of the great apostle. The greater part of our material is found in the Pastoral Epistles. For this reason we will begin this paper with an examination of the Pauline authorship and genuineness of these Epistles; for if this genuineness should not be accepted, the latter days of Paul would always remain a total mystery. After having firmly established in our minds the author-

ship and genuineness of these Epistles, we may directly turn to the disputed question: "Was Paul, or was he not, released from his first Roman imprisonment"? After having shown that Paul was freed from this first Roman imprisonment, we will proceed to give an account of his journeys that followed, until the time of his recapture and return to prison in Rome for the second time. Finally, we shall submit a brief account of what is known on the apostle's final days in Rome and his death. After this brief summary we may state the theme for this paper as follows:

FROM THE PASTORAL EPISTLES WE LEARN THAT
 PAUL WAS FREED FROM HIS FIRST ROMAN IM-
 PRISONMENT AND CONTINUED HIS JOURNEY
 THROUGHOUT THE EAST AND WEST UNTIL HIS
 RECAPTURE AND RETURN TO ROME WHERE HE
 SPENT HIS REMAINING DAYS AND WAS MARTYRED.

I

Let us then first turn to the discussion of the Pauline authorship and the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles. In discussing this subject we shall note the arguments against the genuineness and the necessary refutation. Goodspeed, Harnack, Riddle, Von Soden, and Holtzmann are a few of the critics who argued against the genuineness. One of the stronger arguments advanced against the Pauline authorship is the peculiarity of diction found in these letters when compared with the other writings of Paul. In other words, the negative

critics state that the diction and style found in these letters do not fit with what we know from other sources concerning the Apostle Paul. It must be admitted that the style and diction differ from, e. g., that of Romans. We must remember, however, that Paul entered into the Church life when it was rapidly taking shape, and he soon became one of its living forces. Then, too, we must remember Paul was a sympathetic man, taking an interest in the individual life of people and devoting much of his time in helping them on the path of salvation. Furthermore, Paul did not devote his entire time to ecclesiastical matters, but he also took an interest in the study of daily human experiences. A man living such a life would naturally undergo mental changes which would express themselves in his speaking and writing. The epistles of Paul written at about the same time did not vary in diction from each other; but those which were written after an interval of time naturally had a different style from the former ones. Surely we can understand why we should find a remarkable difference in style and diction between the various groups of his letters. In this connection Dr. Salmon states in his "Introduction to the New Testament" (2d ed., 418-19):

The difficulty arising from peculiarities of diction we have already learned to disregard. The Epistles which I have previously examined exhibit in Paul's writings very great varieties of expression, showing him to be a man of considerable mental pliability, and not one whose stock

of phrases would be likely to be stereotyped when he came to write these letters. But I willingly concede that the argument from the diction makes it likely that the Pastoral Epistles were written at no great distance of time from each other, and probably at some distance of time from the other Epistles. For in Paul's Epistles we find great likeness of expression between Epistles written at nearly the same time, as, for instance, between those to the Romans and Galatians, between those to the Ephesians and Colossians, while the different groups of Epistles differ considerably in words and topics from each other. This is what we find on examining the different works of any author who has written much, viz., considerable resemblance in style between works of the same period; but often modifications of style as he advances in life. Now, though each group of Paul's Epistles has its peculiarities of diction, there are links of connection between the phraseology of each group, and that of the next in order of time; and there are such links between that of the Pastoral Epistles and of the letters of the imprisonment. ¹

Surely the argument advanced with regard to the style and diction remains weak, because a change in style and diction is something we may expect.

Another argument advanced is that the ecclesiastical organization and theological development belongs to a later age than that of St. Paul. We may answer this first of all by stating that mention is made of the church organization in the earlier writings of Paul, for instance, in Phil. 1,1 where we read, "Paul and Timotheus, the servants of Jesus Christ, to

1. Salmon, Introduction to the New Testament (2nd ed.), pp. 418-419, quoted in J. Iverach, St. Paul, His Life and Times, pp. 195ff

all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons". This shows us that the church at Philippi was definitely organized. Furthermore, Dr. Marcus Dods in his "Introduction to the New Testament" states:

The Epistles imply an ecclesiastical organization in advance of that which their supposed date warrants can scarcely be maintained. The letters themselves were written because as yet there was no definite, well-understood organization. They were meant to guide Timothy and Titus in matters so fundamental as the character requisite in those who were ordained as elders and deacons. Besides, we find in these Epistles precisely what was characteristic of apostolic times and not of the second century, the plurality and equality of presbyters in each Church. There is no trace of the monarchical episcopate elevating itself above the presbyterial administration. For the tradition mentioned by Eusebius, that Timothy was bishop of Ephesus, and Titus bishop of Crete is refuted by the letters themselves, which amply prove that the office, if such it may be called, held by these friends of Paul, was merely temporary. ²

We may also add that these letters were chiefly written to the leaders of the church while the former (with the exception of Philemon) was addressed to congregations and for that reason we find differences in the purpose and contents of the letters. Finally we may quote the following statement to show the reason for this difference:

This again is what we should have anticipated, in Epistles written towards the close of the apostolic age, especially

2. Marcus Dods, Introduction to the New Testament, p.176, quoted in J. Iverach, St. Paul, His Life and Times, pp. 195ff.

when addressed to an ecclesiastical officer. We know that, in the succeeding period, the Church was (humanly speaking) saved from destruction by its admirable organization, without which it would have fallen to pieces under the disintegrating influences which were at work within it. When these influences first began to be powerful, it was evidently requisite to strengthen the organization by which they were to be opposed. Moreover, as the time approached when the Apostles themselves were to be withdrawn, it was necessary to take measures that the element of order which their government had hitherto supplied should not be lost to the Church. ³

Critics also advance this argument, that Paul here lays more stress on external morality and soundness of dogmatic teaching than he did in his other writings. This, however, is another weak argument, for would one not expect just such contents in these Epistles since heretics were beginning to attack Christian morality and doctrine?

Another argument advanced is regarding 1 Tim. 5,9, "Let not a widow be taken into the number under threescore years old, having been the wife of one man". The Order of Womanhood, critics say, began later and did not exist during the life of Paul. Again let us ask a question to show the wrong position of critics: Would one not expect just such an Order to arise from the establishment of a class of widows supported by the Church?

3. Conybeare and Howson, Life and Letters of St. Paul, p. 535

Others state that you find such a sameness of thought between the Pastoral Epistles and the universally accepted Pauline letters, that the former must come from a forger who wished to create the impression of Pauline authorship. However, we would naturally expect this sameness, because even the writers of today, who write many books, express many of their former thoughts in the same way.

Still others say that the writer addresses Timothy too harshly in these letters and therefore cannot be Paul, because he would not have spoken in such terms to Timothy who was his close friend.

We must remember that St. Paul had witnessed the desertion of many of his disciples and friends (2 Tim. 4,10 -- "For Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world, and is departed unto Thessalonica; Crescens to Galatia, Titus unto Dalmatia".), and it seems probable that Timothy himself had shown some reluctance to encounter the great danger to which a visit to Rome at the close of Nero's reign would have exposed every Christian. ⁴

Finally we may note another of the many arguments advanced against the Pauline authorship, that regarding the Gnostic heresy. Many say that it did not exist at this time. We, however, must remember that this heresy had not at this time fully developed, but it was in its early stages and that Paul is attacking an early form of Gnosticism.

4. Conybeare and Howson, op. cit., p. 37

The following quotations are recent arguments against the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles advanced by Klausner in his book, "From Jesus to Paul".

1. First of all, these three epistles are not included in the Canon of Marcion although all the rest of the Pauline Epistles are included. This is, in my opinion, weighty negative evidence against the Pastoral. Of course, it is possible to explain this lack of the Pastoral Epistles in the Canon of Marcion on the grounds that they are opposed to Gnosticism, to which Marcion adhered. Nevertheless, if Marcion had thought these three Epistles to be Pauline, we should find in the fragments of his works or the works of his fellow secretaries arguments against them -- something which is not to be found in any book concerned with the refutation of Marcion and the Marcionites which quotes their writings.

2. But, apart from this, there are in the two Epistles to Timothy and the Epistle to Titus a number of facts, which are disturbing to our minds because they do not agree with what we know of the life and works of Paul. Thus, for example, it is mentioned in one of these Epistles that Paul left Titus in Crete and that Paul, having afterwards decided to spend the winter in Nicopolis, requested Titus to make hast and join him there. But from Acts and from the rest of the Epistles of Paul we cannot find time or opportunity for visits in Crete or Nicopolis.

3. According to another letter, Paul requested Timothy to remain at Ephesus while he, Paul himself, went to Macedonia. But, according to Acts, when Paul left Ephesus to go to Macedonia, Timothy accompanied him on his way; and we do not hear that Timothy remained in Ephesus to serve the Christian church there.

4. In one letter Paul speaks of his journey

to Rome 'that through me the message might be fully proclaimed, and that all the Gentiles might hear; and I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion;' and in the same passage he says, 'but Trophimus I left at Miletus sick'. But we know from another source that Paul accompanied by Trophimus visited Miletus on the way to Jerusalem and not to Rome. Moreover, all the troubles which Paul had in Jerusalem came about because the Jews of Asia saw the uncircumcised 'Trophimus the Ephesian' associating with Paul in Jerusalem, and 'supposed that Paul had brought (him) into the temple'. Erastus, who in Acts is sent with Timothy from Corinth (Ephesus) to Macedonia, here is left behind at Corinth; and Tychicus, who in Colossians is sent with Onesimus to Colossae, here is sent to Ephesus. 5

In answer to the first argument we shall refer to a quotation of J. Moffatt in his "Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament":

According to Tertullian (adv. Marc. v.21), Marcion excluded them (the Pastoral Epistles) from his canon on the ground that they were private letters, and therefore unsuitable for purposes of general edification (contrast the protest of the Muratorian Canon). But, as his admission of Philemon proves, this was probably no more than a pretext; his real reason was either that he suspected their authenticity, or that the epistles struck at conceptions which were allied to his own, and that no process of excision, such as he practised in the case, e. g., of Galatians and Romans, could adapt these pastorals to his own use. The gnostic errorists of the second century felt the same objection to them.

πρὸ ταύτης ἐλεγχόμενοι τῆς
(1 Tim. 6, 20) οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰρέσεων

5. Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, pp. 245-246

Τὰς πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἀθετοῦσιν ἐπιστολάς

(Clem. Alex. Strom. ii. II. 52) Jerome, in his preface to Titus, notes that Basilides and other teachers, as well as Marcion, rejected the Pauline pastorals together with Hebrews, as savouring too much of the Old Testament, although Tatian, Encratitarum patriarches, made an exception in favour of Titus, and the Valentianians seem to have read the epistles to Timotheus. ⁶

Regarding arguments 2, 3, and 4, we may state that we find no difficulty. It is naturally difficult for one who does not hold that Paul was liberated after his first Roman imprisonment, to find time or opportunity for the apostle's visits to Crete and Nicopolis. We, who are of the opinion that Paul was freed, find no difficulty in placing a visit to Crete in Paul's itinerary. The visit to Nicopolis was, however, never made, as we shall see later. We also find no difficulty in finding time, opportunity and occasion in placing the following incidents: 1. Timothy's remaining in Ephesus, and 2. Trophimus' being left sick at Miletus on the way to Rome, in the life of Paul. Why we may assume that these incidents occurred will be shown in the third part of this paper.

From the few points we have listed, we see that the negative critics cannot hold their ground; and when we look at the positive side of the genuineness question we become fully assured of the fact that the pastoral Epistles are of Pauline authorship, and genuine. The question by what facts we are so

6. J. Moffat, Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament, p. 419

fully assured of this is briefly answered in Dr. Arndt's New Testament Introduction Notes where we read:

1. By the testimony of the epistles themselves. If not from Paul, they are forgeries.
2. By the contents which are truly apostolic and Pauline.
3. By the unanimous acceptance in the ancient church. Only Gnostics rejected them.
4. By the fact that early in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers we have traces of them.
5. By the agreement of what we know about Timothy and Titus with the facts which are presented here.
6. By the fact that the early church would not have permitted itself to be duped through forgeries.
7. By the deep gulf between these writings and the non-inspired writings that followed.

II

From these Pastoral Epistles we learn that Paul was freed from the first Roman imprisonment and continued his journey throughout the east and west. During this first imprisonment Paul was not confined to a jail as many would think and suppose. He was permitted to live in his own home, but he was always chained to a soldier. However, this did not hinder Paul in his activity. Although he was confined to one city, nevertheless he could write to his friends and even many of his friends came to visit him. Because he was free to write letters he was able to keep in close contact with the churches which he had founded. A scholar who holds the Captivity Letters of Paul were written in Rome thus describes the situation

7. W. Arndt, New Testament Introduction Notes, p. 45

of Paul during these years:

Luke and Aristarchus were seemingly with him during all these two years. Tychicus, who was the bearer of his letter to the Church at Ephesus, had been for some time with him. Timothy, who had been a companion and fellow-labourer of his for so long a time, was also with him at Rome, and the Apostle joins him with himself in the greeting to the Churches of Philippi and Colossae, and in the letter to Philemon. Epaphroditus had come from Philippi to rejoice the heart of the Apostle with a gift valuable in itself, but enhanced in value to a measureless degree because it was a sign of the love and affection of the Philippian Church to him. Mark, the cousin of Barnabas, now reinstated in the friendship and esteem of the Apostle, and Justus, a fellow-labourer of the Apostle, are described as 'men that have been a comfort to me'. Epaphras also, from Colossae, Laodicea, and Hierapolis. He would soon return, bearing with him the greetings of St. Paul to these Churches. Others there were, such as Demas, who constant for a time, yet grieved him, as afterwards he has to write concerning him, 'Demas forsook me, having loved this present world'.⁸

Paul had many friends therefore who came to make his life as enjoyable as possible, but even then it was not the life which one would want to live. However, after two years Paul was freed and we are convinced that he was given his liberty from the facts which will now be given.

In Acts 28,31 we read, "Preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him".

8. J. Iverach, op. cit., pp. 191ff.

The closing verse of the Acts accords better with this view (Paul was released and resumed his missionary journeys) than with the supposition that the imprisonment which has been described ended in the apostle's condemnation and death. Luke emphasizes the fact that no one hindered his work, thus certainly giving the impression that the end of his activity was not near.

Those who hold that the Captivity Letters were written in Rome can also say that Paul expected to be released. In Phil. 1,25 we read, "And having this confidence, I know that I shall abide and continue with you all for your furtherance and joy of faith". Again in Phil. 2,17.24 we read, "Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy, and rejoice with you all. But I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly". Finally we read in Philemon 22, "But withal prepare me also a lodging; for I trust that through your prayers I shall be given unto you".

Paul fully expected to be released and this expectation was fully justified by the treatment which he had always received at the hands of Roman officials. It should be remembered that Nero's persecution of the Christians had not yet begun; that it was a sudden outbreak, preceded by no official ill treatment of them and that in the view of Roman law, the Christians were as yet only a sect of the Jews, whose liberty to maintain their religion was fully recognized. It is, therefore, altogether probable that, when Paul's case came before the imperial tribunal, he was acquitted of any crime of which Roman law could take cognizance. No doubt also the report

of Festus was a favorable one (Acts 26,31- 'And when they were gone aside, they talked between themselves, saying, This man doeth nothing worthy of death or of bonds'.) nor do the Jews appear to have sent any accusers to Rome to appear against him (Acts 28,21- 'And they said unto him, We neither received letters out of Judaea concerning thee, neither any of the brethren that came shewed or spake any harm of thee'.) 10

The Statement of Clement is very important in solving this disputed question:

The most important portion of it is supplied by Clement, the disciple of St. Paul, mentioned in Phil. 4,3, who was afterwards Bishop of Rome. This author, writing from Rome to Corinth, expressly asserts that Paul had preached the Gospel 'in the east and in the west, that he had instructed the whole world (Roman Empire, which was commonly so called) in righteousness, and that he had gone to the extremity of the west before his martyrdom'. Now, in a Roman author, the extremity of the West could mean nothing short of Spain, and the expression is often used by Roman writers to denote Spain. Here then, we have the express testimony of St. Paul's own disciple that he fulfilled his original intention ('Whensoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you; for I trust to see you in my journey, and to be brought on my way thitherward by you, if first I be somewhat filled with your company. But now I go unto Jerusalem, to minister unto the saints. For it hath pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia to make a certain contribution for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem. It hath pleased them verily; and their debtors they are. For if the Gentiles have been made partakers of their spiritual things, their duty is also to minister unto them in carnal things. When therefore I have performed this, and

10. Ibid.

have sealed to them this fruit, I will come by you into Spain'. Rom. 15,24-28) of visiting the Spanish peninsula; and consequently that he was liberated from his first imprisonment at Rome. ¹¹ (Clem. Rom. 1, Chap. 4)

Of importance, too, is the report of Eusebius which reads:

after defending himself successfully it is currently reported that the Apostle again went forth to proclaim the Gospel, and afterwards came to Rome a second time, and was martyred under Nero. ¹² (Hist. Eccl. 11,22)

Then turning to the statement of Chrysostom, who died in 407 A.D., we learn that Paul went to Spain after he had left Rome. (Chrysostom on 2 Tim. 4,20) This likewise points to the fact that the first Roman imprisonment ended with Paul's liberation:

About the same time St. Jerome bears the same testimony, saying that 'Paul was dismissed by Nero, that he might preach Christ's Gospel in the West'. ¹³ (Hieron. Catal. Script.)

The Muratorian Canon implies his acquittal when it states that Paul went directly to Spain. This Canon was compiled by an unknown Christian about the year A.D. 170.

Furthermore, we believe that Paul himself asserts he was freed; we read in 2 Tim. 4,16, "At my first answer no man stood with me, but all men forsook me; I pray God that it may not be laid to their charge". This seems to refer to Paul's trial in

11. Conybeare and Howson, op. cit., p. 439

12. Conybeare and Howson, op. cit., p. 438

13. Ibid.

Rome and if it does not, it definitely states his acquittal. Would one not think if Paul had been executed at the end of the two years, Luke would have made mention of this? And then finally we may mention that:

the apocryphal Acts of Peter and Acts of Paul both speak of Paul's trip to Spain. They come from about 170. ¹⁴

Surely from the evidence just given, we may become assured that Paul was given his liberty after two years in the Roman prison.

Those who doubt the liberation of St. Paul must base their arguments on a mere hypothesis:

Thus they try to account for the tradition of the Spanish journey, by the arbitrary supposition that it arose from a wish to represent St. Paul as having fulfilled his expressed intentions ('Through mighty signs and wonders, by the power of the Spirit of God; so that from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum I have fully preached the gospel of Christ'. Rom. 15,19) of visiting Spain. Or they say that it is improbable Nero would have liberated St. Paul after he had fallen under the influence of Poppaea, the Jewish proselyte. Or, lastly, they urge that if St. Paul had really been liberated, we must have had some account of his subsequent labours. The first argument needs no answer, being a mere hypothesis. The second, as to the probability of the matter, may be met by the remark that we know far too little of the circumstances, and of the motive which weighed with Nero, to judge how he would have been likely to act in the case. To the third argument we may oppose the fact, that we have no account whatever of St. Paul's labours, toils, and sufferings,

14. W. Arndt, op. cit., p. 40

during several of the most active years of his life, and only learn their existence by a casual allusion in a letter to the Corinthians (2 Cor. 11, 24, 25 - 'Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep'.). Moreover, if this argument be worth any thing, it would prove that none of the Apostles except St. Paul took any part whatever in the propagation of the Gospel after the first few years; since we have no testimony to their subsequent labours at all more definite than that which we have above quoted concerning the work of St. Paul after his liberation. ¹⁵

III

Since we are now fully convinced that Paul was freed from this first Roman Imprisonment, we may proceed to the account of his journey through Spain, Greece, Corinth, Ephesus, Macedonia, Crete, his trip back to Ephesus, then to Troas and finally his return to Rome.

We know very little of Paul's life and especially of his travels during this period, except for the few hints given to us in his letters written during this time. In Romans 15, 24, 28 Paul expresses his intention of going to Spain. We read, "Whosoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you; for I trust to see you in my journey, and to be brought on my way thitherward by you, if first I be somewhat filled with your company. When therefore I have performed this, and have sealed to them this fruit, I will come by you into Spain".

Copy 15. Conybeare and Howson, op. cit., p. 440

We feel that Paul fulfilled this intention immediately after his freedom from the imprisonment. Why we are of the opinion that he made this trip at this particular time we will show later in this paper, but at the present let us convince ourselves of the fact that he did make this journey. We are assured of a Spanish journey from the study of the writings of early scholars. We will refer first of all to the writings of Clemens Romanus in his first Epistle to the Corinthians where he writes:

Διὰ φῆλον καὶ ὁ παῦλος ὑπομονῆς
βραβεῖον ὑπέσχευ, ἐπτάκις δεσμὰ
φορέσας. φυγαδευθεῖς, λιθασθεῖς,
κῆρυς γενόμενος ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ
καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει, τὸ γενναῖον τῆς
πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἔλαβεν, δικαιο-
σύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον. καὶ
ἐπὶ τὸ τέματῆς δύσεως ἐλαῶν καὶ μαρ-
τυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡραυμένων οὕτως ἐπηλ-
δάμη τοῦ κόσμου. καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον
ἔταρεύθη, ὑπομονῆς γενόμενος με-
γίστος ὑπογραμμός. τούτοις τοῖς
ἄνδρασιν ὁσίως πολιτευσάμενοις
συνηροίσθη πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν,
ὅτινες πολλὰς αἰκίας καὶ βασάνους
διὰ φῆλον παθόντες, ὑπόδεσγ μα

ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΝ ἔγενετο ἐν ἡμῖν.

Clem. Rom. Epistl. 1, c. 5. Here the expres-

sion τὸ τέρμα τῆς Σὺς αὐτῶν has been

interpreted to mean Spain, as the "boun-

dary of the west". Thus τὰ Ἰσθμια κέιται

κατὰ τὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης τέρμα Philost.

Vit. Apoll. v. 4. See J. B. Lightfoot in
Clements Ep. p. 50. 16

The next authority in point of antiquity is an inscription found in Spain, and if genuine must have been written about A.D. 65, 66, as it is connected with the clearance of the province from the Christians under the general Neronian persecution. It runs thus: Neroni Cl. Kais. Avg. Pont. Max. ob Provinc. Latronibus et his qui novam gen. Hvm. Syperstition. Invcicab. Pvrगतam. Gru-ter, p. 238, No. 9. Here it is implied that Christians were obnoxious for their numbers in Spain in A.D. 65 or 66, and as Paul in A.D. 58 had expressed his intention of planting Christianity there, it is not an unreasonable supposition that he had carried this design into effect in A.D. 63, two or three years before the date of the monument. If Paul did not preach in Spain, who did? 17

We have also a very important testimony which is found in the Canon Muratorianus:

Pastorem vero nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe Roma Herma (for Hermas) conscripsit. Reliq. Sacrae, p. 5. The inscription regarding Paul, as corrected by Wieseler (Chronolo. Apost. p. 536) runs thus: Acta autem omnium Apostolorum sub uno libro scribta (scripta) sunt. Lucas obtime (optime) Theophilo comprindit

16. T. Lewin, Life and Epistles of Paul, Vol. 2, pp. 294-295

17. T. Lewin, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 295

(comprehendit) quia (quae) sub praesentia ejus singula gerebantur, sicuti et semote passionem Petri evidenter declarat, sed profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis (omittit). But the learned Professor has, I think, failed to catch the authors meaning, and has inserted the word 'omittit' very unnecessarily. The latter part, as given in Reliq. Sacrae, thus: sicuti et semote (for semota) passionem Petri evidenter declarat, sed (sed reposuit, Friendall) profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis. Reliq. Sacrae, iv, 4, where the whole canon will be found. The meaning is that Luke comprised in the Acts those events only which were within his own immediate knowledge (quae sub praesentia ejus singula gerebantur), and by passing over the martyrdom of Peter and the visit of Paul to Spain, Luke plainly implies - - argues the canon --- that they did not come under his personal notice. The passage, therefore, should be thus rendered: 'Luke to the most excellent Theophilus comprises all those things which were enacted under his presence; so that he manifestly declares the martyrdom of Peter and departure of Paul when setting out from the city for Spain, to be matters removed from him,' i. e. not enacted under his presence. Whatever be the true interpretation, the fact is transparent that Paul, as was then believed, had on his release sailed from Rome to Spain. 18

Epiphanius (who flourished in the first part of the fourth century) states that Peter and Paul were the first bishops there, but not permanently resident, as they had to make circuits in distant parts: ὁ μὲν γὰρ πᾶυλος καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰσπανίαν ἀφικνεῖ-

ται Πέτρος δὲ πολλὰς πόλεις τε καὶ θύρας ἐπέσκεψατο.

Epiphanius. Haeres. xxvii. 6, lib. 1. tom. 2. 19

Cyril of Jerusalem who flourished A.D. 335-386, writes: τὸν ποτὲ διωκτὴν κήρυκα καὶ

δούλον ἁγῶν ἀπειργάστο πνεῦμα Ἅγιον ἀπὸ

Ἱεροσολύμων μὲν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικῆ

πεπληρωκὸς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καθήσαντα δὲ

18. Ibid.

19. T. Lewin, op. cit., p. 296

καὶ τὴν βασιλίδαν Ῥώμης, καὶ μέχρι
ἑσπείας τὴν προθυμίαν τοῦ κηρύγματος
ἐκτείναντα. Catechesis, xvii. c. 26. 20

Chrysostom, on the contrary (who died A.D. 407), assumes that Paul, after his liberation at Rome, did reach Spain; but he adds that it was not known whether he returned thence into the eastern parts. μετὰ μὲν

τὸ γενέσθαι ἐν Ῥώμῃ εἰς τὴν ἑσπείαν ἐπῆλθεν
εἰ δὲ ἐκείθεν πάλιν εἰς ταῦτα τὰ μέρη οὐκ ἴσμεν

Comment. on 2 Tim. s. 4; Homil. 10, s. 3. But that Paul, if he went to Spain, did return to the East is evidenced by the Second Epistle to Timothy, as I have shown elsewhere (see page 291, ante). 21

Jerome (born A.D. 331, died A.D. 420) agrees that Paul visited Spain, and went thither directly after his release: Sciendum autem . . . Paulum a Nerone Dimissum, ut Evangelium Christi in Occidentis quoque partibus praedicet. Hieron. de Eccles. Script. c. 5. Paulus apostolus vocatus a Domino effusus est super faciem univversusque ad Hispanias tenderet. Hieron. on Amos, v. 8.9. 22

Theodoret also who flourished A.D. 443-450, asserts the same thing more than once:

τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπέβη καὶ εἰς τὰς ἑσπείας
ἐπέκετο καὶ ταῖς ἐν τῷ πελάγει διακειμέ-
ναις νήσοις τὴν ὑφέλειαν προσήνεγκεν.

Theodoret in Psalm cxvi. ἠνίκα τῆ
ἐφῆσαι χρυσάμενος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

Ὑπὸ τοῦ φήστου παρεπέμφθη,
ἀπολογισάμενος ὡς ἀθάωτος ἀφρίθη
καὶ τὰς ἑπανίας κατέλαθε, καὶ εἰς
ἕτερα ἔθνη σφραμῶν, τὴν τῆς διδασκαλίας
λαμπάδα προσήνευκε. Idem, Comm. in 2 Tim.

lv. 14, and again Comm. on Philipp. i. 9. 23

It seems from the quotations just given that we should be fully convinced that Paul made a journey to Spain, but even then we find the most recent writer on this subject to disagree and call the journey of Paul to Spain a hypothesis. He writes:

The hypothesis of the journey of Paul to Spain comes from the expression of his desire to go there; but this does not prove that his desire was actually fulfilled. The words of Clement of Rome from the year 96 C. E., that Paul 'preached the gospel to the uttermost bounds of the west', are only an exaggeration of which not even Eusebius knows anything. There are no signs of Pauline activities in Spain; Christianity did not penetrate to that country before the end of the second century. 24

Klausner, however, refers only to Eusebius, to no other writers. He calls the words of Clement of Rome an exaggeration. We may refute his statement with one sentence and that in a question. Do you suppose all the other writers, such as, Theodoret, Jerome, Chrysostom, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, are also exaggerating, and is the Canon Muratorianus also an exaggeration? Surely his statement carries no strong proof

23. Ibid.

24. Klausner, op. cit., p. 417

for his view. Moffat, in his 'Introduction to the New Testament' also finds no room for a Spanish visit for he states:

Thereafter he was evidently planning a mission to Spain. The Southern Mediterranean he probably passed by, as Egypt was already being evangelised, but in the Western Mediterranean he hoped to break fresh ground, and en route to Spain he arranged to pay a long-deferred visit to the church at Rome. Meantime, he had to discharge his duty to the church at Jerusalem, by handing over the proceeds of the collection made by the Christians of Macedonia and Achaia on behalf of the poor saints in the Jewish capital. The untoward result of his visit is well known. He left Jerusalem a prisoner, was confined for two years at Caesarea, and finally reached Rome in custody. So far as we can see, he did not regain his freedom. The projected tour to Spain had to be abandoned, and he never revisited Asia Minor. 25

Naturally, one who holds to one imprisonment, as also Klausner does, can find no room for a Spanish visit. The fact that Paul gained his freedom was answered in the first part of this paper. These men stand much alone on their 'no Spanish journey' theory, because nearly all scholars, early and modern, hold that Paul made a journey to Spain. The early scholars have already been mentioned; the modern include such men and writings as the Catholic Encyclopedia,²⁶ Conybeare and Howson,²⁷ Hastings in his Bible Dictionary,²⁸ Robinson,²⁹

25. J. Moffat, op. cit., p. 61

26. Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. XI, p. 572, s.v. Paul

27. Conybeare and Howson, op. cit., p. 446ff.

28. Hastings, Dictionary of the Bible, p. 421, s.v. Paul

29. B. W. Robinson, The Life of Paul, pp. 214-215

Harnack,³⁰ Rivington,³¹ Stalker,³² and numerous others.

The question now arises: Where shall we place this Spanish visit in the itinerary of Paul? There is much debate regarding this question and very few scholars, if any, agree on the entire itinerary of Paul during this part of his life. We hold that Paul made this journey immediately after his freedom and for the following reasons: 1) Paul had made the promise long before that he would go to Spain and it is well to assume that he kept this promise and went there as soon as he gained his freedom; 2) a later Spanish journey does not fit as well as an early Spanish visit in an itinerary of Paul's journey during this part of his life.

We, therefore, hold that Paul went to Spain immediately after he gained his freedom. What Paul did in Spain is a total mystery to us. Nothing is told us of his work there, nor at which port he landed or what cities he evangelized. We can be reasonably assured that he did not remain here long, perhaps from 61-62. We may assume that he did the same work here as he did in other cities which he visited. He met with wonderful success in the East and we can therefore imagine that he also met with marvelous success in the far West. He evidently preached Jesus and Him crucified wherever and whenever possible, and founded as many churches as possible.

30. A. Harnack, The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries, Vol. 1, p. 76

31. F. Rivington, Life and Writings of St. Paul, p. 303

32. James Stalker, Life of St. Paul, p. 163

The question now arises, Did Paul make a trip to Britain while in Spain? No evidence for such a visit is given anywhere and time does not allow such a visit. Again we may refer to the writings of the early scholars.

Theodoret indeed writes in a rhetorical way that οἱ δὲ ἡμετέροι ἄλιεῖς καὶ οἱ τελευταὶ καὶ ὁ σκοτοτόμος Βρετανῶν, καὶ Κίμβρους καὶ Γερμανῶν... δέξασθαι τοῦ σταυρωθέντος τοὺς νόμους ἀνέπεισαν.

Theod. Disputatio, ix. De Legibus ad init. But he evidently is describing the labours not exclusively of the twelve Apostles and Paul, but of the earliest missionaries generally. ³³

In another passage Theodoret is thought to be more precise, for he writes that Paul visited the islands in the sea εἰς τὰς

ἑστανίας ἀφίκετο καὶ ταῖς ἐν τῷ πελάγει διακειμέναις νήσοις τὴν ὑφέλειαν προσήνεγκεν Theodor. in Psalm cxvi;

and this has been commonly interpreted to mean that he passed into Britain; but the words ἐν τῷ πελάγει refer only to the

islands in the Mediterranean sea . . . as Cyprus, Crete, Malta, and perhaps Corsica and Sardinia . . . and not to the islands in the ocean. Theodoret certainly did not suppose Paul to have preached in Britain, for he tells us that on his liberation from his first imprisonment he sailed to Spain, and returned from Spain to Rome, and then and there suffered martyrdom

Σὺν ἔτη τὸ πρῶτον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ

διήνευκε καθ' ἑαυτὸν οἰκῶν ἐν
τῷ ἰδίῳ μισθώματι ἐκεῖθεν
δὲ εἰς τὰς ἑπταῖας ἀπελθὼν καὶ
τὸ θεῖον κῆκεῖνοις προσενέγκων εὐαγγέλιον
ἑπανάλαθε καὶ τότε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτυπθη

Theod. Comm. on Philipp. 1. 25. 34

The first express mention of Paul's supposed visit to Britain is ascribed to Venantius Fortunatus, but who lived 600 years after the Apostolic age. Not only so, but when the whole passage is considered, it seems at least doubtful whether the poet means that Paul himself, or that only his writings had penetrated as far as Britain, for the lines are as follows:

'Quid sacer ille simul Paulus, tuba gentibus ampla,
 Per mare per terras Christi praeconia fundens,
 Europam atque Asiam, Lybyan, sae, dogmate complens,
 Et qua sol radiis tendit, stylus ille currit,
 Arctos, Meridies, hinc plenus Vesper et Ortus.
 Transit et oceanum vel qua facit insula portum,
 Quasque Britannus habet terras atque ultima Thule'. 35

There can be no doubt, however, that Christianity was planted in Britain in the very earliest period. Thus Tertullian (born, A.D. 160) died, A.D. 240) speaks of Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christiano vero subdita. Tertull. adv. Judaeos, c. 7. And Eusebius goes so far as to say that some of the Apostles passed into Britain; for, arguing that the Evangelists must have been divinely supported, from the great success of their labours, though

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

they were illiterate men, he records that they penetrated into Persia and Armenia and Parthia and Scythia, and others even to Britain. ΤΙΝΑΣ Δὲ ἦσαν καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτὰ

τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐλθεῖν τὰ ἄκρα ἐπὶ τε

τὴν Ἰνδῶν φθάσαι γῶραν καὶ ἑτέρας

ὑπὲρ τὸν ὠκεανὸν παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς κάλου-

μὲντας βρετανικὰς νήσους. Euseb. Demonst.

Evang. iii. 5. But his argument does not require, and his meaning must not be taken to be, that any of the twelve Apostles or Paul had passed over into Britain, but only some of the earliest missionaries who were in no higher station of life than the twelve Apostles. ³⁶

Regarding a journey to Britain by Paul we will say no more, for nearly all of the early and also modern scholars are well agreed that such a journey could not have been made by the Apostle Paul.

It seems very logical that Paul went back to Rome from Spain, however with no intentions of staying long, because he now had his visit to the east on mind. He perhaps visited the churches here for a short time and then continued on his journey, visiting churches on the way and finally arriving in Corinth. Here he also remained for a short space of time, visiting the Christians and the churches which he had founded here. He then left for Ephesus intending to remain there for some time. But, after arriving in Ephesus and being there for a short time, he received, as we assume, a call from Macedonia

36. T. Lewin, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 297

and he was therefore forced to leave Timothy and journey northward. We base this assumption of ours on the passage found in 1 Timothy 1, 3 where we read, "As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine".

When he arrived in Macedonia, he found that his absence might possibly be prolonged beyond what he had expected; and he probably felt that Timotheus might need some more explicit credentials from himself than a mere verbal commission, to enable him for a longer period to exercise that Apostolic authority over the Ephesian Church, where-with he had invested him. It would also be desirable that Timotheus should be able, in his struggle with the heretical teachers, to exhibit documentary proof of St. Paul's agreement with himself, and condemnation of the opposing doctrines. ³⁷

After the salutation (1: 1-2), he gives instruction concerning the false teachers (1: 3-20) and concerning public worship and the officers of the church (2: 1-4:11). This is followed by exhortations concerning his position and relation to various classes (4: 12-6: 2), closing with the warnings concerning the dangerous elements in the church (6: 3-21). The epistle is not merely personal, but also official to Timothy as the apostle's representative. The personal references are incidental to the main purpose of the letter which is occupied with the regulation of the internal life and organization of the church. In the earlier epistles attention is given to doctrinal matters, but here to church government and regulation. The great theme is the application of the gospel to outward conduct. ³⁸

There is no doubt that Paul spent a good deal of time with his

37. Conybeare and Howson, *op. cit.*, p. 148

38. J. T. Mueller, Concordia New Testament with Notes, pp. 595-596

favorite congregation in Philippi.

After some time we find Titus and Paul in Crete. How they made this journey we do not know. Perhaps by land, as far as possible, which gave them opportunity to again visit Corinth and see how things were progressing there, and then journeyed on to Crete. It is hard to believe that the Cretan church was first founded on this journey, because indications in Titus (Epistle) show that the church had existed for some time.

Moreover, you will remember, at the day of Pentecost, Cretans are spoken of among the number of those who received the gift of tongues, and heard Peter preach the gospel. It is not unlikely that some of these may have carried the glad tidings from Jerusalem to their own island. ³⁹

Paul was not able to remain long on this island and therefore entrusted Titus to remain and carry on the work for the Lord. Paul journeyed on to Ephesus for his last visit with Timothy, before journeying west, and intended trip to Nicopolis.

Thus, Titus was left at Crete in the same position which Timotheus had occupied at Ephesus during St. Paul's recent absence; and there would, consequently, be the same advantage in his receiving written directions from St. Paul concerning the government and organization of the Church, which we have before mentioned in the case of Timotheus. Accordingly, shortly after leaving Crete, St. Paul sent a letter to Titus, the outline of which would equally serve for that of the former epistle. But St. Paul's letter to Titus seems to have been still further called for, to

39. Anon., Footsteps of Paul, p. 404

meet some strong opposition which that disciple has encountered while attempting to carry out his master's directions. This may be inferred from the very severe remarks against the Cretans which occur in the Epistle, and from the statement, at its commencement, that the very object which its writer had in view, in leaving Titus in Crete, was that he might appoint Presbyters in the Cretan Churches; an indication that his claim to exercise this authority had been disputed. This Epistle seems to have been dispatched from Ephesus at the moment when St. Paul was on the eve of departure on a westward journey, which was to take him as far as Nicopolis (in Epirus) before the winter. ⁴⁰

We may also briefly add the summary given by Dr. Fuerbringer:

Paul in this letter gives instruction to Titus how he is to perform his office in Crete, especially what men he is to appoint to office, how to further godly habits of life, how to proclaim pure doctrine, how to convince false teachers, and how to present himself an example in all things. This letter, probably the first of this group, contains a short summary of Paul's pastoral theology which Paul then more fully develops in the two epistles to Timothy. Since however Paul also wrote this letter as he was moved by the Holy Ghost, we have a divinely authorized pastoral theology given to the Church and its ministers for all time. ⁴¹

It has been said by some that these Epistles of Paul lack the original vigour and energy which much of his early writings displayed. This is something we can well expect. He underwent many physical hardships, his health had broken years before and the moral conflicts which he encountered would naturally lead to the tiring of one's spirit. He was hated by

40. Conybeare and Howson, *op. cit.*, p. 461

41. L. Fuerbringer, *Notes on Titus*, p. 1

many, he lost friends, his associates deserted him, the anxieties which pressed upon -- all lead to the tiring of the spirit of Paul. All in all this statement regarding the lack of energy on the part of Paul should never be debated and why? Because the words which Paul writes are the words of the Lord, he was the penman of God and furthermore, do these later writings of Paul actually show a lack of vigour and energy, can we truthfully make that statement?

After remaining a short time in Ephesus, completing his visit with Timothy and the remaining Christians, Paul continued and intended to spend the winter in Nicopolis. Paul, however, reached Troas and here he visited for a time, preaching in the churches and regions about. Most likely it was also here that Paul was arrested and rushed to Rome immediately, in fact, in such a hurry that he could not return to his boarding place in order to take care of his personal belongings, cloak and papers. It was also because of his arrest that he was not able to complete his intended visit to Nicopolis.

We are also left in the dark as to what journey Paul took, as a captive, from his arrest in Troas to Rome. In 2 Tim. 4,20 we read, "Erastus abode at Corinth but Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick". We feel that this passage throws some light on the journey of Paul after his arrest. If Erastus would have stayed at Corinth in one of Paul's earlier journeys, Paul then could have told Timothy this news face to face. Therefore this incident took place after Paul had left Timothy. Since Paul

was arrested in Troas, immediately after visiting Timothy in Ephesus, this passage therefore can be placed only in the journey when Paul was a prisoner. Travel from Troas by sea to Miletus, Corinth, around the boot of Italy to Rome was great, due to commerce. It was therefore better to take a boat to Miletus, which we assume Paul and his captors did, than to travel by land. Undoubtedly Erastus and Trophimus were travelling with Paul. It was ^{Trophimus} Erastus who took sick and was left at Miletus. The captors of Paul were not interested in Erastus and Trophimus and evidently they were at ease on this journey. ^{Erastus} Trophimus stayed in Corinth after their ship arrived there and Paul was then alone with his captors. After leaving Corinth, Paul and his captors continued their journey by sea around the boot of Italy and up the western coast of Italy to Rome.

We find a varied opinion regarding this portion of Paul's life, especially regarding his journeys. As we stated previously, very few, if any, scholars agree in regard to how and where Paul travelled. Nearly all of the scholars agree that Paul visited the places and cities we mentioned in this paper, but the sequence of the journey is not held by all. The writers of the Catholic Encyclopedia agree with us in very many of the details of this journey. They also hold that Paul went to Spain first and also that Paul was arrested in Troas. The sequence of their journey differs somewhat from our view. 42

42. Catholic Encyclopedia, loc. cit.,

Conybeare and Howson seem to think that Paul went first to Macedonia and the east, then to Spain and back to Ephesus. ⁴³
 Robinson agrees with us regarding the journey to Spain, but also the sequence of his journey does not agree with ours. ⁴⁴
 In his Bible Dictionary, Hastings also agrees with us in every detail, however he finds place for a visit to Nicopolis. ⁴⁵
 Although Harnack rejects the Epistles as a whole, agrees that the accounts of Paul's journeys in these Epistles are genuine. ⁴⁶
 If we continue to check into the journeys assumed by other writers and critics, we find that none of them agree in every detail. This is possible, for the entire journey is merely a conjecture and one must so arrange it as seems best and most logical to him. And now as we leave this section of Paul's life, we enter into the closing and sad days of his life in Rome, where he was taken after his arrest in Troas.

IV

In this section of the paper we shall submit a brief account of what is known on the apostle's final days in Rome and his death. Paul evidently noticed a change in the outward aspect of the city as he entered it for the last time.

Whole streets and buildings had been swept away and restored, and new palaces were looking down from the heights of the Palatine. Among these new buildings, conspicuous must have been the golden palace of Nero, with his statue in the vestibule,

43. Conybeare and Howson, op. cit., pp. 446-448

44. B. W. Robinson, loc. cit.

45. Hastings, loc. cit.

46. A. Harnack, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 73-78

120 feet in height, the golden stalls for his chariot horses, and the porticoes and columns extending a mile in length. 'It was richly overlaid', says Suetonius, 'with gold, and everywhere adorned with the dazzling glitter of precious stones, and mother-of-pearl. In the vaulted roofs of his banqueting rooms were several little tables of ivory, so contrived as to turn round and scatter flowers, and hollow pipes to shower down sweet-scented oils upon the guests. His principal dining-room was round, and in perpetual motion, day and night, like the celestial sphere. His baths continually flowing, either with sea-water, or else fed from the sulphurous springs of Tivoli.' But why, after all, linger in the description of these? They were little to the man who, we are supposing, was passing near them, and who had in his view a 'building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens'.⁴⁷

Paul was evidently led by his captors to the Mamertine prison, which is still held to have been the scene of his incarceration.

It is considered the oldest relic and building in the city, deriving its name from Ancus Martius, the fourth king of ancient Rome.⁴⁸

We are told that one may reach these cells today by a vault under the Church of St. Giuseppe. There are only two cells, one of which is merely six and one-half feet in depth, with an opening only at the top. These cells are very damp and cold and it is no wonder that Paul had asked for his cloak which he had left at Troas. Paul was kept securely in this

47. Anon. op.cit., p. 406

48. Anon. op.cit., p. 407

prison and was not permitted to preach the Gospel, as he had done during his first imprisonment. Friends were given the privilege of seeing Paul, but they undoubtedly did so with fear and trembling, because their actions could have involved them in the fate which was hanging over Paul.

After Paul's arrival probably no long time elapsed before his case came on for hearing. He was led to one of those spacious halls or basilicas in the Forum where the trial would take place.

The Tribune for the judge was on an elevated platform within the apse, and just in front of the tribune was an image of the god at whose altar the witnesses were sworn. Under the tribunal was a vault or cell, in which the prisoners were temporarily confined before being brought into court. Right and left of the judicial chair were the benches, on a lower level, on which sat the assessors or jurors; and in front of the Tribune were placed the prosecutor and the prisoner, and the advocates of the two parties and others interested in the trial, the prosecutor and his friends standing on one side and the accused and his supporters on the other. 49

The jury was selected in much the same manner as we do it today. A list was kept with the names of all those capable of serving, and when a trial was held the jury was selected from this group, evidently by lot. We are told that the prisoner had the right to bring objections regarding the jurors and if the objections were well-founded another juror would be chosen. The jurors one by one lay their hand on the adjoining altar before the tribune and in an audible voice swear that they will pronounce a righteous decision.

The pleadings were then opened by the accuser or his counsel, who first stated the case for the prosecution, and then examined his witnesses, whom the prisoner had the right of cross-examining. The crier of the court then proclaimed 'Dixit', or Spoken, when the accused or his counsel began the defence, first suggesting the points, and then proving them by the evidence. Both sides having concluded, the crier proclaimed 'Dixerunt', or Both Spoken, when the jurors deliberated, and wrote each his verdict on a tablet, A. for Absolvo or an acquittal, and C. for Condemno or guilty, and N.L. for Non Liqueat or Not proven, and the judge announced the result according to the majority. Such were the general features of a Roman trial, and such or similar must have been the proceedings in the case of Paul.⁵⁰

It was before such a court that Paul appeared and if Nero presided, we can well imagine what must have been the scene. In the following we submit a description of the proceedings as given by scholars who believe Paul was executed in 67 or 68. Nero entered clothed for this occasion in his imperial purple, preceded by twelve lictors with the fasces, and was attended by a numerous guard. Nero took his seat on the tribunal and the jurors on the subsellia, or in other words the lower benches. Paul was then brought in and a hum could be heard from the large crowd, but you would be unable to tell how many were for or against the accused. A large number of people had come from all corners, perhaps including citizens from Ephesus and other cities in which Paul was well known.

Alexander the coppersmith who had come with

50. T. Lewin, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 399

his witnesses to prosecute the indictment, and who had bestowed the greatest pains in preparing the case, was now a most vindictive prosecutor, while Paul, in his utmost need, was deserted. He had no advocate to argue his cause, and he was not supported by those whose presence was indispensable. 51

One would expect some of Paul's many friends to have arisen and spoken in his defense, but they all became panic-stricken and did not wish to associate themselves with Paul for fear of receiving the same fate which Paul would receive. In 2 Timothy 1, 15 we read Paul's own words, "This thou knowest, that all they which are in Asia be turned away from me; of whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes".

His earthy friends had deserted him, but his Heavenly Friend stood by him. He was strengthened by the power of Christ's Spirit, and pleaded the cause not of himself only, but of the Gospel. He spoke of Jesus, of His death and of His resurrection, so that all the Heathen multitude might hear. 52

He also defended himself against the charge of propagating a new and illicit religion, defended himself so successfully that he was released from trial to prison to await the next trial which would soon follow. Paul knew he had defended himself successfully, but he also knew that the next trial would bring conviction.

We have a letter written from his dungeon, the last he ever wrote, the Second Epistle to Timothy, which affords us a glimpse of unspeakable pathos into the circumstances of the prisoner, He tells us that one part

51. T. Lewin, op. cit., Vol, 3, p. 380

52. Conybeare and Howson, op. cit., p. 472

of his trial is already over. Not a friend stood by him as he faced the bloodthirsty tyrant who sat on the judgment-seat. But the Lord stood by him and enabled him to make the emperor and the spectators in the crowded basilica hear the sound of the gospel. The charge against him had broken down. But he had no hope of escape. Other stages of the trial had yet to come, and he knew that evidence to condemn him would either be discovered or manufactured. 53

It was while he was awaiting the second stage of his trial that he wrote the second Epistle to Timothy. Timothy was at this time in Ephesus doing the work which Paul had assigned to him.

But Timotheus was far distant, in Asia Minor, exercising apparently the same function with which he had before been temporarily invested. Thither then he wrote to him, desiring him to come with all speed to Rome, yet feeling how uncertain it was whether he might not arrive too late. He was haunted also by another fear, far more distressing. Either from his experience of the desertion of other friends, or from some signs of timidity which Timotheus himself had shown, he doubted whether he might not shrink from the perils which would surround him in the city of Nero. He therefore urges on him very emphatically the duty of boldness in Christ's cause, of steadfastness under persecution, and of taking his share in the sufferings of the saints. And lest he should be prevented from giving him his last instructions face to face, he impresses on him, with the earnestness of a dying man, the various duties of his Ecclesiastical office, and especially that of opposing the heresies which now threatened to destroy the very essence of Christianity. But no summary of its contents can give any notion of the pathetic tenderness and deep solemnity of this Epistle. 54

53. James Stalker, op. cit., pp. 141-142

54. Conybeare and Howson, op. cit., p. 473

Paul also asked Timothy

to bring a cloak he had left at Troas, to defend him from the damp of the cell and the cold of the winter. He asks for his books and parchments, that he may relieve the tedium of his solitary hours with the studies he had always loved. ⁵⁵

It is very doubtful whether Timothy was able to fulfill the requests which Paul asked him. It could not have been very long after the writing of this Epistle that Paul was again rushed to trial and condemned very hastily. The trial probably was very brief and in that case Timothy did not have enough time to reach his friend Paul before he died.

Paul was, however, not left alone during these days. He tells us in this Epistle that Luke was with him, his other friends had left him, perhaps before he even arrived in Rome. In 2 Tim. 4, 10-11 we read, "For Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world, and is departed unto Thessalonica; Crescens to Galatia, Titus unto Dalmatia. Only Luke is with me. Take Mark, and bring him with thee; for he is profitable to me for the ministry". One friend from Asia did not forsake him, namely Onesiphoros, a man who was not overcome by the fear of danger or of shame. "The Lord give mercy unto the house of Onesiphorus; for he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain". (2 Tim. 1, 16) A number of other friends were also there with him, Eubulus, Pudens, Linus and Claudia.

Among these was Linus, afterwards a bishop

55. James Stalker, op. cit., p. 142

of the Roman Church; Pudens, the son of a senator; and Claudia, his bride, the daughter of a British king. But, however, he may have valued these more recent friends, their society could not console him for the absence of one far dearer to him; he longed with a paternal longing to see once more the face of Timotheus, his beloved son. 56

The view taken in this paper is that the execution of Paul occurred in connection with the first great persecution of Christians in Rome. On the night of the 19th of July, A.D. 64 a terrible fire broke out in the Circus Maximus of Rome, between the Palatine and Aventine Mount.

For six days and seven nights it rolled in streams of resistless flame over the greater part of the city, licking up the palaces and temples of the gods which covered the low hills, and raging through whole streets of the wretched wooded tenements in which dwelt myriads of the poorer inhabitants who crowded the lower regions of Rome. When its course had been checked by the voluntary destruction of a vast mass of buildings which lay in its path, it broke out a second time, and raged for three days longer in the less crowded quarters of the city, where its spread was even more fatal to public buildings and the ancient shrines of the gods. Never since the Gauls burnt Rome had so deadly a calamity fallen on the afflicted city. Of its fourteen districts, four alone escaped untouched; three were completely laid in ashes; in the seven others were to be seen the wrecks of many buildings, scathed and gutted by the flames. The disaster to the city was historically irreparable. 57

The most recent writer on this subject does not believe this fire was started by Nero.

56. Conybeare and Howson, *op. cit.*, p. 474

57. F. W. Farrar, The Early Days of Christianity, Vol. 1, p. 54

The story that Nero himself started the fearful conflagration in order to enjoy the glorious spectacle of the burning of a great city is only a fable. When the fire began, Nero was at Antium, outside of Rome; and when the news of the fire reached him, he hastened to Rome and endeavored to have it extinguished, although he did not succeed readily in this. Then he began to seek those who were to blame for this frightful occurrence -- and it is natural that suspicion should fall upon the Christians, whom both Suetonius and Tacitus denounce in very bitter terms. ⁵⁸

Concerning this opinion we may quote the words of F. W. Farrar:

Whether he was really guilty or not of having ordered that immense conflagration, it is certain that he was suspected of it by his contemporaries, and has been charged with it by many historians of his country. (Tac. Ann. XV, 67 (cf. 38); Suet. Ner. 38; Dion. Cass. lxii, 16; Pliny, H.N. xvii, 1, 1, 1 followed by Orasius, Sulpicius, Severus, Eutropius, etc.) It is certain, also, that his head had been full for years of the image of flaming cities; that he used to say that Priam was to be congratulated on having seen the ruin of Troy; that he was never able to resist the fixed idea of a crime; that the year following he gave a public recitation of a poem called Troica, from the orchestra of the theatre, and that this was only the Burning of Rome under a thin disguise; and that just before his flight he meditated setting fire to Rome once more. ⁵⁹

We are told that instead of attempting the quenching of the fire, Nero's men threw burning torches upon various buildings; the attempt therefore to quench the fire was surely resisted. These reports have come down through history and confirm the suspicion that Nero indeed was to blame for the burning of Rome.

58. J. Klausner, op. cit., p. 420

59. F. W. Farrar, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 61

It was not long after the fateful fire when Nero, called the incendiary by the infuriated mob, and eager to turn the public rage against somebody else, accused the Christians of having caused the disaster. The Christians now were hunted and imprisoned. Paul already was in prison. Attention turned to him. It wasn't long after the burning of the city that the court was again assembled, but this time it was merely called to go through the formalities. As far as each juror was concerned there was no question, they already had their minds made up and their tablets contained the letter C (condemno). Nero was again presiding, again in his purple robe. This time he sat there confident, because he knew what the verdict would be. The jurors tablets were gathered, and soon the verdict would be given. A deep silence fell over the court room and the eyes of all fell on only two men, Nero and Paul. On the judgment seat sat Nero,

A man who in a bad world had attained the eminence of being the very worst and meanest being in it -- a man stained with every crime, the murderer of his own mother, of his wives and of his best benefactors; a man whose whole being was so steeped in every namable and unnamable vice that body and soul of him were, as some said at the time, nothing but a compound of mud and blood; and in the prisoners' dock stood the best man the world contained, his hair whitened with labors for the good of men and the glory of God. Such was the occupant of the seat of justice, and such the man who stood in the place of the criminal. ⁶⁰

Finally, one word rang through the hall and that word was "condemno". Paul was condemned to die.

Paul was now led out beyond to city walls to be executed, he was to die by decapitation.

It is from Tertullian of North Africa, writing a century later than Clement, that we first get the statement that Paul was beheaded. ⁶¹

Paul was executed by beheading because he was a Roman citizen. This was a privilege, because he was exempted from the lingering torture which was inflicted on so many of the Christians, such as being thrown to the lions or being covered with pitch and burned as a torch for the chariot races of Nero. We have very few particulars regarding the martyrdom of Paul, but we are informed that it was

at Aquae Salviae, or Tre Fontane, about two miles from Rome, on the Via Ostiensis. ⁶²

As he issued forth from the gate, his eyes must have rested for a moment on that sepulchral pyramid which stood beside the road, and still stands unshattered, amid the wreck of so many centuries, upon the same spot. That spot was then only the burial-place of a single Roman; it now is the burial place of many Britons. The mausoleum of Caius Cestius rises conspicuously amongst humbler graves, and marks the site where Papal Rome suffers her Protestant sojourners to bury their dead. In England and in Germany, in Scandinavia and in America, there are hearts which turn to that lofty cenotaph as the Sacred Point of their whole horizon; even as the English villager turns to the gray church

61. Henry Thatcher Fowler, The History and Literature of the New Testament, p. 254

62. T. Lewin, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 400

tower, which overlooks the grave-stones of his kindred. Among the works of man, that pyramid is the only surviving witness of the martyrdom of St. Paul; and we may thus regard it with yet deeper interest, as a monument unconsciously erected by a pagan to the memory of a martyr. Nor let us think that they who lie beneath its shadow are indeed resting (as degenerate Italians fancy) in unconsecrated ground. Rather let us say, that a spot where the disciples of Paul's faith now sleep in Christ, so near the soil once watered by his blood, is doubly hallowed; and that their resting-place is most fitly identifies with the last earthly journey and the dying glance of their own Patron Saint, the Apostle of the Gentiles. ⁶³

If Paul was executed in 64, when the persecution was on, we cannot imagine that any friends could accompany him to the place of execution. They were all in prison, facing death themselves. There may have been a group of people who considered this to be an attraction, others followed to ridicule and mock Paul. The people were marching in a procession of worthy note and they knew it not. It was not a march of death, but a triumphal march. Paul knew that his end was near and therefore he walked to his death full of joy, because he knew that he was dying for his Lord. He knew when his last breath would leave his body that his soul would be carried to the arms of his Savior. If it is true that three of the guard, Longinus, Acestor and Megistus, were converted on the way and also suffered martyrdom for the name of Christ, then we have a triumphal march that is indeed singular. They finally arrived at

63. Conybeare and Howson, op. cit., p. 486

the place of execution and after the usual preparations and preliminaries, Paul was blindfolded and executed.

It is well to note the closing remarks of Clement on the life of Paul and also those of Conybeare and Howson. Clement writes:

Through jealousy and strife Paul showed the way to the prize of endurance; seven times he was in bonds, he was exiled, he was stoned, he was a herald both in the East and in the West, he gained the noble fame of his faith, he taught righteousness to all the world, and when he had reached the limits of the West he gave his testimony before the rulers, and thus passed from the world and was taken up into the Holy Place -- the greatest example of endurance. ⁶⁴

Conybeare and Howson writes:

Thus dies the Apostle, the Prophet, and the Martyr; bequeathing to the Church, in her government and her discipline, the legacy of his Apostolic labours; leaving his Prophetic words to be her living oracles pouring forth his blood to be the seed of a thousand Martyrdoms. Thenceforth, among the glorious company of the Apostles, among the goodly fellowship for the Prophets, among the noble army of Martyrs, his name has stood pre-eminent. And wheresoever the holy Church throughout all the world doth acknowledge God, there Paul of Tarsus is revered, as the great teacher of a universal redemption and a catholic religion -- the herald of glad tidings to all mankind. ⁶⁵

And thus also we bring to a close a sorrowful and yet a most beautiful picture of the last days of a man that loved his

64. Henry Thatcher Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 254

65. Conybeare and Howson, *op. cit.*, p. 487

Lord, who daily walked in the name of the Lord and also died for the name of his Lord. May the life of the Apostle Paul be our guiding example to live daily in the Lord and, if needs be, also die for our Lord.

Before we bring this paper on the latter days of Paul to a close, we must list the dates of the more important events in the life of St. Paul. In order to give the dates of the earlier events in Paul's life, we must first agree on the year of Paul's death. The fact that Paul died in Rome and during the reign of Nero is held by all early and late writers. The early church fathers and writers do not give the exact date of Paul's death, but they do assure us of the fact that his death occurred during the reign of Nero and during his persecutions. The following quotations are all taken from Lewin who lists important statements by important writers on this subject:

Clemens Romanus, the contemporary of Paul, after noticing the death of Peter, proceeds to say of Paul that ἐπι τὸ τέλος τῆς
δύσεως ἑλθὼν καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ
τῶν ἡγουμένων, οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ
κόσμου... ταῦτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁσίως
ποδιτευσαμένοις συνήρτισαν πολὺ
πλήθος ἐκλεκτῶν, οἵτινες πολλὰς οἰκίας
καὶ βασιλείας διὰ φῆλον παθόντες, ὑπὸ
δειμῶ καλλίστον ἐγένοντο ἐν ἡμῖν.

Clem. Rom. 1 Epist. Cor. c. 5,6. The only clue to the date of the martyrdom here

contained is the fact that Paul suffered after Peter; and an allusion is made to a multitude of others who died for their faith after the greatest torments, we must infer that the deaths of both Peter and Paul were connected with the general persecution under Nero, which, commencing at Rome in A.D. 64, afterwards extended itself into the provinces and probably continued, with more or less intensity, until the death of Nero himself in A.D. 68. Caius the Presbyter, A.D. 210, records that Peter and Paul were martyrs at Rome, and that their tombs still existed. Εγὼ δὲ

τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχω
λεῖψαι. Ἐὰν γὰρ θελήσῃς ἀπελθεῖν
ἐπὶ τὸν βατικκὸν ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν
ῥωστίαν, εὐρήσεις τὰ τρόπαια τῶν
ταύτην ἰδρυσαμένων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν

Euseb. E. H. II. 25. 66

Tertullian also does not mention a date of Paul's death but only mentions that he suffered in Rome:

Orientem fidem Romae primus Nero cruentavit ... Tunc Paulus civitatis Romanae consequitur nativitatem, cum illic martyrii renascatur generositate. Scorpiac. c. 15, ubi (Romae) Paulus Joannis exitu coronatur. De Praescript Haeret. c. 36. 67

Origen likewise states that Paul was martyred during the reign of Nero at Rome and lists no date.

ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ μέχρι τοῦ
Ἰλλυρικῆς πεπληροκότος τὸ εὐαγγέλιον
τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ὕστερον ἐν τῇ
Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος μεμάρτυρηκότος

Cited by Euseb. E. H. III. 1. 68

Eusebius, in his "Chronicon", places the death of Paul

66. T. Lewin, op. cit., pp. 407-408

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

around the year 67 A.D. We will, however, show later that this date was placed too late. In the following quotation he shows that Paul suffered at Rome: ΤΟΤΕ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ

ἔπολοῦντο αὐαίς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ
κρυψάματος διακονίαν λόγος ἔχει
στεῖλασαι τὸν ἑπόστολον, δεύτερον δὲ
ἐπιβάντα τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν τελειω-
θῆναι μαρτυρίῳ, κ.τ.λ. Euseb. ii. 22. 69

Jerome also, as Eusebius, sets that date far too late.

Lactantius does not assign a year but he does show that

Paul's death occurred during the persecution:

Quumque jam Nero imperaret, Petrus Roman advenit et editis quibusdam miraculis quae virtute ipsius Dei, data sibi ab eo potestate, faciebat, convertit multos ad justitiam Deoque templum fidele ac stabile collocavit. Qua re ad Neronem delata, quum animadverteret non modo Romae sed ubique quotidie magnam multitudinem deficere a cultu idolorum, et ad religionem novam, damnata vetustate, transire, ut erat execrabilis ac nocens tyrannus, prosiluit ad excidendum coeleste templum delendamque justitiam, et primus omnium persecutus Dei servos, Petrum cruci adfixit, et Paulum interfecit. Lactant. de Mortibus Persecutorum, c. 2. 70

Epiphanius assigns the martyrdom of Paul to the twelfth year of Nero's reign:

μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀγίου πέτρου καὶ παύλου
τελευτὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει
Νέρωνος γενομένην Epiphan. Haeres ssvii.

69. Ibid.

70. T. Lewin, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 408

6; tom. 1. p. 107. 71

Chrysostom, who flourished A.D. 281-407, assumes Paul to have suffered under Nero, and gives as a reason that Paul had converted one of the Emperor's favourite domestics, and also his mistress, who had broken off her illicit intercourse with Nero in consequence; but Chrysostom furnishes no date. See Chrysost. on Second Epist. Tim. c. 1, Homil. 3. προσέκραυσε

γὰρ τότε τῷ Νέρωνι, τινὰ τῶν ἀνακειμένων
αὐτῷ οἰκειωσάμενος Chrysost. on 2 Tim.

c. 1; Homil. 3, s. 1. παιδαγῆγος γὰρ αὐτοῦ

(Neronis) ἐφόδρα ἐπέρασταν πείσας τὸν

περὶ τῆς πίστεως λέξασθαι λόγον, ἕπει-

θεν ὁμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀκαθάρτου συνουσίας

ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἐκείνης... τὸ μὲν πρῶτον

(Nero) ἔδησεν ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε τῆς

πρὸς τὴν κόρην ἀποσκέσθαι συμβουλῆς τέλος

ὑπέκτεινε Vitae Monast. Oppugn. lib. 1. s.3. 72

Sulpitius Severus evidently places the death of Paul around the year 66 A.D. since the Jewish war broke out on the 19 of April, A.D. 66:

Hoc initio in Christianos saeviri coeptum. Post etiam datis legibus religio vetabatur, palamque edictis propositis Christianum esse non licebat. Tum Paulus ac Petrus capitis damnati, quorum uni cervix gladio desecta; Petrus in crucem sublatus est. Dum haec Romae geruntur Judaei, praesidis sui Festi (lege Gessii) Flori injurias non ferentes, rebellari coeperunt, &c. Sulp.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid.

Sev. lib. ii. 73

Euthalius, who flourished A.D. 458-490, refers to the martyrdom as follows: μετε-

πειτῶ δὲ καθολικὸν ἐκίνησε διωγμὸν
κατὰ τῶν χριστιανῶν, καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ
τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπήρθη
σφαγὰς, μεταστειλάμενος γὰρ τὸν
παῦλον αὐτοῖς τῷ βήματι πα-
ραστῶ συνῆλθε δὲ πάλιν ὁ Λοῦκος
αὐτῷ ἐνθῶ δὲ συνέβη τὸν παῦλον
τριακοστῶ ἕκτῳ ἔτει τοῦ ἕωτηρίου
πάθους τρισκαίδεκάτῳ δὲ Νέρωνος
μαρτυρῆσαι φέρεται τὴν κεφαλὴν
ἀποτιμηθέντῳ Euthalius, Prolog., in Pauli

Epist. c. 3. This writer has fallen into the same mistake as Eusebius in placing the martyrdom in the thirteenth instead of the twelfth of Nero. But Euthalius had copied the very words of the Auctor Martyrii, and must therefore be deemed to have placed the event at the same time, i. e., A.D. 66. It is remarkable that Euthalius here records a fact which does not otherwise appear, but is implied in Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy -- that Paul was not arrested at Rome, but in the provinces, and thence sent to Rome.

It seems from these quotations that all the early writers agree that Paul was martyred at Rome and during the reign of Nero. We well agree with this, but regarding the date of

73. T. Lewin, op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 408-409

74. T. Lewin, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 409

Paul's death, we cannot agree. A few of the writers place the death of Paul around the year 66 A.D. and such modern writers as Conybeare and Howson and Ramsay place the death of Paul still later. Conybeare and Howson in the year 68 A.D. and Ramsay in the year 67 A.D. We, however, are of this opinion, namely, that Paul died in the year 64 or perhaps as late as 65 A.D. and for various reasons. Our strongest proof is found recorded in 2 Timothy where we are told of Paul's stay in prison. Paul could not have stayed in prison as long as told here if the letter was written after the persecution, because a Christian and leader as Paul would be shown no consideration, but would be seized and accused and immediately put to death. Furthermore, the burning of Rome was blamed on the Christians and hence Paul would be considered an accomplice and we can therefore well imagine that Paul was immediately hastened to trial, accused and then martyred. The burning of Rome was in 64 A.D. and therefore the death of Paul could not have been later than 65 A.D. Dr. Arndt adds the following proofs:

1. On account of Heb. 13,7 it is thought that Hebrews was written after the death of Paul. But Hebrews was written before the destruction of Jerusalem. While this is not conclusive evidence for the early date, it seems to agree better with it.
2. Clement of Rome, in his Epistle to the Corinthians leads us to believe that Paul died in the persecution which was started against the Christians.
3. The Neronian persecution was a sporadic outburst of short duration.
4. Paul in the Pastoral Epistles does not mention the Neronian

persecution. The explanation seems to be that he wrote the Pastoral Epistles before. 75

Hastings also agrees with the early date:

But the date of the apostle's martyrdom, if it fell in the Neronian persecution properly so called, can hardly have been far removed from the great fire of Rome in July A.D. 64, since Tacitus says expressly that it was to provide scape-goats to bear his own responsibility for the arson that Nero first devised an attack on the Church. 76

Robinson states:

In regard to the place and approximate date of the apostle's death there is, however, no real question. That he died in Rome and during the reign of Nero, probably not long after 61 A.D., we may regard as practically certain. Clement of Rome and Caius of Rome both speak of his martyrdom there. Both Origen and Eusebius place his death at Rome and under Nero. 77

Finally Harnack states:

When he was beheaded in the summer of 64 A.D., he had fully discharged his obligations to the peoples of the world. 78

Although the date for Paul's death is conjectural, we have reason to believe that an early date is preferable. Figuring back from this date we come to the conclusion that Paul must have been in Crete in the spring or summer of 63 and that he had begun his journey to Spain early in the year 61 A.D.

We have now brought to a close our study on---"Paul's

75. W. Arndt, op. cit., p. 47

76. Hastings, loc. cit.

77. B. W. Robinson, op. cit., p. 215

78. A. Harnack, op. cit., p. 77

Activity After His First Roman Imprisonment". In taking up this study we have learned that very few known facts are available of Paul's life during this period. However, with these few known facts as our basis, we have written what we assume to be the most logical and reasonable account of the last four years of his life. Never will we know for a certainty the true and detailed account of Paul's latter days, but what we do know will leave a lasting impression on our minds. It is not only from his Epistles that we have proof for our theme -- Paul was freed from his first Roman Imprisonment and continued his journey throughout the east and west until his recapture and return to Rome where he spent his remaining days and was martyred --, but also from his Epistles we are assured that the man whom we have studied is a God-fearing man and the loyal messenger and missionary of Jesus Christ. No matter where he was or what he was doing, we see him portray his true love for his Savior. We have no reason to doubt that Paul showed this love to God until his final end. We owe much to the Apostle Paul, for it was he who not only preached to great numbers of Jews, but was among the first to preach among the Gentiles. He truly was a founder of the Christian church and promoted the spread of Christianity among many peoples. How thankful we are for having "The Book", namely, the Bible, in which are found the words of the inspired writer whom we have studied. Indeed he is one of the chief "penmen of God". In reviewing the life and writings of Paul we cannot help but see

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