

The Life of the Apostle Luke

Including Most of the Seventy Apostles

And Including Key Excerpts from John Chrysostom's Commentary on Paul's Epistles

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Distinguishing Characteristics about the City of Antioch

The city of Antioch acquired a special dignity due to the extended presence of Peter, Paul, Barnabas and others. This was the cradle of Christianity, which is why believers were first called “Christians” there.

John Chrysostom stated¹ that the city of Antioch was very distinguished for three reasons: (1) Believers were first called Christians there. (2) Even while they were expecting a famine, they gave generously instead of hoarding for their own sustenance. (3) When the Jewish believers tried to lay Judaism on them, they didn’t bear this in silence, but sent Barnabas and Paul to Jerusalem to resolve the issue.

“Do you wish to learn the dignity and ancestry of the city of Antioch? I will tell it exactly; not only that you may know, but that you may also emulate it. ‘It came to pass, that the disciples were first called Christians at Antioch’ (Acts 11:26). This dignity, none of the cities throughout the world possesses, not even the city of Rome herself! On account of that love toward Christ, that boldness and virtue, Antioch can look the whole world in the face.”

“Do you wish farther to hear of a different dignity and commendation belonging to the city of Antioch? A really bad famine was approaching (Acts 11:28-30), and the inhabitants of Antioch determined, as far as each person had the means, to send relief to the Saints dwelling at Jerusalem. Notice this; charity in a time of famine! The times did not make them stingy; the expectation of the calamity did not make them backward in helping. When everyone is apt to be storing up what is not their own, then they distributed their own, not merely to those who were near, but also to those who were living afar off! Do you see here the faith towards God, and the love towards their neighbor?”

“Another dignity of the city of Antioch was displayed when certain men came down from Judaea to Antioch, defiling the doctrine preached, and introducing Jewish observances. The men of Antioch did not bear this novelty in silence. They came together, sent Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, and caused the Apostles to provide pure doctrines, cleared from all Jewish imperfection, distributed throughout all parts of the world! This is the dignity of Antioch! This is its precedence! This makes it a metropolis, not on earth, but in heaven. All other honors are corruptible, fleeting, perish with the present life, and often come to their end before the close of it! To me, a city that doesn’t have pious citizens is inferior to any village, and less noble than any cave.”

Barnabas and Paul Take Their 1st Missionary Journey

“When Barnabas and Paul returned from Jerusalem when they had fulfilled *their* ministry of delivering the alms, they also took with them John whose surname was Mark” (Acts 12:25). Thus, they brought John Mark to Antioch, who was to begin accompanying them on their missionary journey. John Mark had been one of the original Seventy, along with Mark the Evangelist (who wrote the Gospel of Mark) and Mark the cousin of Barnabas².

¹ John Chrysostom, Homilies on the Statues, XVII, 10.

² See Appendix A for a summary of the lives of these three men named Mark

Barnabas and Paul's First Missionary Journey lasted from about 46 AD to 48 AD. We note that the Apostle Peter is not mentioned as being in Antioch when they started (Acts 13:1-3), but he had been there earlier. Herod Agrippa had tried to kill Peter to please the Jews in 44 AD, after he had killed James the son of Zebedee (Acts 12:1-3). Peter escaped, took the Evangelist Mark with him, and headed first to Caesarea (Acts 12:19) then to Antioch of Syria.

After staying in Antioch for a short time, Peter left for Rome with the Evangelist Mark in late 44 AD or early 45 AD. At this time, the people of Rome asked the Evangelist Mark to write down the things that Peter was preaching so that they could read it over and over. Mark did this, drafting what we now know as his Gospel. Peter read what Mark wrote, and asked that this be read regularly in the Churches. Thus, the Gospel Readings in the Churches began according to a set schedule – now called the Orthodox Lectionary. In 45 AD, Peter also sent the Evangelist Mark³ to Alexandria to start the Church there.

During the time that Peter was in Antioch, Paul was there also, and the two became good friends for the rest of their lives. This was probably the time that Paul referred to when he criticized Peter for eating with the Jews only and not as he had done before the Jews arrived from Jerusalem (Galatians 2:11-13). Even Barnabas got carried away with what Peter did. More on this later!

After Peter left Antioch, “Now in the church that was at Antioch there were certain prophets and teachers: Barnabas, Simeon who was called Niger, Lucius of Cyrene, Manaen who had been brought up with Herod the tetrarch, and Paul. As they ministered⁴ to the Lord and fasted, the Holy Spirit said, ‘Now separate to Me Barnabas and Paul for the work to which I have called them’. Then, having fasted and prayed and laid hands on them, they sent *them* away (Acts 13:1-3). We might emphasize that this is the work of the Holy Spirit.

Thus, as Paul's first journey starts, Barnabas, Paul and John Mark (of the Seventy) are traveling together while Rufus and Luke (also of the Seventy) are in Antioch. Not mentioned in Luke's account in Acts, the Apostle Titus of the Seventy was also traveling⁵ with Barnabas and Paul on this 1st Missionary Journey. This makes sense, since later Paul wrote that Titus went up to Jerusalem with he and Barnabas as another witness to the events of the 1st Missionary Journey; but the Apostles did not compel Titus to be circumcised (Galatians 2:3). If Titus had not accompanied Barnabas and Paul, there would have been no point of him going up to Jerusalem and risking offense from the brothers there.

In Figure 2 the route of Barnabas' and Paul's 1st Missionary Journey is shown. The numbers in red show the order of places visited. Not shown is the return trip back to Antioch where they retraced their steps, ordaining elders in each of the Churches that they had established.

³ For more details about the Evangelist Mark's work in Egypt, see Mark Kern, [The Feast Day of the Evangelist Mark](#), April 25th, at the web site <http://www.stathanasius.org/>. The work of the Evangelist Mark was quite different than that of John Mark and Mark the cousin of Barnabas; they were working in different parts of the world most of their lives.

⁴ The Greek word that is translated “ministered” is *leitourgouton*, which means to perform the Liturgy in the Church. Included then in their “ministering” is both worship and preaching.

⁵ Holy Apostles Convent, [The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church](#), Holy Apostles Convent, 2009, August 25, p. 935.

Figure 2
Map of Paul's 1st Missionary Journey⁶



In Luke's account in Acts, we note that he used the third person (they) exclusively in the account of the 1st Missionary Journey. Later on, in Paul's 2nd Missionary Journey, Luke switches to the first person (we) since he was then traveling with Paul. John Mark returned to Jerusalem after they arrived in Perga (in Pamphylia, Acts 13:13), apparently shrinking back from the long and dangerous journey up the mountains from Perga to Antioch in Pisidia. Later (Acts 15:37-39), this became a sore point where Paul didn't want to take John Mark along on his 2nd Missionary Journey.

John Chrysostom noted⁷ the details that Luke mentions. Barnabas was the leader acknowledged by everyone. This makes sense since Barnabas was 20-25 years older than Paul. They were ordained to confer the authority of God to their work.

“Note that Luke still mentions Barnabas first; Paul was not yet famous, he had not yet done any miracles⁸. What does ‘ministering’ mean? Preaching! What

⁶ © Bible History Online <http://www.bible-history.com>. Other maps also available.

⁷ John Chrysostom, *Commentary on Acts*, XXVII, v. 25.

⁸ While Paul had not done any miracles yet, Barnabas had done some as one of the Seventy (Like 10:9), although Barnabas was not renowned for this as Stephen had been (Acts 6:8).

does ‘separate to Me Barnabas and Paul’ mean? For the work, for the Apostleship! See again by what persons he is ordained; by Lucius the Cyrenean and Manaen, or rather, by the Spirit. The fewer the persons, the more palpable the grace! Barnabas and Paul were ordained to the Apostleship, so as to preach with authority. Why then does Paul himself say that he is, ‘an Apostle, not from men nor through man, but through Jesus Christ and God the Father?’ (Galatians 1:1) Because it was not man that called or brought him over to Christ; that is, that he was not sent by this man, but by the Spirit. Luke thus proceeds, ‘So, being sent out by the Holy Spirit, they went down to Seleucia, and from there they sailed to Cyprus’” (Acts 13:4).

Up to this point, the only (human) teacher that Paul had had was Ananias in Damascus for a short time and Barnabas for the year they spent teaching in Antioch. Since Paul didn’t have the benefit of spending three years with Jesus, he is still learning at this point, and those of the Seventy, who had spent three years with Jesus, were especially helpful. Paul had not performed any miracles yet, but those of the Seventy, which included Barnabas, had done so at least during the time that Jesus sent them out (Luke 10:1-11), and some of them subsequently.

Chrysostom noted⁹ that there were prophets in Antioch also, and not just in Jerusalem. The Spirit saw that Barnabas and Paul were ready for this mission, and sent them out.

“If this wasn’t the Holy Spirit saying ‘Separate to Me’, what being would have dared to say this, if not of the same authority? But this is done, that they may not hide themselves together in Antioch. The Spirit saw that Barnabas and Paul had greater power, and were able to be sufficient for many. How did He speak to them? Probably by prophets (Acts 13:1); therefore, Luke says, that there were prophets in Antioch also. They were fasting and ministering, that we may learn that there was need of great sobriety. In Antioch Paul was ordained, where he preaches. Why did the Holy Spirit not say, ‘Separate for the Lord’, but, ‘For Me’? It shows that He is of one authority and power. Notice what a great thing fasting is! “So, they were sent forth by the Holy Spirit”; this shows that the Spirit did everything.”

Chrysostom also pointed out¹⁰ that Paul excelled the other Apostles chiefly in his immediate and implacable war with the Jews to overthrow the foundation of their error. His critics said that this had been entrusted to him by the Apostles, and thus by man. Yet the Apostleship was given to Barnabas and Paul by the Holy Spirit; it is only after this that Paul starts to work miracles. Barnabas had been given that already when he was called for the work of the Seventy.

“Just as Peter, Andrew, James and John did not require a second call, but immediately left their nets and all that they had, and followed Him, so Paul at his call pressed vigorously forward, waging as soon as he was baptized, an implacable war with the Jews. In this respect he chiefly excelled the other Apostles, as he says, ‘I labored more abundantly than they all’ (1 Corinthians 15:10). As he began his missionary journeys, however, he makes no such claim, but is content to be placed on a level with them. His great object was not to establish any superiority for himself, but to overthrow the foundation of the Jewish error. The not being ‘from

⁹ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, XXVII, Recapitulation.

¹⁰ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Galatians, I, vv. 1-3.

men' applies to everyone, for the Gospel's root and origin is divine; the not being 'through man' is peculiar to the Apostles; for He called them not by men's agency, but by His own."

"Why does Paul not speak of his calling rather than his apostolate, and say, 'Paul' called 'not by man?' Here lay the whole question; his critics said that the office of a teacher had been committed to him by men, namely by the Apostles, whom therefore he ought to obey. That it was not entrusted to him by men, Luke declares, 'As they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Spirit said, 'Separate to Me Barnabas and Saul' (Acts 13:2). It is clear that the power of the Son and Spirit is one, for being commissioned by the Spirit, Paul says that he was commissioned by Christ."

As Barnabas and Paul began their 1st Missionary Journey, they traveled very simply, just as Barnabas had done when he had traveled as part of the Seventy Apostles (Luke 10:1-11). That is, they traveled with no food, money bag, knapsack, and perhaps no sandals; they were entirely dependent on the kindness of those that they met along the way. In addition, both Barnabas and Paul worked at their trade to support themselves in the places that they went (1 Corinthians 9:6). Paul's trade was a tentmaker; we're not told what Barnabas' trade was.

Barnabas and Paul at the Council of Jerusalem

When the question arose whether those converted from the Gentiles should accept circumcision, Barnabas and Paul went to Jerusalem. There they were warmly received by the Apostles and elders. The preachers related "what God had wrought with them and how He had opened the door of faith to the Gentiles" (Acts 14:27).

"However certain *men* came down from Judea and taught the brethren, 'Unless you are circumcised according to the custom of Moses, you cannot be saved'. Therefore, when Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and dispute with them, they determined that Paul and Barnabas and certain others of them should go up to Jerusalem, to the Apostles and elders, about this question. So, being sent on their way by the Church, they passed through Phoenicia and Samaria, describing the conversion of the Gentiles; and they caused great joy to all the brethren. And when they had come to Jerusalem, they were received by the Church, the Apostles and the elders; and they reported all things that God had done with them. But some of the sect of the Pharisees who believed rose up, saying, 'It is necessary to circumcise them, and to command *them* to keep the Law of Moses'. Now the Apostles and elders came together to consider this matter" (Acts 15:1-6).

John Chrysostom noted¹¹ how twisted the situation was when Barnabas and Paul returned from their 1st Missionary Journey. Some thought that people couldn't be saved without circumcision, when the opposite was the case.

"The Apostles from Antioch, as being taught of God, spoke to everyone indifferently; this moved to jealousy those of the Jews who had believed. They did not merely speak of circumcision, but they said, 'You cannot even be saved'. Whereas the opposite was the case, that receiving circumcision they could not be

¹¹ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, XXXII, v. 1.

saved (Galatians 5:2-3). Note how closely the trials follow each other, from within, from without! It is well ordered too, that this happens when Paul is present, that he may answer them. ‘When therefore Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and disputation with them, they determined that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them, should go up to Jerusalem to the Apostles and elders about this question’” (Acts 15:2).

Why was the issue of circumcision so important? This goes back to the Covenant that God had made with Abraham, where God had instituted a means of identifying His people from all the other nations of the earth. God had said to Abraham,

“‘As for you, you shall keep My covenant, you and your descendants after you throughout their generations. This *is* My covenant which you shall keep, between Me and you and your descendants after you: Every male child among you shall be circumcised; and you shall be circumcised in the flesh of your foreskins, and it shall be a sign of the covenant between Me and you. He who is eight days old among you shall be circumcised, every male child in your generations, he who is born in your house or bought with money from any foreigner who is not your descendant’” (Genesis 17:9-12).

Chrysostom looked¹² carefully at Peter’s words at the Council in Jerusalem; his words were aimed more at teaching the Jewish believers to abandon the details of the Mosaic Law than to apologize for the Gentiles. The real issue is faith: the Gentiles have it; the Judaizers don’t.

“‘Everywhere Peter puts the Gentiles on a thorough equality. ‘And made no distinction between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith’ (Acts 15:9). From faith alone, they obtained the same gifts. This is also meant as a lesson to those objectors; this is able to teach them that faith only is needed, not works or circumcision. They do not say all this only by way of apology for the Gentiles, but to teach the Jewish believers also to abandon the Law. However, at present this is not said. ‘Now therefore why do you tempt God, to put a yoke on the neck of the disciples?’ (Acts 15:10) What does he mean, ‘Tempt God?’ As if He had no power to save by faith! Consequently, this bringing in the Law proceeds from a lack of faith. Then Peter shows that they themselves were not benefited by it, and he turns the whole stress of his speech against the Law, not against the Judaizers, and so cuts short their accusation: ‘which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear. But we believe that through the grace of the Lord Jesus we shall be saved, in the same manner as they’ (Acts 15:10-11). These are powerful words! The same thing that Paul says, Peter says here. ‘If Abraham was justified by works, he has *something* to boast about, but not before God’ (Romans 4:2). Do you perceive that all this is more a lesson for the Jews than an apology for the Gentiles?’”

Chrysostom also noted¹³ that the problem with those men that came down from Judea to Antioch teaching the necessity for circumcision was a lust for power¹⁴.

¹² John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, XXXII, v. 8.

¹³ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, XXXII, Recapitulation.

¹⁴ As we will see later, it is the lust for power by the political faction of the Zealots that is driving this adherence to circumcision as a way of focusing on Jewish national identity against the Romans.

“Therefore, there came down certain men laboring under this disease of the love of power, and wishing to have those of the Gentiles attached to them. Though Paul was educated in the Law, he was not thus affected. ‘Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and dispute with them’ (Acts 15:2). When Paul returned from Jerusalem, the doctrine also became more exact. For if they at Jerusalem enjoin no such thing, much more these men from Judea have no right to do so. Note that Barnabas and Paul ‘caused great joy to all the brethren as they proceeded to Jerusalem’ (Acts 15:3). Note also, as many as do not have a love of power, rejoiced in their believing (Galatians 6:12-13). It was no ambitious feeling that prompted their testimony about their 1st Missionary Journey, neither was it for display, but in justification of the preaching to the Gentiles. They said nothing of what had happened to the Jews on their 1st Missionary Journey. ‘But some of the sect of the Pharisees who believed rose up’ (Acts 15:4-5). Even if these Pharisees with a love of power did bring over the Gentiles to their side, they learned that the Apostles in Jerusalem can’t just overlook it.”

Chrysostom further noted¹⁵ how mild and gentle the Apostles were even in the face of rank insubordination on the part of the believing Pharisees. Barnabas and Paul don’t accuse them either, but just speak of the facts as they happened, and let the facts speak for themselves.

“As Peter spoke at the Council of Jerusalem, he said, ‘Why do you tempt God?’ He has become the God of the Gentiles; this was the tempting of God: denying that He is could save anyone apart from the Law. Notice what Peter does. He shows that those clinging to the Mosaic Law are in danger. What the Law could not do, faith had power to do. ‘We believe that through the grace of the Lord Jesus we shall be saved even as they’ (Galatians 2:16). But if faith falls away, notice that they themselves are headed for destruction. Peter did not say, ‘Why do you disbelieve?’ which was harsher, but, ‘Why do you tempt God’. Great impudence is this of the Pharisees; even after faith they set up the Law as greater than faith, and will not obey the Apostles. But notice the Apostles, how mildly they speak, and not in the tone of authority; such words are amiable, and more apt to fix themselves in the mind. Observe, it is nowhere a display of words, but demonstration by facts, by the Spirit. Though they have such proofs, yet they still speak gently. Notice also that Barnabas and Paul do not come accusing those causing the trouble at Antioch, but ‘declaring all things that God had done with them’ (Acts 15:4). But again, these men seize upon the occasion to champion their own cause. ‘But there rose up’ etc. (Acts 15:5). Such were the pains they took in their love of power; it was not with the knowledge of the Apostles that Paul and Barnabas were blamed. But still Barnabas and Paul brought forward none of these charges. However, when the Apostles had proved the matter, then they wrote in stronger terms. For gentleness is everywhere a great good; gentleness, I say, not stupid indifference; gentleness, not flattery; for between these there is a vast difference.”

¹⁵ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, XXXII, Recapitulation.

Clement of Alexandria quoted¹⁶ Barnabas as encouraging the fear of God as being the beginning of wisdom. This was the culture of the Church in Jerusalem, where everyone obeyed the Mosaic Law, but in a good way.

“Certain heresies appealed to Paul to say that the Law is not good, ‘For by the Law is the knowledge of sin?’ (Romans 3:20) To whom we say, ‘The Law did not cause, but showed sin’. Commanding what is to be done, it reprehended what ought not to be done. It is the part of the good to teach what is beneficial, and to point out what is harmful; to counsel the practice of the one, and to command to shun the other. Paul, whom they do not comprehend, said that by the Law the knowledge of sin was made clear, not that it derived its existence from the Law. How can the Law not be good, which is given as the instructor until Christ (Galatians 3:24), for the attainment of the perfection which is by Christ? He says, ‘I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but in his repentance’ (Ezekiel 33:11, 18:23, 32). Now the commandment works repentance; inasmuch as it deters from what ought not to be done, and commands good deeds. ‘A wise man in heart will receive the Commandments’ (Proverbs 10:8). Barnabas the Apostle said¹⁷, ‘Woe to those who are wise in their own conceit, clever in their own eyes’ (Isaiah 5:21 LXX), then added, ‘Let us be spiritually minded; let us be a perfect temple to God. As much as in us lies, let us meditate upon the fear of God, and let us keep His commandments, that we may rejoice in His ordinances’. Consequently ‘the fear of God’ is divinely said to be the beginning of wisdom.”

The Issues in Jerusalem, 48 AD

The real issues in Jerusalem had strong political overtones. In Jerusalem at that time was a small, but very vocal, group of zealots bent on expelling Roman rule. One of the Twelve Apostles, Simon the Zealot, was part of this group at one time, and Judas Iscariot may have been involved also. According to Josephus, the political party of the Zealots was ultimately responsible for the destruction of Jerusalem¹⁸ as a result of their scheming and conspiring to achieve their goals. To them, circumcision represented Jewish national identity. They didn’t necessarily keep all the requirements of the Law, but they were very vocal about those aspects of the Law that spoke to their political agenda¹⁹.

¹⁶ Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, II, 7. Early writers such as Clement, Origen et al, ascribed the Epistle of Barnabas (written anonymously) to the Apostle Barnabas, even though few do so today. Chapter 16 seems to refer to the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem, even though this occurred after the traditional death of the Apostle Barnabas in 62 AD. Inclusion here of early statements attributed to the Apostle Barnabas is given to allow the early writers to speak in their own words. It may be that the Apostle Barnabas wrote these words but someone later added to and published them after the destruction of Jerusalem.

¹⁷ Barnabas, Epistle of Barnabas, 4.

¹⁸ See Josephus, Wars of the Jews, IV, vi, 3.

¹⁹ In a way, this is similar to the US today, where there are Christian zealots who have a very strong political agenda involving US national identity. Those aspects of Christianity that speak to their political agenda are very important to them. Yet out of kindness and mercy, we don’t want to offend them and cause them to abandon the Faith.

This ideology spilled over to the Christians. The conflict among the Christians²⁰ was between a small minority of Jewish Christian Zealots, who were zealous about keeping the Law (Acts 21:20) and a large majority of Jewish Christians with a weak faith, who also kept the Law, but were not involved with the political agenda of the Zealots. They knew Christ after the flesh, as the Jewish Messiah, and were very sincere about that. If Paul (and James) handled this situation wrong and offended either group, many people might revert back to Judaism and be lost in the destruction coming to Jerusalem in a few years.

Tertullian stated²¹ that circumcision was the only issue involved when Paul wrote to the Galatians. To the Jews, “circumcision” had their national identity associated with it, since this was part of the Covenant God made with Abraham, and the Law required anyone who rejected circumcision to be cut off from Israel (Genesis 17:9-14). Paul’s opponents still believed in God, but they perverted the Gospel by retaining an emphasis on the Law. If the Zealots had not brought in the spies to see what Paul was doing regarding Christian liberty, Paul may not have made it such an issue. For Paul, the major issue was the basis for his teaching; for his opponents, the major issue was Jewish national identity.

“When Paul said, that ‘neither was Titus compelled to be circumcised’ (Galatians 2:3), he for the first time shows us that circumcision was the only question connected with the maintenance of the Law, which had been agitated by those whom he called ‘false brethren secretly brought in’ (Galatians 2:4). While these persons went no further than to insist on a continuance of the Law, they retained unquestionably a sincere belief in God. They perverted the Gospel in their teaching, not by tampering with the Scripture to eliminate Christ, but by retaining the emphasis on the Law. Therefore, he said, ‘Because of false brethren secretly brought in, who came in secretly to spy out our liberty, which we have in Christ, that they might bring us into bondage, to whom we submitted not even for an hour’ (Galatians 2:4-5). Let us listen to the clear sense and to the reason for their actions, and the perversion of the Scripture will be apparent”.

“Paul first said that the Apostles did not compel Titus, a Greek, to be circumcised and added that false brethren were secretly brought in. He gives us an insight into his reason for acting in a clean contrary way, showing us why he did what he would neither have done nor shown to us, if the Zealots had not induced him to act as he did. But then would they have yielded to the subjection that the Zealots demanded, if these false brethren had not crept in to spy out their liberty? I apprehend not. They therefore gave way (in a partial concession), because there were persons whose weak faith required consideration. For their rudimentary belief, which was still in suspense about the observance of the Law, deserved this concessive treatment, when even Paul himself had some suspicion that he might have run, and be still running, in vain (Galatians 2:2). Accordingly, the false brethren, who were the spies of their Christian liberty, must be thwarted in their efforts to bring it under the yoke of their own Judaism. Paul needed (1) to discover whether his labor had been in vain; (2) those who preceded him in the Apostolate to have the opportunity to give him the right hand of fellowship; and (3) to have an understanding before he entered on the office of preaching to the Gentiles,

²⁰ See Roberts and Donaldson, ed., Ante-Nicene Fathers, Volume 3, Hendrickson Publishers, Peabody, MA, 1995, Footnote 22, p. 433.

²¹ Tertullian, The Five Books Against Marcion, II, ii, 5, 3.

according to the Apostles' arrangement with him (Galatians 2:9-10). He therefore made some concession, as was necessary, for a time; and this was the reason why he had Timothy circumcised (Acts 16:3), and the Nazirites introduced into the temple (Acts 21:23-26). Their truth may be inferred from their agreement with Paul's own profession, how 'he became all things to all men, that he might gain all'".

John Cassian stated²² that Paul identified with those he wished to reach. "To the Jews, I became as a Jew that I might gain the Jews. To those who were under the Law I became as being under the Law, though not myself under the Law, that I might gain those who were under the Law. To those who were without law, I became as without law, though I was not without the Law of God but under the Law of Christ, that I might gain those who were without law; to the weak I became weak, that I might gain the weak: I became all things to all men, that I might save all" (1 Corinthians 9:19-22). The Apostles in Jerusalem recognized that there would be a change in the Law as a result of the Coming of Christ (Hebrews 7:12), and they worked with the Apostle Paul in this regard.

"The Apostle James and all the chief princes of the primitive Church urged the Apostle Paul, in consequence of the weakness of feeble persons, to condescend to a fictitious arrangement and insisted on his purifying himself according to the requirements of the Law. By shaving his head and paying his vows (Acts 21:20-25), they thought that the present harm, which would come from this hypocrisy, was of no account, but had regard rather to the gain, which would result from his continued preaching. For the gain to the Apostle Paul from his strictness would not have counterbalanced the loss to all nations from his speedy death. And the whole Church would certainly have then incurred this unless this good and salutary hypocrisy had preserved him for the preaching of the Gospel".

"Someone may ask how we can prove that Paul suited himself to all men in all things. When did he to the Jews become as a Jew? He had said, 'Behold, I, Paul, say to you that if you become circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing' (Galatians 5:2). Yet by circumcising Timothy (Acts 16:3), he adopted a shadow of Jewish superstition. And again, where did he become to those under the Law, as under the Law? James and all the Elders of the Church, fearing lest he might be attacked by the multitude of Jewish Christians, who had received the faith of Christ in such a way as still to be bound by the rites of legal ceremonies, came to his rescue in his difficulty with this counsel and advice" (Acts 21:20-24).

"And so, for the good of those who were under the Law, he trod under foot for a while the strict view which he had expressed. 'I through the Law am dead to the Law; that I may live to God' (Galatians 2:19). Contrary to this, he was driven to shave his head, and be purified according to the Law and pay his vows after the Mosaic rites in the Temple" (Acts 21:20-24).

"For the good of those who were utterly ignorant of the Law of God, Paul himself became as if without law. In Athens, where heathen wickedness was flourishing, he stated, 'as I passed by, I saw your idols and an altar on which was written: To the unknown God' (Acts 17:23). When he began speaking to them, as

²² John Cassian, The Second Conference of Abbot Joseph, II, xvii, 20.

if he himself also had been without law, he introduced the faith of Christ, saying, ‘The One whom you worship ignorantly, Him I proclaim to you’ (Acts 17:23). And after a little, as if he had known nothing whatever of the Divine Law, he chose to bring forward a verse of a heathen poet rather than a saying of Moses or Christ, saying, ‘As some of your own poets have said; for we are also His offspring’ (Acts 17:28). And when he had thus approached them with their own authorities, which they could not reject, thus confirming the truth by things false, he added, ‘Since then we are the offspring of God we ought not to think that the Godhead is like gold or silver or stone sculptured by the art and device of man’” (Acts 17:29).

“In this way he fulfilled what he had commanded the Corinthians to do when he said, ‘be without offense to Jews and Greeks and the Church of Christ, as I also please all men in all things, not seeking my own profit but that of the many, that they may be saved’ (1 Corinthians 10:32-33, Romans 14:3-13, 2 Corinthians 11:29). For it had certainly been profitable at other times not to circumcise Timothy, not to shave his head, not to undergo Jewish purification, not to practice going barefoot, not to pay legal vows. But he did all these things because he did not seek his own profit but that of the many”.

The Result of Barnabas’ and Paul’s Actions

At the Council of Jerusalem in 48 AD, Paul sought (1) clarification of his interpretation of the Gospel and (2) agreement with the other Apostles and elders in Jerusalem. This he received very clearly, and Paul was of one mind with the other Apostles and elders. Later Church Councils were patterned after Paul’s agreement with the Apostles and elders in Jerusalem, and this agreement came to be referred to as “The mind of the Church”.

There were four distinct steps in this first Church Council:

1. A great deal of disputing between the Pharisees who believed on the one side and Barnabas and Paul on the other side.
2. Peter spoke up about the giving of the Holy Spirit to Cornelius and the Gentiles in Caesarea. His point was that God Himself had treated the Gentiles exactly as He had treated the Jews at Pentecost. God had even warned Peter in a vision not to think otherwise (Acts 10).
3. After Peter spoke, everyone quieted down to listen intently to Barnabas and Paul²³ speak about their recent 1st Missionary Journey, including the wondrous things they did,
4. After Barnabas and Paul spoke, James, the Lord’s brother and Bishop of Jerusalem gave the verdict of the Council. He said the following:

“Men *and* brethren, listen to me: Simon has declared how God at the first visited the Gentiles to take out of them a people for His name. And with this the words of the prophets agree, just as it is written: ‘After this I will return and will rebuild the tabernacle of David, which has fallen down; I will rebuild its ruins, and I will set it up; so that the rest of mankind may seek the Lord, even all the Gentiles who are called by My Name, says the Lord who does all these things’ (Amos 9:11-12 LXX). Known to God from eternity are all His works. Therefore, I judge that we should not trouble those from among the Gentiles who are turning to God, but that we write to

²³ Since Luke lists Barnabas first, the implication is that Barnabas was the primary speaker at the Council. This makes sense since Paul had done most of the miracles; Barnabas emphasized Paul’s miracles so that Paul didn’t have to appear like he was boasting.

them to abstain from things polluted by idols, *from* sexual immorality, *from* things strangled, and *from* blood” (Acts 15:13-20).

Following the Council of Jerusalem, James and the Apostles in Jerusalem wrote a letter to the Gentile Churches that stated that these men that came down from Judea had no permission to teach what they did from the Apostles in Jerusalem (Acts 15:24). Thus, they were acting as overzealous rogues in doing this.

While the Jewish Christian Zealots had to agree with the Council, because their disagreement would be an obvious gesture of countermanding God, they later opposed the decision of the Council. Paul ended up opposing them for the rest of his life. A similar pattern emerged following most of the later Councils of the Church, where the heretics often accepted the decisions of the Council initially, but later opposed these decisions²⁴. In both cases, this showed the basic dishonesty of the heretics, and where their allegiance was really based.

John Chrysostom pointed out²⁵ that a change in the Law was foreseen in the Mosaic Law as it referred to Christ:

“The Law itself has taught me no longer to obey itself; and therefore, if I do so, I shall be transgressing even its teaching. How, and in what way has it so taught? Moses says, speaking of Christ, ‘The Lord God will raise up for you a prophet from your midst of your brethren, like me; to Him shall you listen’ (Deuteronomy 18:15). Therefore, those who do not obey Him transgress the Law”.

John Chrysostom noted²⁶ that all agreed that the doings in Antioch and on Barnabas and Paul’s 1st Missionary Journey were the hand of God. There was no dispute about this! What was lacking was that nothing had been written in the Scriptures concerning how to handle a mass conversion of the Gentiles. James made considerable condescension for the weakness of the believing Pharisees: even they need to observe no more than what the Gentiles are observing.

“The question is whether the Gentiles must be circumcised. What the objectors asserted, was not that the Gentiles must be rejected upon believing, but that it must be with the Law. Peter pleaded very well about this, since this above all others troubled the hearers; therefore, he sets this right. Observe, that which needed to be enacted as a rule, that it is not necessary to keep the Law, this Peter introduced. The milder part, James said, dwells upon that concerning which nothing is written. ‘Therefore’, he said, ‘I judge that we should not trouble those from among the Gentiles who are turning to God’ (Acts 15:19); that is, not to subvert. If God called them, and observing the Law subverts them, we fight against God. When James said, ‘My judgment is’, he was speaking not as from Moses but from the Apostles. The four commandments that James gave, although relating to the body, were necessary to be observed, because these things caused great evils. James’ words ‘For Moses has throughout many generations in every city’ (Acts

²⁴ For example, at the Council of Nicaea in 325 AD, the Arian Bishops were so embarrassed by the clear teachings from the Scriptures by Athanasius of Alexandria and others that they signed the decrees of the Council in order to avoid being defrocked for countermanding God. Later they opposed the decrees of the Council, and it took about 65 years for the decrees of the Council to be finally upheld throughout Christendom.

²⁵ John Chrysostom, Homilies on Galatians, Chapter 2, v 19.

²⁶ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, XXXIII, Recapitulation.

15:21), above all quieted the believing Pharisees. Why do we not write the same injunctions to Jews also? Moses speaks to them every Sabbath. Notice what condescension James makes to their weakness! Where it did no harm, he set Moses up as teacher, gratifying them, but which hindered nothing; he permitted Jews to hear Moses in regard of these matters, even while leading away from Moses those of the Gentiles. See what wisdom! He seems to honor Moses, and to set him up as the authority for his own people, and by this very thing he leads the Gentiles away from him! ‘Being read in the synagogues every Sabbath day’! Then why do the believing Pharisees not learn what is to be learned from Moses? Through their perversity! James shows that even these believing Pharisees need observe no more than these necessary things given to the Gentiles.”

In conveying the agreement of the Council to the Gentiles, John Chrysostom stated²⁷ that the Apostles in Jerusalem did not send Judas Barsabas and Silas to slight Barnabas and Paul, but to confirm everything. Even in their letter they are not overly critical of the rashness and subversion of the believing Pharisees; but the letter does make it very clear that the believing Pharisees were wrong.

“Notice that the Apostles in Jerusalem did not merely enact these matters, and nothing more. They sent Judas surnamed Barsabas, and Silas, chief men among the brethren to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas. They also sent letters with them the more to authenticate the decree, that there may be no room for regarding Paul and his company with suspicion. Notice with what patience and with no harsh berating of those brethren they indict their epistle. ‘Forasmuch as we have heard, that certain which went out from us have troubled you with words, subverting your souls, saying, you must be circumcised, and keep the Law, to whom we gave no such commandment’ (Acts 15:24). Sufficient was this charge against the rashness of those men, and worthy of the Apostles’ moderation, that they said nothing beyond this. Then to show that they do not act despotically, that all are agreed in this, that with deliberation they wrote this, ‘It seemed good to us, being assembled with one accord, to send men of ours whom we have chosen’ (Acts 15:25). That it may not look like a belittling of Paul and Barnabas that those men are sent, observe the glowing praise passed on them. They spoke of ‘Our beloved Barnabas and Paul, men that have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. We have sent therefore Judas and Silas; who shall also tell you the same things by mouth. For it seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us’ -- it is not man’s doing, it says -- ‘to lay on you no greater burden’ -- again it calls the Law a burden. Apologizing even for these injunctions, they added, ‘Except these necessary things’: ‘That you abstain from meat offered to idols, from blood²⁸, from things strangled, and from fornication from which if you keep yourselves, you shall do well (Acts 15:26-29). These things the New Testament did not forbid; we nowhere find that Christ spoke about these matters; but these things they took from the Law.”

What is the Place of the Mosaic Law Today?

²⁷ John Chrysostom, *Commentary on Acts*, XXXIII, vv. 19-21.

²⁸ “From blood” implies a prohibition against murder (Genesis 9:5-6).

At this point, some clarification is needed regarding “the Law”. The Lord referred to the Greatest Commandment, “You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul and with all your mind, and you shall love your neighbor as yourself” (Matthew 22:37-39, Deuteronomy 6:5, Leviticus 19:18). On this, He said, hangs all the Law and the Prophets (Matthew 22:40); and this Greatest Commandment was part of a Creed²⁹ used in the 1st Century Synagogue worship. In addition, the Lord had said, “Assuredly I say to you, till heaven and earth pass away, one yod (smallest Hebrew letter) or one piece of a Hebrew letter will by no means pass from the Law till all³⁰ is fulfilled” (Matthew 5:18). He also said that those who worship the Father must worship Him in spirit and truth (John 4:24).

All this is not contradictory. All the details of the Mosaic Law regarding sacrifices, uncleanness, Feast Days, avoiding certain foods, etc., had a purpose in leading the Lord’s people toward holiness. Once Israel ceased to exist as a nation, these tenets of the Law changed. We no longer offer animal sacrifices, but we are urged to present our bodies as a living sacrifice (Romans 12:1). We no longer follow the various washings prescribed by the Mosaic Law, but we are advised to avoid the defilement³¹ from unclean spirits, which can be really foul.

Clement of Alexandria quoted³² Barnabas in his teaching on what the dietary parts of the Mosaic Law really refer to. If our ears and heart are circumcised as Moses commands (Deuteronomy 10:16, 30:6), we see that the unclean animals refer to unclean men and what they do, and we are commanded to avoid this.

“Barbarian philosophy prophesied also obscurely and by symbols, like the injunctions of Moses, ‘These common things, the sow, the eagle, the hawk and the raven, are not to be eaten’ (Leviticus 11). The sow is the emblem of unclean lust of food, lecherousness and licentiousness, always craving, lying in the mire, and being fattened for slaughter. Some barbarians command a person to eat that which parts the hoof and ruminates. Barnabas says that this intimate ‘that we ought to cling to those who fear the Lord, and meditate in their heart on that portion of the word which they have received. Those who speak and keep the Lord’s statutes are those to whom meditation is a work of gladness, and who ruminate on the Word of the Lord. What is the parted hoof? This is the righteous, who walk in this world, and who expect the holy eternity to come’. Then he adds, ‘See how well Moses enacted. We who have rightly understood speak the commandments as the Lord wished; therefore, He circumcised our ears and hearts, that we may comprehend these things. When He says, ‘You shall not eat the eagle, the hawk and the raven’, He says, ‘You shall not adhere to or become like those men who don’t know how to live by toil and sweat, but live by plunder and lawlessness’. For the eagle indicates robbery, the hawk injustice, and the raven greed. It is also written, ‘With the holy you will be holy; and with the innocent man you will be innocent. With the excellent *man* you will be excellent; and with the perverse you will be perverse’ (Psalm 18:25-26 LXX). ‘We ought to join ourselves³³ to those that fear the Lord,

²⁹ Edersheim, Sketches of Jewish Social Life, p. 245, 101-104.

³⁰ For more details, see the Gospel lesson for the 15th Sunday after Pentecost.

³¹ For more details regarding sacrifice, see the Epistle lesson for the 6th Sunday after Pentecost; for more details on uncleanness, see the Epistle lesson for the 17th Sunday after Pentecost.

³² Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, V, 8.

³³ Barnabas, Epistle of Barnabas, 10.

those who meditate in their heart on the commandment which they have received, those who both utter the judgments of the Lord and observe them, those who know that meditation is a work of gladness, and who ruminates upon the word of the Lord”.

The usefulness of the Law is as a tutor to get us started in the right direction (Galatians 3:24, 25). As we grow in the Faith and can distinguish the Holy Spirit speaking to us, we don't need the Law anymore, because it is written on our hearts (Jeremiah 31:31-34, Hebrews 10:16-17). John Chrysostom stated³⁴ that the Law and the Gospel work together:

“The Law is not the adversary but the fellow worker of Grace. But if when Grace is come, the Law continues to hold us down, it becomes an adversary. If it confines those who ought to go forward to Grace, it is the destruction of our salvation. If a candle which gave light by night kept us, when it became day, from the sun, it would not only cease to benefit us, but would injure us. And so does the Law if it stands between the greater benefits of Grace and us. Just so a tutor or pedagogue makes a youth ridiculous, by retaining him with himself, when time calls for his departure”.

Clement of Alexandria also quoted³⁵ Barnabas on what happens at conversion. Sinners imitate demons saying that our bodies are merely a human dwelling. At Baptism the demons are driven out, and God begins to dwell in us along with the Word, His calling, and the wisdom of His statutes and commandments.

“Vapors, which arise from the earth, and from marshes, gather into mists and cloudy masses; so, the vapors of fleshly lusts bring an evil condition on the soul, scattering about the idols of pleasure before the soul. They spread darkness over the light of intelligence, the spirit attracting the heat that arises from lust, and thickening the masses of the passions by persistence in pleasures. Gold is not taken from the earth as a lump, but is purified by smelting; then, when made pure it is called gold, the earth being purified out. ‘Ask, and it shall be given you’ (Mark 7:7), is said to those who are able of themselves to choose what is best. The powers of the devil, and the unclean spirits, sow into the sinner's soul. Barnabas speaks in these words, ‘Before we believed³⁶ in God, the habitation of our heart was corrupt and weak, being like a temple made with hands. It was full of idolatry, and was a habitation of demons, through our doing such things as were opposed to the will of God”.

“Sinners exercise activities appropriate to demons; but he does not say that the spirits themselves dwell in the soul of the unbeliever. He also adds³⁷, ‘The temple of the Lord shall be built in the name of the Lord, in order that it may be built in glory. How? Having received the forgiveness of sins, and placing our trust in the name of the Lord, we have become new creatures, formed again from the beginning’. What Barnabas says is not that demons are driven out of us, but that the sins, which like them we commit before believing, are remitted. Rightly thus he puts in opposition what follows: ‘Therefore in our habitation God truly dwells.

³⁴ John Chrysostom, Homilies on Galatians, Chapter 3, vv 25-26.

³⁵ Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, II, 20.

³⁶ Barnabas, Epistle of Barnabas, 16.

³⁷ Barnabas, Epistle of Barnabas, 16.

How? His word of faith; His calling of promise; the wisdom of the statutes; the commandments of the doctrine dwell in us; He himself prophesying in us; He himself dwelling in us; opening to us the doors of the temple, we who were enslaved by death”’.

Clement quotes³⁸ Barnabas as really understanding the Mosaic Law in its intents, and he gives examples of the humaneness of the Law, and how wisdom based on the Law is piety. Those who really get this, Barnabas calls them “Children of love and peace”.

“Moses wrote, ‘If anyone who has newly built a house, and has not previously inhabited it; or cultivated a newly-planted vine, and not yet partaken of the fruit; or betrothed a virgin, and not yet married her’ (Deuteronomy 20:5-7); these people the humane Law orders to be relieved from military service. They were exempted in the first place, lest, bent on their desires, they turn out sluggish in war; it is those who are untangled by passion that boldly encounter perils. From motives of humanity, in view of the uncertainties of war, the Law reckoned it right that one should enjoy his own labors, and not another, who without any labor, should receive what belonged to those who had labored. The Law seems also to point out manliness of soul, by enacting that he who had planted should reap the fruit, and he that built should inhabit, and he that had betrothed should marry. It is not vain hopes that the Law provides for those who labor. ‘For the hope of a good man dead or living does not perish’ (Proverbs 11:7 LXX); also ‘I love those that love Me; and they that seek Me shall find Me’ (Proverbs 8:17 LXX). The women of Midian, by their beauty, seduced the Hebrews from wisdom into impiety, through licentiousness, when making war against them. Having seduced them from a serious mode of life, and by their beauty ensnared them in wanton delights; they made them insane about idol sacrifices and strange women. Overcome by women and by pleasure at once, they revolted from God, and revolted from the Law. The whole people were about to fall under the power of the enemy through female stratagem, until fear by its admonitions pulled them back (Numbers 25:1-9). ‘The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and the counsel of saints is understanding. To know the Law is the character of a sound mind’ (Proverbs 9:10 LXX). Those who suppose that the Law agitates fear are neither good at understanding the Law, nor have they in reality comprehended it. ‘The fear of the Lord is life to a man; he shall lodge without fear in places where knowledge is not seen’ (Proverbs 19:23 LXX). Accordingly, Barnabas says mystically³⁹, ‘May God, who rules over the entire world, give to you wisdom, intelligence, understanding, knowledge of His judgments, with patience. Be therefore God-taught, inquiring diligently what the Lord asks from you; and do it that you may be safe in the Day of Judgment’. Barnabas calls those who do this, ‘Children of love and peace”’.

Chrysostom stated⁴⁰ that Paul’s accusers thought that he had run in vain; so Paul went up to Jerusalem to prove that this was not the case. He met privately with the Apostles, not to reform doctrines, but to cut off the grounds of the deceivers. The Apostles permitted the use and the details of the Law in Judea due to the weakness of the people there. If Paul had announced that he

³⁸ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, II, 18.

³⁹ Barnabas, *Epistle of Barnabas*, 21.

⁴⁰ John Chrysostom, *Commentary on Galatians*, Chapter 2, v. 2.

was going to forbid the practice of the Law in Judea, he would have been attacked by those who practiced the Law. So, he did this privately with the Apostles.

“Paul’s accusers thought that Peter and John, of whom they thought more highly than Paul, differed from him in that he omitted circumcision in his preaching, while the former allowed it; and they believed that in this he acted unlawfully, and was running in vain. Paul went up and communicated to them his Gospel, not that he might learn anything himself, as appears more clearly further on, but that he might convince these suspicious persons that he did not run in vain. The Spirit foreseeing this contention had provided that he should go up and make this communication.”

“Therefore, Paul said that he went up by revelation, taking Barnabas and Titus as witnesses of his preaching, and communicated to them the Gospel which he preached to the Gentiles; that is, with the omission of circumcision. ‘But privately before them who were of repute’. What does ‘privately’ mean? He who wishes to reform doctrines held in common, proposes them, not privately, but before all in common; but Paul did this privately, for his object was not to learn or reform anything, but to cut off the grounds of those who would deceive. All at Jerusalem would be offended if the Law was transgressed, or the use of circumcision forbidden; as James says, ‘You see, brother, how many myriads of Jews there are who have believed, and they are all zealous for the Law; but they have been informed about you that you teach all the Jews who are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, saying that they ought not to circumcise *their* children nor to walk according to the customs’ (Acts 21:20-21). To avoid offense, Paul did not condescend to come forward publicly and declare what his preaching was, but he conferred privately with those who were of reputation before Barnabas and Titus, that they might credibly testify to his accusers, that the Apostles found no discrepancy in his preaching, but confirmed it. The expression, ‘those that were of repute’, does not impugn the reality of their greatness; here the phrase implies his own assent to the common opinion.”

“Here arises a very important question: Who were these false brethren? If the Apostles permitted circumcision at Jerusalem, why are those who championed it, in accordance with the Apostolic sentence, to be called false brethren? First; because there is a difference between commanding an act to be done, and allowing it after it is done. He, who commands an act, does it with zeal as necessary, and of primary importance; but he who, without himself commanding it, allows another to do it who wishes yields not from a sense of its being necessary but in order to serve some purpose. And so here, the Apostles made this concession, not as vindicating the Law, but as condescending to the infirmities of Judaism. Had they been vindicating the Law, they would not have preached to the Jews in one way, and to the Gentiles in another. Had the observance been necessary for unbelievers, it would plainly have likewise been necessary for all the faithful. But by their decision not to harass the Gentiles on this point, they showed that they permitted it by way of condescension to the Jews. Whereas the purpose of the false brethren was to cast them out of grace, and place them under the yoke of slavery again. This is the first difference, and a very wide one. The second is that the Apostles so acted in Judaea, where the Law was in force, but the false brethren, everywhere, for all the Galatians were influenced by them. Their intention was, not to build up, but

entirely to pull down the Gospel, and that the thing was permitted by the Apostles on one ground and zealously practiced by the false brethren on another.

Peter and Paul's Ruse; Barnabas Gets Carried Away

Paul stated, "When Peter had come to Antioch, I withstood him to his face, because he was to be blamed; for before certain men came from James, he would eat with the Gentiles; but when they came, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing those who were of the circumcision. And the rest of the Jews also played the hypocrite⁴¹ with him, so that even Barnabas was carried away with their hypocrisy" (Galatians 2:11-13).

Something is going on here that is not readily apparent! Peter had been absolutely fearless in facing up to the Jewish leaders in Jerusalem (Acts 4:8-22). Peter had been the one who had stepped forward before the others, "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God" (Matthew 16:16). He was bolder than the others, and willing to come forward in spite of danger. When Christ was seen on the beach, and the others were pushing the boat in, he was too impatient to wait for its coming to land (John 21:7). After the Resurrection, when the murderous Jews sought to tear the Apostles in pieces, he first dared to come forward and to declare that the Crucified was taken up into heaven (Acts 2:14, 36). But there was no danger here in Antioch; is it reasonable to suggest that Peter was fearful of the believing Jews?

John Chrysostom pointed out⁴² what was really happening. Peter withdrew to eat with the Jews such that Paul would notice this and rebuke him in front of everyone. If this were not part of a ruse, Paul would have rebuked Peter privately, not publicly⁴³. The point of the rebuke was for the effect it would have on the Jewish disciples who had come up from Jerusalem.

"Many, on a superficial reading of Galatians, suppose that Paul accused Peter of hypocrisy. But this is not so, indeed it is not, far from it; we shall discover great wisdom, both of Paul and Peter, concealed in their words for the benefit of their hearers."

"The Apostles permitted circumcision at Jerusalem, an abrupt severance from the Law not being practicable. But when they came to Antioch, they no longer continued this observance, but lived indiscriminately with the believing Gentiles, which thing Peter also was doing at that time. But when some came from Jerusalem, who had heard the doctrine he delivered there, he no longer did so fearing to perplex them. Peter changed his course, with two objects secretly in view, both to avoid offending those Jews, and to give Paul a reasonable pretext for rebuking him. Having allowed circumcision when preaching at Jerusalem, had he changed his course at Antioch, his conduct would have appeared to those Jews to

⁴¹ The Greek words *sunupokrithesan* (translated "play the hypocrite") and *upokrisei* (translated "hypocrisy") come from a root meaning of an actor playing out a role on the stage. Thus they can mean hypocrisy, but there is a more basic implication in their meaning: an actor.

⁴² John Chrysostom, Commentary on Galatians, Chapter 2, vv. 11-12.

⁴³ Chrysostom stated that Paul's words are, 'When Cephas came to Antioch, I resisted him to the face, because he stood condemned' (Galatians 2:11); that is, not by me but by others. Had he himself condemned him, he would not have shrunk from saying so. And the words, 'I resisted him to the face', imply a scheme, for had their discussion been real, they would not have rebuked each other in the presence of the disciples, for it would have been a great stumbling block to them. But now this apparent contest was much to their advantage; as Paul had yielded to the Apostles at Jerusalem, so in turn they yield to him at Antioch.

proceed from fear of Paul, and his disciples would have condemned his lack of consistency. This would have created no small offense. But to Paul, who was well acquainted with all the facts, Peter's withdrawal would have raised no such suspicion, as knowing the intention with which he acted. Therefore, Paul rebukes, and Peter submits, that when the master is blamed, yet keeps silence, the disciples may more readily come over from the Law to faith. Without this occurrence Paul's exhortation would have had little effect; but the occasion gave an opportunity to deliver a severe reproof, and impressed Peter's disciples with a livelier fear. Had Peter disputed Paul's sentence, he might justly have been blamed as upsetting the plan; but now that the one reproves and the other keeps silence, the Jewish party is filled with serious alarm. This is why Paul spoke to Peter so severely. Observe also Paul's careful choice of expressions, whereby he points out to the discerning, that he uses them in pursuance of the plan, and not from anger."

"The cause of Paul's censure is this, 'Before that certain men came from James', who was the teacher at Jerusalem, 'and Peter ate with the Gentiles; but when they came he drew back and separated himself, fearing those that were of the Circumcision'. His cause of fear was not his own danger, but their defection. If he didn't fear in the beginning, much less would he do so now. As Paul himself says to the Galatians, 'I am afraid for you, lest I have labored for you in vain' (Galatians 4:11); and again, 'I fear, lest somehow, as the serpent deceived Eve by his craftiness, so your minds may be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ' (2 Corinthians 11:3). Thus, they didn't know the fear of death; but the fear that their disciples should perish, agitated their inmost soul."

Chrysostom noted⁴⁴ that the ruse was so well done that even Barnabas was carried away with their ruse. They just weren't walking uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel (Galatians 2:13-14).

"Don't be surprised at Paul giving this proceeding the name of a ruse, for he was unwilling to disclose the true state of the case, in order for the correction of his disciples. On account of their vehement attachment to the Law, he calls the present proceeding "ruse," and severely rebukes it, in order effectually to eradicate their prejudice. And Peter also hearing this, joins in the feint, as if he had erred, that they might be corrected by means of the rebuke administered to him. Had Paul reproved these Jews, they would have spurned it with indignation, for they held Paul in slight esteem; but now, when they saw their Teacher silent under rebuke, they were unable to despise or resist Paul's sentence."

"Don't let the phrase, 'They didn't walk uprightly', disturb you, for in using it Paul does not condemn Peter, but so expresses himself for the benefit of those who were to be reformed by the reproof of Peter."

Chrysostom also noted that it is completely illogical that Peter had erred in Antioch. Peter had been the moving force behind the Council of Jerusalem and its decrees.

"Why did Paul address this to Peter, who is more intimately acquainted with it than anyone? Has not God declared to him, that an uncircumcised man ought not to be judged by circumcision; and did he not in his discussion with the Jews at the

⁴⁴ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Galatians, Chapter 2, vv. 13-14.

Council in Jerusalem rest his bold opposition on the vision which he saw? Did he not send from Jerusalem unequivocal decrees on this subject? Paul's object is not therefore to correct Peter, but his criticism needed to be addressed to him, though it was pointed at the disciples; and not only at the Galatians, but also at others who labor under the same error with them."

Chrysostom continued⁴⁵ to say that the impact of Peter's conduct in Antioch was to marginalize the death of Christ. That is, one is not justified by circumcision or by Jewish rituals, but by faith. Because of the circumstances, Paul had to do something!

"Christ's death is a plain proof of the inability of the Law to justify us; and if the Law does justify, then His death is superfluous. Yet how could it be reasonable to say Christ's death has been done heedlessly and in vain, when it is so awesome, so surpassing human reason, a mystery so ineffable, with which Patriarchs travailed, which Prophets foretold, which angels gazed on with consternation, which all men confess as the summit of Divine tenderness? How utterly out of place it would be if they should say that so great and high a deed had been done superfluously, for this is what their conduct (i.e. the conduct of Peter and the Jews in Antioch) came to".

Barnabas Goes Back to the Church on Cyprus

"Now Judas and Silas, themselves being prophets also, exhorted and strengthened the brethren with many words. And after they had stayed *there* for a time, they were sent back with greetings from the brethren to the Apostles. However, it seemed good to Silas to remain there. Paul and Barnabas also remained in Antioch, teaching and preaching the word of the Lord, with many others also. Then after some days Paul said to Barnabas, 'Let us now go back and visit our brethren in every city where we have preached the word of the Lord, *and see* how they are doing'. Now Barnabas was determined to take with them John called Mark. But Paul insisted that they should not take with them the one who had departed from them in Pamphylia, and had not gone with them to the work. Then the contention became so sharp that they parted from one another. And so Barnabas took John Mark and sailed to Cyprus; but Paul chose Silas and departed, being commended by the brethren to the grace of God. And he went through Syria and Cilicia, strengthening the churches" (Acts 15:32-41).

John Chrysostom described⁴⁶ how the splitting up of Barnabas and Paul was the work of God. The immediate issue was Paul's reluctance to take with them John Mark, who had deserted them earlier. Barnabas wanted to rescue his cousin⁴⁷ back into Apostolic work, but Paul didn't have the patience to do this.

"Luke has described to us the character of the Apostles that Barnabas was more tender and indulgent, but Paul was stricter and more austere. In the Prophets too, we find this: diverse minds, diverse characters. For instance, Elijah was austere; Moses was meek. So here Paul is more vehement. Observe how gentle Barnabas is. Paul 'insisted that they should not take with them the one who had departed from them in Pamphylia, and had not gone with them to the work' (Acts

⁴⁵ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Galatians, Chapter 2, v. 21.

⁴⁶ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, XXXIV, v. 35.

⁴⁷ The same word can mean "cousin" or "nephew".

15:39). There seems indeed to be exasperation, but in fact the whole matter is a plan of the Divine Providence, that each should receive his proper place. Barnabas and Paul both needed to be on a par; Barnabas should lead, and John Mark should be led. ‘And so Barnabas took John Mark, and sailed to Cyprus; and Paul chose Silas, and departed, being commended by the brethren to the grace of God. And he went through Syria and Cilicia, strengthening the churches’” (Acts 15:39-41). This also is a work of Providence.

Chrysostom pointed out⁴⁸ that neither Barnabas nor Paul did something wrong. Both honored the other very much. However, Cyprus needed Barnabas while the Churches of Asia Minor needed Paul.

“The Cyprians had exhibited nothing of the sort as they at Antioch of Pisidia, Iconium and the rest; the Cyprians needed the softer character, but the others needed such a character as Paul’s. Which then would you say did well; he that took Silas, or he that left with John Mark? A general would not choose to have an untrustworthy person always to be his baggage-bearer, so neither did Paul. This corrected and instructed John Mark himself. Then did Barnabas do something wrong? In the first place, no evil came of it; they were divided the one from the other, but for a great good. They would not readily have chosen to leave each other. But admire the writer, how he does not conceal this either. The contention cannot be said to be evil, when each person disputes for such objects and with just reason. If the exasperation were in seeking his own way, and contending for his own honor, this might well be reprov’d. But if wishing, both the one and the other, to instruct and teach, the one took this way and the other that, what is there to find fault with? Observe how Paul impeaches John Mark, and gives the reason. In his exceeding humility, Paul revered Barnabas, as having been partner with him in so great works; but still he did not so reverence him, as to overlook what was necessary. Now which of them advised best, it is not for us to pronounce; but thus far we can say that it was a great arrangement of Providence. If they stayed together, Antioch, Iconium, etc. would be granted a second visitation, but Cyprus would not be visited even once.”

Chrysostom further pointed out⁴⁹ that while there was a sharp contention, there was also an admirable mutual respect. They did not part on a bad note at all. The chief beneficiary of this contention was John Mark, who was brought back due to both Paul’s rebuke and Barnabas’ kindness.

“The point to be considered is not that they differed in their opinions, but that they accommodated themselves the one to the other, seeing that it was for a greater good. Did they withdraw in enmity? God forbid! In fact, after this Barnabas received great praises from Paul in the Epistles. There was ‘sharp contention’, not enmity or quarrelling. The contention happened to part them. What each supposed to be profitable, he did not abandon because of the fellowship with the other. It seems to me that they said one to another, ‘As I wish not, and you wish, therefore that we may not fight, let us distribute the places’. They did this,

⁴⁸ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, XXXIV, v. 39-41.

⁴⁹ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, XXXIV, v. 37-40.

each yielding to the other. Barnabas wished Paul's plan to stand, therefore he withdrew; on the other hand, Paul wished Barnabas' plan to stand, therefore he withdrew. Would to God we too made such separations, as to go forth for preaching. A wonderful man this is; and exceedingly great! To John Mark this contest was exceedingly beneficial. The awe inspired by Paul converted him, while the kindness of Barnabas caused that he was not left behind. Seeing Paul choosing to leave him, he would be exceedingly awed, and would condemn himself; and seeing Barnabas taking his part, he would love him exceedingly. So, the disciple was corrected by the contention of the teachers; so far was he from being offended."

Paul's 2nd Missionary Journey with Silas

After the 1st Church Council in Jerusalem in c. 48 AD, the Apostle Silas (along with the Apostle Justus Barsabas) was sent by Bishop James to Antioch with the letter to the Gentiles drafted by the Jerusalem Church. Justus returned to Jerusalem, but Silas remained in Antioch (Acts 15:35).

At this point in Paul's life, he had really caught the attention of the Christian world as a result of his 1st Missionary Journey. This was thoroughly ratified by the Council of Jerusalem as demonstrated by the letter of Bishop James to all the Gentile Churches throughout the world. The Apostle Silas, who was present at the Council of Jerusalem, saw all this first hand. Being a prophet in the Church of Jerusalem (Acts 15:32), Silas understood the significance of what Paul was doing and the work of the Holy Spirit in Paul. And Silas greatly desired to be part of this work.

The Churches of Syria and Cilicia

When Barnabas took John Mark and sailed to Cyprus, "Paul chose Silas and departed, being commended by the brethren to the grace of God. And he went through Syria and Cilicia, strengthening the Churches" (Acts 15:40-41). See Figure 3 for a map of this region. The numbers in green on the map are the stopping places on Paul's and Silas' 2nd Missionary Journey.

Thus, Paul and Silas, instead of traveling by ship from Antioch to Derbe and Lystra, took the overland route back to Derbe and Lystra; that is through Syria and Cilicia. None of these churches were on the route of Paul's and Barnabas' 1st Missionary Journey. They must have been raised up by Apostles coming from Antioch, perhaps even with the help of Peter. One major city along that route that they had to pass through was Tarsus, Paul's hometown.

The last time Paul had been to Tarsus was about 3 years earlier in c. 45 AD, when Barnabas came to get him and bring him to Antioch (Acts 11:25-26). During those 8 years in Tarsus, Paul had his famous vision of the 3rd heaven in c. 41 AD. In this vision Paul was caught up into Paradise and heard things that he couldn't even speak about (2 Corinthians 12:2-4). This vision prepared Paul for his role as an Apostle since the Churches on earth are modeled after the Assembly of the Saints in heaven just as the Tabernacle in the wilderness was modeled after the Tabernacle in heaven (Exodus 25:9, 20; 26:30, Acts 7:44, Hebrews 8:5).

Paul Probably Wrote to the Galatians at this Time

Knowing what happened on Paul's 2nd Missionary Journey, we can infer that Paul wrote to the Galatians – all the Churches that he and Barnabas had established – before he visited them on his 2nd Missionary Journey. On the 1st Missionary Journey, Paul and Barnabas had ordained Sospiter as presbyter of Iconium, Gaius as presbyter of Derbe and Timothy as presbyter of Lystra, where each of these men was a member of the original Seventy Apostles. As Paul passed through these cities again, things were peaceful enough that Paul could leave someone else in these cities as Bishop and have Sospiter, Gaius and Timothy join him as he departed for further missionary work. This could only happen if things in Galatia were in order.

Thus, what most likely happened is that Paul's Epistle to the Galatians had already had a tremendous effect on the Churches there by the time Paul arrived on the 2nd Missionary Journey. Let us examine some key points that Paul made in his Epistle to the Galatians in the light of what happened later.

Figure 3
Map of Paul's 2nd Missionary Journey⁵⁰



⁵⁰ © Bible History Online <http://www.bible-history.com>. Other maps also available..

Paul stated in his Epistle that the Council in Jerusalem had already occurred, at which the Gospel that Paul preached had been ratified authoritatively by the Apostles in Jerusalem. A letter had also been drafted by the Church in Jerusalem that specifically stated that some people had been pushing circumcision, which the Apostles in Jerusalem had definitely not authorized (Acts 15:24). This letter is not mentioned in Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, but it was something that he carried with him everywhere he went. Paul stated:

“Then after fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, and also took Titus with me. And I went up by revelation, and communicated to them that Gospel which I preach among the Gentiles, but privately to those who were of reputation, lest by any means I might run, or had run, in vain. Yet not even Titus who *was* with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised. And *this occurred* because of false brethren secretly brought in (who came in by stealth to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage), to whom we did not yield submission even for an hour, that the truth of the Gospel might continue with you. But from those who seemed to be something, they added nothing to me. But on the contrary, when they saw that the Gospel for the uncircumcised had been committed to me, as *the Gospel* for the circumcised *was* to Peter (for He who worked effectively in Peter for the apostleship to the circumcised also worked effectively in me toward the Gentiles), and when James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that had been given to me, they gave me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, that we *should go* to the Gentiles and they to the circumcised” (Galatians 2:1-9).

The Apostle of the Seventy, Silas had been sent by the Church in Jerusalem as far as Antioch to confirm the effect of the letter drafted by the Church (Acts 15:27). As Paul left on his 2nd Missionary Journey, Silas was now traveling with Paul and further confirmed this letter everywhere Paul went. The result of Paul's Epistle followed by the visit of Paul and Silas with the letter from the Church in Jerusalem was an authoritative rebuke for everyone who had been trying to push circumcision on the Galatians. Paul's words in his Epistle to the Galatians confirm this:

Paul further stated that the Galatians had been subverted to a different gospel and that those who are troubling them are “accursed”. These are extremely strong words!

“I marvel that you are turning away so soon from Him who called you in the grace of Christ, to a different Gospel, which is not another; but there are some who trouble you and want to pervert the Gospel of Christ. But even if we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other Gospel to you than what we have preached to you, let him be accursed. As we have said before, so now I say again, if anyone preaches any other Gospel to you than what you have received, let him be accursed” (Galatians 1:6-9).

We note that James, the Bishop of Jerusalem, in his letter to all the Gentile Churches used similar words to describe the Jewish Zealots⁵¹ who were “troubling” the Gentile Churches.

⁵¹ For more information on the impact of the Jewish Zealots, see the Sections titled:
“Ordaining Elders and the Report Back to Antioch of Syria”
“The Issues in Jerusalem, 48 AD”
“History of the Jewish Zealot Party”

“Since we have heard that some who went out from us have troubled you with words, unsettling your souls, saying, ‘*You must* be circumcised and keep the law’ -- to whom we gave no *such* commandment – ‘it seemed good to us, being assembled with one accord, to send chosen men to you with our beloved Barnabas and Paul, men who have risked their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. We have therefore sent Judas and Silas, who will also report the same things by word of mouth’” (Acts 15:24-27).

Having just come from the Church Council in Jerusalem, and now being accompanied by Silas, one of the leading men in Jerusalem, and also a prophet (Acts 15:22, 32), Paul laid out things in no uncertain terms, knowing that he can back up everything he wrote when he arrives. Paul classified the Jewish Zealots as sorcerers (Who has bewitched you?). He referred to miracles done in their midst, which the Jewish Zealots can’t do. And Paul summarized matters by saying that true sons of Abraham live by Faith, not by the letter of the Law as promoted by the Zealots.

“O foolish Galatians! Who has bewitched you that you should not obey the truth, before whose eyes Jesus Christ was clearly portrayed among you as crucified? This only I want to learn from you: Did you receive the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith? Are you so foolish? Having begun in the Spirit, are you now being made perfect by the flesh? Have you suffered so many things in vain -- if indeed *it was* in vain? Therefore, He who supplies the Spirit to you and works miracles among you, *does He do it* by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith? -- just as Abraham ‘believed God⁵², and it was accounted to him for righteousness’. Therefore, know that *only* those who are of faith are sons of Abraham. And the Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the Gentiles by faith, preached the gospel to Abraham beforehand, saying, ‘In you⁵³ all the nations shall be blessed’” (Galatians 3:1-8).

Paul continued to describe the situation as one where the Jewish Zealots portrayed Paul as the enemy of the Galatians. Yet Paul was on his way to Galatia to face these apostates. They know that Paul works miracles⁵⁴ all the time; they may have been reluctant to go toe-to-toe with him! They also knew the Scriptures very well, such as how Korah, Dathan and Abiram didn’t fare very well against Moses when they challenged him (Numbers 16). The Jewish Zealots may very well have understood that the best thing that they can do for themselves is to get out of Dodge and get out now!

“Have I therefore become your enemy because I tell you the truth? They zealously court you, *but* for no good; yes, they want to exclude you, that you may be zealous for them. But it is good to be zealous in a good thing always, and not only when I am present with you. My little children (for whom I labor in birth again until Christ is formed in you), I would like to be present with you now and to change my tone; for I have doubts about you. Tell me, you who desire to be under the law, do you not hear the law? For it is written that Abraham had two sons: the one by a bondwoman, the other by a freewoman. But he *who was* of the

⁵² Genesis 15:6.

⁵³ Genesis 12:3, 18:18, 22:18, 26:4, 28:14.

⁵⁴ Paul stated that when he returned to Corinth, he will see what power is associated with those who were puffed up. “But I will come to you shortly, if the Lord wills, and I will know, not the word of those who are puffed up, but the power” (1 Corinthians 4:19).

bondwoman was born according to the flesh, and he of the freewoman through promise, which things are symbolic. For these are the two covenants: the one from Mount Sinai which gives birth to bondage, which is Hagar -- for this Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia, and corresponds to Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children -- but the Jerusalem above is free, which is the mother of us all. For it is written: 'Rejoice⁵⁵, O barren, *you* who do not bear! Break forth and shout, you who are not in labor! For the desolate has many more children than she who has a husband'" (Galatians 4:16-27).

Paul's words get stronger as he proceeds! Not only does getting circumcised by the Jewish Zealots profit the Galatians nothing, but doing so estranges them from Christ and causes them to fall from Grace!

"Stand fast therefore in the liberty by which Christ has made us free, and do not be entangled again with a yoke of bondage. Indeed I, Paul, say to you that if you become circumcised, Christ will profit you nothing. And I testify again to every man who becomes circumcised that he is a debtor to keep the whole law. You have become estranged from Christ, you who *attempt to* be justified by law; you have fallen from grace. For we through the Spirit eagerly wait for the hope of righteousness by faith. For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor uncircumcision avails anything, but faith working through love" (Galatians 5:1-6).

Apparently, there were problems among the Galatian Churches as a result of the visits of the Jewish Zealots. Paul noted that they "bite and devour one another", and that the activity of the Zealots was "works of the flesh". Paul also associated many notorious sins with the Zealots, like adultery, idolatry, sorcery, heresies, murder, etc. These are also characteristics of what Jerusalem was like when the Zealots ruled just prior to 70 AD.

"And I, brethren, if I still preach circumcision, why do I still suffer persecution? Then the offense of the cross has ceased. I could wish that those who trouble you would even cut themselves off! For you, brethren, have been called to liberty; only do not *use* liberty as an opportunity for the flesh, but through love serve one another. For all the law is fulfilled in one word, *even* in this: 'You shall love your neighbor as yourself'. But if you bite and devour one another, beware lest you be consumed by one another! I say then: Walk in the Spirit, and you shall not fulfill the lust of the flesh. For the flesh lusts against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh; and these are contrary to one another, so that you do not do the things that you wish. But if you are led by the Spirit, you are not under the law. Now the works of the flesh are evident, which are: adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lewdness, idolatry, sorcery, hatred, contentions, jealousies, outbursts of wrath, selfish ambitions, dissensions, heresies, envy, murders, drunkenness, revelries, and the like; of which I tell you beforehand, just as I also told *you* in time past, that those who practice such things will not inherit the kingdom of God" (Galatians 5:11-21).

⁵⁵ Quote from Isaiah 54:1.

What were the real motivations of the Jewish Zealots? The ones in Galatia were apparently Christians, at least nominally, but their real agenda seems to be Jewish national identity. Paul stated:

“As many as desire to make a good showing in the flesh, these *would* compel you to be circumcised, only that they may not suffer persecution for the cross of Christ. For not even those who are circumcised keep the law, but they desire to have you circumcised that they may boast⁵⁶ in your flesh” (Galatians 6:12-13).

Some of the Seventy Accompanied Paul and Silas from the Beginning

By examining the Scriptures carefully and piecing them together with early Christian tradition, we find that there were other Apostles traveling with Paul and Silas on the 2nd Missionary Journey, just like there were others involved on the 1st Missionary Journey. These other Apostles will be mentioned as we go along. A summary of the Apostles that Paul worked with on the 2nd Missionary Journey is included in Table 2.

One of the other Apostles traveling with Paul and Silas in c. 48 AD was Andronicus of the Seventy (Luke 10:1-20) and his wife Junia. To understand this, we need to look forward to c. 55 AD when Paul wrote to the Church of Rome from Corinth. There he addressed two of his “countrymen”, Andronicus⁵⁷ and Herodion⁵⁸ (Romans 16:7, 11), who were both members of the Seventy. Paul there referred to Andronicus (and his wife Junia) as his “fellow prisoner” (Romans 16:7). However, the only recorded prison time Paul spent between 48 and 55 AD was in Philippi (Acts 16:19-34), about 51 AD. Andronicus thus must have accompanied Paul and Silas as they headed for Macedonia (and Philippi) after Paul had visited Andronicus in Tarsus⁵⁹. Andronicus must have been imprisoned along with Paul and Silas in Philippi, but not mentioned in Luke’s account of Acts. No mention is made whether Herodion also accompanied Paul at this time. As on the 1st Missionary Journey, Rufus of the Seventy was probably still in Antioch when Paul left. Rufus was sent to Rome (Romans 16:13) about 54 AD, and may have been traveling with Paul during the first part of the 3rd Missionary Journey.

We note that Andronicus is mentioned with Junia (Romans 16:7). They were one of several husband-wife⁶⁰ teams of Apostles such as Aquila and Priscilla (Acts 18:2, 18, 26; Romans 16:3; 1

⁵⁶ “Boast in your flesh”; that is, boast that they have the Galatians firmly under the Jewish national umbrella.

⁵⁷ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, May 17. See:

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for May 17.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2005, March 28, 2002, November 10.

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

⁵⁸ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, April 8, November 10. See:

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for April 8, November 10.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2006, May 17.

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

⁵⁹ Andronicus and Junia were native to Tarsus and were related to Paul. See Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, May 17, July 30. See also:

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp>.

⁶⁰ See also for example Philologus and Julia, Aquila and Priscilla.

Corinthians 16:19; 2 Timothy 4:19). John Chrysostom noted⁶¹ how Paul heaped praise on others, especially Andronicus, exalting them above himself and even calling Junia an Apostle.

“Paul praises Andronicus and Junia saying, ‘They are of note among the Apostles’ (Romans 16:7). To be apostles at all is a great thing. But to be even among these of note, just consider what an accolade this is! They were of note owing to their works, to their achievements. How great is the devotion of Junia that she should be even counted worthy of being called an Apostle! But even here Paul does not stop, but adds another accolade besides, ‘Who were also in Christ before me’”.

Table 2
Those of the Seventy with Paul on the 2nd Missionary Journey

For More Details, see Appendix A

Member of Seventy	Native To	Journey	Later Bishop of	Comments
Amplias		2, 3	Lydda	Andrew sent to Rome
Andronicus	Tarsus	1, 2	Pannonia in Illyricum	Prisoner with Paul
Apelles	Smyrna	2, 3	Smyrna	Acquaintance of Paul
Aquila & Priscilla	Pontus	2, 3, 4, 5	Ephesus before Timothy	
Aristarchus	Thessalonica	2, 3, 4, 5	Apamea	Joined at end of 2 nd
Aristobulus	Cyprus	1, 2, 3	Sent to Britain	Barnabas' brother
Artemas		2, 5	Lystra	
Asyncritus		3	Hyrkania (Persia)	Acquaintance of Paul
Carpus		2, 3, 5	Berea, Troas	
Cephas		2, 3, 4	Iconium after Tertius	
Crispus	Corinth	2, 3	Island of Aegina	Synagogue ruler
Dionysius	Athens	2, 3, 5	Athens	
Epaenetus	Achaia	2, 3	Carthage, Spain	
Epaphroditus	Philippi	2, 3, 4	Colophon in Pamphylia	
Gaius	Derbe	1, 2, 3	Ephesus after Timothy	
Hermas		2, 3	Philippi	Wrote “Shepherd”
Herodion	Tarsus	1, 2, 3	Neoparthia, Patras	
James, Lord's Brother	Bethlehem	2, 4	Jerusalem	Council of Jerusalem
Jason	Tarsus	1, 2, 3	Tarsus, Thessalonica, Corfu	
Justus	Nazareth	2, 4	Eleutheropolis	Antioch, start 2 nd
Linus		2, 3, 4, 5	Rome	
Luke	Antioch	1, 2, 3, 4, 5	Roving Apostle	
Narcissus		2, 3	Athens after Dionysius	Acquaintance of Paul
Olympas		5	--	Beheaded with Paul
Onesiphorus	Iconium	1, 2, 3, 5	Colophon near Ephesus	
Philologus & Julia		3	Sinope	
Phlegon		2, 3	Marathon (Thrace)	Worked with Luke
Rufus	Cyrene	1, 2, 3	Thebes in Greece	
Silas		2, 3	Corinth	
Silvanus		2	Thessalonica	An older man

⁶¹ John Chrysostom, Homilies on Romans, XXXI, v. 5.

Sosipater	Berea	1, 2, 3	Iconium, Corfu	Presbyter in Iconium
Sosthenes	Corinth	2, 3	Caesarea	
Stachys		2, 3	Byzantium	Met Paul at Troas
Tertius		2, 3	Iconium after Sosipater	
Timothy	Lystra	1, 2, 3, 4, 5	Ephesus	
Titus	Crete	1, 2, 3, 5	Crete	
Urbanus	Tarsus	2, 3	Tarsus, Macedonia	

“This too is a very great praise that they came before others. But let me draw your attention to their holy soul, how untainted it is by vanity. After glory such as his in kind and degree, Paul sets others before himself, and does not hide from us the fact of his having come after them, nor is ashamed of confessing this.”

Tradition states⁶² that Andronicus and Junia traveled extensively outside their city of Pannonia in Illyricum, and were eventually martyred in Byzantium, which was later called Constantinople in the 4th century.

“Andronicus was made Bishop of Pannonia, but his preaching also took him and Junia to other lands, far from the boundaries of his diocese. Through the efforts of Andronicus and Junia the Church of Christ was strengthened, pagans were converted to the knowledge of God, many pagan temples closed, and in their place Christian churches were built.”

Passing from Tarsus to Derbe and Lystra, Paul, Silas and Andronicus picked up Timothy at Lystra, where Timothy was later added to the ranks of the Seventy⁶³. Since Paul had been to Lystra on his 1st Missionary Journey (Acts 14:6-18), and had ordained presbyters there, Timothy was probably the one he ordained for Lystra, since Timothy becomes so prominent later, and since Timothy was so well-spoken of when Paul arrived on the 2nd Missionary Journey (Acts 16:2). Timothy would probably be in his mid-20’s at this time.

Before Paul, Silas, etc. traveled to Philippi, Luke joined the Apostolic party, which we see from the Scriptures. The author of the Book of Acts, Luke, switches from “they” to “we” (Acts 16:7, 10), indicating that Luke was now there himself. Luke did not start out traveling with Paul and Silas since he refers to “they” and “them” when Paul started the 2nd Missionary Journey (Acts 16:4-7). Since Luke was a native of Antioch⁶⁴, he would have known where they were going and what they were doing.

Visiting the Churches from the 1st Missionary Journey

⁶² <http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for May 17, July 30.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2006, May 17; 2008, July 30.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, May 17, July 30.

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

⁶³ Just as Matthias was added to the ranks of the Twelve after the apostasy of Judas Iscariot, so four others were added to the ranks of the Seventy after some of the Seventy apostatized. For details, see Mark Kern, Simon Magus the Heresiarch, St. Athanasius Press, 2004.

⁶⁴ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, October 18.

Most authors show Paul's 2nd Missionary Journey going from Derbe and Lystra through Iconium and Antioch in Pisidia on the way to Troas even though this isn't mentioned in Luke's account in Acts. This is undoubtedly the route taken as it is the most direct route between Lystra and Troas. See Figure 3 for a map of the region. Thus, Paul would have seen Sosipater and Onesiphorus (both members of the original Seventy Apostles) again in Iconium, where Paul stayed at the house of Onesiphorus⁶⁵ on his 1st and 2nd Missionary Journeys. Sosipater was the presbyter of Iconium that Barnabas and Paul ordained on their 1st Missionary Journey⁶⁶. Paul would also have seen Gaius, the first presbyter appointed for Derbe (Acts 20:4) and Timothy the first presbyter appointed for Lystra (2 Timothy 3:11). As we will see shortly, Artemas of the Seventy was also traveling with Paul and Silas at the beginning of the 2nd Missionary Journey and he would be ordained as Bishop of Lystra to replace Timothy.

Timothy had been doing a very good job in his role as presbyter (Acts 16:2) over the last several years and Paul asked Timothy to begin traveling with them. We note that Timothy's regard spread to the neighboring city of Iconium 20 miles away.

“Then Paul and Silas came to Derbe and Lystra. And behold, a certain disciple was there, named Timothy, *the* son of a certain Jewish woman who believed, but his father *was* Greek. He was well spoken of by the brethren who were at Lystra and Iconium. Paul wanted to have him go on with him. Paul took *him* and circumcised him because of the Jews who were in that region, for they all knew that his father was Greek” (Acts 16:1-3).

Why would Paul circumcise Timothy here, when he didn't bother to circumcise Titus earlier (Galatians 2:1-3) when he and Barnabas went up to Jerusalem for the Council of Jerusalem? Now that the Apostles in Jerusalem have decreed that circumcision is not necessary for the Gentiles, Paul goes and circumcises Timothy! This is completely backwards!

John Chrysostom commented⁶⁷ on this in amazement at the wisdom of Paul. Paul came through the area carrying the decrees of the Council of Jerusalem which stated that circumcision is not required for the Gentiles; yet Paul goes ahead and circumcises Timothy. And the result is that the Churches “were strengthened in the faith, and increased in number daily” (Acts 16:5).

“It is indeed amazing, the wisdom of Paul! He had so many battles about circumcision; he moved all things to this end, and did not give over until he had carried his point; now that the decree is made sure, he circumcises Timothy. Paul states emphatically that circumcision is not required (Galatians 5:2). The wonder is that he even did the circumcision himself. He did it because the Jews, which were in that area, would not endure to hear the word from someone who was uncircumcised. Nothing could be wiser! In all things Paul looked to what was profitable; he did nothing from his own preference. Note the success: he

⁶⁵ Holy Apostles Convent, The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, Holy Apostles Convent, 2002, September 24, pp. 589-593.

⁶⁶ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, November 10, April 28. See: <http://oca.org/FSLives.asp> for October 30, November 10. The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, November 10.

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

⁶⁷ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, XXXIV, vv. 1-5.

circumcised, that he might take away circumcision; for he preached the decrees of the Apostles. ‘As they went through the cities, they delivered to them the decrees to keep, which were determined by the Apostles and Elders at Jerusalem. So the churches were strengthened in the faith, and increased in number daily’ (Acts 16:4-5). Note that by fighting, Paul obtains edification! They were not warred upon by others, but themselves did contrary things; so they edified the Church! They introduced a decree not to circumcise, and yet Paul circumcises!”

When Paul and Silas came through Iconium on the 2nd Missionary Journey, Thekla, who had been converted on the 1st Missionary Journey, was probably not there anymore. By this time she had probably gone off to live a simple life of prayer and fasting in a cave near Seleucia (northwest of Antioch). After living in that cave for about 70 years, she was martyred by the local physicians who were seeing all their patients healed by Thekla. Thekla came to be called “Equal to the Apostles” as a result of this ministry⁶⁸. In the vast majority of the lives of the saints, it is this devotion to the Lord through prayer and fasting that is rewarded with various spiritual gifts.

With Timothy gone from Lystra, Paul had to ordain someone else in his place. This would have had to have been Artemas⁶⁹, of the Seventy, who was later regarded as the Bishop of Lystra. Paul later sent Artemas as a courier to Titus on Crete (Titus 3:12) c. 14 years later. Little is known about Artemas after the death of Peter and Paul in c. 67 AD except that he stayed in Lystra and he died in peace.

The 2nd Missionary Journey Moves to Macedonia

After visiting the Churches of Asia Minor that Barnabas and Paul had established, Paul, Silas and those traveling with them tried to go to Phrygia, Galatia and Bithynia, but the Holy Spirit forbid them from doing that.

“As they went through the cities, they delivered to them the decrees to keep, which were determined by the Apostles and elders at Jerusalem. So the churches were strengthened in the faith, and increased in number daily. Now when they had gone through Phrygia and the region of Galatia, they were forbidden by the Holy Spirit to preach the Word in Asia. After they had come to Mysia, they tried to go into Bithynia, but the Spirit did not permit them. So passing by Mysia, they came down to Troas. And a vision appeared to Paul in the night. A man of Macedonia stood and pleaded with him, saying, ‘Come over to Macedonia and help us’. Now after he had seen the vision, immediately we sought to go to Macedonia, concluding that the Lord had called us to preach the Gospel to them” (Acts 16:4-10).

⁶⁸ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, September 24.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for September 24.](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20September%2024)

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, September 24.

⁶⁹ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, October 30.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for October 30.](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20October%2030)

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, October 30.

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

Why would the Holy Spirit forbid Paul from preaching the Word in Asia? We note that Paul did not come back to Asia much at all after this. He spent two years in Ephesus on the 3rd Missionary Journey (Acts 19), and during that time, he probably visited the cities around Ephesus also. But his focus seems to be elsewhere.

One possible reason for Paul being called elsewhere has to do with the Apostle John. After Pentecost, and before the stoning of Stephen (Acts 7:57-60), the Twelve Apostles divided up the world into different regions, and then they drew lots to determine who would go where. For example, Thomas' lot was India and Matthew's lot was Ethiopia. John's lot was Asia Minor, but John was not able to go there immediately because he had also been given the command to care for the Virgin Mary by the Lord (John 19:26-27). After the Virgin Mary died in the mid 50's AD, John was now free to go to the territory that he had been given. Prior to that, Paul (and Barnabas, Silas and others) had been helping out by filling in for John. Once John was able to go to Asia Minor, he proceeded to deal with the people there very effectively and very authoritatively (Revelation 2-3). The "Angel of the Church" that John referred to is probably the Bishop of that Church. Timothy was Bishop in Ephesus after Paul ordained him, well before John arrived. Timothy traveled around a lot with Paul when Paul was alive, and served under John after that. Timothy was martyred in Ephesus just before John returned from exile on Patmos, and he was replaced by Gaius, also one of the Seventy.

The Church in Philippi

Philippi was a city in Macedonia that was originally founded by Philip II⁷⁰, king of Macedon, in 356 BC. The city had a long prosperous history due largely to gold mines nearby. The city had a relatively small urban area, with villages surrounding it, but it had a very privileged position due to the wealth coming from the mines. Philippi was located on the Via Egnatia, the main trade route constructed by Rome in the 2nd century BC, which connected Italy with Asia Minor. Cities along this trade route (from East to West) are Neapolis (Acts 16:11), Philippi, Amphipolis, Apollonia (Acts 17:1), Thessalonica and Dyrrhachium on the western coast of Greece.

From the account of the founding of the Church in Philippi (Acts 16), there are a number of insights into the workings of the Early Church. We will explore a number of these⁷¹.

The first city Paul, Silas, Luke, Timothy and Andronicus visited in Macedonia was Philippi, called the foremost (i.e. capital city) in Macedonia. Paul seems to have skipped the smaller cities such as Neapolis, Amphipolis and Apollonia in order to concentrate on the larger cities. The idea seems to be that the smaller cities would benefit as people came there from the larger cities. While the only people Paul is recorded as meeting in Philippi are Lydia and the Philippian jailer, there were definitely others (Acts 16:40).

When Paul, Silas, etc., first arrived in Philippi, they met with the righteous women of Philippi who met for prayers outside the city by the riverside (Acts 16:13). These women were very receptive, were baptized and Lydia invited Paul to stay with her (Acts 16:15). On the way to

⁷⁰ Philip II was the father of Alexander the Great.

⁷¹ For further study into the Church in Philippi, see the Study for the 6th Sunday of Pascha.

prayers again, a fortune-telling slave girl began announcing Paul as “servant of the Most High God who proclaims to us the way of salvation” (Acts 16:17). At first, Paul tolerated this; after all, it was true. But as days went by, the slave girl began turning things into a circus, distracting the serious matters of prayer that Paul was focusing on. [Does this ever happen today??] So, Paul cast the demon out of the girl. The girl’s eyes were opened as to what she was really doing: disrupting the prayer of the faithful.

A Major Learning Experience for Luke and the Others

These events in Philippi represented a major learning experience for Luke. Some of the things he learned first-hand were⁷² how the demons operate, how they interact with Christians and why they might pretend to go along with Paul. Paul demonstrated that the Way of Salvation (Acts 16:17) starts with learning and doing what the Lord taught; that is, keeping the Commandments. A more advanced learning experience for Luke and the others followed with Paul and Silas engaging in “Night Watches”. What they did was sing some of the Psalms later incorporated into Orthodox “Midnight Prayers”, which speak of earthquakes and the wrath of God. The other prisoners were listening to this; and then all of a sudden, a major earthquake happened.

While the other prisoners were listening intently and expectantly. The jailor was listening also. Paul and Silas were bleeding all over from being beaten with rods, where they could have undergone over a hundred strokes with an iron rod⁷³. A beating with rods was applied to both the back and the chest, and left the subject very weak and usually with a few broken bones. Paul’s and Silas’ behavior was very unusual; people beaten with rods generally moaned all night from their wounds and bruises, murmuring against God and reviling whoever gave them the beating. But Paul and Silas were singing praises to God!

In Jewish society, a beating would have been limited to forty strokes; but in this case Gentiles, not Jews, administered it. For sure, Paul and Silas were in considerable pain and their backs were raw and bleeding.

When the “great earthquake” struck, (Acts 16:26) and the doors were opened, and it came as an answer to Paul’s and Silas’ prayer and singing. Normally, an earthquake wouldn’t unfasten leg irons. But it may pull the building down on top of them. This earthquake had some intelligence to it and the prisoners had their eyes opened quite clearly to see this.

Earthquakes occur in that part of the world more than in California. The jailor, who would answer with his life if any prisoners escaped, figured they were all gone when he saw the damage and the doors open. Paul had to restrain him from suicide by telling him that everyone was still there. Chrysostom said⁷⁴ that the jailor was more amazed that all the prisoners were still there than he was at the earthquake. The other prisoners didn’t leave either since they knew this was no ordinary jailbreak. For most people, if they were in the prisoners’ place, heard some people keeping an all-night vigil and praying for an earthquake – and then it happened – they’d be

⁷² For details, see [Mark Kern, *The Life of the Apostle Paul*, St Athanasius Press, e-Books, 2018.](#)

⁷³ Paul Copan, “The Ancient Near East Was No Picnic” suggests that ancient Egyptian law permitted beating criminals for perjury with between 100 and 200 strokes. According to the Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, a 100-stroke beating was the mildest form of punishment.

⁷⁴ John Chrysostom, [Homilies on Acts](#), XXXVI, v. 25.

wondering what else these guys could do! There's more with them than any army Rome can muster!

The jailor realized that Paul saved his life by not escaping and his eyes were opened too; so, he asked Paul what he must do to be saved. Paul responded by speaking the word of the Lord to the jailor, the other prisoners and the jailor's household. The jailor then washed and dressed Paul's and Silas' wounds and Paul and Silas held a midnight baptism followed by feasting and rejoicing.

When the Lord sent the Twelve Apostles out two by two, He told them to first "Inquire who is worthy, and stay there" (Matthew 10:11). The person that they stayed with received a significant blessing from the Lord. This is exactly what Paul did in Philippi. "On the Sabbath day we went out of the city to the riverside, where prayer was customarily made; and we sat down and spoke to the women who met *there*. Now a certain woman named Lydia heard *us*. She was a seller of purple from the city of Thyatira, who worshiped God. The Lord opened her heart to heed the things spoken by Paul. And when she and her household were baptized, she begged *us*, saying, 'If you have judged me to be faithful to the Lord, come to my house and stay'. So, she persuaded us" (Acts 16:13-15).

Traditionally, the next thing that the Church established is prayer in the city that they came to. This had already been started with Lydia and the other women. Today, if the Bishop or priest comes to a city, he may begin praying all by himself at first; that is OK. The prayer life forms the foundation for the Lord's work as He answers the prayers of the faithful. This is what happened in Philippi also, and the demon in the slave girl "Pythoness" was trying to disrupt this prayer life.

Paul and Silas Took a Beating for the Philippian Christians

The next day (Acts 16:35), the magistrates ordered Paul and Silas released quietly. Paul and Silas had been beaten and jailed just to satisfy the mob that was aroused by the slave girl's owner. And Paul took the beating without saying anything. [Paul and the Twelve were beaten a number of times during their missionary journeys.] Why would they not speak up for their rights? In this case, the answer is that Paul was looking out for the new Philippians converts who might incur the same treatment.

When the magistrates beat Paul without a trial, they violated Roman law and could be severely punished – and they knew it. All Paul had to do was appeal to Rome (Acts 25:11) and their heads would roll. Roman citizens were not allowed (1) to be beaten without a trial, and (2) to be incarcerated without a trial. As in Paul's case later, if the Roman citizen was not satisfied with the outcome of the trial, he could appeal to the Emperor himself.

At first the magistrates sent officers to release Paul and Silas (Acts 16:35). Undoubtedly, they had discovered overnight what actually happened, and that the masters of the slave girl "Pythoness" were just mad at losing their profitable business. However, Paul told the officers that the magistrates had just beaten and incarcerated Roman citizens; they need to come themselves and bring us out of prison! Thus, the magistrates had to come crawling on their knees to Paul to beg him not to prosecute them for this injustice.

With this hanging over the heads of the magistrates, they were very unlikely to harass Lydia, the jailor, the prisoners, etc., in response to the owners of the slave girl or any others who sought to persecute the new Church.

John Chrysostom pointed out⁷⁵ another aspect of this situation. If Paul and Silas just left when the magistrates allowed them to, they would be leaving as if they were already condemned. Paul wanted to turn this around so that the magistrates would be the ones condemned.

“The magistrates said, ‘depart, and go in peace’ (Acts 16:36); that is, go in safety, fearing no man. But Paul said to them, that he did not want to seem to be receiving his liberty as one condemned, and as one that has done wrong. Therefore, he said, ‘Having openly beaten us innocent Roman citizens’ (Acts 16:37), that it may not be a matter of grace on the part of the magistrates. Besides, they wanted the jailor himself to be out of danger, that he may not be called to account for this afterwards. They do not say, ‘Having beaten us’, who have worked miracles; for the magistrates did not even pay attention to these. Instead they said that which was most effective to shake their minds, ‘innocent Roman citizens’. Observe how diversely grace manages things: how Peter went out of prison, how Paul was released, though both were Apostles. ‘The magistrates feared’ because the men were Romans (Acts 16:38), not because they had unjustly thrown them into prison. ‘The magistrates asked Paul and Silas to leave the city’ (Acts 16:39), begging them as a favor.”

The Evangelist Luke Remained Behind in Philippi

Following this incident, Paul and Silas left Philippi, but Luke evidently stayed behind in Philippi. We can see this by looking closely at Luke’s words; when they arrived in Philippi, Luke said, “As we went to prayer” (Acts 16:16). When it comes to the departure from Philippi, Luke switches to “they departed” (Acts 16:40) and “they passed through Amphipolis” (Acts 17:1). The third person “they” continues for about five years until Paul came to Macedonia again on his 3rd Missionary Journey, at which time Luke again resumes the first person “We sailed away from Philippi” (Acts 20:6). In addition, from Paul’s Epistles to the Thessalonians, written from Corinth on Paul’s 2nd Missionary Journey, Silas and Timothy were with Paul but not Luke (1 Thessalonians 1:1, 2 Thessalonians 1:1).

As Paul and Silas left Philippi on the 2nd Missionary Journey, the only Christians that are mentioned are Lydia from Thyatira in Asia Minor and the jailor and the other prisoners along with their families. Others are also implied (Acts 16:40), however, such as those that met for prayer at the river side. When Paul returned to Macedonia five years later, he took up a significant collection in alms for the impoverished Jerusalem Church⁷⁶. By then, the Church in Philippi had grown considerably and was able to contribute to these alms. Luke’s efforts in this regard may not have been limited to Philippi, but may have included Berea, Thessalonica (Acts 17:1-15) and even Illyricum (Romans 15:19).

⁷⁵ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, XXXV, Recapitulation.

⁷⁶ See Acts 24:17, 1 Corinthians 16:1-4; 2 Corinthians 8:1-4; Romans 15:25-27.

Others of the Seventy Worked with Luke in Macedonia

Since Andronicus and his wife Junia were also traveling with Paul's company, they probably also stayed behind with Luke, since Andronicus has traditionally been referred to as the Bishop of Pannonia in Illyricum. During these five years, Luke got around to the whole area. Paul left Luke in Philippi c. 49-50 AD. By 55 AD when Paul wrote to the Romans, he said, "From Jerusalem and round about to Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ" (Romans 15:19). Paul is never recorded as going to Illyricum himself; but Luke could easily have been there during the five years that he was in Philippi.

In addition, according to tradition⁷⁷, Andronicus is regarded as the first Bishop of Pannonia in Illyricum. According to these accounts, Andronicus and Junia traveled widely around the area of Illyricum, evangelizing the whole area, perhaps with Luke, perhaps separately. Paul refers to the work of Andronicus and Junia when they were in Rome in c. 55 AD:

"Greet Andronicus and Junia, my countrymen and my fellow prisoners, who are of note among the apostles, who also were in Christ before me" (Romans 16:7).

Since Andronicus and Junia are referred to as Paul's "countrymen", Paul can say that he went to Illyricum because his kin went there with his instructions. Junia is sometimes referred to⁷⁸ as being "Equal to the Apostles" for her work with Paul and with her husband.

Urbanus is remembered as the Bishop of Macedonia who was ordained by the Apostle Andrew⁷⁹. He served for a long time there and was eventually tortured to death by the Jews and the pagans for his zeal in preaching the Gospel. In the Scriptures, we see Urbanus only in Rome in c. 55 AD (Romans 16:9). If Luke had been left behind in charge in Macedonia⁸⁰ during the middle of Paul's 2nd Missionary Journey (c. 50 AD), and this continued until the 3rd Missionary Journey (c. 55 AD); and if Urbanus was in Rome in 55 AD, he had to have been sent there along with the other 17 of the Seventy Apostles who had been sent there (Table 6). Most likely Urbanus was in Macedonia with Luke from 50 to 55 AD and had proven himself in the work there with his zeal for the Faith. When Paul came through Macedonia on the 3rd Missionary Journey, Paul sent

⁷⁷ Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, May 17.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for May 17](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20May%2017).

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Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

⁷⁸ Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, May 17.

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⁷⁹ Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, October 31.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, October 31.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for October 31](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20October%2031).

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

⁸⁰ For more details regarding this, see the section of the 2nd Missionary Journey titled "The Evangelist Luke Remained Behind in Philippi".

Urbanus to Rome to help the others with dealing with the Heresiarch Simon Magus⁸¹. A few years later Urbanus returned to Macedonia.

Others helping out in Macedonia were Epaphroditus and Hermas. Epaphroditus was one of the original Seventy Apostles. He was probably from Philippi and Paul calls him an Apostle and a Liturgist to Philippi as well as his fellow-worker and fellow-soldier (Philippians 2:25). We first see him in Paul's letters in c. 62 AD when Paul sent him to Philippi from Rome. Epaphroditus had been longing for the Philippians and was distressed because they were worried about him when he was very sick (Philippians 2:26-30). This implies that he had been working with Paul for quite a while already. Earlier in c. 49-50 AD, when Paul passed through Philippi on his 2nd Missionary Journey, Epaphroditus was probably there also. On Paul's 3rd Missionary Journey, Luke started traveling with Paul again⁸², and probably Epaphroditus did so also, while Hermas of the original Seventy was left behind in Philippi. Hermas thus became known as the first Bishop of Philippi⁸³. Hermas is best known for an instructive book he wrote called "The Shepherd", which was very popular in the first few centuries, and was treated as Scripture by many until the canon of the Scripture was settled.

Silas Remains in Corinth as Bishop

Following Paul's year and a half in Corinth, we do not hear about Silas any more. Since tradition ascribes the role of the first Bishop of Corinth to Silas⁸⁴, he must have remained there all the way through the crisis Paul addressed in 1 Corinthians. Silas certainly must have had his hands full in Corinth.

Paul's Return to Antioch

Paul Leaves Aquila and Priscilla in Charge in Ephesus

John Chrysostom pointed out⁸⁵ that while Paul was everywhere working with the Gentiles, for the year and a half that he spent in Corinth, he was living in the same house as Aquila and Priscilla, who were Jews. The seeds of the war against the Jews by the Romans were beginning already then. Paul was not ashamed to live with lowly tentmakers rather than in a luxury condo. Even though Paul had been sent to the Gentiles, he was living with Jews without trying to get them to give up their Jewish traditions.

⁸¹ For more details regarding Simon Magus, see Mark Kern, Simon Magus the Heresiarch, St. Athanasius Press, 2004. See <http://www.stathanasius.org/resources/e-books/>.

⁸² See the Section, "The Evangelist Luke Remained Behind in Philippi".

⁸³ There were two cities not too far apart: Philippi and Philippoupolis. Philippi was on the coast of the Aegean Sea while Philippoupolis was inland about 100 miles almost due North. Both cities were named after Philip II of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great. Philippoupolis today is named Plovdiv, Bulgaria.

⁸⁴ Hippolytus, On the Seventy Apostles, 16.

Nikolai Velimirovic, The Prologue from Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, July 30.

Paul Hetherington, tr., The Painter's Manual of Dionysius of Fournia, Oakwood Publications, 1974.

Demetrius of Rostov, The Great Collection of the Lives of the Saints, January 4, tr. by Fr. Thomas Marretta, Chrysostom Press, House Springs, MO, 2002

Dorotheus of Tyre, The Choosing of the Seventy Holy Apostles.

⁸⁵ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, XXXIX, vv. 2-3, Recapitulation.

“Paul was led by the Spirit to Corinth, in which city he was to stay. ‘Having found a certain Jew named Aquila, of Pontus by birth, lately come from Italy, for the greater part of his life had been passed there — and Priscilla his wife, because Claudius had commanded all the Jews to depart from Rome’ (Acts 18:2). Though it was in the reign of Nero that the war against the Jews was consummated, yet from the time of Claudius and it was fanning up, at a distance, so that they might come to their senses; from Rome they were now driven as common pests. This is why it was so ordered by Providence that Paul was led there as a prisoner, that he might not as a Jew be driven away, but as acting under military custody might even be guarded there. Having found these, ‘Paul came to them; and because he was of the same craft, he stayed with them and worked; for by occupation they were tent-makers’ (Acts 18:3). What a justification he found for dwelling in the same house with them! For because here, of all places, it was necessary for Paul to stay, ‘That I may cut off the opportunity from those who desire an opportunity to be regarded just as we are in the things of which they boast’ (2 Corinthians 11:12), it is providentially ordered that he stays there.”

“After leaving Athens, Paul ‘found a certain Jew named Aquila, born in Pontus, who had recently come from Italy with his wife Priscilla (because Claudius had commanded all the Jews to depart from Rome); and he came to them.’³ So, because he was of the same trade, he stayed with them and worked; for by occupation they were tentmakers’ (Acts 18:1-3). Notice how, not in Jerusalem, nor near it the crisis was hastening to come, but at a greater distance. Paul stayed with Aquila, and is not ashamed to stay there; for this very reason he stays, as having a suitable lodging-place, for to him it was much more suitable than any king’s palace. Don’t smile, beloved, to hear of Paul’s occupation. It was good for him just as to the athlete the gymnasium is more useful than delicate carpets; so to the warrior the iron sword is more useful than a golden sword. Paul worked, even though he preached. Let us be ashamed, who though we have no preaching to occupy us, we live in idleness.”

Luke wrote, “So Paul still remained a good while. Then he took leave of the brethren and sailed for Syria, and Priscilla and Aquila *were* with him. He had *his* hair cut off at Cenchrea, for he had taken a vow” (Acts 18:18). John Chrysostom noted⁸⁶ that Paul was keeping the Mosaic Law fairly strictly at this time, and so were the Jews he was staying with. But the keeping of the Law was fading; this was a time of transition. Paul stayed just a short time in Ephesus; he left behind the Jews Priscilla and Aquila to teach the new converts, while he himself went to Jerusalem to keep the Feast (probably of Pentecost⁸⁷).

“Notice how the Law was breaking up; notice how they were bound by conscience. This was a Jewish custom, to shear their heads agreeably with a vow. The Law also required a sacrifice (Acts 21:26), which was not the case here. It was

⁸⁶ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, XL, vv. 18-21.

⁸⁷ Paul stated, “I must by all means keep this coming feast in Jerusalem” (Acts 18:21). Sailing season on the Mediterranean is from April to October, and sailors usually spent the winter (November to March) in a sheltered harbor to avoid shipwreck from unpredictable storms. The Feast that Paul referred to was unlikely to be Passover, since Passover was likely over before the sailing season began. It is possible that Paul could have been referring to the Feast of Tabernacles in October, but more likely is the Feast of Pentecost. See also Acts 20:16.

necessary that Paul should stay, and comfort the Ephesians concerning these things. Paul then sailed for Syria since it was there that ‘the disciples were ordered to be called Christians’ (Acts 11:26); there Paul had been ‘commended to the grace of God’ (Acts 14:26); there Paul had effected such things concerning the doctrine. Priscilla and Aquila were with him up until Ephesus. But these he left at Ephesus; and with good reason, namely, that they should teach. For having been with him so long time, they were learning many things, and yet he did not at present withdraw them from their custom as Jews. Paul came to Ephesus, and left Priscilla and Aquila there; but he himself entered into the synagogue, and reasoned with the Jews. When they desired him to stay longer with them, he did not consent; but bid them farewell, saying, ‘I must by all means keep this coming feast in Jerusalem’. Therefore, it was that he was hindered from coming into Asia, being impelled to what was of pressing moment. Thus, we observe him here, entreated by the Ephesians to stay, but because he could not comply, being in haste to depart, ‘he took leave of them’. However, he did not leave them without help, but with a promise to return, ‘But I will return again to you, God willing. And he sailed from Ephesus’” (Acts 18:21).

John Chrysostom stated⁸⁸ that Paul intentionally left Aquila and Priscilla in Ephesus so that they would be available to help Apollos. They all did everything by listening to the Holy Spirit. Thanks to Aquila and Priscilla, Apollos was able to come to Corinth with greater force in refuting the Jews from the Scriptures.

“‘And Paul came to Ephesus, and left Aquila and Priscilla there’ (Acts 18:19); for he did not wish to take them about with him, but left them at Ephesus. They subsequently dwelt at Corinth, and he bears high testimony to them, and writing to the Romans, greets them (Romans 16:3). It seems to me that they afterwards went back to Rome, in the time of Nero, as having an attachment for those parts where they had been expelled from in the time of Claudius. ‘But Paul himself entered the synagogue and reasoned with the Jews’. It seems to me that the faithful still assembled there, for they did not immediately withdraw them. ‘When they asked *him* to stay a longer time with them, he did not consent’ (Acts 18:20), for he was hastening to Caesarea. ‘When he had landed at Caesarea, and had gone up and greeted the Church, he went down to Antioch. After he had spent some time *there*, he departed and went over the region of Galatia and Phrygia in order, strengthening all the disciples’ (Acts 18:22-23). Through these regions also he merely passes again, just enough to establish them by his presence. Then Apollos arrived in Ephesus (Acts 18:24). Now Apollos was an awakened man, traveling in foreign parts for this very purpose. Writing of him Paul said, ‘Now concerning Apollos our brother’ (1 Corinthians 16:12). When Aquila and Priscilla heard him, they took him aside and explained to him the way of God more accurately’ (Acts 18:26). It was not for nothing that Paul left them at Ephesus, but for Apollos’ sake, the Spirit so ordered it, that Apollos might come with greater force to the attack at Corinth. What may be the reason that they did not assault Apollos, but Paul they did? They knew that Paul was the leader, and great was the name of the man. ‘When Apollos desired to cross to Achaia, the brethren wrote, exhorting the disciples to receive him; and when he arrived, he greatly helped those who had

⁸⁸ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, XL, vv. 19-28.

believed through grace' (Acts 18:27). That is, in faith; he did everything by faith; nowhere is there envy, nowhere is there an evil eye. Aquila teaches, or rather Apollos lets himself be taught. Apollos intended to depart, and they send letters ahead. 'For he vigorously refuted the Jews publicly, showing from the Scriptures that Jesus is the Christ' (Acts 18:28). Now by this, that he 'publicly' convinced them, his boldness was shown; by the clearness of his arguing, his power was declared; by his convicting them out of the Scriptures, his skill of learning was demonstrated. Neither boldness by itself contributes anything, where there is not power; nor power where there is not boldness."

We note that Paul picked up two more members of his missionary band as he left Ephesus. Tychicus and Trophimus, both of the Seventy, have now joined Paul's entourage (Acts 20:4). Trophimus was an Ephesian (Acts 21:29); Tychicus may have been from the Ephesus area also.

Paul Takes a Vow

After leaving Corinth, Paul sailed for Ephesus, then home to Caesarea, Jerusalem and Antioch. He left Aquila and Priscilla in Ephesus (Acts 18:19-21) -- eventually Aquila became Bishop of Ephesus.

Of note on Paul's return to Antioch is that "he had shorn his head in Cenchrea⁸⁹, for he had taken a vow" (Acts 18:18). Thus, Paul took this vow after he left Corinth but before he arrived in Ephesus. Why? Taking vows was an Old Testament custom, and they were binding. The Lord had said, "It is better to not vow than to vow and not pay" (Ecclesiastes 5:5). But if Paul was proclaiming to the Gentiles that they don't need to keep the Mosaic Laws (with a few exceptions as decreed by the Church in Jerusalem), why was Paul being so open about keeping the Mosaic Law himself? Paul used the Mosaic Law to his advantage. Prior to stopping in Ephesus, Paul followed the rules of the Mosaic Law for taking a vow (Acts 18:18-22, Numbers 6:1-21); when he stopped in Ephesus to reason with the Jews at the synagogue, this was very obvious to them due to Paul's shaved head. Then Paul departed early in order to keep a Feast in Jerusalem -- also part of the Mosaic Law. He left behind Priscilla and Aquila -- also Jews -- in order to teach the Jews in Ephesus additional things. These things Paul did in order to set up his return to Ephesus on his 3rd Missionary Journey with spectacular results.

John Chrysostom noted⁹⁰ that the practice of the Mosaic Law was still widespread, but it was breaking up. At this point Paul was on his way back to Antioch to report the results of his 2nd Missionary Journey.

"Notice how the Law was breaking up; notice how they were bound by conscience. This was a Jewish custom, to shear their heads agreeably with a vow. There ought to have been a sacrifice also (Acts 21:26), which was not the case here. Paul desired to come to Syria because it was there that 'the disciples were first called Christians in Antioch' (Acts 11:26); and because it was there that he had been 'commended to the grace of God for the work which they had completed' (Acts 14:26). Paul also had had a major effect on the Doctrine there."

⁸⁹ Corinth is located on a peninsula. Cenchrea was the port for Corinth on the eastern side of the peninsula.

⁹⁰ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, XL, v. 18.

“After taking this vow, Paul went to Ephesus and reasoned with the Jews in the synagogue. ‘Priscilla and Aquila *were* with him’ (Acts 18:18) — notice, a woman also. These he left at Ephesus, with good reason; namely, that they should teach. Having been with him so long, they had learned many things. Yet he did not at present withdraw them from their custom as Jews.”

“When the Ephesians desired him to stay longer with them, he didn’t consent; but said farewell, saying, ‘I must by all means keep this coming feast in Jerusalem; but I will return again to you, God willing’ (Acts 18:21). He was hindered from coming into Asia, being impelled to what was of pressing moment. Even though Paul was entreated by the Jews of Ephesus to stay, he could not comply, being in haste to depart due to his vow and the Feast Day in Jerusalem. However, he did not leave them without help, and promised to return.”

In summarizing Paul’s 2nd Missionary Journey, he started with Silas, picked up Andronicus in Tarsus, Timothy in Lystra, Luke in Troas and Aquila and Priscilla in Corinth. Urbanus was left behind in Tarsus, Luke, Andronicus and Junia in Macedonia, Olympas in Philippi, Jason in Thessalonica, Silas in Corinth and Aquila and Priscilla in Ephesus.

When Paul returned to Antioch, Evodius was still the Bishop of Antioch. Since Evodius had been involved as Bishop in sending off Paul and Silas, it was common courtesy that Paul report back to him what he had accomplished. Evodius may have sent others back to the new Churches Paul had started to help them out.

Paul’s 3rd Missionary Journey

Members of the Seventy Accompanying Paul

Table 3
Those of the Seventy Who Served with Paul on the 3rd Missionary Journey
For More Details, see Appendix A

Member of Seventy	Native To	Journey	Later Bishop of	Comments	Rome 55AD
Amplias		2, 3	Lydda, Odessus		Yes
Andronicus & Junia	Tarsus	1, 2, 3	Pannonia in Illyricum	Prisoner with Paul	Yes
Apelles	Smyrna	2, 3	Smyrna	Acquaintance of Paul	Yes
Aquila & Priscilla	Pontus	2, 3, 4, 5	Ephesus before Timothy	Acts 18:19	Yes
Aristarchus	Thessalonica	3, 4, 5	Apamea	Joined at end of 2 nd	
Aristobulus	Cyprus	1, 2, 3	Sent to Britain	Barnabas’ brother	Yes
Asyncritus		3	Hyrkania (Persia)	Acquaintance of Paul	Yes
Carpus		2, 3, 5	Berea, Troas		
Cephas		2, 3, 4	Iconium after Tertius		
Crispus	Corinth	2, 3	Island of Aegina	Synagogue ruler	
Dionysius	Athens	2, 3, 5	Athens		
Epaenetus	Achaia	2, 3	Carthage, Spain		Yes
Epaphras		3, 4, 5	Colossae area	Colossians 1:7, 4:12	
Epaphroditus	Philippi	2, 3, 4	Colophon in Pamphylia		
Erastus		3, 5	--	Expert at finances	
Gaius	Derbe	1, 2, 3	Ephesus after Timothy	Presbyter in Derbe	

Hermas		2, 3	Philippi	Wrote "Shepherd"	Yes
Hermes		3	Dalmatia		Yes
Herodion	Tarsus	1, 2, 3, 5	Neoparthia, Patras		Yes
James, Lord's Brother	Bethlehem	2, 4	Jerusalem	Council of Jerusalem	
Jason	Tarsus	1, 2, 3	Tarsus, Thessalonica	Sent to Corfu	
Linus		2, 3, 4, 5	Rome		No
Lucius		3, 5	Laodicea in Syria	Paul's kinsman	
Luke	Antioch	1, 2, 3, 4, 5	Roving Apostle		
Narcissus		2, 3	Athens after Dionysius	Acquaintance of Paul	Yes
Olympas		5	--	Beheaded with Paul	Yes
Onesiphorus	Iconium	1, 2, 3, 5	Colophon near Ephesus		
Patrobus		3	Naples, Puteoli		Yes
Philologus & Julia		3	Sinope		Yes
Phlegon		2, 3	Marathon (Thrace)	Worked with Luke	Yes
Rufus	Cyrene	1, 2, 3	Thebes in Greece		Yes
Silas		2, 3	Corinth		
Sosipater	Berea	1, 2, 3	Iconium, Corfu	Presbyter in Iconium	
Sosthenes	Corinth	2, 3	Caesarea		
Stachys		2, 3	Byzantium	Met Paul at Troas	Yes
Tertius		2, 3	Iconium after Sosipater		
Timothy	Lystra	1, 2, 3, 4, 5	Ephesus		
Titus	Crete	1, 2, 3, 5	Crete		
Trophimus		3, 4, 5	--	Beheaded with Paul	
Tychicus	Asia Minor	3, 4, 5	Caesarea after Philip		
Urbanus	Tarsus	2, 3	Tarsus, Macedonia		Yes

Table 3 shows the members of the Seventy Apostles who worked with Paul at some point on the 3rd Missionary Journey.

Visiting the Churches Already Established

Paul began his 3rd Missionary Journey in a similar fashion to his 2nd Missionary Journey; that is, visiting the Churches he had already established, starting with Tarsus, Derbe, Lystra, Iconium and Antioch of Pisidia.

“After Paul had spent some time in Antioch, he departed and went over the region of Galatia and Phrygia in order, strengthening all the disciples” (Acts 18:23).

Figure 4 shows the route of Paul's 3rd Missionary Journey by following the numbers in bold green text. Most maps of Paul's 3rd Missionary Journey show him following a similar path as the 2nd Missionary Journey for the first part of the Journey. If he “strengthened all the disciples” (Acts 18:23), then he moved overland from Antioch through Tarsus, Derbe, Lystra, Iconium and Antioch of Pisidia to Ephesus. Along the way, he greeted (and strengthened) the presbyters and Bishops that he had ordained previously.

A Change in the Bishops of the Churches

As Paul passed through various towns, he changed Bishops in some of them. This was something he deliberated about as he saw a need for the talents of some of these men in what he was heading for.

Starting his 3rd Missionary Journey, Paul began the same as his 2nd Journey: that is, through Tarsus, Derbe, Lystra, Iconium and Antioch of Pisidia.

Table 4
Bishops of Asia Minor

	Tarsus	Derbe	Lystra	Iconium	Antioch Pisidia
1 st Missionary Journey	Jason	Gaius	Timothy	Sosipater	No record
2 nd Missionary Journey	Urbanus	Not Gaius	Artemas	Not Sosipater	No record
3 rd Missionary Journey	Not Urbanus	Not Gaius		Tertius	No record
Later				Cephas	

Table 5
Bishops of Macedonia and Achaia

	Macedonia	Philippi	Thessalonica	Berea	Corinth	Ephesus
1 st Missionary Journey	--	--	--	--	--	--
2 nd Missionary Journey	Luke, Andronicus, Junia	Olympas	Jason	Carpus	Silas	Aquila, Priscilla
3 rd Missionary Journey			Silvanus		Silas	
Later						Timothy

Figure 4
Map of Paul's 3rd Missionary Journey⁹¹

⁹¹ © Bible History Online <http://www.bible-history.com>. Other maps also available.



As Paul began his 3rd Missionary Journey, very little is mentioned of what he did in Galatia and Phrygia (Tarsus, Derbe, Lystra, Iconium and Antioch of Pisidia). Cephas and Onesiphorus, two of the Seventy, were mentioned on the 1st and 2nd Missionary Journeys, in Iconium, where Cephas was Bishop of Iconium according to tradition⁹². Therefore, the first part of Paul's 3rd Journey was probably spent deliberately strengthening each Church from his 1st Missionary Journey with the help of Timothy, Titus, Gaius, Aristarchus and Erastus.

Prior to Paul's arrival in Ephesus on the 3rd Missionary Journey, Apollos, one of the Seventy, came through Ephesus and vigorously refuted the Jews publicly showing from the Scriptures that Jesus is the Christ. When he arrived⁹³, he "knew only the baptism of John". Aquila, the presbyter, and his wife Priscilla took Apollos aside and brought him up to date on what had happened since John the Baptist. Apollos received their word gratefully and then left for Achaia (and Corinth) to do the same for the Jews there. When Paul arrived at Ephesus, one of the things

⁹² Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, December 8.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, January 4.

Note that <http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for December 8 states that Cephas was Bishop of Colophon in Pamphylia.

⁹³ Apollos must have left Jerusalem for Alexandria, his home town, shortly after the Lord sent the Seventy out two by two (Luke 10:1-20). He seems to have missed Pentecost and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

he had to address (in writing 1 Corinthians) was the factions in the Corinthian Church: some of Apollos, some of Peter, etc. Perhaps Silas -- whom Paul left in charge -- wasn't as gifted a speaker as the others and was having difficulty holding everything together.

Apollos did not intend to create a personality cult in Corinth. There was some contact between Paul and Apollos (1 Corinthians 16:12) and Apollos didn't want to go back to Corinth for fear of amplifying the personality cult he inadvertently created. Later in about 65 AD, when Titus was the Bishop of Crete, Paul encouraged Titus to receive Apollos (and Zenas) as they came through (Titus 3:13).

Since Apollos traveled so extensively, he may not have had the time to become established as Bishop anywhere. We know that he was in Ephesus (Acts 18:24), Corinth (Acts 19:1), Crete (Titus 3:13), and back in Corinth (1 Corinthians 16:12). Other accounts say that he was Bishop of Smyrna⁹⁴, Caesarea in Bithynia⁹⁵, Colophon⁹⁶, Caesarea⁹⁷ and Corinth⁹⁸.

Paul's Epistles to Corinth

Paul founded the Church in Corinth about 51 AD toward the end of his 2nd Missionary Journey and stayed there a year and a half (Acts 18:11). Silas was traveling with Paul at the time along with Luke, Timothy and Andronicus, where all but Paul were of the original Seventy. Luke was left behind⁹⁹ to oversee the Macedonian Churches. Silas was left behind¹⁰⁰ in Corinth and was later Bishop of Corinth.

Before Paul arrived in Corinth for an extended stay again in late 55 AD, he wrote four letters to Corinth (two of which are lost) and paid the Church one brief visit. In the interval from 52 to 55 AD, the Apostles Apollos and Peter visited Corinth. Apollos was one of the original Seventy, but must have been back home in Alexandria at the time of Pentecost. He knew only the baptism of John in 53 AD when he came to Ephesus (Acts 18:24-28). Aquila and Priscilla, the overseers Paul left in Ephesus (Acts 18:18-19), straightened Apollos out and also wrote to the Churches in Achaia (Athens and Corinth) to receive Apollos when he arrived (Acts 18:27). Apollos proceeded to help out by vigorously refuting the Jews publicly; showing from the Scriptures that Jesus is the Christ (Acts 18:28). In his earlier letter, (1 Corinthians 3:8), Paul said that he and Apollos are one; that is, of one mind in the work of establishing the Churches.

The Church in Colossae

At the time that Paul spent two years in Ephesus (c. 53 to 55 AD), the Church in Colossae was getting started, probably at the hands of Archippus. We can only see this in the Scriptures by

⁹⁴ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, September 10.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for March 30.](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20March%2030)

⁹⁵ [http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for January 4.](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20January%204)

⁹⁶ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, December 8.

⁹⁷ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, December 8.

⁹⁸ Merrill F. Unger, Unger's Bible Dictionary, Moody Press, Chicago, 1967, p. 72.

⁹⁹ Note the switch in tenses from "we" to "they" and back to "we" in Acts 16:16, 17:1, 20:6.

¹⁰⁰ Note that we never hear from Silas again traveling with Paul after he arrived in Corinth, Acts 18:5.

looking at what Paul wrote later. When Paul wrote, “Say to Archippus, ‘Take heed to the ministry which you have received in the Lord, that you may fulfill it’” (Colossians 4:17), Paul was probably saying that because Archippus was so instrumental in starting the Church there.

Paul Leaves for Macedonia

After the uproar had ceased (in Ephesus), Paul called the disciples to *himself*, embraced *them*, and departed to go to Macedonia. Now when he had gone over that region and encouraged them with many words, he came to Greece and stayed three months. When the Jews plotted against him as he was about to sail to Syria, he decided to return through Macedonia. Sosipater of Berea accompanied him to Asia -- also Aristarchus and Secundus of the Thessalonians, Gaius of Derbe, Timothy, Tychicus and Trophimus of Asia. These men, going ahead, waited for us at Troas. But we sailed away from Philippi after the Days of Unleavened Bread, and in five days joined them at Troas, where we stayed seven days. Now on the first *day* of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul, ready to depart the next day, spoke to them and continued his message until midnight” (Acts 20:1-7).

From this account, we notice that Sosipater of Berea, Aristarchus and Secundus of Thessalonica, Gaius of Derbe, Timothy and Tychicus & Trophimus of Asia went on ahead to Troas while Paul and Luke stayed in Philippi for five days longer. Since Luke had been in this area for about five years, Luke may have had time to take Paul on a tour of the area, or at least introduce him to some of the saints that Luke had worked with over this time period.

John Chrysostom noted¹⁰¹ that Aristarchus – dressed like John the Baptist – was one of the Apostles who went ahead of Paul to Troas to prepare the way for Paul as he was coming from Philippi.

“There was need of much comforting after that uproar. Accordingly, having done this, Paul went into Macedonia, and then into Greece. ‘When Paul had gone over that region and encouraged them with many words, he came to Greece and stayed three months. When the Jews plotted against him as he was about to sail to Syria, he decided to return through Macedonia’ (Acts 20:2-3). Again he is persecuted by the Jews, and goes into Macedonia.”

One purpose of Paul’s swing through Macedonia and Achaia was to take up a collection for the now-poverty-stricken Churches of Judea. As persecution developed in Judea, first at the hand of Saul (Acts 8:3), later at the hands of the Jewish leaders, they would raid houses occupied by Christians, drag people off to prison, and plunder the house of food and clothing. Then they would sell the house and pocket the proceeds. In Jerusalem and vicinity the long-term effect of the persecutions was the impoverishment of the Jerusalem church. By 57 AD, it was so bad that the Apostle Paul took up a major collection among the Gentile churches in Macedonia (Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea), Achaia (Corinth, Athens) and Galatia (Iconium, Lystra, Derbe), to bring relief to the Jerusalem church (Romans 15:25-27, 1 Corinthians 16:1-4, 2 Corinthians 8:1-4, Acts 24:17).

¹⁰¹ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, XLIII, vv. 2-6.

Paul may have traveled more widely in Macedonia than on his 2nd Missionary Journey, going all the way to Illyricum in Dalmatia (Romans 15:19). This may also be a reference to Luke the Evangelist taking Paul on a tour of what he had done in the five years since Paul had been there. (Luke traveled extensively as an evangelist after Paul's death).

Paul Picks Up Luke in Macedonia

We notice also that as Paul traveled through Macedonia, he picked up Luke, who had been there for about 5 years. We can see this in Luke's text of Acts. Before Paul reached Macedonia, Luke says, "When he had gone over that region" and, "As he was about to sail" (Acts 20:2-3). But when Paul reached Macedonia, Luke says, "These men, going ahead, waited for us at Troas" (Acts 20:5); and "We sailed away from Philippi" (Acts 20:6).

According to tradition, about this time, the Apostle Andrew ordained Urbanus¹⁰² of the original Seventy as Bishop of all Macedonia. We don't hear much from Urbanus after this, except that he was later tortured and killed by the Jews and pagans. Thus, we can conclude with a fair degree of certainty, that it was Urbanus who replaced Luke at this time. Most likely, Urbanus joined Luke in Macedonia a little before Luke left.

Epaphroditus Also Joins Paul in Philippi

Epaphroditus was¹⁰³ one of the original Seventy Apostles. He was probably from Philippi and Paul calls him an Apostle and a Liturgist to Philippi as well as his fellow-worker and fellow-soldier (Philippians 2:25). We first see him in Paul's letters in c. 62 AD when Paul sent him to Philippi from Rome. Epaphroditus had been longing for the Philippians and was distressed because they were worried about him when he was sick (Philippians 2:26-30). This implies that he had been working with Paul for quite a while already. Earlier in c. 49-50 AD, when Paul passed through Philippi on his 2nd Missionary Journey, Epaphroditus was probably there. On the 2nd Missionary Journey, Paul left Luke behind in Macedonia¹⁰⁴ and Luke worked with several others of the Seventy in Macedonia. On Paul's 3rd Missionary Journey, as he passed through Philippi again, Luke started traveling with Paul again. Probably Epaphroditus did so also and Hermas of the original Seventy was left behind in Philippi. Hermas thus became known¹⁰⁵ as the first Bishop

¹⁰² Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, October 31.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for October 31.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, October 31.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

¹⁰³ Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, December 8.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for December 8, March 30, January 4.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2003, December 8.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

¹⁰⁴ See the section of "Paul" on the 2nd Missionary Journey titled "The Evangelist Luke Remained Behind in Philippi".

¹⁰⁵ Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, November 5.

Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, May 31.

of Philippi. There are conflicting accounts of where Epaphroditus finished his life; some say he was Bishop of Colophon in Pamphylia; others say he was Bishop of Andriace in Lycia, near Myra.

John Chrysostom noted¹⁰⁶ that Paul continued to celebrate the Jewish Feast Days to help the preaching even though he was not required to do so.

“It seems to me that Paul made a point of keeping the feasts in the large cities. ‘He sailed away from Philippi after the Days of Unleavened Bread’, where Philippi was the place Paul had been imprisoned. This was Paul’s third coming into Macedonia, and it is a high testimony that Luke points out the day of the week. When the disciples came together to eat dinner, Paul preached to them, ready to depart the next day. This was the season between Pascha and Pentecost. See how everything was subordinate to the preaching. Paul also did this because of stillness of the night.”

Chrysostom also noted¹⁰⁷ how everywhere Paul accomplished things by preaching and not by miracles. He was hastening to get to Antioch and Jerusalem, but he restrained himself to set things right in these parts also.

“Paul refreshed the disciples by embracing them before leaving for Macedonia, giving them much consolation. He encouraged the Macedonians with many words; then he came to Greece and stayed three months (Acts 20:2). Notice how we find him accomplishing everything by means of preaching, not by miracles. Luke constantly shows Paul to us as hastening to get to Syria; the reason for it was the Church, and Jerusalem. But still he restrained his desire, so as to set everything right in those parts also. Troas is not a large place; why then do they spend seven days there? Perhaps it was large because of the number of believers. And after he had passed seven days there, on the following day he spent the night in teaching; so hard did he find it to tear himself away from them, and they from him.”

Thus, on the return trip to Troas on the 3rd Missionary Journey (Acts 20:4-5) and the brief stop in Ephesus at the end of the 3rd Missionary Journey (Acts 20:16-38), Luke was added to the group. However, Erastus and Sosthenes, who had accompanied Paul earlier, are missing (Acts 20:4). Erastus was at Ephesus at the beginning of the 3rd Missionary Journey when Paul wrote to the Romans from Ephesus (Romans 16:21-24), and was also there when Paul sent him from Ephesus to Macedonia with Timothy (Acts 19:22). This was before Paul went to Macedonia to get Luke, so Erastus may have stayed in Macedonia for a while. Erastus was in Rome just before Paul’s death and Paul had just sent him to Corinth (2 Timothy 4:20).

Sosthenes was the synagogue ruler who got beaten up on Paul’s behalf in Corinth on the 2nd Missionary Journey (Acts 18:17). He was also with Paul when Paul wrote to Corinth from Ephesus on the 3rd Missionary Journey (1 Corinthians 1:1). Sosthenes had probably come to Ephesus at the direction of Silas to seek Paul out with a report on what was going on in Corinth. Following Paul’s letter-writing (i.e. after Paul’s 4th letter to Corinth), Sosthenes probably traveled

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for March 8, May 31.

Note: The Prologue and the OCA web site refer to Hermas as Bishop of Philippoupolis, a city near Philippi.

¹⁰⁶ John Chrysostom, *Commentary on Acts*, XLIII, vv. 1-8.

¹⁰⁷ John Chrysostom, *Commentary on Acts*, XLIII, Recapitulation.

back to Corinth with Paul. Sosthenes went on to become Bishop of Colophon in Asia Minor, between Ephesus and Smyrna, perhaps after Onesiphorus was martyred there.

Paul Heads for Antioch

“Then we went ahead to the ship and sailed to Assos, there intending to take Paul on board; for so he had given orders, intending himself to go on foot. And when he met us at Assos¹⁰⁸, we took him on board and came to Mitylene. We sailed from there, and the next *day* came opposite Chios. The following *day* we arrived at Samos and stayed at Trogyllium. The next *day* we came to Miletus. For Paul had decided to sail past Ephesus, so that he would not have to spend time in Asia; for he was hurrying to be at Jerusalem, if possible, on the Day of Pentecost” (Acts 20:13-16).

John Chrysostom noted¹⁰⁹ that a number of the original members of the Seventy Apostles accompanied Paul and went ahead to cities on their route to prepare the way for Paul. This appeared to allow Paul to keep the Jewish Feast Days in the large cities, which also allowed Paul a teaching opportunity to instruct everyone on the true meaning of the Feast Days.

“‘When the Jews laid wait for Paul, as he was about to sail into Syria, he purposed to return through Macedonia’ (Acts 20:2-3). Again, he is persecuted by the Jews, and goes into Macedonia. ‘Sosipater of Berea accompanied him to Asia -- also Aristarchus and Secundus of the Thessalonians, and Gaius of Derbe, and Timothy, and Tychicus and Trophimus of Asia. These men, going ahead, waited for us at Troas’ (Acts 20:4-5). These, he says, went before him to Troas, preparing the way for him. ‘We sailed away from Philippi after the Days of Unleavened Bread, and in five days joined them at Troas, where we stayed seven days’ (Acts 20:6). For it seems to me that Paul made a point of keeping the feasts in the large cities.”

The ship Paul traveled on stopped on successive days at Mitylene on the Island of Lesbos (20 miles away), the Island of Chios (20 miles away), the Island of Samos (50 miles away), but stayed at Trogyllium (in a sheltered inlet on a rocky peninsula just onshore from Samos) and Miletus (15 miles away). We note that the ship during this time is hugging the coast, passing between islands and the mainland, which may mean that it was still the winter season, when sailing on the Mediterranean was treacherous. The sailing season usually begins in April; if Paul was hurrying to get to Jerusalem by Pentecost (Acts 20:16), it is quite reasonable that he started heading for Antioch before April, and that he was inching his way down the coast to get closer.

John Chrysostom noted¹¹⁰ that Paul was training his followers to do without him, since he may not ever be back to this region again.

“We often find Paul parting from the disciples. He went on foot, both that he might arrange many matters, and by way of training them to bear with parting from him. He gave them the easier way, going about 20 miles by ship.

¹⁰⁸ It was about a 20-mile walk from Troas to Assos.

¹⁰⁹ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, XLIII, vv. 2-6.

¹¹⁰ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, XLIII, vv. 13-16.

Chrysostom also noted¹¹¹ that Luke described Paul's travel differently here than in other places. Here Luke gives a lot of details that he omits elsewhere. This indicates that Paul was traveling more leisurely at this time, trying hard not to offend anyone who really desired his attention.

“Why does Luke say where they came, and where they went to? To show in the first place that Paul was making the voyage more leisurely, sailing past some and making a stay at others, ‘that he might not have to spend the time in Asia’ (Acts 20:16). Since had he come there, he did not want to sail by; he did not like to pain those who would have begged him to remain. ‘He hastened, if it were possible for him to keep the day of Pentecost in Jerusalem’; this was not possible if he stayed. Notice how Paul is also moved like other men. Therefore, he does all this, that we may not think that he was above human nature. We see him desiring something, hastening, and in many instances not obtaining his object; for those great and holy men were partakers of the same nature with us. It was in the will and purpose that they differed; as a result, they attracted upon themselves the great grace they did. Notice how many things they order by an economy of their own. ‘That we give not offense’ to those who wish to take offense, and, ‘That our ministry be not blamed’ (2 Corinthians 6:3). Notice both an irreproachable life and on the other hand condescension. Paul went beyond the commandments of Christ, and was on the other hand humbler than all. ‘I have become all things to all *men*, that I might by all means save some’” (1 Corinthians 9:22).

The Emotional Meeting with the Presbyters of Ephesus

“Paul had decided to sail past Ephesus, so that he would not have to spend time in Asia; for he was hurrying to be at Jerusalem, if possible, on the Day of Pentecost. From Miletus he sent to Ephesus and called for the elders of the church” (Acts 20:16-17.)

On the return leg of his 3rd Missionary Journey, Paul was hurrying to get to Jerusalem for Pentecost. Therefore, he had a brief, but emotional meeting with the presbyters from Ephesus (Acts 20:16-38). Notably missing of the presbyters from Ephesus was Aquila and his wife Priscilla who were in Rome (Rom 16:3-5) with the church that was now meeting in their house. The Apostle John, who referred to himself as “the elder” or presbyter (3 John 1) was not there yet. Included among the presbyters from Ephesus were bishops (i.e. Greek *episcopous* Acts 20:28) and perhaps representatives from all the churches nearby such as Colossae, Laodicea, Hierapolis, Philadelphia, Sardis, Smyrna, Thyatira, etc.

John Chrysostom noted¹¹² that Paul's hurry to be in Jerusalem at Pentecost was threefold: (1) because of the multitude that would be there. (2) As an example, to the Jews; and (3) as an opportunity to deliver the Word.

“Why was Paul in a hurry about Pentecost? Not for the sake of the feast, but of the multitude. At the same time, by this he conciliated the Jews, as being one that honored the feasts, wishing to gain even his adversaries. At the same time, he delivers the Word. Accordingly, notice what great gain accrued, from all being present. But that the interests of the people of Ephesus might not be neglected on

¹¹¹ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, XLIII, Recapitulation.

¹¹² John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, XLIII, vv. 13-16.

that account, he managed for this in a different way. But let us look over again what has been said.”

Chrysostom also looked closely¹¹³ at what Paul did as he passed by Ephesus. Just like Samuel, David and Moses, Paul was very humble about everything and solicited the opinions of those he was speaking to as a testimony to what he was saying.

“Notice Paul, hastening to sail by Ephesus, and yet not overlooking them. He sent for the rulers, and through those he speaks to the Ephesians. It is worthy of admiration, how finding himself under a necessity of saying certain great things about himself, he tries to make the least he can of it. ‘You know, from the first day that I came to Asia, in what manner I always lived among you’ (Acts 20:18). Just as Samuel, when about to deliver up the government to Saul says in their presence, ‘Have I taken aught of your hands? You are witnesses, and God also’ (1 Samuel 12:3-5); so, Paul here. David also, when disbelieved, says, ‘Your servant used to keep his father's sheep, and when a lion or a bear came and took a lamb out of the flock, I went out after it and struck it, and delivered *the lamb* from its mouth; and when it arose against me, I caught *it* by its beard, and struck and killed it’ (1 Samuel 17:33-36). Paul himself also says to the Corinthians, ‘I have become a fool in boasting; you have compelled me’ (2 Corinthians 12:11). God Himself also does the same, not speaking of himself upon any and every occasion; only when He is disbelieved, then He brings up His benefits. Accordingly, notice what Paul does here: first he offers as an example their own testimony; that you may not imagine his words to be mere boasting, he calls the hearers themselves as witnesses of the things he says, since he was not likely to speak lies in their presence. This is the excellence of a teacher, to have for witnesses of his merits those who are his disciples. What is wonderful is that Paul continued doing this not for one day or for two. He wishes to cheer them for the future, that they may bravely bear all things, both the parting from him, and the trials about to take place — just as it was in the case of Moses and Joshua. Moses had been with the Lord the whole time, serving the Lord with all humility of mind. Notice what makes the best rulers: ‘hating pride’. This is especially a problem for rulers, because to them there is almost a necessity of becoming arrogant. Humility is the groundwork of all that is good, as in fact Christ said, ‘Blessed are the poor in spirit’” (Matthew 5:3).

Paul Arrives in Judea

“Now it came to pass, that when we had departed from them and set sail, running a straight course we came to Cos, the following *day* to Rhodes, and from there to Patara. And finding a ship sailing over to Phoenicia, we went aboard and set sail. When we had sighted Cyprus, we passed it on the left, sailed to Syria, and landed at Tyre; for there the ship was to unload her cargo. And finding disciples, we stayed there seven days. They told Paul through the Spirit not to go up to Jerusalem. When we had come to the end of those days, we departed and went on our way; and they all accompanied us, with wives and children, till *we were* out of the city. And we knelt down on the shore and prayed. When we had taken our leave of one another, we boarded the ship, and

¹¹³ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, XLIV, vv. 17-21.

they returned home. And when we had finished *our* voyage from Tyre, we came to Ptolemais, greeted the brethren, and stayed with them one day” (Acts 21:1-7).

We note that everyone really likes Paul! The whole town went out to the shore where Paul was to sail from Tyre to Ptolemais to see him off, even the women and children. They had a very emotional farewell just like Paul had at Ephesus.

We also note that the disciples at Tyre prophesied just like Agabus did a few days later about chains awaiting Paul in Jerusalem.

Paul and His Companions Stay with Deacon Philip

“On the next *day* we who were Paul's companions departed and came to Caesarea, and entered the house of Philip the evangelist, who was *one* of the seven, and stayed with him. Now this man had four virgin daughters who prophesied” (Acts 21:8-9)

We note here that it was not the four virgin daughters of Philip who prophesied of Paul's coming difficulties in Jerusalem, but Agabus. Agabus had previously prophesied of the famine that was to come in the days of Claudius (Acts 11:28).

Agabus Prophesies of Paul's Imprisonment

“And as we stayed many days, a certain prophet named Agabus came down from Judea. When he had come to us, he took Paul's belt, bound his *own* hands and feet, and said, ‘Thus says the Holy Spirit, ‘So shall the Jews at Jerusalem bind the man who owns this belt, and deliver *him* into the hands of the Gentiles’. Now when we heard these things, both we and those from that place pleaded with him not to go up to Jerusalem. Then Paul answered, ‘What do you mean by weeping and breaking my heart? I am ready not only to be bound, but also to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus’. So, when he would not be persuaded, we ceased, saying, ‘The will of the Lord be done’” (Acts 21:10-14).

John Chrysostom noted¹¹⁴ that Agabus prophesied just like the prophets of old used to do, by representing future events in physical pictures. Everyone grasped that the Jews would attempt to do to Paul what they had done to Christ. Paul grieved, not at his own future, but at the distress it was causing the people there.

“Agabus, who formerly had declared about the famine, says, ‘So shall the Jews at Jerusalem bind the man who owns this belt’. This is what the prophets used to do, representing events to the sight, when they spoke about the captivity — as did Ezekiel. The grievous part of the business, is that the Jews would ‘deliver Paul into the hands of the Gentiles’ (Acts 21:11), which is what they had done with Christ (Matthew 20:18-19). Everyone recognized these words and they begged Paul not to go up to Jerusalem’. Paul answered, ‘What do you mean by weeping and breaking my heart?’ (Acts 21:13) We should note that Paul said, ‘I go bound in the Spirit to Jerusalem’ (Acts 20:22); this was a matter of necessity for him. Paul did not fall into these things ignorantly; therefore, these things are foretold. But

¹¹⁴ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, XLV, vv. 11-13.

they wept, and he comforted them, grieving at their tears. Nothing could be more affectionate; because he saw them weeping, he grieved, he that felt no pain at his own trials.”

John Chrysostom also noted¹¹⁵ that at other times, Paul obeyed the words of his disciples, such as at Ephesus and at Damascus, and escaped from dangers. But here, even though warned by the Spirit, he goes to face the dangers head on. He knew the Spirit was leading him to do that.

“The disciples at Tyre ‘said to Paul through the Spirit, that he should not go up to Jerusalem’ (Acts 21:4). Notice: when the Spirit does not forbid, Paul complies. They said, ‘Do not venture into the theater’ (Acts 19:31) and Paul complied. Often, they bore him off from dangers, and he complied. At Damascus he escaped by a window (Acts 9:25). Now, though numberless persons beg him, both those at Tyre and those at Caesarea, weeping and predicting numberless dangers, he refuses to comply. It is not merely that they predicted the dangers, but ‘by the Spirit’. If then the Spirit spoke, why did Paul contradict? They knew ‘by the Spirit’ what would be the consequences, and they spoke to Paul; of course, this does not mean that the command they made was by the Spirit. They did not simply foretell to him the dangers through the Spirit, but added of themselves that he ought not to go up to Jerusalem — thus sparing him. Their entreaty was great! When Paul had heard that he will have to suffer numberless perils, then he is in haste, not flinging himself upon the dangers but accounting it to be the command of the Spirit. But when they could not persuade him — this was why they wept — then they kept silent. Notice the resignation! Notice the affection! The Lord, they say, Himself will do that which is pleasing in his sight. They perceived that it was the will of God. Otherwise Paul would not be so bent upon going to Jerusalem — he that on all other occasions delivers himself out of dangers.”

Paul Arrives in Jerusalem

“And after those days we packed and went up to Jerusalem. Also, some of the disciples from Caesarea went with us and brought with them a certain Mnason of Cyprus, an early disciple, with whom we were to lodge” (Acts 21:15-16).

With everyone prophesying what Paul is headed toward why would Paul head right into trouble? It seems that Paul was on a mission! There were things coming out of Jerusalem, but not from James, regarding what needed to be done in keeping the Mosaic Law (Acts 21:20-22). Paul felt he needed to address this even if it meant risking his life.

But there were larger issues involved also. Paul arrived in Jerusalem in c. 58 AD. Eight years later in 66 AD, Vespasian and the Roman armies began the siege of Jerusalem. We might ask what happened in those eight years to bring down the wrath of God so strongly at this time. Certainly, we can say that part of this is a result of the Crucifixion of Christ in c. 30 AD. But why did the Lord wait this long? Usually His delay of punishment is to give people an opportunity for repentance. Two major events that seemed to have sealed the fate of Jerusalem and demonstrated that no further repentance would be forthcoming are the persecution of Paul from 58 to 60 AD and

¹¹⁵ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, XLV, Recapitulation.

the murder of Bishop James in c. 62 AD. Both of these events came out of a rage against obvious godliness such as was demonstrated at the stoning of Stephen (Acts 7:54-60). However, many people repented after the stoning of Stephen, especially due to the work of Bishop James. With the arrival of Paul in Jerusalem, there is another attitude that came forward: the political fervor of the Jewish Zealots.

Two to three years earlier Paul had written the following to the Romans, which indicates his feelings on the subject of his countrymen.

“I tell the truth in Christ, I am not lying, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Spirit, that I have great sorrow and continual grief in my heart. For I could wish that I myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my countrymen according to the flesh, who are Israelites, to whom *pertain* the adoption, the glory, the covenants, the giving of the Law, the service *of God*, and the promises; of whom *are* the fathers and from whom, according to the flesh, Christ *came*, who is over all, *the* eternally blessed God. Amen” (Romans 9:1-5)

History of the Jewish Zealot Party

The Party of the Zealots was very prominent during the siege of Jerusalem by the Romans and Josephus goes into great detail in describing their actions. It seems that their attitude was “better dead than Roman”, and it was an extreme form of Jewish nationalism. To them, circumcision was Jewish national identity, since it represented God’s covenant with Abraham (Genesis 17:1-13). Gentiles were not part of their world at all. Some milestones from the Scriptures are:

1. Paul returned from the 1st Missionary Journey in c. 48 AD to a furor about circumcision (Acts 15:1-2).
2. Bishop James and the Apostles in Jerusalem decreed that the Gentiles didn’t need to be circumcised (Acts 15:24-29).
3. Yet Jews from Jerusalem still insisted that the Gentiles needed to be circumcised (Galatians 6:12-14).
4. Jews from Asia Minor hounded Paul from city to city during his 1st, 2nd and 3rd Missionary Journeys. Their big burning issue was circumcision. (Acts 14:19, 17:13-14, 18:12-15, 20:3)
5. When Paul arrived in Jerusalem after the 3rd Missionary Journey in c. 58 AD, the Jews from Asia Minor accused him of bringing Trophimus the Ephesian (a Gentile member of the Seventy Apostles) into the Temple, thus defiling the Temple (Acts 21:29).
6. A mob scene resulted and the Zealots tried to kill Paul several times (Acts 21:31, 22:21-23, 23:12-14, 25:2-3).
7. If the chief priests had not been involved with the Zealots earlier, they became involved out of a common desire to kill Paul (Acts 23:14-15).
8. After Paul was sent to Rome, comfortably out of their reach, they took out their anger and frustration on Bishop James and murdered him right in front of the Temple.

According to Josephus’ account¹¹⁶ of the Jewish rebellion that resulted in the destruction of Jerusalem in c. 70 AD, the Party of the Zealots used murder as a technique for accomplishing

¹¹⁶ Josephus, Wars of the Jews, IV, vi, 1.

their goals. Political opponents were quietly and systematically assassinated when they least expected it. This created a reign of terror, since no one knew who the Zealots were or who they would strike next. Thus, we can see a buildup of power by the Zealots. Before and during the time of Christ's public ministry, there were scattered outbreaks by the Zealots, such as Judas and Theudas (Acts 5:36-37) and probably also Barabbas (Mark 15:7). As the Zealots got more control, there were more frequent incidents that clashed with Jewish nationalism. Finally, during the siege of Jerusalem, the Zealots obtained control of Jerusalem and drove the holy city into the ground.

Luke Drafts His Gospel, and Later Acts

During this time that Paul spent 2 years in captivity in Judea, Luke probably wrote his Gospel. To do so, Luke needed access to the genealogy records kept in the Temple in Jerusalem in order to draft his genealogy of Jesus (Luke 3:23-38). After the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem in 66 AD, no one was able to get in or out of the city. After the siege of Jerusalem in 70 AD, the city was burned and everything was destroyed.

It is possible that Luke could have drafted his Gospel during the 2 years that Paul was under house-arrest in Rome. But that would mean that Luke would have traveled to Jerusalem during that time to get the genealogy records. Thus it is most probable that Luke drafted his Gospel during Paul's captivity in Judea and that he then drafted his account in Acts during Paul's 2 years of captivity in Rome. Since Acts 28 ends with Paul still under house-arrest in Rome, we can comfortably date Acts to about 62 AD. Following the completion of Acts, Paul was released and embarked on his 5th Missionary Journey.

Paul's 4th Missionary Journey – As Prisoner to Rome

Two years earlier, Paul had heard from the Lord while he was in prison during the night, "The Lord stood by him and said, 'Be of good cheer, Paul; for as you have testified for Me in Jerusalem, so you must also bear witness at Rome'" (Acts 23:11). During these two years, Paul has been doing just that, and he has been growing bolder and bolder, not just defending himself, but actually teaching as he did so. He knew that he was going to go to Rome, and he wasn't very concerned about when or how he got there. These two years were just the warm-up; in Rome he would be testifying before Emperor Nero. When Agrippa said to Festus, "This man might have been set free if he had not appealed to Caesar" (Acts 26:32), this was not a disappointment to Paul; this was the Hand of God directing his way forward.

By "Paul's 4th Missionary Journey", we are covering the time period of his leaving Judea until he was released from house-arrest in Rome, or from c. 60 AD to c. 62 AD. There are two major parts to this "Missionary Journey". The first part involves the trip itself, during which the entire crew of the ship and the entire population of Malta came to know the Lord. The second part of this "Missionary Journey" involves Paul's stay in Rome under house-arrest, where many people came to see him, and where he wrote some of his Epistles.

The Beginning of the Journey to Rome

"And when it was decided that we should sail to Italy, they delivered Paul and some other prisoners to *one* named Julius, a centurion of the Augustan Regiment. So, entering a ship of

Adramyttium¹¹⁷, we put to sea, meaning to sail along the coasts of Asia. Aristarchus¹¹⁸, a Macedonian of Thessalonica, was with us¹¹⁹. And the next *day* we landed at Sidon. And Julius treated Paul kindly and gave *him* liberty to go to his friends and receive care. When we had put to sea from there, we sailed under *the shelter of* Cyprus, because the winds were contrary. And when we had sailed over the sea which is off Cilicia and Pamphylia, we came to Myra, *a city of* Lycia. There the centurion found an Alexandrian ship sailing to Italy, and he put us on board. When we had sailed slowly many days, and arrived with difficulty off Cnidus, the wind not permitting us to proceed, we sailed under *the shelter of* Crete off Salmone. Passing it with difficulty, we came to a place called Fair Havens, near the city of Lasea. Now when much time had been spent, and sailing was now dangerous because the Fast was already over, Paul advised them, saying, ‘Men, I perceive that this voyage will end with disaster and much loss, not only of the cargo and ship, but also our lives’. Nevertheless, the centurion was more persuaded by the helmsman and the owner of the ship than by the things spoken by Paul” (Acts 27:1-11).

Storms and bad weather in the Mediterranean are not understood well in other parts of the world. On the Mediterranean, there is a “sailing season” typically from April to October and there is a “no sail season” typically from December to February during the winter. During the summer the weather is generally pleasant, where it rarely rains and the seas are free from violent storms; during the winter the opposite is the case¹²⁰. Paul’s Journey to Rome took place during the winter when violent storms can appear suddenly and unexpectedly. Figure 5 shows the route taken by the ships that Paul was on.

Table 8
Those of the Seventy Who Served with Paul on the 4th Missionary Journey to Rome
 For More Details, see Appendix A

Member of Seventy	Native To	Journey	Later Bishop of	Comments
Aristarchus	Thessalonica	3, 4, 5	Apamea	Joined at end of 2 nd
Luke	Antioch	1, 2, 3, 4, 5	Roving Apostle	
Timothy ¹²¹	Lystra	1, 2, 3, 4, 5	Ephesus	

¹¹⁷ Adramyttium was a seaport of Mysia in Asia Minor. This ship had come from Adramyttium and was heading back in that direction.

¹¹⁸ Aristarchus lived very much like John the Baptist, wearing a garment of animal skin, a leather belt and eating locusts and wild honey (Matthew 3:4, Mark 1:6). Thus Aristarchus was a very visible companion for Paul. See The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2005, April 14. The term “locusts” refers not to an insect, but to the bean of the “locust tree”, which was ground into flour. The “locust tree” is similar in nature to a carob tree. See http://www.sierrapotomac.org/W_Needham/BlackLocust_060515.htm.

¹¹⁹ Luke’s use of the 1st person plural “us” indicates that Luke himself was present on the ship.

¹²⁰ For example, in December 2010, the 90,000-Ton cruise liner “Brilliance of the Seas”, was carrying over 2000 passengers and a crew of over 800, experienced huge waves from a Mediterranean storm. Witnesses said that waves crashed over the 10th floor windows of the 12-deck ship. The ship listed violently and many people were injured as they were tossed around like rag dolls. By contrast, the wood-hulled ship that Paul was on carried 276 including crew and passengers (Acts 27:23) crowded onto a ship about 60 feet long. Most of these 276 people were probably oarsmen (usually slaves) who rowed from the hold of the ship; many ships had both a galley of rowers and a sail. All the cargo was kept above deck, some at the bow, and some at the stern.

¹²¹ According to the Chronicles of Edessa, Timothy, Erastus and Menaeus accompanied Paul until his house-arrest in Rome following the 3rd Missionary Journey. See Roberts and Donaldson, ed., “The Teaching of the

Erastus ⁴⁵¹		3, 5	--	Expert at finances
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John Chrysostom pointed out¹²² that Aristarchus and Luke were present on the journey to Rome, and that the journey was very wearing on Paul because of his chains. God allowed the sailors to do their own thing, sailing in mid-winter, in order that the miracle of their survival would be greater.

“Notice how far Aristarchus¹²³ accompanied Paul. To good and useful purpose is Aristarchus present, as he would take back the report of all to Macedonia. Julius ‘treated Paul kindly and gave *him* liberty to go to his friends and receive care’ (Acts 27:3). It was but natural that he should be much the worse from his chains and the fear, and being dragged here and there. Notice how Luke does not hide this either, that Paul wished to refresh himself. We note again trials, again contrary winds. Notice how the life of the saints is thus interwoven throughout; Paul escaped from the court of justice, only to fall in with shipwreck and storm. It is likely that both those in the former ship would carry to Asia the report of what had happened to Paul, and that these would do the same in Lycia. Notice how God does not innovate or change the order of nature, but allows them to sail into the unfavorable winds. But even so the miracle is accomplished. By ‘the fast’ here, Luke means that of the Jews. They departed a long time after the Pentecost (and after the Day of Atonement), so that it was about midwinter that they arrived at the coasts of Crete. And this too was no slight miracle that they also should be saved on Paul’s account.”

Apostles”, 10, in *Memoirs of Edessa and Other Ancient Syriac Documents*, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Volume 8, Hendrickson Publishers, Peabody, MA, 1995.

¹²² John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, LIII, vv. 1-11.

¹²³ We note that the author Luke uses the first person “we” and “us” often at this point (Acts 27:1-7), indicating that Luke was on the ship also.

Figure 5
Map of Paul's 4th Missionary Journey to Rome¹²⁴



Chrysostom also said some nice things about Aristarchus in that he desired to travel with Paul as a prisoner to Rome. Even the prophets only referred to themselves as strangers and foreigners, not as prisoners. Paul was treated much worse than most prisoners are treated.

“When Paul said, ‘Aristarchus my fellow-prisoner greets you’ (Colossians 4:10), nothing can surpass¹²⁵ this praise. This is he that traveled from Jerusalem with Paul to Rome as a prisoner. Paul said a greater thing than the prophets; for they felt like strangers and foreigners, but Paul calls himself even a prisoner. Just like a prisoner of war he was dragged up and down, and lay at everyone’s whim to suffer evil from them, which is rather worse than most prisoners. Their enemies, after taking them prisoner, generally treat them with much attention, and care for them as their own property. Paul, as though an enemy, was dragged up and down, beaten, scourged, insulted and maligned. This was a consolation to those also that Paul was writing to, when even their master was in such circumstances.”

¹²⁴ © Bible History Online <http://www.bible-history.com>. Other maps also available.

¹²⁵ John Chrysostom, *Homilies on Colossians*, XI, v. 10.

Captives have¹²⁶ no further foe after they are led away, but they even experience great care from those who have captured them. But Paul was continually in the midst of enemies, and saw spears on every side, sharpened swords, arrays, and battles. Since Paul and Aristarchus likely shared many dangers, Paul calls them fellow-captives, as in, ‘Aristarchus my fellow-prisoner’ (Colossians 4:10).

Notice how far Aristarchus goes¹²⁷ to accompany Paul (Acts 27:1-3). It was good and useful that Aristarchus was present, since he would take back the report of all to Macedonia.

Paul Lost at Sea in a Storm

“Because the harbor was not suitable to winter in, the majority advised to set sail from there also, if by any means they could reach Phoenix, a harbor of Crete opening toward the southwest and northwest, *and winter there*. When the south wind blew softly, supposing that they had obtained *their* desire, putting out to sea, they sailed close by Crete. But not long after, a tempestuous head wind arose, called Euroclydon¹²⁸. So, when the ship was caught, and could not head into the wind, we let *her* drive. And running under *the shelter of* an island called Clauda, we secured the skiff with difficulty. When they had taken it on board, they used cables to undergird the ship¹²⁹; and fearing lest they should run aground on the Syrtis Sands¹³⁰, they struck sail and so were driven. And because we were exceedingly tempest-tossed, the next *day* they lightened the ship. On the third *day* we threw the ship's tackle overboard with our own hands. Now when neither sun nor stars appeared for many days, and no small tempest beat on *us*, all hope that we would be saved was finally given up. But after long abstinence from food¹³¹, then Paul stood in the midst of them and said, ‘Men, you should have listened to me, and not have sailed from Crete and incurred this disaster and loss. And now I urge you to take heart, for there will be no loss of life among you, but only of the ship. For there stood by me this night an angel of the God to whom I belong and whom I serve, saying, ‘Do not be afraid, Paul; you must be brought before Caesar; and indeed, God has granted you all those who sail with you. Therefore, take heart, men, for I believe God that it will be just as it was told me. However, we must run aground on a certain island’” (Acts 27:12-26).

¹²⁶ John Chrysostom, [Homilies on Romans](#), XXXI, v. 5.

¹²⁷ John Chrysostom, [Commentary on Acts](#), LIII, vv. 1-3.

¹²⁸ From <http://www.keyway.ca/htm2005/20050506.htm>, a Euroclydon, also known as a gregale (i.e. a "Greece gale") is a strong wind system that blows down from Europe into [The Mediterranean Sea](#), mostly in autumn and winter.

¹²⁹ Cables to undergird the ship were used to hold the ship together in very rough weather so that planks did not come off and cause the ship to sink.

¹³⁰ The Syrtis Sands are on the North coast of Africa. “The Syrtis Sands were greatly feared by sailors because of their shifting sandbars and treacherous shallows. They had a horrible reputation as a sailors’ graveyard and saying the name alone struck terror in those who heard it. For more information, see <http://sompimentel.wordpress.com/2011/09/05/the-syrtis-sands/> If the wind was blowing from the North or Northeast, it would blow them South onto the African coast. Having a compass on board, they wanted to head west to avoid crashing onto the African coast.

¹³¹ This two-week abstinence from food may not have been entirely voluntary due to mass seasickness and mass vomiting. If the ship was so tossed about that no one had any hope of being saved, everyone was likely so seasick that they couldn’t eat anything and keep it down even if they wanted to.

John Chrysostom pointed out¹³² that Paul continued his boldness in speaking to the ship's crew. At first, they didn't listen; then when they were in really bad straits Paul emphasized that he was right on when he warned them earlier. Then he tells them exactly what was going to happen next, and they are receptive to him this time.

“Paul advised them to remain at Fair Haven on Crete (Acts 27:10), and he foretold the disaster that would come of it if they didn't listen; but they, being in a hurry, and not liking the place, wished to winter at Phoenix¹³³. Note the providential ordering of the events: first, ‘When the south wind blew softly¹³⁴, supposing that they had obtained their desire’, they hoisted anchor, and came out of the harbor; then when the wind bore down upon them, they gave way to it driving them¹³⁵, and were with difficulty saved.”

“After so great a storm Paul does not speak insultingly to the crew, but as wishing that at any rate he might be believed for the future. He states what had taken place for a testimony to the truth of what was about to be said by him. He foretells two things; both that they must be cast upon an island, and that though the ship would be lost, those who were in it should be saved — which thing he spoke not of conjecture, but of prophecy — and that he ‘must be brought before Caesar’ (Acts 27:24). What he says, ‘God hath given you all’, is not spoken boastfully, but in the wish to win those who were sailing in the ship. Paul spoke thus not that they might feel themselves bound to him, but that they might believe what he was saying. This is as much as to say that they are worthy indeed of death, since they would not listen to Paul; however, this is done out of favor to Paul.”

Paul's Shipwreck on Malta

“Now when the fourteenth night had come, as we were driven up and down in the Adriatic *Sea*, about midnight the sailors sensed that they were drawing near some land. And they took soundings and found *it* to be twenty fathoms; and when they had gone a little farther, they took soundings again and found *it* to be fifteen fathoms. Then, fearing lest we should run aground on the rocks, they dropped four anchors from the stern, and prayed for day to come. And as the sailors were seeking to escape from the ship, when they had let down the skiff into the sea, under pretense of putting out anchors from the prow, Paul said to the centurion and the soldiers, ‘Unless these men stay in the ship, you cannot be saved’. Then the soldiers cut away the ropes of the skiff and let it fall off. And as day was about to dawn, Paul implored *them* all to take food, saying, ‘Today is the fourteenth day you have waited and continued without food, and eaten nothing. Therefore, I urge you to take nourishment, for this is for your survival, since not a hair will fall from the head of any of you’. And when he had said these things, he took bread and gave thanks to God in the presence of them all; and when he had broken *it* he began to eat. Then they were all encouraged, and also took food themselves. And in all we were 276 persons on the ship. So, when they had

¹³² John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, LIII, vv. 12-26.

¹³³ Phoenix was a sheltered harbor on the other side of Crete from where they were. In trying to get there, they were blown out to sea by the storm.

¹³⁴ A gentle wind out of the South would have kept them close to the Southern shore of Crete, where Phoenix was located. However, once they were out of port, the wind changed direction suddenly and the storm came up.

¹³⁵ That is, they let the wind drive them wherever it would to ride out the storm. This usually meant hoisting a smaller sail to maintain better control and to avoid having the main sail torn to shreds.

eaten enough, they lightened the ship and threw out the wheat¹³⁶ into the sea. When it was day, they did not recognize the land; but they observed a bay with a beach, onto which they planned to run the ship if possible. And they let go the anchors and left *them* in the sea, meanwhile loosening the rudder ropes; and they hoisted the mainsail to the wind and made for shore. But striking a place where two seas met, they ran the ship aground; and the prow stuck fast and remained immovable, but the stern was being broken up by the violence of the waves. And the soldiers' plan was to kill the prisoners, lest any of them should swim away and escape. But the centurion, wanting to save Paul, kept them from *their* purpose, and commanded that those who could swim should jump *overboard* first and get to land, and the rest, some on boards and some on *parts* of the ship. And so, it was that they all escaped safely to land" (Acts 27:27-44).

John Chrysostom noted¹³⁷ that while the centurion believed Paul, the sailors did not and tried to escape in the lifeboat. Paul spoke up to the centurion since the sailors were needed in order to maneuver the ship onto the beachhead. The rest of the crew was sufficiently impressed with what Paul said that they began eating when he did.

"The sailors were about to escape in the lifeboat, having no faith in what Paul said. But the centurion did believe Paul, for Paul said, if these flee, 'you cannot be saved'. Paul said this, not for his own benefit, but that he might restrain them, and the prophecy might not fall to the ground. Notice how as in a church they are instructed by the calmness of Paul's behavior, and how he saved them out of the midst of the dangers. It is of providential ordering that Paul is disbelieved, that after proof of the facts, he might be believed, which accordingly was the case. Paul exhorted them again to take some food, and they do as he asks them; he takes some first, to persuade them not by word, but also by act, that the storm did them no harm, but rather was a benefit to their souls."

Chrysostom wondered¹³⁸ how the crew of the ship could go without food for 14 days; he concluded that they were so consumed by fear of dying that they couldn't eat. Seasickness may have been involved also. The result is a great wonder that all hands were saved in spite of the rough conditions on the Adriatic.

"How did the ship's crew go without food for fourteen days, having taken nothing? How did they bear it? Their fear possessed them, and did not let them fall into a desire of food, being, as they were, at the point of extreme jeopardy, so that they had no care for food."

"They made towards shore having given the rudder-handles to the wind; often they don't do it in this way. They were carried along, having loosened the rigging, i.e. the sails. 'Falling into a place where two seas met, they ran the ship aground; and the bow stuck fast, and remained unmovable, but the stern was broken with the violence of the waves' (Acts 27:40-41); for when there is a strong wind, this is the consequence; the stern bearing the brunt of the storm. The soldiers wanted to kill the prisoners, lest any of them should swim out, and escape (Acts 27:42). Again the devil tries to hinder the prophecy; the soldiers wanted to kill

¹³⁶ This ship had come from Alexandria heading for Rome, where Egypt is the breadbasket for Rome. At various times, Rome became desperate for wheat shipments from Egypt and had no other ready source.

¹³⁷ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, LIII, vv. 27-33.

¹³⁸ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, LIII, vv. 27-44.

some, but the centurion didn't allow them that he might save Paul, so much was the centurion attached to him.”

“Notice what good came of the storm! The storm did not come upon them because they were forsaken by God. This happened because of the season of the year; but the wonder is greater, that at such a season they were saved from the midst of the dangers, both Paul, and for his sake the rest, and this too in the Adriatic Sea. There were 276 souls in all; this is no small matter, if indeed they believed. The voyage was at a bad time of year. It is natural to suppose they would ask the reason why they were sailing at this time of year, and would learn why. The voyage was so protracted in that it afforded Paul an opportunity for teaching.”

Chrysostom also noted¹³⁹ how circumstances contributed to Paul being believed by all on board. It took a while, and everyone had to first experience the consequences of not doing what Paul recommended. Then they all were ready to accept what he said.

“Paul had said, ‘I perceive that this voyage will end with disaster and much loss’ (Acts 27:10). Notice how unassuming the expression is. Paul did not want to be perceived as prophesying, but speaking as of conjecture; so, he said, ‘I perceive’. They would not have received it, had he prophesied at the outset. In fact, he does prophesy, as he does afterward, when he said, ‘The God whom I serve’, leading them to believe. Why did none of them lose their lives as Paul had said? (Acts 27:10) It would have been so, but God brought them safe through it. As far as depended on the nature of the thing, they were dead meat, but God prevented it. Then, to show that it was not from conjecture that Paul had spoken, the master of the ship said the opposite of what Paul said, and he was a man of experience in the matter; so far was it from being the case that Paul’s advice was given from conjecture. Moreover, the place suggested what the shipmaster said, ‘the harbor was not suitable to winter in’; and it was from conjecture that ‘the majority advised to set sail’ (Acts 27:12) as they did, rather than Paul. After the severe storm and the deep darkness that ensued, that they may not forget what had been said, the vessel goes to pieces, the grain is flung out and all besides, that they may experience the full shame of what they did. This is why the vessel goes to pieces, and their souls are tightly braced. Moreover, both the storm and the darkness contributed not a little to Paul’s obtaining the hearing he did. Notice how the centurion does what Paul asks him; he even let the life boat go, and destroyed it. The sailors did not comply with Paul’s request at first, yet afterwards they do so; for in fact this is a reckless sort of people. When Paul said, ‘Men, you should have listened to me’ (Acts 27:21) he was not likely to get a good reception, when he chides in the midst of calamity. But when he tells them what more there is to come of the calamity, and then predicts the good, then he is acceptable. Therefore, he attacked them first, when ‘all hope that we would be saved was finally given up’ (Acts 27:20), that none may say, ‘Nothing has come of it’”.

“This part of the Mediterranean was a trying one, for it was in the Adriatic, and then they had had a long abstinence. They were in the midst of death. It was now the fourteenth day that they had gone without food, having taken nothing. Therefore, Paul said, “I urge you to take nourishment, for this is for your survival,

¹³⁹ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, LIII, Recapitulation.

since not a hair will fall from the head of any of you' (Acts 27:34). Notice Paul giving thanks after all that had happened strengthened them. This showed an assured mind that they would be saved. 'Then they were all encouraged, and also took food themselves (Acts 27:36). Not only so, but after this, they so cast all their care upon Paul, such that they even cast the wheat overboard.'

Chrysostom drew¹⁴⁰ an analogy between Paul on board the ship and a holy man in a house. By not listening to what Paul says, we fall into numberless evils that are worse than what Paul encountered on the Adriatic. By obeying Paul, we will be freed from our dangers, though we are being tested severely. We can think of the whole world as a ship, in which are evildoers and those who have numberless vices, some rulers, others guards, others just men, as Paul was, others prisoners, bound by their sins. If we do as Paul asks us, we won't perish in our bonds, but are released from them.

“Notice that the soldiers were also given to Paul! It was for his sake that the centurion did not allow them to be slain. So confessedly wicked do those men seem to me to have been: insomuch that they would have chosen even to slay their own benefactor. But they all were thus saved, and the prophecy received accomplishment, for they were beyond the reach of hope. So, it was through being saved that they learned who Paul was. But someone may say: why did Paul not save the ship? That they might perceive how great a danger they had escaped; and that the whole matter depended, not on the help of man, but on God's hand saving them independently of a ship. Righteous men, though they are in a tempest, or on the sea, or in the deep, suffer nothing dreadful, but even save others together with themselves. If here was a ship in danger and suffering wreck, and prisoners were saved for Paul's sake, consider what a thing it is to have a holy man in a house. Many are the tempests which attack us also, tempests far more grievous than these natural ones; but He can also allow us to be delivered, if only we obey holy men as those in the ship did, if we do what they ask. They are not simply saved, but themselves also contributed to other men's believing. Though the holy man is in chains, he does greater works than those who are free. The free centurion stood in need of his bound prisoner; the skillful pilot needed him who was not a pilot — rather, of him who was the true pilot. Paul steered as pilot not a vessel of this earthly kind, but the Church of the whole world, having learned of Him Who is Lord also of the sea, by the wisdom of the Spirit. Look at our whole life; it is just like this voyage. At one time we meet with kindness, at another with a tempest; sometimes from our own lack of counsel, sometimes from our idleness, we fall into numberless evils; from our not listening to Paul, when we are eager to go somewhere where he does not direct us. Paul is sailing even now with us, only not chained as he was then; he admonishes us even now, and says to those who are sailing on this sea, 'take heed to yourselves: after my departure savage wolves will come in among you, not sparing the flock' (Acts 20:28-29). And again, 'In the last days perilous times will come; and men will be lovers of themselves, lovers of money, boasters' (2 Timothy 3:1-2). This is worse than all storms. Let us therefore dwell where he directs us — in faith, in the safe haven; let us listen to him rather than to the pilot that is within us, that is, our own reason. Let us not immediately

¹⁴⁰ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, LIII, Recapitulation.

do just what reason may suggest; not what the owner of the ship says. No, but what Paul suggests; he has passed through many such tempests. Let us not learn to our loss by experience, but before the experience let us avoid both harm and losses. Hear what he says: ‘those who desire to be rich fall into temptation and a snare and *into* many foolish and harmful lusts which drown men in destruction and perdition’ (1 Timothy 6:9). Let us therefore obey him; otherwise, see what they suffered, because they did not take his advice. Again he tells us in another place what causes shipwrecks. ‘Who having faith and a good conscience, which some having rejected, concerning the faith have suffered shipwreck’ (1 Timothy 1:19). But you must continue in the things which you have learned and been assured of, knowing from whom you have learned them’ (2 Timothy 3:14). Let us obey Paul, though we are in the midst of a tempest. We shall surely be freed from the dangers, though we remain without food fourteen days, though hope of safety may have left us, though we are in darkness and mist, by doing what he suggests, we shall be freed from the dangers. Let us think that the whole world is a ship; in this ship are evildoers and those who have numberless vices, some rulers, others guards, others just men, as Paul was, others prisoners, those bound by their sins. If we do as Paul asks us, we won’t perish in our bonds, but are released from them; God will give us also to him. Do we doubt that sins and passions are grievous bonds? It is not the hands only that are bound, but the whole man. Tell me, when anyone possessed of much money doesn’t use it, or spend it, but keeps it close, is he not bound by his miserliness more grievously than any prisoner?”

The Maltese Receive Paul with Kindness

“Now when they had escaped, they then found out that the island was called Malta. And the natives showed us unusual kindness; for they kindled a fire and made us all welcome, because of the rain that was falling and because of the cold” (Acts 28:1-2).

The time of year when the shipwreck occurred was probably late December. Everyone left Malta three months after they had arrived on an Alexandrian ship that had spent the winter in a Maltese harbor (Acts 28:11). Since the sailing season starts in early April, this suggests that the shipwreck occurred in late December or early January.

Late December and early January on Malta can be cold and wet, since most of the annual rainfall occurs during the winter, spurred by the polar jet stream¹⁴¹. About half the days of December and January are rainy days, while little rain falls in the summer. Malta has a steady, predictable climate due to its proximity to the ocean. Temperatures in December and January average in the low 60’s during the day and in the high 40’s at night. Since the shipwreck occurred at daybreak (Acts 27:39-43), the temperature was probably in the high 40’s and it was raining (Acts 28:2). Since everyone coming out of the water was soaking wet, keeping warm was difficult with the weather in the high 40’s. They were very grateful for the hospitality shown by the people of Malta.

¹⁴¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mediterranean_climate

In order to dry the clothes of 276 people who came off the shipwreck, there was probably a large fire, or several fires for people to crowd around to get warm and to let their clothes dry. So, it was natural for everyone to help gather wood to burn. In the 1st century, Malta was considerably more forested than it is today, so plenty of brushwood was available.

Paul Gets Bitten by a Snake

But when Paul had gathered a bundle of sticks and laid *them* on the fire, a viper came out because of the heat, and fastened on his hand. So, when the natives saw the creature hanging from his hand, they said to one another, ‘No doubt this man is a murderer, whom, though he has escaped the sea, yet justice does not allow him to live’. But he shook off the creature into the fire and suffered no harm. However, they were expecting that he would swell up or suddenly fall down dead. But after they had looked for a long time and saw no harm come to him, they changed their minds and said that he was a god” (Acts 28:3-6).

As Paul did his part to help with the fire, a poisonous snake that had been hiding in a pile of sticks came out¹⁴² because of the heat of the fire and fastened onto Paul’s hand. The Greek word *echidna* does not define the exact species of snake, only that it was an adder or a viper. Today there are no vipers on Malta; but there are many more people living on Malta now than there were in the 1st century and the people could easily have displaced a snake population over 2000 years. One local snake sometimes identified with the one that bit Paul is called the Leopard Snake¹⁴³. However, the Leopard Snake is not venomous; so, this could not be the one involved. A more likely candidate is the European viper (*vipera berus*, known by a number of different names) or the European asp (*vipera aspis*), where both of these are widespread throughout Southern Europe. Of these two, the European asp¹⁴⁴ has much stronger venom, and the reaction of people to bites from the European Asp is very much like what the Maltese were expecting to happen to Paul (Acts 28:5).

John Chrysostom stated¹⁴⁵ that Paul was allowed to be bitten by the snake for the benefit of the Malta natives, so that they would recognize who he really was. All they could see is Paul wearing chains; they couldn’t recognize that Paul was a man of God until they saw this.

“Well also was this permitted, that they should both see the thing and utter the thought that he must have been a murderer, in order that, when the result ensued, there might be no disbelieving the miracle. Notice their good feeling towards the distress of Paul and the others, in saying what they did (not aloud, but) among themselves. Notice also the natural judgment clearly expressed even among barbarians, and how they do not condemn without assigning a reason. They watch Paul carefully, that they may wonder the more. But Paul just calmly shook off the beast into the fire, and felt no harm. They expected him to fall down dead; having

¹⁴² Many snakes hide from the cold weather in the winter.

¹⁴³ See <http://www.shadowservices.com/nature/Maltese/biology/snakes.htm>.

¹⁴⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vipera_aspis. The venom of the European Asp causes rapidly spreading acute pain, followed by edema (swelling) and discoloration at the site of the bite. Severe hemorrhagic necrosis (dead tissue) may occur within a few hours. Vision may be severely impaired, most likely due to degradation of blood and blood vessels in the eyes. Also the European Asp is rather short (about 2 feet long); therefore the Maltese natives saw the (short) snake hanging from Paul’s hand (Acts 28:4).

¹⁴⁵ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, LIV, vv. 3-6.

seen that nothing of the kind happened to him, they said, He is a god. Again, just as earlier (Acts 14:11), another excess on the part of these men.”

Chrysostom compared¹⁴⁶ the Jews that Paul left behind in Judea with the barbarians on Malta. The Jews had seen many miracles by the Apostles, yet they persecuted them. The Maltese had seen none of this, yet they were kind to them. The Maltese also had some sense of Providence, more so even than the philosophers, for they believed that God was present everywhere. The Maltese were kind simply because the people from the ship were unfortunate. Then the Maltese were greatly stunned that Paul didn't die from the snake bite.

“The Jews beheld all the many miracles the Apostles did, yet they persecuted and harassed Paul; but the barbarians, who had seen none of these, merely on the ground of his misfortune, were kind to him. ‘No doubt’, they say, ‘this man is a murderer’ (Acts 28:4). They do not simply pronounce their judgment, but say, ‘No doubt’, i.e. as anyone may see ‘and vengeance’, they say, ‘does not allow him to live’. Notice that they held the doctrine of Providence, and these barbarians were far more philosophic than the philosophers, who don't allow the benefit of Providence to extend to things ‘below the moon’. By contrast these barbarians suppose God to be present everywhere, and that although a guilty man may escape many a danger, he will not escape in the end. They do not attack Paul immediately, but for a time respect him on account of his misfortune. They do not openly proclaim what they think, but speak it ‘among themselves: a murderer’; for the chains led them to suspect this. ‘They showed no small kindnesses, and yet some of them were prisoners. Let those be ashamed that say, ‘Do not do good to those in prison’; let these barbarians shame us; for they didn't know who these men were, but simply because they were in misfortune, they were kind. This much they perceived: that they were human beings, and therefore they considered them to have a claim upon their humanity. ‘For a great while, they expected that Paul would die from the snake bite’ (Acts 28:6). But when he shook his hand, and flung off the snake into the fire, then they saw and were astonished. The miracle did not take place suddenly, but the men watched Paul a long length of time; so plainly was there no deceit, no haste here.”

The Chief Citizen of Malta Receives Paul Kindly

In that region there was an estate of the leading citizen of the island, whose name was Publius, who received us and entertained us courteously for three days. And it happened that the father of Publius lay sick of a fever and dysentery. Paul went in to him and prayed, and he laid his hands on him and healed him. So, when this was done, the rest of those on the island who had diseases also came and were healed. They also honored us in many ways; and when we departed, they provided such things as were necessary” (Acts 28:7-10)

John Chrysostom pointed out¹⁴⁷ how Publius received the shipwreck victims with compassion; in doing so he brought down the grace of God upon himself at the hand of Paul. All

¹⁴⁶ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, LIV, Recapitulation.

¹⁴⁷ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, LIV, vv. 7-10.

276 victims of the shipwreck received great kindness because of Paul. Everyone on Malta believed in God as a result of this shipwreck.

“Notice another hospitable man, Publius, who was both rich and of great possessions; he had seen nothing, but purely out of compassion for their misfortune, he received them, and took care of them. So that he was worthy to receive kindness; therefore, Paul as a payment for his receiving them healed him. Notice how when they were free from the storm, they did not become more negligent; but what a liberal entertainment was given to them for Paul’s sake. Three months they were on Malta; all of them were provided with sustenance. Notice how all this is done for the sake of Paul, to the end that the prisoners should believe, and the soldiers, and the centurion. Even if they had hearts of stone, yet from the advice they heard him giving, from the prediction they had heard him making, from the miracles they knew him to have done, and from the sustenance they by his means enjoyed, they must have got a very high notion of him. Notice that when the judgment is right, and not preoccupied by some passion, it immediately gets the right judgment, and gives sound verdicts.”

If Paul had visited Malta on one of his missionary journeys, he could not have done a better job of leading the people of Malta – and the crew of the ship and the soldiers – to faith in Christ. As we will see, this provided a major impetus to Paul’s life in Rome for the next two years as word of Paul as a benefactor to everyone spread throughout Rome.

Chrysostom noted¹⁴⁸ that Publius willingly lodged all 276 people; Paul recognized his good will and repaid him by healing his father. After the others were healed, it is apparent that Paul was able to invest time in teaching everyone on the island for three months. All the new converts responded by supplying the ship with everything that was needed.

“Publius lodged all 276 persons courteously for three days (Acts 28:7). Consider how great the gain of his hospitality: not as of necessity, not as unwilling, but as reckoning it a gain he lodged them for three days. When Paul repaid him by healing his father, he naturally honored Paul much more, when the others also received healing. It was not that Paul received wages for doing what he did, God forbid; but as it is written, ‘The worker is worthy of his food’ (Matthew 10:10). ‘When we departed, they loaded us with such things as were necessary’ (Acts 28:10). It is plain that having thus received them, they also received the word of the preaching. It is not to be supposed, that during an entire three months they would have had all this kindness shown them, if these persons hadn’t believed strongly, and thus exhibited the fruits of their conversion. From this we may see a strong proof of the great number there was of those that believed. This was enough to establish Paul’s credit with his fellow voyagers. Notice how in this whole voyage they nowhere touched at a city, but were cast on an island, and spent the entire winter there. Paul’s fellow-voyagers were under training for their faith. ‘And after three months we departed in a ship of Alexandria, which had wintered in the isle, whose sign was Castor¹⁴⁹ and Pollux’ (Acts 28:11). Probably this was painted on the ship; so addicted were they to their idols.

¹⁴⁸ John Chrysostom, *Commentary on Acts*, LIV, Recapitulation.

¹⁴⁹ Castor and Pollux are known in Greek and Roman mythology as the Twin Brothers, who were supposedly conceived when Zeus raped Leda, the wife of Tynndareus.

Paul Arrives in Rome

“After three months we sailed in an Alexandrian ship whose figurehead was the Twin Brothers, which had wintered at the island. And landing at Syracuse, we stayed three days. From there we circled round and reached Rhegium. And after one day the south wind¹⁵⁰ blew; and the next day we came to Puteoli, where we found brethren, and were invited to stay with them seven days. And so, we went toward Rome. And from there, when the brethren heard about us, they came to meet us as far as Appii Forum and Three Inns¹⁵¹. When Paul saw them¹⁵², he thanked God and took courage. Now when we came to Rome, the centurion delivered the prisoners to the captain of the guard; but Paul was permitted to dwell by himself with the soldier who guarded him” (Acts 28:11-16).

John Chrysostom noted¹⁵³ how word of what Paul had done preceded him like a royal ovation. From the brethren who came to meet him Paul took courage. Once in Rome, the fact that Paul was allowed to live by himself is proof that he was held in great admiration, even though he still wore chains.

“Already the preaching has reached Sicily! Notice how it has progressed even to those lands. At Puteoli they found some brethren; others also came to meet them. Such was the eagerness of the brethren; it didn’t bother them at all, that Paul was in chains. But notice also how Paul himself was affected after the manner of men. For it says, ‘When Paul saw them, he thanked God and took courage’ (Acts 28:15). Although he had worked so many miracles, nevertheless even from sight he received a wave of confidence. From this we learn, that he was comforted after the manner of men. And when we came to Rome, ‘Paul was permitted to dwell by himself with the soldier who guarded him’ (Acts 28:16). Permission was given to a prisoner to dwell by himself! This is no slight proof that Paul was held in much admiration; it is clear they did not number him among the rest.”

Chrysostom also pointed out¹⁵⁴ that when the travelers got to Puteoli in Italy, brethren met them there and they stayed seven days. The centurion in charge, now probably a Christian, felt comfortable doing this. When they got to Rome, Paul was allowed to live by himself; the soldier stationed with him was there to prevent plots by the Jews from developing.

“Notice them staying a while, before they hurried onwards. ‘When the brethren heard about us, they came to meet us as far as Appii Forum and Three Inns’ (Acts 28:15); they did not fear any danger. Paul therefore was now so much respected, that he was even permitted to stay by himself; for if even before this they used him kindly, much more would they now. ‘The soldier that kept him’ (Acts 28:16) was there that it might not be possible for any plot to be laid against him there either, for there could be no raising of a riot now like there was in Jerusalem.

¹⁵⁰ The “south wind”, that is, the wind out of the South, means that it was now springtime, and the sailing season had arrived along with good weather that would last all summer.

¹⁵¹ The Appii Forum is almost 50 miles South of Rome, so this was quite a hike.

¹⁵² The implication is that Paul knew these brethren, even though he had never been to Rome before. From his Epistle to Rome, written about 5 years earlier, Paul addressed eighteen of the Seventy Apostles plus Mary Magdalene (Romans 16). Paul and Peter had sent these brethren to Rome to help out with problems they faced regarding heresy. For details, see Mark Kern, *Simon Magus the Heresiarch*, St Athanasius Press, 2004.

¹⁵³ John Chrysostom, *Commentary on Acts*, LIV, vv. 11-16.

¹⁵⁴ John Chrysostom, *Commentary on Acts*, LIV, Recapitulation.

So that in fact they were not keeping Paul in custody, but guarding him, so that nothing unpleasant should happen. It was not possible now, in so great a city, and with the Emperor there, and with Paul's appeal, for anything to be done contrary to order. So surely it is the case, that always through the things which seem to be against us, all things turn out for us."

Paul Speaks to the Jewish Leaders in Rome

"And it came to pass after three days that Paul called the leaders of the Jews together. So, when they had come together, he said to them, 'Men *and* brethren, though I have done nothing against our people or the customs of our fathers, yet I was delivered as a prisoner from Jerusalem into the hands of the Romans, who, when they had examined me, wanted to let *me* go, because there was no cause for putting me to death. But when the Jews spoke against *it*, I was compelled to appeal to Caesar, not that I had anything of which to accuse my nation. For this reason, therefore, I have called for you, to see *you* and speak with *you*, because for the hope of Israel I am bound with this chain'. Then they said to him, 'We neither received letters from Judea concerning you, nor have any of the brethren who came reported or spoken any evil of you. But we desire to hear from you what you think; for concerning this sect, we know that it is spoken against everywhere'. So, when they had appointed him a day, many came to him at *his* lodging, to whom he explained and solemnly testified of the kingdom of God, persuading them concerning Jesus from both the Law of Moses and the Prophets, from morning till evening. And some were persuaded by the things which were spoken, and some disbelieved. So, when they did not agree among themselves, they departed after Paul had said one word: 'The Holy Spirit spoke rightly through Isaiah the prophet to our fathers, saying, 'Go to this people and say: "Hearing you will hear, and shall not understand; and seeing you will see, and not perceive; for the hearts of this people have grown dull. Their ears are hard of hearing, and their eyes they have closed, lest they should see with *their* eyes and hear with *their* ears, lest they should understand with *their* hearts and turn, so that I should heal them"'. Therefore, let it be known to you that the salvation of God has been sent to the Gentiles, and they will hear it!' And when he had said these words, the Jews departed and had a great dispute among themselves (Acts 28:17-29).

John Chrysostom noted¹⁵⁵ a complete turnaround of the Apostle Paul in Rome. Here the Jews don't dare start a riot. When Paul spoke to them, he taunted them by saying that the Gentiles will receive what they rejected. We need to consider the examples of Moses, Aaron, Cain, Abel, the Three Youths in the fire, Daniel, Adam and Judas. Nothing anyone does to us will hurt us; the only thing we need to be concerned about is what we do to ourselves.

"When Paul called the Jews together (Acts 28:17) and spoke to them; they departed contradicting each other. They are even taunted by Paul, yet they dare not say anything, for it was not permitted them to deal with his matter any way they wanted like at Jerusalem. This is a marvelous thing; not by the things which seem to be for our security, but by their very opposites, all comes together for us. We need to understand this! Consider how Pharaoh commanded the infants to be thrown into the river (Exodus 1:22). Unless this had happened, Moses would not have been saved, and he would not have been brought up in the palace. When he was safe with his parents, he was not honored; when he was exposed to the river,

¹⁵⁵ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, LIV, Recapitulation.

then he was honored. God did this to show His riches of resource. The Jews threatened Moses, saying, 'Do you intend to kill me as you killed the Egyptian?' (Exodus 2:14); this too was profitable to Moses. It was God's providence, in order that he should see that vision in the desert, in order that the proper time should be completed, that he should learn philosophy in the desert, and there live in security. In all the plotting of the Jews against him the same thing happened; then he became more illustrious. In the case of Aaron; Korah rose up against him, and thereby made him more illustrious (Numbers 16:1-19). This happened that his ordination should be unquestionable and that he might be held in admiration for the future also from the plates of brass (Numbers 16:37-40). Let us go over the same examples from the beginning. Cain slew his brother, but in this he rather benefited him. Listen to the Scripture, 'The voice of your brother's blood cries out to Me from the ground' (Genesis 4:10); and again, in another place, 'To the blood of sprinkling that speaks better things than *that of Abel*' (Hebrews 12:24). God freed Abel from the uncertainty of the future; He increased his reward; we have all learned by this what love God had for him. How was he injured? Not at all; he just received his end sooner. What do they gain who live longer? Nothing; having good days does not depend on living many years or few years, but in using life properly. The Three Children were thrown into the furnace, and through this they became more illustrious (Daniel 3); Daniel was thrown into the lions' den, and because of this he was made more renowned (Daniel 6). Trials in every case bring forth great good even in this life, much more in the life to come. Regarding malice, however, the case is the same as if a man should try to fight a fire having nothing more than a stick; the stick may beat the fire, but it only makes the fire brighter, and the stick gets consumed. The malice of the wicked becomes food and an occasion to make virtue more splendid. God turns the unrighteousness to good account, and our character shines forth all the more. When the devil works anything of this kind, he makes those more illustrious that endure. How then was this not the case with Adam, but, on the contrary, he became more disgraced? In this case of all others God turned the malice of that wicked one to good account. If Adam was the worse for it, it was he that injured himself. It is the wrongs that are done to us by others that become the means of great good to us, not so the wrongs which are done by ourselves. When we are hurt by others, we grieve; but not so when we hurt ourselves. Therefore, God shows that he who suffers unjustly at the hands of another gets renowned, but he who injures himself, receives hurt. Besides, the whole thing there was Adam's own doing. Why did he do what the woman said? (Genesis 3:6) When she counseled him contrary to God, why didn't he repel her? He was assuredly himself the cause. Otherwise if the devil was the cause, at this rate all that are tempted ought to perish; but if all do not perish, the cause of our destruction rests with ourselves. 'But', you will say, 'all that are tempted ought at that rate to succeed'. No; for the cause is in ourselves. 'At that rate it ought to follow that some perish without the devil having anything to do with it'. Yes; and in fact, many do perish without the devil's being concerned in it. Surely the devil does not bring about all our evil doings. Much comes also from our own sluggishness by itself; and if the devil is anywhere concerned as a cause, it is from our offering the occasion. When did the devil prevail in Judas' case? When 'Satan entered him' (John 13:27), you will say. Yes, but listen to the cause; it was because

‘he was a thief, and had the money box; and he used to take what was put in it’ (John 12:6). It was he that himself gave the devil a wide room for entering into him; so, then it is not the devil that begins our downfall, it is we that receive and invite him. ‘But’, you will say, ‘if there were no devil, the evils would not have become great’. True, but then our punishment would be more severe; as it is, beloved, our punishment is milder; whereas if we had done the evils of ourselves, the chastisements would be intolerable. If Adam, without any counsel, had committed the sin he did, who would have snatched him out of the dangers? ‘But he would not have sinned’, you will say. We can’t really say this! Adam had so little solidity, that he was ready for foolishness, receiving such advice as he did; much more would he without any counsel have become what he did become. What devil incited the brethren of Joseph to envy? If we are watchful brethren, the devil becomes to us the cause even of renown.”

Chrysostom pointed out¹⁵⁶ that Paul’s words to the Jews in Rome were of a forgiving nature. He only did what he did to escape the danger in Jerusalem, and he was bound with his chains for their sake. The Roman Jews apologized for their counterparts in Jerusalem, and wanted to hear directly from Paul, since Christianity was spoken against everywhere. Many of the Roman Jews were convinced and Paul brought forward Isaiah’s words to help confirm them in the Faith.

“Notice how Paul, in speaking with the Jews in Rome, details the charges of the Jews in Jerusalem against him. Thus, he explained that he ‘was constrained to appeal to Caesar’, so that his whole speech is of a forgiving nature. Paul didn’t accuse them of anything; he only did this that he might escape the danger. He explained that it is for your sakes ‘that I am bound with this chain’ (Acts 28:20). So far am I, he says, from any hostile feeling towards you. Then the Jews in Rome were so subdued by his speech that they too apologized for those of their own nation (Acts 28:21). But they wanted to hear from Paul himself, ‘We desire to hear from you what you think; for concerning this sect, we know that it is spoken against everywhere’ (Acts 28:22). Paul spoke to them for an entire day and ‘some were persuaded by the things which were spoken, and some disbelieved’ (Acts 28:24). They didn’t say, we speak against it, but ‘it is spoken against’. When they didn’t agree among themselves, they departed after Paul had spoken one word from the Prophet Isaiah regarding the Gentiles (Acts 28:25-27). When they departed, opposed to each other, then Paul reproached them, in order to confirm those that believed. No wonder then if the unbelieving Jews contradicted; this was foretold from the first.”

Chrysostom noted¹⁵⁷ that the Jews in Rome were different than those in Jerusalem. They actually wanted to hear what Paul had to say! However, they still tried to exonerate the Jews in Jerusalem, even though they knew that they were very much in the wrong. Paul does not try to impress them with miracles, but he speaks to them entirely from the Law and the Prophets, and he puts them to silence. He even shows them from the Prophets that God foretold that they wouldn’t believe. It was the Providence of God that Paul should go to Jerusalem and speak to them as a Jew to his fellow Jews. When Paul finished speaking to the Jews in Rome (c. 60 AD), this was

¹⁵⁶ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, LV, vv. 18-27.

¹⁵⁷ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, LV, Recapitulation.

the beginning of his two years in Rome under house-arrest. It was just six years until the Judgment of God would fall on Judea for their apostasy.

“Notice the Jews in Rome speaking more mildly to Paul. ‘We desire to hear from you what you think’ (Acts 28:22), they said, and wish to exonerate those at Jerusalem. Whereas they ought to accuse them, they plead for them; by the very fact of their exonerating them, they do in fact accuse them. This was a proof that they knew themselves exceedingly in the wrong. Had they been confident, they would not have done this, so that Paul should not be able to make out his story in his own way; and besides they shrank from coming. They knew about Christianity (this sect) ‘that it is spoken against everywhere’ (Acts 28:22). True! But people are also everywhere persuaded (as, in fact, here), ‘some were persuaded by the things which were spoken, and some disbelieved’ (Acts 28:24). Notice again how not by miracles but by the Law and the Prophets Paul puts them to silence, and how we always find him doing this. Paul could have done signs; but then it would no longer have been a matter of faith. In fact, this itself was a great sign, his speaking from the Law and the Prophets. That we may not think it strange that they didn’t believe, Paul introduced the prophecy which said ‘Hearing you will hear, and shall not understand’, more now than then; ‘and seeing you will see, and not perceive’ (Acts 28:26), more now than then. This is not spoken for the believers, but for the unbelievers. Was it contrary to the prophecy that those believed? No! The prophecy was addressed to the unbelieving people. Paul did not say this to insult them, but to remove the offense. ‘Therefore, let it be known to you that the salvation of God has been sent to the Gentiles, and they will hear it!’ (Acts 28:28). Why did Paul bother to speak to them? Didn’t Paul know this? Yes, but that they might be persuaded, and that he might exonerate himself, and give no one a handle against him. The unbelieving was those that withdrew. Notice how they do not now form plots against him. In Judea they had a sort of tyranny. Then why did the Providence of God order that Paul should go there, when the Lord had said, ‘Make haste and get out of Jerusalem quickly, for they will not receive your testimony concerning Me?’ (Acts 22:18) That both the wickedness of the Jews in Jerusalem might be shown and Christ’s prophecy made good. They would not endure to hear Paul! All might learn that Paul was ready to suffer all things, and that the event might be for the consolation of those in Judea; for there also the brethren were suffering many grievous evils. If while preaching the Jewish doctrines, Paul suffered thus, had he preached the doctrines of the glory of Christ, how would they have endured him? While ‘purifying himself’ (Acts 21:26) he was intolerable to them; how should he have been tolerable to them while preaching what he taught elsewhere? First Paul called the Jews; then having shown them the facts he goes to the Gentiles (Acts 13:42-48, 18:6-7). Notice that it is not Paul that they disbelieve, but God. But God foreknew this from the beginning.”

Members of the Seventy Apostles in Rome with Paul

Table 9
Those of the Seventy Working with Paul on the 4th Missionary Journey
For More Details, see Appendix A

Member of Seventy	Native To	Journey	Later Bishop of	Comments
Aristarchus	Thessalonica	2, 3, 4, 5	Apamea	Joined at end of 2 nd
Clement of Sardis		4	Sardis	Philippians 4:3
Demas		3, 4, 5	Priest for idols	Colossians 4:14, 2 Timothy 4:10
Epaphras		3, 4, 5	Colossae area	Colossians 1:7, 4:12
Epaphroditus	Philippi	2, 3, 4	Colophon in Pamphylia	Philippians 2:25, 4:18
Justus	Nazareth	2, 4	Eleutheropolis	Colossians 4:11
Linus		2, 3, 4, 5	Rome	
Luke	Antioch	1, 2, 3, 4, 5	Roving Apostle	Colossians 4:14
Mark, Barnabas' Cousin	Cyprus	4, 5	Appolonia,	Colossians 4:10
Onesimus		4	Berea	Colossians 4:9
Philemon		3, 4, 5	Colossae area	Philemon 1:1-23
Timothy	Lystra	1, 2, 3, 4, 5	Ephesus	Colossians 1:1
Tychicus	Asia Minor	3, 4, 5	Caesarea after Philip	Colossians 4:7

Paul Wrote a Number of Epistles from Rome

“Then Paul dwelt two whole years in his own rented house, and received all who came to him, preaching the kingdom of God and teaching the things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ with all confidence, no one forbidding him” (Acts 28:30-31).

During Paul’s two years in Rome under house-arrest, he wrote Epistles to the Ephesians, the Philippians, the Colossians, Philemon, and his treatise to the Hebrews. Thus, this was a very productive time in his life, and this period of his life has had an enormous impact on Christianity over the last 2000 years.

The probable sequence of Paul’s letters can be seen from who was with him at the time. In the Epistles to Philemon, the Colossians and the Philippians, the Epistles are from Paul and Timothy. In the treatise to the Hebrews, Paul mentioned that Timothy had just been released. In the Epistle to the Ephesians, Timothy was no longer in Rome and was probably in Ephesus. Therefore, we can say that the probable sequence was:

1. Paul met & converted Onesimus.
2. Paul wrote to Philemon with Timothy still in Rome (Philemon 1:1)
3. Paul wrote to the Colossians with Timothy still in Rome (Colossians 1:1).
4. Paul wrote to the Philippians with Timothy still in Rome (Philippians 1:1).
5. Paul wrote to the Hebrews with Timothy just released from prison (Hebrews 13:23).
6. Paul wrote to the Ephesians with Timothy no longer in Rome (Ephesians 1:1).

How much of Paul’s Letters are important for Luke?

Paul Wrote to Philemon in Colossae

In John Chrysostom's introduction to his homilies on Philemon, he noted¹⁵⁸ that Philemon was a man of admirable and noble character. Some in the 4th century didn't think that Paul's Epistle to Philemon should be included in Scripture due to its dealing with small matters. However, Chrysostom argues that all the details of the history of the Apostles are important, and most people have no idea of the benefit that would result. These are the general instructors of the world; their spiritual life, their habits, their walk, their words and actions, in short, all that relates to them, profits the hearers, and nothing is a hindrance or impediment.

“First, it is necessary to state the argument of the Epistle to Philemon, then also the matters that are questioned respecting it. Philemon was a man of admirable and noble character. That he was an admirable man is evident from the fact that his whole household was of believers, and of such believers as even to be called a Church. Therefore, Paul says in this Epistle ‘And to the Church in your house’ (Philemon 1:2). Paul bears witness also to Philemon's great obedience and that ‘the hearts of the saints have been refreshed by you, brother’ (Philemon 1:7). In this Epistle Paul commanded Philemon to prepare him a guest room (Philemon 1:22). It seems to me therefore that Philemon's house was altogether ‘a guest room for the Saints’. This excellent man, then, had a certain slave named Onesimus. This Onesimus, having stolen something from his master, had run away. For that he had stolen, hear what Paul says, ‘If he has wronged you or owes anything, put that on my account. I will repay’ (Philemon 1:18-19). Coming therefore to Paul at Rome, and having found him in prison, and having enjoyed the benefit of his teaching, Onesimus there also received Baptism. That Onesimus obtained there the gift of Baptism is clear from Paul's saying, ‘Whom I have begotten *while* in my chains’ (Philemon 1:10). Paul therefore writes, recommending him to his master, that on every account he should forgive him, and receive him as one now regenerated. Some say, that it was superfluous that this Epistle should be included in the Canon of Scripture, since Paul is making a request about a small matter in behalf of one man; let them, who make these objections, learn that they are themselves deserving of very many censures. It was not only proper that these small Epistles, in behalf of things so necessary, should have been inscribed, but I wish that it were possible to meet with one who could deliver to us the history of the Apostles. It is important not only all they wrote and spoke of, but of the rest of their conversation, even what they ate, when they ate, when they walked, where they sat, what they did every day, in what parts they were, into what house they entered, and where they lodged. So replete with advantage is all that was done by them that we should relate everything with minute exactness. But most people, not knowing the benefit that would result from this, proceed to censure it.”

“If we could only see those places where they sat or where they were imprisoned, mere lifeless spots, we often transport our minds there, imagine their virtue, are excited by it, and become more zealous. Much more would this be the case, if we heard their words and their other actions. Concerning a friend, a man inquires where he lives, what he is doing, where he is going; should we not make these inquiries about these the general instructors of the world? When a man leads a spiritual life, the habit, the walk, the words and the actions of such a one, in short,

¹⁵⁸ John Chrysostom, Homilies on Philemon, Argument.

all that relates to him, profits the hearers, and nothing is a hindrance or impediment.”

Chrysostom also pointed out¹⁵⁹ that Paul’s prison Epistles, such as the one to Philemon, have some advantages over the others in that it is like a champion writing in the midst of carnage and victory. Paul had begotten Onesimus while in prison, and he wrote to Philemon, an eminent citizen and later a traveling Bishop, concerning Onesimus.

“Holy indeed are all the Epistles of Paul, but those which he sent after he was in bonds have some advantage, such as the one to Philemon. The one to the Romans he wrote before he had seen them, but the one to the Colossians, after; and near the close of his preaching. In the Epistle to Philemon Paul says, ‘Being such a one as Paul, the aged’ (Philemon 1:9), and makes request for Onesimus; but in the Epistle to the Colossians he sends Onesimus himself, as he says, ‘With Onesimus a faithful and beloved brother’ (Colossians 4:9), calling him faithful, beloved, and brother. Therefore, Paul says, ‘from the hope of the Gospel which you heard, which was preached to every creature under heaven’ (Colossians 1:23). By then it had been preached for a long time. The Epistle to Timothy was written after this. When Paul had come to the very end of his life, he says, ‘I am already being poured out as a drink offering’ (2 Timothy 4:6); this is later than that to the Philippians, for in that Epistle he was just entering his final imprisonment at Rome.”

“But why do I say that these Epistles have some advantage over the rest in this respect, because Paul writes while in bonds? As if a champion were to write in the midst of carnage and victory; so also, in truth did Paul. Paul was aware that this was a great thing, for writing to Philemon he said regarding Onesimus, ‘Whom I have begotten *while* in my chains’ (Philemon 1:10). Paul said that we should not be dispirited when in adversity, but even rejoice. At this place was Philemon with the Colossians. In the Epistle to Philemon Paul said, ‘And to Archippus our fellow-soldier’ (Philemon 1:2); and in the Epistle to the Colossians, ‘Say to Archippus’ (Colossians 4:17). Philemon seems to me to have been charged with some office in the Church.”

Chrysostom also noted¹⁶⁰ how Paul addressed Philemon, who was a great man. He could have commanded Philemon from his authority as an Apostle, but instead he beseeches him out of love.

“Paul wrote, ‘Therefore, though I might be very bold in Christ to command you what is fitting’ (Philemon 1:8). Notice how cautious Paul is, lest any of the things which were spoken even from exceeding love should so strike the hearer, that he should be hurt. For this reason, before Paul says, ‘to enjoin you’, since it was offensive, although, as spoken out of love, it was more proper to soothe him. Nevertheless, from an excess of delicacy, Paul as it were corrects it by saying, ‘Having confidence’ (Philemon 1:21), by which he implies that Philemon was a great man; that is, ‘You have given confidence to us’. Not only that, but adding the expression ‘in Christ’, by which he shows that it was not that Philemon was more illustrious in the world, not that he was more powerful, but it was on account of his

¹⁵⁹ John Chrysostom, Homilies on Colossians, I, vv. 1-2.

¹⁶⁰ John Chrysostom, Homilies on Philemon, II, vv. 8-9.

faith in Christ. Paul also adds, ‘to enjoin you’, and ‘that which is convenient’; that is, a reasonable action. Notice out of how many things Paul brings proof for this. You do good to others, Paul says, and to me, and for Christ’s sake, and that the thing is reasonable, and that love gives; so, Paul adds, ‘Yet for love’s sake I rather appeal *to you*’” (Philemon 1:9).

“It was as if Paul had said, ‘I know that I can affect it by commanding with much authority, from things which have already taken place’. But because I am very solicitous about this matter, ‘I beseech you’. Paul shows both these things at once; that he has confidence in him for he commands him; and that he is exceedingly concerned about the matter, wherefore he beseeches him.”

Paul Wrote to the Colossians

Colossae¹⁶¹ is located in Phrygia of Asia Minor on the Lycus River, which is a tributary of the Maeander River. Colossae is about 100 miles East of Ephesus and about 12 miles Southeast of Laodicea. In earlier times, Colossae was an important merchant place, but by the 1st century AD, it had dwindled greatly in size and significance.

Paul wrote to the Church in Colossae while he was under house-arrest in Rome, living in a rented house (Acts 28:16, 30-31). Timothy was still with Paul in Rome at that time (Colossians 1:1) and so was Justus (Colossians 4:11), Jesus’ step-brother and one of the Seventy Apostles. Colossae was the home of Philemon, a member of the original Seventy, and also the home of Epaphras.

We are not told directly about the founding of the Church in Colossae; all we are told is that during Paul’s 3rd Missionary Journey, “all who dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks” (Acts 19:10). Paul said, “For I want you to know what a great conflict I have for you and those in Laodicea, and *for* as many as have not seen my face in the flesh, that their hearts may be encouraged, being knit together in love, and *attaining* to all riches of the full assurance of understanding, to the knowledge of the mystery of God, both of the Father and of Christ, in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge” (Colossians 2:1-3). If many people had never seen Paul, he may have been to Colossae only briefly or not at all. It often assumed that Epaphras founded the Church in Colossae with the help of others during Paul’s two years in Ephesus (Colossians 1:7, 4:12). Paul wrote to Philemon in Colossae of his intended visit, which implies he had either never been there or was there only briefly,

“Meanwhile, also prepare a guest room for me, for I trust that through your prayers I shall be granted to *visit* you. Epaphras, my fellow prisoner in Christ Jesus, greets you, *as do* Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, Luke, my fellow laborers” (Philemon 1:22-24).

Since the same members of the original Seventy Apostles¹⁶² were with Paul when he wrote to the Church in Colossae, Paul’s Epistle to Philemon was probably written at about the same time.

¹⁶¹ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colossae>.

¹⁶² That is, John Mark (Colossians 4:10, Philemon 1:24), Aristarchus (Colossians 4:10, Philemon 1:24), Demas (Colossians 4:14, Philemon 1:24), Luke (Colossians 4:14, Philemon 1:24) and Epaphras (Colossians 4:12, Philemon 1:23).

But what is the “great conflict” (Colossians 2:1) that Paul had for Colossae and Laodicea? Paul got word of what was happening in Colossae from Epaphras, who had journeyed to Rome to seek Paul’s help. Demetrius of Rostov stated¹⁶³ that Epaphras was later the Bishop of Colossae, Laodicea and Hierapolis¹⁶⁴. Epaphras brought word to Paul about the inroads that the heresies of Simon Magus had been making in Colossae.

“You have the hope which is laid up for you in heaven, of which you heard before in the word of the truth of the gospel, which has come to you, as *it is* also among you since the day you heard and knew the grace of God in truth. You learned this from Epaphras, our dear fellow servant, who is a faithful minister of Christ on your behalf, who also declared to us your love in the Spirit. For this reason, we also, since the day we heard it, do not cease to pray for you, and to ask that you may be filled with the knowledge of His will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding” (Colossians 1:5-9).

Epaphras, who is *one* of you, a bondservant of Christ, greets you, always laboring fervently for you in prayers that you may stand perfect and complete in all the will of God. For I bear witness to him that he has a great zeal for you, and those who are in Laodicea, and those in Hierapolis” (Colossians 4:12-13).

The situation at Colossae was somewhat complicated by the fact that Demas, one of the original Seventy Apostles, was with Paul when he wrote to the Colossians, but Demas later apostatized to become a priest for the idols¹⁶⁵. Paul wrote,

“Luke the beloved physician and Demas greet you. Greet the brethren who are in Laodicea, and Nymphas and the church that *is* in his house” (Colossians 4:14-15).

About five years later, Paul wrote to Timothy that Demas had abandoned his work as an Apostle saying, Demas “has forsaken me, having loved this present world, and has departed for Thessalonica” (2 Timothy 4:10).

Throughout Paul’s Epistle to the Colossians, Paul refers to heretical teachings, but he doesn’t identify where these teachings came from. However, early Christian writers have given us quite a bit of information on what Paul was referring to.

Simon Magus was a renowned and charismatic heretic¹⁶⁶ in the 1st century, and he and his followers taught that Jesus was merely one of the angels sent by the Supreme God to create man and the universe. And therefore, worship of angels was common among the heretic groups¹⁶⁷. To address this, Paul stated:

¹⁶³ Demetri of Rostov, “The Great Collection of the Lives of the Saints”, tr. Fr. Thomas Marretta, Chrysostom Press, House Springs, MO, 2002

¹⁶⁴ Hierapolis was about 15 miles North of Laodicea.

¹⁶⁵ Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

¹⁶⁶ For more details, see Mark Kern, Simon Magus the Heresiarch, St. Athanasius Press, 2004.

¹⁶⁷ Irenaeus, Against Heresies, I, xxiii, 4-5.

Tertullian, Against All Heresies, II, ix, 3.

Tertullian, Against All Heresies, II, ix Appendix, 1.

Tertullian, A Treatise on the Soul, I, ix, 23.

Eusebius, Church History, III, 26.

“Let no one cheat you of your reward, taking delight in *false* humility and worship of angels, intruding into those things which he has not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind” (Colossians 2:18).

Prior to that, Paul had said, “This I say lest anyone should deceive you with persuasive words. Beware lest anyone cheat you through philosophy and empty deceit, according to the tradition of men, according to the basic principles of the world, and not according to Christ” (Colossians 2:4, 8).

In contrast to the Ebionites, who advocated a return to circumcision and the Mosaic Law, Paul stated that the Colossians had a greater “circumcision”. “In Him you were also circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, by putting off the body of the sins of the flesh, by the circumcision of Christ” (Colossians 2:11).

The Early Church spoke out¹⁶⁸ very strongly against Simon and his followers regarding Who Jesus really is. Eusebius stated¹⁶⁹ that there were “a great many members of the Church who were fighting for the truth and defending apostolic and ecclesiastical doctrine with uncommon eloquence” in the face of these heresies. To address the heretics’ claim that Jesus was a lesser God and not equal to the Father, Paul wrote:

“Christ is the image of the invisible God and the firstborn over all creation; He created all things, is before all things and in Him all things consist. All the fullness of God dwells in Him” (Colossians 1:15-19).

Part of the teachings of the heretics was either an indifference to or a concentration on certain foods and behavior, such as taught by the Ebionites¹⁷⁰. Eating of meat offered to idols and the renunciation of the faith in times of persecution were matters of indifference to Simon¹⁷¹, since, he said, salvation has not been promised to *bodies*. Since bodies didn’t matter, some, like the Nicolaitans, were grossly immoral¹⁷². On the other hand, others of these heretics¹⁷³ abhorred certain kinds of food. Timothy had to address a similar problem in Ephesus a few years later (1 Timothy 4:3). Paul addressed the Colossians regarding the ascetic, food-abhorring group of heretics:

“Let no one judge you in food or in drink, or regarding a festival or a new moon or Sabbaths¹⁷⁴, which are a shadow of things to come, but the substance is of Christ. Therefore, if you died with Christ from the basic principles of the world, why, as *though* living in the world, do you subject yourselves to regulations -- ‘Do not touch, do not taste, do not handle’, which all concern things which perish with the using -- according to the commandments and doctrines of men? These things indeed have an appearance of wisdom in self-imposed religion, *false* humility, and

¹⁶⁸ Ignatius, “To the Philadelphians”, 6, Ante-Nicene Fathers, v. 1.

Irenaeus, Against Heresies, I, xxiii, 4-5. See also Irenaeus, Against Heresies, II, xxxii, 5.

¹⁶⁹ Eusebius, Church History, IV, 7.

¹⁷⁰ Eusebius, Church History, III, 28.

¹⁷¹ Eusebius, Church History, IV, 7.

¹⁷² Tertullian, Against All Heresies, II, ix Appendix, 1

¹⁷³ Roberts and Donaldson, “Constitutions of the Holy Apostles”, VI, ii, 8, Ante-Nicean Fathers, v. 7.

¹⁷⁴ These were some of the major observances of 1st Century Judaism.

neglect of the body, *but are* of no value against the indulgence of the flesh” (Colossians 2:16-17, 20-23).

Toward the end of the Epistle to the Colossians, Paul referred to another epistle that was circulating,

“Now when this epistle is read among you, see that it is read also in the Church of the Laodiceans, and that you likewise read the epistle from Laodicea” (Colossians 4:16)

Modern commentators speculate that the “Epistle from Laodicea” is the one we know as the Epistle to the Ephesians. However, John Chrysostom stated¹⁷⁵ that it was a letter from Laodicea, perhaps to Paul.

“Some say that this is not Paul’s to them, but theirs to Paul, for Paul didn’t say that it was written to the Laodiceans, but that it was written ‘from Laodicea’”.

Thus, things were changing in Colossae and there were a number of heresies present that Epaphras brought to Paul’s attention. Paul answered many of them in his Epistle. When Paul was released from house-arrest in Rome, two of his stops on his 5th Missionary Journey were Miletus (2 Timothy 4:20) and Troas (2 Timothy 4:13), both of which are near Colossae. Paul could have easily gotten to Colossae, and stayed in the guest room, that he asked Philemon to prepare for him (Philemon 1:22).

Paul Addresses Archippus of the Seventy in Colossae

In his letter to the Colossians in c. 62 AD, Paul addressed several Churches and he addressed Archippus directly, “When this epistle is read among you, see that it is read also in the Church of Laodicea, and that you likewise read the epistle from Laodicea. And say to Archippus, ‘Pay attention to the ministry which you have received in the Lord, that you may fulfill it’” (Colossians 4:16-17).

John Chrysostom stated¹⁷⁶ that Paul was very emphatic when he wrote to Archippus. The Apostle Archippus apparently heeded Paul’s words since he was martyred for the Faith not too long afterward.

“Paul wrote thus to the Colossians, ‘Say to Archippus, pay attention’. Everywhere Paul uses this word, he uses it to alarm them; as when he said, ‘Pay attention to¹⁷⁷ dogs’ (Philippians 3:2). ‘Pay attention lest anyone cheat you through philosophy and empty deceit, according to the tradition of men’ (Colossians 2:8). ‘Pay attention lest somehow this liberty of yours become a stumbling block to those who are weak’ (1 Corinthians 8:9). Paul always expresses himself like this when he means to terrify. Paul does not allow Archippus the option of choosing, as he said himself, ‘If I do this willingly, I have a reward; but if against my will, I have been entrusted with a stewardship’ (1 Corinthians 9:17). ‘That you may fulfill it’, continually using diligence, ‘which you have received in the Lord’ (Colossians

¹⁷⁵ John Chrysostom, Homilies on Colossians, XII, v. 14.

¹⁷⁶ John Chrysostom, Homilies on Colossians, XII, vv. 16-17.

¹⁷⁷ The term “dog” referred to an impure and profane person (Matthew 15:26, Revelation 22:15), just as a dog is an unclean animal. See Merrill F. Unger, Unger’s Bible Dictionary, Moody Press, Chicago, 1967.

4:17), where the word ‘in’ means ‘through the Lord’. He gave it to you, Paul said, not we. Paul shows that they had been committed to his hands by God.”

Chrysostom also referred¹⁷⁸ to Paul’s reference to Archippus in his letter to Philemon, written about the same time as his letter to Colossae, where he gave Archippus the same encouragement. Others were also encouraging Archippus to continue the ministry he had been given. Archippus may have been having so many problems with local heretics that he was considering quitting.

“When Paul referred to Archippus as ‘our fellow-soldier’, he did not wish to accomplish such things by command, but he begs Archippus to do what a stranger might have done to aid his request. Not only was Archippus being asked by many, but the petition was urged by many; this contributed to its being granted. On this account Paul said, ‘Archippus our fellow-soldier’. If Archippus was a fellow-soldier, he ought to be concerned about these things. This is the Archippus, about whom Paul said, ‘Say to Archippus, pay attention to the ministry which you have received in the Lord, that you may fulfill it’ (Colossians 4:16-17). It seems to me, that Archippus, whom he joins with him in this request, was also one of the Clergy. Paul calls him his fellow soldier that he may by all means cooperate with him.”

The Mission of Epaphroditus to Paul in Rome

Paul wrote, “Not that I seek the gift, but I seek the fruit that abounds to your account. Indeed, I have all and abound. I am full, having received from Epaphroditus the things *sent* from you, a sweet-smelling aroma, an acceptable sacrifice, well pleasing to God. And my God shall supply all your need according to His riches in glory by Christ Jesus” (Philippians 4:17-19).

From Rome, Paul sent the Apostle of the Seventy Epaphroditus to Philippi¹⁷⁹ to give the Philippians some news on what was going on in Rome, since they were very worried about Paul and since Epaphroditus was likely a native of Philippi. Also, the Philippians had heard that Epaphroditus had been very sick and had almost died. Epaphroditus, on the other hand was very concerned about the Philippians (Philippians 2:25-30). When Epaphroditus returned to Rome from Philippi, he brought a contribution from Philippi to Paul to help out with the work there (Philippians 4:18-19).

Another of the Seventy helping out in Macedonia was Hermas. Epaphroditus was probably from Philippi and Paul calls him an Apostle and a Liturgist to Philippi as well as his fellow-worker and fellow-soldier (Philippians 2:25). We first see him in Paul’s letters in c. 62 AD when Paul sent him to Philippi from Rome. Epaphroditus had been longing for the Philippians and was distressed because they were worried about him when he was very sick (Philippians 2:26-30). This implies that he had been working with Paul for quite a while already. Earlier in c. 49-50 AD, when Paul passed through Philippi on his 2nd Missionary Journey, Epaphroditus was probably there also. On Paul’s 3rd Missionary Journey, as he passed through Philippi again, Luke started traveling with

¹⁷⁸ John Chrysostom, Homilies on Philemon, I, vv. 1-3.

¹⁷⁹ For more details, see the Section “Epaphroditus Also Joins Paul in Philippi”.

Paul again¹⁸⁰. Probably Epaphroditus did so also and Hermas of the original Seventy was left behind in Philippi. Hermas thus became known as the first Bishop of Philippi¹⁸¹.

John Chrysostom pointed out¹⁸² that the Philippians had sent Epaphroditus to Paul with alms. They were very concerned about Paul's imprisonment (house-arrest) in Rome and about Epaphroditus' illness. Paul reassured them about Epaphroditus, by having him carry the Epistle to them, that he had recovered and that Paul's arrest had resulted in progress for the Gospel.

“The Philippians had sent Epaphroditus to Paul, to carry him money, and to know the things concerning him, for they were most lovingly concerned about him. Paul replied saying, ‘I am full, having received from Epaphroditus the things *sent from you*’ (Philippians 4:18). Paul reassured them about their concerns saying, ‘But I want you to know, brethren, that the things *which happened* to me have actually turned out for the furtherance of the Gospel’ (Philippians 1:12). And again, ‘I trust in the Lord Jesus to send Timothy to you shortly, that I also may be encouraged when I know your state’ (Philippians 2:19). Paul was thus saying, ‘Just as you for full assurance sent to know the things concerning me, so I also, that I may be of good comfort when I know the things concerning you’. It had been a long time since they communicated with Paul, and Paul acknowledged this, ‘Now at length you have revived your thought for me’ (Philippians 4:10). Then they heard that Paul was in prison (Philippians 2:26); they also heard about Epaphroditus, that he was gravely sick; it was reasonable that they should be disturbed. Therefore, Paul offers them much consolation about his bonds, showing that they should not be disturbed, but even rejoice.”

Chrysostom also stated¹⁸³ that just as Paul was very concerned about what was happening in Philippi, so the Philippians were very concerned about what was happening to Paul. Paul was under house-arrest in Rome, but the Philippians didn't know if he was about to be executed. The Apostle Epaphroditus, whom they knew well, had been gravely sick and they didn't know if he was now OK.

“Paul had said, ‘the things *which happened* to me have actually turned out for the furtherance of the gospel, so that it has become evident to the whole palace guard’ (Philippians 1:12, 13). Again, ‘Yes, and if I am being poured out *as a drink offering* on the sacrifice and service of your faith, I am glad and rejoice with you all’ (Philippians 2:17). By these words Paul strengthened the Philippians. Perhaps they might suspect that his former words were spoken just to comfort them. ‘I will send Timothy to you’, Paul said; for the Philippians desired to hear everything that concerned him. Why didn't Paul say, ‘that you may know my state’, but instead said, ‘that I may know yours’? Epaphroditus would have reported Paul's state before the arrival of Timothy. Why further on did Paul say, ‘I considered it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother’ (Philippians 2:25); but I wish to learn of your affairs? It is likely that Epaphroditus had remained with Paul a

¹⁸⁰ See the Section, “The Evangelist Luke Remained Behind in Philippi”.

¹⁸¹ There were two cities not too far apart: Philippi and Philippoupolis. Philippi was on the coast of the Aegean Sea while Philippoupolis was inland about 100 miles almost due North. Both cities were named after Philip II of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great. Philippoupolis today is named Plovdiv, Bulgaria.

¹⁸² John Chrysostom, Homilies on Philippians, Introductory Discourse, 2.

¹⁸³ John Chrysostom, Homilies on Philippians, IX, v. 19.

long time because of his bodily weakness. Therefore, Paul said, ‘I wish to know your state’. Notice how Paul refers everything to Christ, even the mission of Timothy, saying, ‘I hope in the Lord Jesus’; that is, I am confident that God will facilitate this for me that I too may be of good courage, when I know your state. I refreshed you when you heard the things about me which you had prayed for: (1) that the Gospel had advanced, (2) that its enemies were put to shame, (3) that the means by which they thought to injure, rather made me rejoice. Now I want to learn of your affairs, that I too may be of good courage when I know your state. Paul shows that they ought to rejoice for his bonds, and to be compliant in them, for they gave him great pleasure.”

Chrysostom also noted¹⁸⁴ exactly what Epaphroditus had dared to do and how much Paul loved and respected him for doing it. Paul had sent Epaphroditus to Philippi because he was really concerned about the Philippians; Epaphroditus returned with alms he collected there. When Epaphroditus returned to Rome, he found Paul in imminent danger. Instead of backing off, Epaphroditus ignored the danger and did what he could to help Paul.

“Paul showed how much he esteemed Epaphroditus, by saying that his preservation was so useful to himself that the mercy which had been shown to Epaphroditus reached him also. When Paul said, ‘Lest I should have sorrow upon sorrow’ (Philippians 2:27), he meant sorrow from the death of Epaphroditus in addition to that which sprung from his sickness. By this Paul showed how much he prized Epaphroditus.”

“Why did Paul send Epaphroditus diligently to Philippi? (Philippians 2:28) Paul sent Epaphroditus without procrastination, without delay, with much speed, having asked him to drop everything and to go to Philippi, that Paul might be freed from heaviness. We rejoice not on hearing of the health of those we love, so much as when we see them, and chiefly so when this happens contrary to hope, as it was in the case of Epaphroditus.”

“Paul sent Epaphroditus to Philippi the ‘more diligently’, that when they saw him, they may rejoice, and that Paul may be less sorrowful’ (Philippians 2:28). How was Paul ‘less sorrowful?’ If they rejoice, he too rejoices. Paul didn’t say that he would be without sorrow, but ‘less sorrowful’, to show that his soul never was free from sorrow. He who said, ‘Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is made to stumble, and I don’t burn with indignation?’ (2 Corinthians 11:29) When could such a person as Paul be free from sorrow? What he means, ‘this despondency I now cast off’”.

“Epaphroditus had been publicly sent by the city of the Philippians, and had come as minister to Paul, bringing him some contribution. Toward the end of the Epistle Paul shows that Epaphroditus brought him money, ‘Having received of Epaphroditus the things sent by you’” (Philippians 4:18).

“It is probable then, that on his arrival at the city of Rome, he found Paul in great and urgent peril, so that those who were accustomed to resort to him were unable safely to do so, but were themselves in peril by hanging around. This tends to happen chiefly in very great dangers, due to the exceeding wrath of kings; when anyone has offended the king, is cast into prison, and is strictly guarded, then even

¹⁸⁴ John Chrysostom, Homilies on Philippians, IX, v. 26-29.

his servants are barred from access. This probably happened to Paul; Epaphroditus, being of a noble nature, despised all danger, that he might go in to Paul, minister to him, and do everything which need required. He therefore sets forth two facts, by which he gains their respect for Epaphroditus; (1) that he was in jeopardy well near death, for Paul's sake; (2) that in so suffering he was representing their city, so that the recompense for his peril would be accounted to those who sent him. It is as if the city had sent him as their ambassador, so that a kind reception of him and approval of what he had done may rather be called a participation in the things that he had dared."

Chrysostom concluded, "Dejection and care¹⁸⁵, whenever they strain the soul beyond due measure; bereave it of its native force. Therefore, Paul relieves the Philippians, who were in great despondency because they did not know how matters were with Paul. They thought that it was already over with Paul, because of the preaching, and they were grieved because of Epaphroditus' sickness. In giving them assurance on all these points, he introduces the words, 'Finally, my brethren, rejoice' (Philippians 3:1). You no longer have cause for despondency. You have Epaphroditus, for whose sake you were grieved; you have Timothy; I am myself coming to you; the Gospel is gaining ground. What more could you want? Rejoice!"

Cyprian of Carthage pointed out¹⁸⁶ how we lend to God when we have pity on the poor in giving alms. The Philippians did this when they sent alms to Paul by the hand of Epaphroditus.

"Paul, when aided in the necessity of affliction by his brethren, said that good works which are performed are sacrifices to God. 'I am full, having received from Epaphroditus the things *sent* from you, a sweet-smelling aroma, an acceptable sacrifice, well pleasing to God' (Philippians 4:18). For when one has pity on the poor, he lends to God; and he who gives to the least gives to God — sacrifices spiritually to God an odor of a sweet smell."

John Chrysostom praised¹⁸⁷ the alms given by the Philippians, which was carried to Paul by Epaphroditus, for the great benefit that it had on the Philippians.

"I have often said that almsgiving has been introduced not for the sake of the receivers, but for the sake of the givers, for the givers make the greatest gain. Paul shows this here. The Philippians had sent him some alms, after a long time, and had committed it to Epaphroditus. When Paul is about to send Epaphroditus as the bearer of this Epistle, he praises them, and shows that this action was for the need, not of the receiver, but of the givers. This he does, both that they who gave the gift may not be lifted up with arrogance, and that they may become more zealous in well-doing, since they rather benefit themselves. He also did this that they who receive may not fearlessly rush forward to receive more, lest they meet with condemnation. Because 'it is more blessed to give than to receive'" (Acts 20:35).

¹⁸⁵ John Chrysostom, Homilies on Philippians, X, vv. 1-3.

¹⁸⁶ Cyprian of Carthage, Treatises, IV, 33.

¹⁸⁷ John Chrysostom, Homilies on Philippians, XV, vv. 10-14.

Chrysostom also noted¹⁸⁸ that with respect to Epaphroditus' illness, even those who guard the baggage share in the victory and often have an equal portion of the spoils.

“Paul, speaking of Epaphroditus, said ‘For the work of Christ he came close to death, not regarding his life, to supply what was lacking in your service toward me’ (Philippians 2:30). In the service of kings, not only those who fight the battle, but also those who guard the baggage, share in the honor. Frequently even these have an equal portion of the spoils, though they have not gotten their hands bloody, nor stood in array, nor even seen the ranks of the enemy. He who relieves the combatant, when wasted with hunger, who stands by him, encouraging him by words, and rendering him every service, he is not inferior to the combatant.”

Chrysostom also stated¹⁸⁹ that there was a purpose that Epaphroditus was sick – as there is a purpose for our sicknesses. If our bodies were not weak, we would ascribe all glory to them and not to God.

“Listen to Paul, saying, ‘lest I should be exalted above measure by the abundance of the revelations, a thorn in the flesh was given to me’ (2 Corinthians 12:7). But this, you might say, was an expression of humility. Far from it! The thorn was not sent to Paul that he might be humble and he does not say this only out of humility. There are other causes besides to be assigned for it. Observe therefore how God, accounting for it, says, ‘My grace is sufficient for you’; not ‘that you may not be exalted above measure’, but ‘For my strength is made perfect in weakness’ (2 Corinthians 12:9). Two ends therefore were answered at once: what God was doing was clearly revealed, and the whole was ascribed to God. For this cause, Paul said elsewhere, ‘We carry this treasure in earthen vessels’ (2 Corinthians 4:7); that is, in bodies weak and liable to suffering. Why? God set it up this way so that the excellence of the power may be of Him, and not of us’! If our bodies were not subject to infirmity, all would be ascribed to our bodies. Elsewhere we see Paul grieving at the infirmity of Epaphroditus, concerning whom he writes, ‘He was sick near unto death, but God had mercy on him’” (Philippians 2:27).

Chrysostom also noted¹⁹⁰ that Paul only wrote Epistles to Timothy and Titus, even though the others – Silas, Luke, and Clement – were good men also. The difference is that Timothy and Titus had already been assigned archdioceses by that time, while Luke and Clement were with Paul in Rome.

“If it should be asked why Paul addresses Epistles to Titus and Timothy alone, though Silas was approved, as also was Luke, for he writes, ‘Only Luke is with me’ (2 Timothy 4:11), and Clement was one of his associates, of whom he says, ‘with Clement also, and the rest of my fellow workers’ (Philippians 4:3). For what reason then does Paul write only to Titus and Timothy? It is because he had already committed the care of Churches to them, and certain archdioceses had been assigned to them, but the others were traveling with him. So preeminent in virtue was Timothy, that his youth was no impediment to his promotion; therefore, Paul writes, ‘Let no one despise your youth’” (1 Timothy 4:12)

¹⁸⁸ John Chrysostom, Homilies on 2 Timothy, III, vv. 13-18.

¹⁸⁹ John Chrysostom, Homilies on 2 Timothy, X, v. 20.

¹⁹⁰ John Chrysostom, Homilies on 1 Timothy, Argument, 2

Paul Wrote to the Philippians

Philippi was a city in Macedonia that was originally founded by Philip II¹⁹¹, king of Macedon, in 356 BC. The city had a long prosperous history due largely to gold mines nearby. The city had a relatively small urban area, with villages surrounding it, but it had a very privileged position due to the wealth coming from the mines. Philippi was located on the Via Egnatia, the main trade route constructed by Rome in the 2nd century BC, which connected Italy with Asia Minor. Cities along this trade route (from East to West) are Neapolis (Acts 16:11), Philippi, Amphipolis, Apollonia (Acts 17:1), Thessalonica and Dyrrhachium on the western coast of Greece.

Paul wrote to the Church in Philippi while he was under house-arrest in Rome and Timothy was still with Paul in Rome at that time (Philippians 1:1). As part of his Epistle to Philippi, he mentioned some of the effects of his 2-year stay in Rome:

“But I want you to know, brethren, that the things *which happened* to me have actually turned out for the furtherance of the gospel, so that it has become evident to the whole palace guard, and to all the rest, that my chains are in Christ; and most of the brethren in the Lord, having become confident by my chains, are much more bold to speak the word without fear” (Philippians 1:12-14).

“Greet every saint in Christ Jesus. The brethren who are with me greet you. All the saints greet you, but especially those who are of Caesar's household. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen” (Philippians 4:21-23).

Just as during Paul's captivity in Caesarea for two years, he was now having a major effect on those of the emperor's household. In Caesarea, the result of Paul's speaking was that every ruler in the area pronounced sentence against the Jews and they openly made a show and a parade of it. The evil design and plotting of the Jews were exposed for what it was. The whole thing was so dramatic that everyone wanted to listen to Paul. Paul turned from being the defendant to being the Teacher. He even exhorted King Agrippa to repent! Paul spoke both to the soldiers (the small) and to the rulers (the great). From Paul's words to the Philippians, the same thing was happening in Rome with everyone at Nero's Palace wanting to listen to him.

We note that Paul addressed his Epistle to the Philippians “To all the saints with the Bishops and the Deacons” (Philippians 1:1). Thus, at this time of writing, there was an established clergy in Philippi and several Bishops. Olympas had been there as Bishop earlier and Hermas was probably there at this time. Other Bishops in that area from the ranks of the original Seventy Apostles were: Amplias (Odessos in Macedonia), Andronicus & Junia (Illyricum), Apelles (Heraclea in Thrace), Hermes (Dalmatia), Phlegon (Marathon in Thrace) and Urbanus (Macedonia).

Paul mentioned to the Philippians that he planned to send Timothy to them shortly, “that I also may be encouraged when I know your state; for I have no one like-minded, who will sincerely care for your state. For all seek their own, not the things which are of Christ Jesus. But you know

¹⁹¹ Philip II was the father of Alexander the Great.

his proven character, that as a son with *his* father he served with me in the gospel” (Philippians 2:19-22).

Paul was confident that he would get through this time of “house-arrest” in Rome for their sake. For Paul, to die would be gain (Philippians 1:21); but Paul felt that he still had some things to do with the Philippians.

“For me to remain in the flesh *is* more needful for you. And being confident of this, I know that I shall remain and continue with you all for your progress and joy of faith, that your rejoicing for me may be more abundant in Jesus Christ by my coming to you again. Only let your conduct be worthy of the gospel of Christ, so that whether I come and see you or am absent, I may hear of your affairs, that you stand fast in one spirit. With one mind strive together for the faith of the gospel, and not in any way terrified by your adversaries, which is to them a proof of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that from God” (Philippians 1:24-28).

There were some heretical ideas that the Philippians were exposed to that Paul needed to warn them about. Prior to the founding of the Church in Philippi, Nicolas of Antioch, one of the first deacons (Acts 6:5), and one of the Seventy, had joined Simon’s heresy. Since Simon taught¹⁹² that only the spirit was resurrected (and that at baptism), it did not matter what one did with the body. The Nicolaitans therefore engaged in grossly immoral practices in keeping with the teachings of Simon¹⁹³, who said that to enter fully into their mysteries, they needed to practice all the worst kinds of wickedness in order to escape the cosmic powers¹⁹⁴.

The influence of the Nicolaitans and others in Philippi is evident from Paul’s Epistle, where Paul warned the Philippians to beware of the sensuality and depravity of the Nicolaitans and other followers of Simon. Paul said,

“For many walk, of whom I have told you often, and now tell you even weeping, *that they are* the enemies of the cross of Christ: whose end *is* destruction, whose god *is their* belly, and *whose* glory *is* in their shame -- who set their mind on earthly things” (Philippians 3:18-19).

Prior to saying this, Paul had warned the Philippians to beware of those who follow the practices of the Nicolaitans, “Beware of dogs, beware of evil workers, beware of the mutilation! For we are the circumcision, who worship God in the Spirit” (Philippians 3:2-3). The term “dog” was used in the Mosaic Law to refer to a Sodomite, where the Law stated:

“There shall be no temple prostitute of the daughters of Israel, or a perverted one of the sons of Israel. You shall not bring the wages of a prostitute or the price of a dog to the house of the Lord your God for any vowed offering, for both of these *are* an abomination to the Lord your God” (Deuteronomy 23:17-18).

¹⁹² For more details about Simon Magus and his heresies, see Mark Kern, Simon Magus the Heresiarch, St. Athanasius Press, 2004.

¹⁹³ Tertullian, Against All Heresies, II, ix Appendix, 1.

¹⁹⁴ Eusebius, Church History, IV, 7.

Paul contrasted the term¹⁹⁵ “mutilation” with the term “circumcision”, again referring to some of the practices of the Nicolaitans and Ebionites that some of the Church Fathers¹⁹⁶ thought were so gross that they were embarrassed to even mention their practices in detail. By saying that the Philippians were the “circumcision who worships God in the Spirit”, Paul was referring to the Mosaic Law. The Law had taught that true worshippers of God were circumcised in heart (Deuteronomy 10:14-17, 30:5-6), and that the flesh was just an outward sign of something greater within.

Paul went on to contrast himself to the Ebionites. While they advocated a return to the Mosaic Law, Paul stated that if anyone should advocate such, it should be Paul himself (Philippians 3:4-6). Even though he was a Pharisee along with his father (Acts 23:6), he found the excellence in Christ to be far greater than anything else.

Paul Sent Tychicus to Ephesus and Colossae

Tychicus, one of the original Seventy Apostles, was native to Asia Minor and was used as a courier by Paul on several occasions. For example:

- In c. 62 AD, Paul sent Tychicus to Ephesus¹⁹⁷ (Ephesians 6:21).
- About the same time, Paul sent Tychicus to Colossae (Colossians 4:7).
- In c. 65 AD, Paul sent either Artemas or Tychicus to Crete to fill in for Titus, so that Titus could come to Nicopolis to meet with Paul (Titus 3:12).
- In c. 67 AD, Paul sent Tychicus back to Ephesus again (2 Timothy 4:12).

In his mission to Ephesus in c. 62 AD, Tychicus was probably carrying Paul’s Epistle to the Ephesians. He may have also been carrying Paul’s Epistle to Philemon and Paul’s Epistle to the Colossians. As he traveled to Colossae, Onesimus was with him (Colossians 4:7-8).

But Tychicus was more than just a courier. Paul sent him to Colossae “that he may know your circumstances and comfort your hearts” (Colossians 4:8). Tychicus had the same mission at Ephesus “to comfort your hearts” (Ephesians 6:21). Some theological understanding was needed on the part of Tychicus to do this since Colossae was under attack by a number of heretics¹⁹⁸ who followed the teachings of Simon Magus.

¹⁹⁵ Jesus had said, “There are eunuchs who were born thus from *their* mother’s womb, and there are eunuchs who were made eunuchs by men, and there are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven’s sake” (Matthew 19:12). Those who were born eunuchs are the people who are comfortable remaining celibate. Those who were made so by men are the “mutilation”, also known in medieval times as the “Castrati”, or singers who were castrated as a boy to preserve a soprano voice. Those who made themselves eunuchs are the Twelve Apostles and others, who voluntarily gave up the pleasures of the flesh, along with other things of this world.

¹⁹⁶ Tertullian, Against All Heresies, II, ix Appendix, 1.

Jerome, Letter to Ctesiphon, CXXXIII, 4.

Jerome, “Dialogue Against the Luciferians”, 23, Treatises, Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, v. 6.

Ignatius, “To the Trallians”, 10-11, Ante-Nicene Fathers, v. 1.

Roberts and Donaldson, “Constitutions of the Holy Apostles”, VI, ii, 8, Ante-Nicean Fathers, v. 7.

¹⁹⁷ Ephesus is in Asia Minor.

¹⁹⁸ See the Section “Paul Wrote to the Colossians”.

In addition to being a teacher and an authority against the heretics, Tychicus was also sent to discern what the needs are in Colossae and at Ephesus (Colossians 4:8). In other words, Tychicus needed to do a lot of listening.

Tychicus' mission was also to convey how Paul was doing (Ephesians 6:21, Colossians 4:7). Paul may have still been wearing chains, but the Gospel was being heard by many, many people. And this is a very comforting thing to know.

Paul Probably Wrote to the Hebrews at This Time

As Paul wrote to the Hebrews, the time was getting much closer to the end for Jerusalem and Judea as they knew it. In just four years, the Roman army would come and methodically annihilate every town in Judea until they finally laid siege to Jerusalem. Things are about to get really, really gruesome in Judea. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews is his final plea for them to repent. There were some in Judea, like the political party of the Zealots, who were incorrigible, and they will be taken to task by the events that unfold. But this Epistle was addressed to those who still had a soft heart, but who may be strongly influenced by the Zealots.

We note the date of the Epistle as being before the advance of the Roman army in 66 AD to destroy Jerusalem, since there is no mention anywhere in the text of Hebrews of these events. Paul stated, "You have not yet resisted to bloodshed, striving against sin" (Hebrews 12:4). That was about to change! Yet Paul was writing the Epistle from Italy (Hebrews 13:24), meaning that he wrote it during his time of "house-arrest" in Rome. At the time that Paul wrote, Timothy had just been released from imprisonment with Paul (Hebrews 13:23).

Arguments:

1. Paul stated that he had received his apostleship and his knowledge of the truth was "not from men nor through man, but through Jesus Christ and God the Father" (Galatians 1:1). Yet the author of Hebrews ranks himself among those who had received through the medium of others that Gospel "which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed to us by those who heard Him" (Hebrews 2:3).
2. In favor of the authorship of St. Paul so far as the ideas and essential argument of the Epistle are concerned, Origen urges the beauty of the thoughts, and there must be some force in this argument, or the Epistle could hardly have been so long and so widely attributed to him. Perhaps it may be summed up in the words of an eminent and now departed divine, "If the Epistle were not written by St. Paul, then we have the remarkable phenomenon that there were two men among the Christians of that age who were capable of writing it."
3. Everyone must be struck with the marked difference in the construction of the Epistle to the Hebrews from any of Paul's Epistles. The omission of his name at the beginning has been more or less satisfactorily accounted for from ancient times, but the reasons for this do not apply to the absence of any sort of salutation, "any heading or introductory thanksgiving," by which St. Paul always takes pains to conciliate his readers, and of which there was especial need if he were writing to Hebrews disposed to prejudice against him.

Table 10 Opinions Concerning Who Was the Author of Hebrews

Author	Who Wrote Hebrews?	Comments
Tertullian	Barnabas	
Pantaenus	Paul	Teacher of Clement A
Clement of Alexandria	Paul, trans by Luke	
Eusebius	Paul, trans by Luke	
Origin	Luke, Clement Rome??	Didn't really know
Augustine	Paul	hesitantly
Jerome	Paul	Expresses Origin's doubts
John Chrysostom	Paul	
West, before 4 th century	?	Hebrews was Not Scripture
East, before 4 th century	?	Hebrews was Scripture
Reformation-era writers	Many Opinions	

4. Another striking feature of difference is that Paul always keeps close to his argument until it is completed, and then adds practical exhortations founded upon it, while in the Epistle to the Hebrews each short division of the argument is separated from that which follows by its appropriate practical application. This indicates quite a different habit of mind, and it is difficult to fancy someone who reasons in such a severely logical manner as Paul thus pausing in the flow of his argument. The style of the Epistle is so markedly different from that of Paul's other Epistles that attention has been drawn to this point from the time of Origen down. The "rounded oratorical periods" of the Epistle to the Hebrews are very unlike the "unstudied, broken, abrupt phraseology" of Paul's other Epistles. This difference might, in part at least, be accounted for as the work of the translator; only in that case, the translator could have been neither St. Luke, whose style is clear and smooth enough, but not at all oratorical, nor Clement, whose style is very unlike the Epistle to the Hebrews.
5. Some parts of the Epistle to the Hebrews favor a Pauline authorship. There is a quotation in Hebrews 10:30, which agrees precisely with the same quotation in Romans 12:19, but differs from either the Hebrew or the Greek of Deuteronomy 32:35. The Greek text for Hebrews and Romans is the same: "'Vengeance is Mine, I will repay', says the Lord". Now the LXX reads, "I will repay on the day of vengeance"; the Hebrew reads, "To Me belongs vengeance and retribution". The clause "says the Lord" is not present in the text of Hebrews, but is present in Romans, thus constituting a slight difference between them. It is still true, however, that they both differ in the same way from the Hebrew and the LXX text. This might be a difficulty were it not that the quotation as it is in the Epistle is found exactly in the Targum¹⁹⁹, and from that had probably passed into familiar use. Everywhere else the author of Hebrews quotes very closely from the LXX, and from that in what is known as its Alexandrine form, while Paul in his other Epistles uses the Vatican form, quotes far more loosely, and often follows the Hebrew rather than the Greek.
6. Some have interpreted the following to be at variance with the Pauline authorship. "Know that *our* brother Timothy has been set free, with whom I shall see you if he comes shortly" (Hebrews 12:23). The argument goes that the Scripture doesn't say that Timothy was imprisoned, at Rome or elsewhere, when St. Paul was with him; but as far as we know the history of the two, it seems unlikely. The passage might quite as well have been written by

¹⁹⁹ The "Targum" or Targumim were spoken paraphrases, explanations or expansions of the Hebrew Scriptures that a Rabbi would give in the language of the people, usually in Aramaic, since most people didn't understand Hebrew.

almost any of the companions of St. Paul who were also associated with Timothy. However, this assumes that Hebrews was written relatively late. If Hebrews was written during Paul's house-arrest in Rome, Timothy was with him for most of that time (Philippians 1:1, Colossians 1:1, Philemon 1:1) and could easily have been detained under house-arrest also.

Paul Refers to the Heretics in Israel

Paul began by reviewing events from the history of Israel as a nation and how heretics of the past never got away with anything.

“Therefore, we must give the more earnest heed to the things we have heard, lest we drift away. For if the word spoken through angels proved steadfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just reward, how shall we escape if we neglect so great a salvation, which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed to us by those who heard Him, God also bearing witness both with signs and wonders, with various miracles, and gifts of the Holy Spirit, according to His own will?” (Hebrews 2:1-4)

Paul then says that similar rebellion is going on in their midst and that those who are involved with it will not enter His rest.

“Therefore, as the Holy Spirit says: ‘Today, if you will hear His voice, do not harden your hearts as in the rebellion, in the day of trial in the wilderness, where your fathers tested Me, tried Me, and saw My works forty years. Therefore, I was angry with that generation, and said, “They always go astray in *their* heart, and they have not known My ways”. So, I swore in My wrath, “They shall not enter My rest”’ (Hebrews 3:7-11)

“Therefore, since a promise remains of entering His rest, let us fear lest any of you seem to have come short of it. For indeed the Gospel was preached to us as well as to them; but the word which they heard did not profit them, not being mixed with faith in those who heard it” (Hebrews 4:1-2)

The Hebrews Christians that Paul was writing to have some problems, and more problems are coming when the Roman army arrives.

“We have much to say to you, and this is hard to explain, since you have become dull of hearing. For though by this time you ought to be teachers, you need *someone* to teach you again the first principles of the oracles of God; and you have come to need milk and not solid food. For everyone who partakes *only* of milk *is* unskilled in the word of righteousness, for he is a babe. But solid food belongs to those who are of full age, *that is*, those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil” (Hebrews 5:11-14).

The Mosaic Law Sacrifices Continue in Jerusalem, but the Saints Are Struggling

We note from the text of Paul's Epistle that the sacrificial offerings in Jerusalem are continuing as they had been for the previous 1000 years. This confirms the date for the Epistle as being just before the destruction of Jerusalem.

“For such a High Priest (as Jesus) was fitting for us, *who is* holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and has become higher than the heavens; who

does not need daily, as those high priests, to offer up sacrifices, first for His own sins and then for the people's, for this He did once for all when He offered up Himself" (Hebrews 7:26-27).

"The Holy Spirit indicating this, that the way into the Holiest of All was not yet made manifest while the first tabernacle was still standing. It *was* symbolic for the present time in which both gifts and sacrifices are offered which cannot make him who performed the service perfect in regard to the conscience -- *concerned* only with foods and drinks, various washings, and fleshly ordinances imposed until the time of reformation" (Hebrews 9:8-10).

"For the law, having a shadow of the good things to come, *and* not the very image of the things, can never with these same sacrifices, which they offer continually year by year, make those who approach perfect. For then would they not have ceased to be offered? For the worshipers, once purified, would have had no more consciousness of sins. But in those *sacrifices there is* a reminder of sins every year. For *it is* not possible that the blood of bulls and goats could take away sins" (Hebrews 10:1-4).

Yet the Christians in Jerusalem were suffering. This began with the treatment of the Apostles by the Sanhedrin (Acts 5:40-42; 12:1-3), and had continued at the time Paul wrote. The normal mode of operation was the raiding of houses where Christians lived. The Christians would be hauled off to prison and their property would be confiscated. This led to the impoverishment of the Jerusalem Church; Paul took up collections for the brethren in Judea on at least two occasions (Acts 11:27-30; See Acts 24:17, 1 Corinthians 16:1-4). Of this persecution, part was brought on because the Hebrew Christians had compassion on Paul when he was imprisoned in Caesarea (Acts 21:26-26:32); Paul said,

"Recall the former days in which, after you were illuminated, you endured a great struggle with sufferings partly while you were made a spectacle both by reproaches and tribulations, and partly while you became companions of those who were so treated; for you had compassion on me in my chains, and joyfully accepted the plundering of your goods, knowing that you have a better and an enduring possession for yourselves in heaven. Therefore, do not cast away your confidence, which has great reward. For you have need of endurance, so that after you have done the will of God, you may receive the promise" (Hebrews 10:32-36)

Paul Wrote to the Ephesians

Ephesus²⁰⁰ was an ancient Greek city on the coast of Ionia. It was built in the 10th century BC on the site of the former Arzawan capital by Attic and Ionian Greek colonists. During the Classical Greek era it was one of the twelve cities of the Ionian League. The city flourished after it came under the control of the Roman Republic in 129 BC. According to estimates Ephesus had a population of 33,600 to 56,000 people in the Roman period, making it the third largest city of Roman Asia Minor after Sardis and Alexandria Troas.

The city was famed for the Temple of Artemis (completed around 550 BC), one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World. In 268 AD, the Temple was destroyed or damaged in a raid

²⁰⁰ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ephesus>

by the Goths. It may have been rebuilt or repaired but this is uncertain, as its later history is not clear. Emperor Constantine I rebuilt much of the city and erected new public baths. What remained of the temple was destroyed in 401 AD.

Paul had spoken to the presbyters and Bishops of the Ephesus area at the end of his 3rd Missionary Journey, warning them that savage wolves would arise from within their midst.

“Therefore, take heed to yourselves and to all the flock, among which the Holy Spirit has made you overseers, to shepherd the Church of God which He purchased with His own blood. For I know this, that after my departure savage wolves will come in among you, not sparing the flock. Also, from among yourselves men will rise up, speaking perverse things, to draw away the disciples after themselves. Therefore watch, and remember that for three years I did not cease to warn everyone night and day with tears. So now, brethren, I commend you to God and to the word of His grace, which is able to build you up and give you an inheritance among all those who are sanctified” (Acts 20:28-32).

Paul wrote his Epistle to the Ephesians in the early 60’s AD from the rented house where he was staying in Rome under house-arrest (Acts 28:16, 30-31), and this Epistle may have been meant to be circulated among several other Churches. The “savage wolves” had not become prominent in Ephesus yet. In this Epistle Paul did not include specific details about the heresies that he mentioned in other Epistles. He did give some general warnings:

- Referring generally to the followers of Simon Magus. Paul wrote, “Let no one deceive you with empty words, for because of these things the wrath of God comes upon the sons of disobedience” (Ephesians 5:6).
- And Paul described the general characteristics of the followers of Simon “But fornication and all uncleanness or covetousness, let it not even be named among you, as is fitting for saints; neither filthiness, nor foolish talking, nor coarse jesting, which are not fitting, but rather giving of thanks. For this you know, that no fornicator, unclean person, nor covetous man, who is an idolater, has any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and God” (Ephesians 5:3-5).
- And Paul referred to the general practices of the followers of Simon, “It is shameful even to speak of those things which are done by them in secret” (Ephesians 5:12). But Paul didn’t say that the Ephesians had run headlong into the followers of Simon Magus yet. This situation would change five years later.

Paul wrote to the Ephesians in very glowing terms concerning the Kingdom of God (Ephesians 1:15-2:10), perhaps more so than Paul’s other Epistles. The Christians in Ephesus and vicinity were probably in pretty good shape, but a little warning about the problems that others were experiencing is always helpful. A few years later when Paul wrote to Timothy, Timothy was Bishop of Ephesus, and serious matters had developed in Ephesus. This will be covered later in the Section titled “Paul Wrote to Timothy Again”

The 5th Missionary Journey – After Release from House-Arrest

Below is a list of eight places Paul visited after his house-arrest in Rome, which ended in c. 62 AD. If Paul was finally martyred in Rome in 67 AD after a short imprisonment, this leaves about four years of travel after his release in c. 62 AD. We don’t have much information as to what sequence this travel occurred, but there are some hints. Table 11 lists these places.

Table 11
Places Paul Visited after Release from House-Arrest

Spain	Crete (Titus 1:5)
Asia (Ephesus 1 Timothy 1:3)	Macedonia (1 Timothy 1:3)
Troas (2 Timothy 4:13)	Miletus (2 Timothy 4:20)
Corinth, Nicopolis (2 Timothy 4:20, Titus 3:12)	Rome

Paul Visits Spain

Paul had been meaning to visit Spain at least since 55 AD (Romans 15:24). At that time, Paul said,

“Therefore, when I have performed this and have sealed to them this fruit, I shall go by way of you (Rome) to Spain” (Romans 15:28)

Paul didn't mention anything about going to Spain or having been to Spain in his writings after his release in c. 62 AD. But most agree that he probably went there. Therefore, we might conclude that he went there first after his release from house-arrest. Luke most likely went with Paul along with Aristarchus. Both were of the Seventy and were with Paul toward the end of his house-arrest in Rome (Colossians 4:14, Philemon 1:24), but they were the only ones²⁰¹ still with Paul just before Paul was executed (2 Timothy 4:11).

Spain had been evangelized²⁰² by James the son of Zebedee shortly after Pentecost 30 AD. This James is the one who had just returned from Spain when he was beheaded by Herod to please the Jews (Acts 12:1-3). The body of James was returned²⁰³ to Spain and buried there with great honor. According to tradition, Mary the wife of Cleopas went²⁰⁴ with James to Spain to help out and was also buried there.

Paul Visited Titus on Crete

Paul had left Titus on Crete as a Bishop (Titus 1:5-7). Later Paul asked Titus to come to him in Nicopolis in Greece, and possibly not directly from Crete (Titus 3:12).

²⁰¹ Aristarchus was beheaded at the same time as Paul in 67 AD. See The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, April 14.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, April 15, September 27. <http://oca.org/FSlives.asp>, April 15, September 27

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

²⁰² Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, April 30.

Isaac Lambertsen, The Lives of the Holy Apostles, Holy Apostles Convent Press, Buena Vista, CO, 1990, pp. 73-77. This is a translation from the following:

The Lives of the Saints in the Russian Language, According to the Menology of St. Dimitri of Rostov, Moscow, Synodal Press, 1908, v. 8, (April) pp. 473-477.

²⁰³ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, April 30.

²⁰⁴

When Paul went to Macedonia, he left Timothy in Ephesus (1 Timothy 1:3) and Timothy was still there when Paul summoned him to Rome just before his (Paul's) martyrdom (2 Timothy 4:21). Thus, Paul went to Ephesus before going to Nicopolis on the West Coast of Greece.

Paul also mentioned that he left Trophimus in Miletus (near Ephesus) to recover from some illness. The implication is that Trophimus may not be better yet, which implies that Paul had been there recently, perhaps the last place he visited. Paul also went to Troas (2 Timothy 4:13) and Corinth (2 Timothy 4:20). Figure 6 shows a possible route for Paul's fifth journey taking these things into account.

John Chrysostom stated²⁰⁵ that Paul was released from captivity in Rome following his house arrest in Rome, but this happened after Luke closed his account in the Book of Acts. Paul then went to Spain, among other places, and was later brought to Rome a second time, where he ended his life. The rest of Paul's journeys were like those recorded in Acts: chains, tortures, fighting, prison, etc.

“Of Paul's affairs after the two years in Rome, what shall we say? The writer (Luke) leaves the reader thirsty for more; heathen authors do the same in their writings, for to know everything makes the reader dull and jaded. Notice the order of God's Providence, 'I also have been much hindered from coming to you'. And also 'having a great desire these many years to come to you' (Romans 15:22-23). But Paul fed them with hope. 'Whenever I journey to Spain, I shall come to you', and 'I hope to see you on my journey, and to be helped on my way there by you, if first I may enjoy your *company* for a while' (Romans 15:24). Of this he says, 'I know that when I come to you, I shall come in the fullness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ' (Romans 15:29). Paul had said, 'now I am going to Jerusalem to minister to the saints' (Romans 15:25); this is the same that he has said here, 'after many years I came to bring alms and offerings to my nation' (Acts 24:17). Notice how Paul did not foresee everything? Rome received him bound coming up from the sea, saved from a shipwreck — and Rome was saved from the shipwreck of error. Like an emperor that has fought a naval battle and overcome, he entered into that most imperial city. He was closer now to his crown. Rome received him bound, and saw him crowned and proclaimed conqueror. There he had said, 'I may enjoy your *company* for a while' (Romans 15:24); but this was the beginning of a course once more, and he added trophies to trophies, a man not to be overcome.

Figure 6
Approximate Route of Paul's 5th Missionary Journey²⁰⁶

²⁰⁵ John Chrysostom, *Commentary on Acts*, LV, Recapitulation.

²⁰⁶ http://www.bible-history.com/maps/maps/map_new_testament_world.html.



Probable Sequence:

1. Rome	2. Spain
3. Crete	4. Ephesus, Miletus, Troas
5. Corinth, Nicopolis	6. Rome (for execution)

Corinth kept him two years, and Asia three, and Rome two for this time. A second time Paul again entered Rome, when he was martyred (that is, in c. 67 AD). Thus, he escaped this time, and having filled the whole world, he so brought his life to a close. Why do we wish to learn what happened after these two years? Those years too are such as these: bonds, tortures, fighting, imprisonments, lying in wait, false accusations, and death, day by day. We have seen a small part of it! However much we have seen, such is Paul for all the rest. As in the case of the sky, if we have seen one part of it, go wherever we will and we shall see it such as this. As it is with the sun, though we have seen its rays but in part, we may conjecture the rest; so is it with Paul. His Acts we have seen in part; such are they all throughout, teeming with dangers.”

Paul Wrote to Timothy the First Time

When Paul wrote to Timothy, he had already been released from house-arrest in Rome. Paul doesn't say where he was when he wrote, but he planned to come to Ephesus soon.

“These things I write to you, though I hope to come to you shortly; but if I am delayed, *I write* so that you may know how you ought to conduct yourself in the house of God, which is the Church of the Living God, the pillar and ground of the truth” (1 Timothy 3:14-15).

Members of the Seventy who worked with Paul during this fifth journey are shown in Table 12 including the reference to them in the Scripture.

Table 12
Those of the Seventy Working with Paul on the 5th Missionary Journey

Member of Seventy	Native To	Journey	Later Bishop of	Comments
Aquila & Priscilla	Pontus	2, 3, 4, 5	Ephesus before Timothy	Acts 18:18-19, 2 Timothy 4:19
Aristarchus	Thessalonica	2, 3, 4, 5	Apamea	Beheaded with Paul
Carpus		2, 3, 5	Berea, Troas	2 Timothy 4:13
Crescens		5	Carthage, Galatia	2 Timothy 4:10
Demas		3, 4, 5	Priest for idols	Colossians 4:14, 2 Timothy 4:10
Dionysius	Athens	2, 3, 5	Athens	
Erastus		3, 5	Expert at finances	2 Timothy 4:20
Epaphras		3, 4, 5	Colossae area	Colossians 1:7, 4:12
Herodion	Tarsus	1, 2, 3, 5	Neoparhia, Patras	Martyred with Paul
Linus		2, 3, 4, 5	Rome	2 Timothy 4:21
Luke	Antioch	1, 2, 3, 4, 5	Roving Apostle	2 Timothy 4:11
Mark, Barnabas' Cousin	Cyprus	4, 5	Appolonia	2 Timothy 4:11
Olympas		5	--	Beheaded with Paul
Onesiphorus	Iconium	1, 2, 3, 5	Colophon near Ephesus	2 Timothy 4:19
Pudens		5	Martyred with Paul	2 Timothy 4:21
Timothy	Lystra	1, 2, 3, 4, 5	Ephesus	
Titus	Crete	1, 2, 3, 5	Crete	2 Timothy 4:10
Trophimus		3, 5	--	2 Timothy 4:20
Tychicus	Asia Minor	3, 4, 5	Caesarea	2 Timothy 4:13

When Paul wrote to Timothy the first time, Timothy had already been serving as the Bishop of Ephesus. Paul states,

“As I urged you when I went into Macedonia -- remain in Ephesus that you may charge some that they teach no other doctrine, nor give heed to fables and endless genealogies, which cause disputes rather than godly edification which is in faith” (1 Timothy 1:3-4).

When Paul said that he went into Macedonia (1 Timothy 1:3), he was referring to the time after he was released from house-arrest in Rome. Timothy had already been in Ephesus and Paul asked him to remain there – rather than travel with him, as Timothy was accustomed to do.

Table 13
Chronology of Paul’s Missionary Journeys

Journey	Acts References	Dates	Cities Visited
		[AD]	
1	13:1-14:28	46-48	Cyprus, Perga, Antioch of Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, Lycaonia

	15:1-35	48	Council in Jerusalem
2	15:36-18:22	49-52	Syria, Celicia, Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, Mysia, Troas, Samothrace, Neapolis, Philippi, Amphipolis, Apollonia, Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, Corinth (1 ½ years), Ephesus, Caesarea
3	18:23-21:17	53-57	Galatia (Derbe, Lystra, Iconium), Phrygia, Antioch of Pisidia, Ephesus (2 years), Macedonia (Philippi, Amphipolis, Apollonia, Thessalonica, Berea), Troas, Assos, Mitylene, Chios, Samos, Trogyllium, Miletus, Cos, Rhodes, Patara, Tyre, Ptolemais, Caesarea
	21:18-26:32	57-59	Jerusalem arrest, Caesarea
4	27:1-28:15	59-60	Sidon, Myra, Fair Havens (Crete), Malta, Syracuse, Rhegium, Puteoli, Appii Forum, Three Inns, Rome
	28:16-31	61-62	Rome, under house-arrest
5	After Acts 28	63-67	Rome, Spain, Crete (Titus 1:5), Asia (Ephesus 1 Timothy 1:3), Macedonia (Nicopolis Titus 3:12), Troas (2 Timothy 4:13), Miletus (2 Timothy 4:20), Corinth (2 Timothy 4:20), Rome

Timothy had a very important mission in Ephesus and the cities nearby. The Apostle John was probably now in the area of Asia Minor, and he had not yet been exiled to Patmos (Revelation 1:9). Timothy’s mission was more local; John’s mission was more global.

“These things command and teach. Let no one despise your youth, but be an example to the believers in word, in conduct, in love, in spirit, in faith, in purity. Till I come, give attention to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine. Do not neglect the gift that is in you, which was given to you by prophecy with the laying on of the hands of the eldership” (1 Timothy 4:11-14).

“O Timothy! Guard what was committed to your trust, avoiding the profane *and* idle babblings and contradictions of what is falsely called knowledge -- by professing it some have strayed concerning the faith. Grace *be* with you” (1 Timothy 6:20-21).

One of the difficulties that Timothy faced was teachers who wanted everyone to return to a strict keeping of the Mosaic Law. On the surface, this may have appeared to be what Paul himself did²⁰⁷ when he was in Ephesus.

“Now the purpose of the commandment is love from a pure heart, *from* a good conscience, and *from* sincere faith, from which some, having strayed, have turned aside to idle talk, desiring to be teachers of the Law, understanding neither what they say nor the things which they affirm. But we know that the Law *is* good if one uses it lawfully; knowing this: that the Law is not made for a righteous person, but for *the* lawless and insubordinate, for *the* ungodly and for sinners, for *the* unholy and profane, for murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers, for manslayers” (1 Timothy 1:5-9).

²⁰⁷ For example, see the Section titled: “Paul Takes a Vow”, where Paul was very diligent in keeping the Mosaic Law, especially in his visits to Ephesus.

Two local heretics that Paul had to deal with were Hymenaeus and Alexander, where Paul had to deliver them over to Satan for the destruction of their flesh in the hope that they may be saved later (1 Corinthians 5:5). Alexander responded by betraying Paul to the Roman authorities, which led to Paul's death (2 Timothy 4:14-15). We will cover more on this under the Section "Paul Wrote to Timothy Again".

"This charge I commit to you, son Timothy, according to the prophecies previously made concerning you, that by them you may wage the good warfare, having faith and a good conscience, which some having rejected, concerning the faith have suffered shipwreck, of whom are Hymenaeus and Alexander, whom I delivered to Satan that they may learn not to blaspheme" (1 Timothy 1:18-20).

We can see the methods used by the heretics in Ephesus by the words of instruction Paul gave to Timothy. They embraced doctrines of demons, forbid to marry²⁰⁸, and abstained from certain foods²⁰⁹. Each of these things they did may have an appearance of godliness and may look like what the Apostles did, but it was twisted. Of this Paul said,

"Now the Spirit expressly says that in latter times some will depart from the faith, giving heed to deceiving spirits and doctrines of demons, speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their own conscience seared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, *and commanding* to abstain from foods which God created to be received with thanksgiving by those who believe and know the truth. Every creature of God *is* good, and nothing is to be refused if it is received with thanksgiving; for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer²¹⁰. If you instruct the brethren in these things, you will be a good minister of Jesus Christ, nourished in the words of faith and of the good doctrine which you have carefully followed" (1 Timothy 4:1-6).

Timothy's practice of prayer and fasting was evidently fairly rigorous and resulted in some stomach problems, perhaps due to brackish water supplies. Therefore, Paul asked him to back off a little and drink a little table wine.

"No longer drink only water, but use a little wine for your stomach's sake and your frequent infirmities" (1 Timothy 5:23).

Having settled the case between Philemon (the master) and Onesimus (the slave), Paul asked Timothy to do the same thing²¹¹ in Ephesus. The issue between Philemon and Onesimus was that both were members of the Church, and Paul wanted to be sure that they both respected each other as such so that the Name of God was not blasphemed. Paul said:

"Let as many slaves as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honor, so that the name of God and *His* doctrine may not be blasphemed. And those who have believing masters, let them not despise *them* because they are brethren, but rather serve *them* because those who are benefited are believers and

²⁰⁸ All the Apostles lived a celibate life after Pentecost. When Jesus said that the Apostles had left their wives and children (Matthew 19:29), this did not mean that they abandoned their families. They just lived as brother and sister, and their family traveled with them wherever they went. The heretics twisted the practice of the Apostles into a legalistic approach.

²⁰⁹ All the Apostles lived a life of prayer and fasting (Matthew 17:21), sometimes going a few days without eating anything. The fasting, which resulted in bodily discipline, was twisted by the heretics into a fleshly legalism.

²¹⁰ The food being "sanctified by the word of God and with prayer" refers to the practice of prayers before meals.

²¹¹ For more details about Philemon and Onesimus, see the Section titled: "Paul Met Onesimus in Rome" and "Paul Wrote to Philemon in Colossae".

beloved. Teach and exhort these things. If anyone teaches otherwise and does not consent to wholesome words, *even* the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which accords with godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing, but is obsessed with disputes and arguments over words, from which come envy, strife, reviling, evil suspicions, useless wrangling of men of corrupt minds and destitute of the truth, who suppose that godliness is a *means of gain*. From such withdraw yourself. Now godliness with contentment is great gain” (1 Timothy 6:1-6).

“Command those who are rich in this present age not to be haughty, nor to trust in uncertain riches but in the living God, who gives us richly all things to enjoy. *Let them* do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to give, willing to share, storing up for themselves a good foundation for the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life” (1 Timothy 6:17-19)

From these excerpts, we can see that Timothy had a battle on his hands, and that there were now some of the wolves in Ephesus that Paul had warned them about (Acts 20:29-30) at the end of the 3rd Missionary Journey six years ago.

Hippolytus referred to Phygellus as the Bishop of Ephesus²¹², yet this is not recorded in any of Paul’s letters. Since Phygellus had already apostatized before Paul was beheaded, Phygellus’ time as Bishop of Ephesus must have been short-lived. When Paul spent two years in Ephesus (c. 56-58 AD), only the idolaters were prominent in Ephesus²¹³, not the heretics; similarly when Paul wrote his Epistle to the Ephesians²¹⁴ (c. 62 AD). When Paul wrote his first Epistle to Timothy²¹⁵ (c. 64 AD), Paul asked Timothy to remain in Ephesus as Bishop, probably to counteract the teachings of Phygellus²¹⁶ who was Bishop there, and Hermogenes, another original member of the Seventy who had also apostatized. Paul stated,

“As I urged you when I went into Macedonia -- remain in Ephesus that you may charge some that they teach²¹⁷ no other doctrine, nor give heed to fables and endless genealogies, which cause disputes rather than godly edification which is in faith” (1 Timothy 1:3-4).

This was a formidable task for Timothy, since Phygellus and Hermogenes were members of the original Seventy Apostles, but Timothy was not; besides, Timothy was probably much younger. Timothy’s task was something akin to coming to Ephesus and defrocking two archbishops (using today’s terminology). Siding with Phygellus and against Timothy and Paul

²¹² Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

²¹³ See the sections titled:

“Paul’s Return to Ephesus”

“The Jewish Exorcists and the Magicians”

“The Controversy over the Temple of Diana”

“The Widespread Renown of the Apostle Paul”

“The Riot over the Temple of Diana”

“Onesiphorus Was Very Helpful to Paul in Ephesus”

²¹⁴ At this time Paul warned the Ephesians about the heresies of the followers of Simon Magus. Earlier Paul had warned the Ephesians that “savage wolves will come in among you, not sparing the flock” (Acts 20:29).

²¹⁵ Phygellus was apparently one of these wolves, and he appears to have been Bishop of Ephesus at this time.

²¹⁶ Phygellus was probably in league with Hermogenes, another member of the original Seventy Apostles who apostatized also. Alexander and Philetus, who were not Apostles, helped Phygellus also.

²¹⁷ Those charged with “teaching” were usually the Bishops.

were Hermogenes²¹⁸, Alexander, Hymenaeus and Philetus. Alexander and Hymenaeus were so bad that Paul felt it necessary to deliver them over to Satan for the destruction of their flesh in hope that they might be saved (1 Timothy 1:20). Paul stated to Timothy very strongly that he (Timothy) was involved in warfare against these heretics

“This charge I commit to you, son Timothy, according to the prophecies previously made concerning you, that by them you may wage the good warfare” (1 Timothy 1:18).

Paul quoted Hymenaeus and Philetus as “straying concerning the truth, saying that the resurrection is already past; and they overthrow the faith of some” (2 Timothy 2:18). Their concept was that our resurrection occurs as we come up out of the waters of baptism. As with many heresies, there was some insight into the importance and power of baptism, but with a twisted understanding.

Helping Timothy out in Ephesus²¹⁹ were Aquila and Priscilla, who were both well-versed in the Scriptures, and who Paul had earlier left in Ephesus after his 2nd Missionary Journey to teach the Church²²⁰.

Tertullian lumped together²²¹ Hymenaeus, Philetus, Hermogenes and Phygellus in speaking of those who deserted Paul and the things of God, and he compared them to Judas Iscariot.

“The Scripture says, ‘Your eyes are upon the ways of the children of men’ (Jeremiah 32:19 LXX). ‘Man looks at the outward appearance, but God looks at the heart’ (1 Samuel 16:7 LXX). ‘The Lord knows those who are His’ (2 Timothy 2:19); and ‘Every plant which My heavenly Father has not planted will be uprooted’ (Matthew 15:13); and ‘So the last will be first, and the first last’ (Matthew 20:16); and He carries ‘His winnowing fan *is* in His hand, and He will thoroughly clean out His threshing floor’ (Matthew 3:12). Let the chaff of a fickle faith fly off as much as it will at every blast of temptation, all the purer will be that heap of grain which shall be laid up in the granary of the Lord. Did not certain of the disciples turn back from the Lord Himself, when they were offended? Yet the rest did not therefore think that they must turn away from following Him, but because they knew that He was the Word of Life, and had come from God, they continued in His company to the very last, after He had gently inquired of them whether they also would go away (John 6:66-67). It is a comparatively small thing, that certain men, like Phygellus, Hermogenes, Philetus, and Hymenaeus, deserted Paul (2 Timothy 1:15, 2:17; 1 Timothy 1:20); the betrayer of Christ was himself one of the apostles. We are surprised at seeing His churches forsaken by some men, although the things which we suffer after the example of Christ Himself, show us to be Christians. ‘They

²¹⁸ Hermogenes was also one of the original Seventy Apostles who apostatized.

²¹⁹ We can see that Aquila and Priscilla were in Ephesus at this time because they were not in Rome in 62 AD (Colossians 4:7-18) when Paul was under house-arrest there, and they were in Ephesus in c. 66 AD working with Timothy (2 Timothy 4:19) in his battle against Phygellus and Hermogenes of the Seventy Apostles who had apostatized.

²²⁰ For more details about Aquila and Priscilla in Ephesus after the 2nd Missionary Journey, see the section titled: “Paul Leaves Aquila and Priscilla in Charge in Ephesus”.

²²¹ Tertullian, The Prescription Against Heretics, II, I, 3.

went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would have continued with us” (1 John 2:19).

Paul Wrote to Titus

When Paul wrote to Titus, he was Bishop of Crete, and had been so for a while. Paul planned on sending Titus some help in the coming months, and he wanted Titus to join him in Nicopolis²²² soon. Artemas or Tychicus may have been intended to fill in for Titus while he went to Nicopolis to meet Paul, since they didn't stay on Crete.

“To Titus, a true son in *our* common faith: Grace, mercy, *and* peace from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ our Savior. For this reason I left you on Crete, that you should set in order the things that are lacking, and appoint elders in every city as I commanded you” (Titus 1:4-5).

“When I send Artemas to you, or Tychicus, be diligent to come to me at Nicopolis, for I have decided to spend the winter there. Send Zenas the lawyer and Apollos on their journey with haste, that they may lack nothing” (Titus 3:12-13).

The problems that Titus was having on Crete were not nearly as severe as the problems that Timothy was having in Ephesus. Just like in Ephesus, there were those of the circumcision who wanted to return to a strict keeping of the Mosaic Law in a fleshly way.

“For there are many insubordinates, both idle talkers and deceivers, especially those of the circumcision, whose mouths must be stopped, who subvert whole households, teaching things which they ought not, for the sake of dishonest gain” (Titus 1:10-11).

We note that Paul sent two Apostles to help out on Crete with questions over the Mosaic Law: Zenas the lawyer and Apollos. Zenas was an expert on the Mosaic Law, not civil law; Apollos was very good at showing from the (Old Testament) Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ (Acts 18:24-28). Apollos by himself had a tremendous impact in Corinth; combined with Zenas, these two Apostles had to have had the effect of “stopping the mouths of the circumcision” (Titus 1:11).

Titus' main job on Crete was to appoint presbyters (i.e. priests) in every city. Paul reviewed for Titus some of the things to look for in candidates for presbyter.

“For this reason, I left you in Crete, that you should set in order the things that are lacking, and appoint elders in every city as I commanded you -- if a man is blameless, the husband of one wife, having faithful children not accused of dissipation or insubordination” (Titus 1:5-6).

Titus' job as the Bishop, was not as being one of the boys as their good buddy. His job was to be a good example for everyone to follow.

“For a bishop must be blameless, as a steward of God, not self-willed, not quick-tempered, not given to wine, not violent, not greedy for money, but hospitable, a lover of what is good, sober-minded, just, holy, self-controlled,

²²² Nicopolis is on the West Coast of Greece.

holding fast the faithful word as he has been taught, that he may be able, by sound doctrine, both to exhort and convict those who contradict” (Titus 1:7-9).

Titus was encouraged by Paul to seek to inspire everyone to maintain good works. This is part of being “fruitful”. Those who just talk the talk, but don’t walk the walk are unprofitable, useless, warped and sinning.

“The grace of God that brings salvation has appeared to all men, teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in the present age, looking for the blessed hope and glorious appearing of our great God and Savior Jesus Christ, who gave Himself for us, that He might redeem us from every lawless deed and purify for Himself *His* own special people, zealous for good works. Speak these things, exhort, and rebuke with all authority. Let no one despise you” (Titus 2:11-15).

“This is a faithful saying, and these things I want you to affirm constantly, that those who have believed in God should be careful to maintain good works. These things are good and profitable to men. But avoid foolish disputes, genealogies, contentions, and strivings about the law; for they are unprofitable and useless. Reject a divisive man after the first and second admonition, knowing that such a person is warped and sinning, being self-condemned” (Titus 3:8-11).

“And let our *people* also learn to maintain good works, to *meet* urgent needs, that they may not be unfruitful” (Titus 3:14).

The Apostle Paul’s Preparation for His Own Death

During the years after Paul was released from house-arrest (c. 62 AD), but before he was beheaded in c. 67 AD, he seems to be preparing for his own death that was to occur soon. During this time, he sent a number of the Seventy on various missions that were more permanent in nature than these missions had been before. In the following pages, we will go into detail about these missions. During this time when Paul was in prison, Linus was still Bishop of Rome, but he was about to be martyred soon also and will be replaced by Clement of Rome. Clement was more immune to persecution than others, since he was a blood-relative of the emperors.

Paul Wrote to Timothy Again

When Paul wrote to Timothy the second time, he was back in Rome and in prison, not just in house-arrest, and he is chained up in prison. Paul’s tone is now more urgent, and he gives Timothy some final instructions. Onesiphorus (of the Seventy) was now in Rome with Paul.

“Hold fast the pattern of sound words which you have heard from me, in faith and love which are in Christ Jesus. That good thing which was committed to you, keep by the Holy Spirit who dwells in us. This you know, that all those in Asia²²³ have turned away from me, among whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes²²⁴. May the Lord grant mercy to the household of Onesiphorus, for he often refreshed

²²³ That is, Asia Minor, where Ephesus is one of the cities of Asia Minor. Phygellus, Hermogenes, Hymenaeus, Philetus and Alexander had evidently been very effective in their war against Timothy and the Church.

²²⁴ Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, v. 5 stated that Phygellus and Hermogenes had been two of the Seventy Apostles, but they apostatized to follow the teachings of Simon Magus. They were subsequently deleted from the Seventy and replaced with others.

me, and was not ashamed of my chain; but when he arrived in Rome, he sought me out very zealously and found me. The Lord grant to him that he may find mercy from the Lord in that Day -- and you know very well how many ways he ministered *to me* at Ephesus” (2 Timothy 1:13-18).

One of the things that Paul especially asked Timothy to do was to commit to faithful men the things he had heard from Paul such that they can teach others and pass on the Faith to others after them. This was very important, since the band of heretics could easily silence Timothy by murdering him.

“You therefore, my son, be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus. And the things that you have heard from me among many witnesses, commit these to faithful men who will be able to teach others also. You therefore must endure hardship as a good soldier of Jesus Christ” (2 Timothy 2:1-3).

“Remember that Jesus Christ, of the seed of David, was raised from the dead according to my gospel, for which I suffer trouble as an evildoer, *even* to the point of chains; but the word of God is not chained. Therefore, I endure all things for the sake of the elect that they also may obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory” (2 Timothy 2:8-10).

As Paul’s martyrdom was approaching, many heretics were rising up to pervert the Truth, just as Paul had warned about almost ten years earlier (Acts 20:29-31).

“But shun profane *and* idle babblings, for they will increase to more ungodliness. And their message will spread like cancer. Hymenaeus and Philetus are of this sort, who have strayed concerning the truth, saying that the resurrection is already past²²⁵; and they overthrow the faith of some” (2 Timothy 2:16-18).

“Demas²²⁶ has forsaken me, having loved this present world, and has departed for Thessalonica” (2 Timothy 4:10).

“Alexander the coppersmith²²⁷ did me much harm. May the Lord repay him according to his works. You also must beware of him, for he has greatly resisted our words” (2 Timothy 4:14-15).

Paul began his final words to Timothy by reminding him that this will be a long struggle against an array of the forces of evil. Yet we do not have a spirit of fear but of power, of love and

²²⁵ Their concept was that our resurrection occurs as we come up out of the waters of baptism. As with many heresies, there was some insight into the importance and power of baptism, but with a twisted understanding.

²²⁶ Demas was one of the original Seventy Apostles, and he had traveled with Paul extensively. Demas was with Paul as Paul drafted his Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon (Colossians 4:14, Philemon 1:24). However, Demas began following the teachings of Simon Magus shortly afterward, and within 5 years, Paul stated that Demas “had forsaken me, having loved this present world” (2 Timothy 4:10). Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, v. 5 states that Demas became “a priest of idols”.

²²⁷ Alexander was the son of Simon of Cyrene, who helped to carry Jesus’ Cross (Mark 15:21). Together with his father and brother Rufus, who was one of the Seventy, Alexander helped to found the Church in Antioch (Acts 11:20). By the mid 60’s AD, Alexander had become a follower of Simon Magus, and Paul delivered him over to Satan for the destruction of his flesh on account of his blasphemy (1 Timothy 1:20). A year or two later, Alexander was instrumental in affecting Paul’s martyrdom (2 Timothy 4:14-15). Regarding delivering him over to Satan, Compare 1 Corinthians 5:4-5. The intent was the eventual salvation of the individual through a greater recognition of whom it is that he’s in league with.

of a sound mind²²⁸. We do not need to be ashamed of the testimony²²⁹ of the Lord, or of Paul's imprisonment, but Timothy can share in Paul's sufferings. Paul was suffering because he had faithfully followed the leading of the Holy Spirit.

“I thank God, whom I serve with a pure conscience, as *my* forefathers *did*, as without ceasing I remember you in my prayers night and day, greatly desiring to see you, being mindful of your tears, that I may be filled with joy, when I call to remembrance the genuine faith that is in you, which dwelt first in your grandmother Lois and your mother Eunice, and I am persuaded is in you also. Therefore, I remind you to stir up the gift of God which is in you through the laying on of my hands. For God has not given us a spirit of fear, but of power and of love and of a sound mind. Therefore do not be ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, nor of me His prisoner, but share with me in the sufferings for the gospel according to the power of God, who has saved us and called *us* with a holy calling, not according to our works, but according to His own purpose and grace which was given to us in Christ Jesus before time began, but has now been revealed by the appearing of our Savior Jesus Christ, *who* has abolished death and brought life and immortality to light through the gospel, to which I was appointed a preacher, an apostle, and a teacher of the Gentiles. For this reason, I also suffer these things; nevertheless, I am not ashamed, for I know whom I have believed and am persuaded that He is able to keep what I have committed to Him until that Day” (2 Timothy 1:3-12).

Paul stated that “all those in Asia have turned away from me, among whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes” (2 Timothy 1:15); these were two of the original Seventy Apostles, along with Demas (2 Timothy 4:10), where Demas had been traveling with Paul until just recently (Philemon 1:24, Colossians 4:14). It is interesting that these three members of the original Seventy Apostles all apostatized at about the same time, but in different places, during the persecutions of Nero.

By contrast, Onesiphorus, another of the original Seventy Apostles, was not ashamed of Paul's imprisonment, but diligently sought him out in Rome. This may have been difficult if Paul was moved from one prison to another without any notice. For Onesiphorus, this was doubly hazardous since he had a wife and some children to be concerned about²³⁰. Onesiphorus must have stayed in Rome with Paul only briefly, since he was back in Ephesus with Timothy and with his family when Paul wrote this Epistle (2 Timothy 4:19). Onesiphorus' mission may have been to find out what Paul needed and how he could help. Paul said:

“The Lord grant mercy to the household of Onesiphorus, for he often refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain; but when he arrived in Rome, he sought me out very zealously and found me. The Lord grant to him that he may find mercy from the Lord in that Day -- and you know very well how many ways he ministered *to me* at Ephesus” (2 Timothy 1:16-18).

Paul's message to Timothy takes on a more urgent tone in his second Epistle since Paul realized that the time for his execution is approaching (2 Timothy 4:6-7). Besides giving Timothy

²²⁸ By contrast, those heretics who are resisting Timothy do not have a sound mind.

²²⁹ Greek: *marturion*, from which we get the English word “martyr”

²³⁰ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, September 24.

written instructions, Paul also asked Timothy to come from Ephesus to Rome quickly before he gets beheaded (2 Timothy 4:9). Paul's instructions were:

“You therefore, my son, be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus. And the things that you have heard from me among many witnesses, commit these to faithful men who will be able to teach others also. You therefore must endure hardship as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. No one engaged in warfare entangles himself with the affairs of *this* life, that he may please him who enlisted him as a soldier. And also, if anyone competes in athletics, he is not crowned unless he competes according to the rules” (2 Timothy 2:1-5).

“This is a faithful saying: For if we died with *Him*, we shall also live with Him. If we endure, we shall also reign with *Him*. If we deny *Him*, He also will deny us. If we are faithless, He remains faithful; He cannot deny Himself. Remind *them* of these things, charging *them* before the Lord not to strive about words to no profit, to the ruin of the hearers” (2 Timothy 2:11-14).

In describing the heretics, Paul makes a very clear analogy to Simon Magus and those associated with him. Paul referred to Jannes and Jambres, the Egyptian magicians who resisted Moses in Egypt, saying that the heretics are just like them. In Egypt, the “magicians” were the sacred scribes or priests who were very skilled in the hidden or secret arts. Simon Magus and some of his followers learned these secret arts in Egypt in the early days of the 1st century, and they were masters of these secret arts during the time of the Apostle Paul. Paul said:

“Now as Jannes and Jambres resisted Moses, so do these also resist the truth: men of corrupt minds, disapproved concerning the faith; but they will progress no further, for their folly will be manifest to all, as theirs also was” (2 Timothy 3:8-9).

The folly of Jannes and Jambres was clear to everyone after the disaster for Egypt at the Red Sea (Exodus 14:22-28). Egypt lost its entire army, which Josephus described²³¹ as comprising 600 select chariots, 50,000 cavalry and 200,000-foot soldiers. This left Egypt as a nation almost defenseless and at the mercy of other nations; they could easily be conquered and made slaves themselves. Jannes and Jambres saw this coming! When they could not duplicate the third of the ten plagues with their secret arts, they admitted to Pharaoh that “This was the finger of God” (Exodus 8:19). But because they had a corrupt mind, they were unwilling to act on this observation.

As a magician, Simon was very much like Jannes and Jambres. Just as Jannes and Jambres were able to duplicate some of Moses' miracles (Exodus 7:12, 7:22, 8:8), so Simon was very powerful in magic, and Simon learned the black arts from similar sources in Egypt as Jannes and Jambres. The Clementine Homilies describe²³² Simon as follows:

“Simon disciplined himself greatly in Alexandria, and being very powerful in magic, and being ambitious, wished to be accounted a certain supreme power, greater even than the God who created the world. And sometimes intimating that he is Christ, he styles himself ‘The Standing One’. This epithet he employs, intimating that he shall always stand, and have no cause of corruption that would

²³¹ Josephus, Antiquities, II, xv, 3

²³² Roberts and Donaldson, “The Clementine Homilies”, II, 22, PseudoClementine Literature, Ante-Nicene Fathers, v. 8.

cause his body to fall. He says that the God who created the world is not supreme, and he does not believe that the dead will be raised. He rejects Jerusalem, and substitutes Mount Gerizim for it (Compare John 4:20-23). Instead of our Christ, he proclaims himself”.

Clement of Rome described²³³ some of Simon’s “miracles” as follows: Clement quoted the Apostle Peter as saying that Simon’s “signs” are useless and self-centered.

“He makes statues walk, and he rolls himself on the fire, and is not burned; and sometimes he flies. He makes loaves of bread out of stones; he becomes a serpent; he transforms himself into a goat; he becomes two-faced. He changes himself into gold; he opens locked gates; he melts iron. At banquets he produces images of all manner of forms. In his house he makes dishes to be seen as borne of themselves to wait upon him, no bearers being seen. I wondered when I heard them speak thus; but many bore witness that they had been present, and had seen such things”.

“The Apostle Peter stated, ‘Those are useless signs, which you say that Simon did. But I say that the making statues walk, and rolling himself on burning coals, and becoming a dragon, and being changed into a goat, and flying in the air, and all such things, not being for the healing of man, are of a nature to deceive many. But the miracles of compassionate truth are philanthropic, such as you have heard that the Lord did, such as being freed from all kinds of diseases, and from demons, some having their hands restored, and some their feet, some recovering their eyesight, and some their hearing’”.

Paul described the result of the work of these heretics as being all kinds of evil; and these wolves tried to bring it into the Church. The antidote to the teachings of these heretics is the Holy Scriptures, which make the man of God complete, equipped for every good work.

“But know this, that in the last days perilous times will come: For men will be lovers of themselves, lovers of money, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, unloving, unforgiving, slanderers, without self-control, brutal, despisers of good, traitors, headstrong, haughty, lovers of pleasure rather than lovers of God, having a form of godliness but denying its power. And from such people turn away! For of this sort are those who creep into households and make captives of gullible women loaded down with sins, led away by various lusts, always learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth” (2 Timothy 3:1-7).

“But evil men and impostors will grow worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived. But you must continue in the things which you have learned and been assured of, knowing from whom you have learned them, and that from childhood you have known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make you wise for salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All Scripture²³⁴ *is* given by inspiration of God, and *is* profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for

²³³ Roberts and Donaldson, “The Clementine Homilies”, II, 32-34, PseudoClementine Literature, Ante-Nicene Fathers, v. 8.

²³⁴ When Paul referred to the “Scriptures”, this meant the Old Testament, since the New Testament wasn’t agreed upon until about 300 years later. Paul’s Old Testament included some writings that are now called “apocryphal”, such as the Wisdom of Solomon.

instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be complete, thoroughly equipped for every good work” (2 Timothy 3:13-17).

As Timothy does this, the heretics will not endure his sound teaching, but will turn their ears away from the truth in favor of fables, like Jannes and Jambres did. This is exactly the way the followers of Simon Magus reacted.

“The time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine; but according to their own desires, because they have itching ears, they will pile up for themselves teachers; and they will turn their ears away from the truth, and be turned aside to fables. But you be watchful in all things, endure afflictions, do the work of an evangelist, fulfill your ministry” (2 Timothy 4:3-5).

The State of Things in Ephesus c. 67 AD

Paul had sent Timothy various places (1 Thessalonians 3:1-3) to counter the advances of the heretics. By the mid 60’s AD, Paul had been released from house-arrest in Rome (Acts 28:16, 30-31), and was in Macedonia. Timothy was in Ephesus when Paul wrote his first Epistle to him (1 Timothy 1:3). Timothy remained in the vicinity of Ephesus until his martyrdom in the mid 90’s, after which ordained Gaius was ordained as Bishop of Ephesus in Timothy’s place²³⁵.

Paul’s first instruction to Timothy in Ephesus was to correct some of the teachers in Ephesus, who were paying attention to the web of lies and the endless genealogies²³⁶ (1 Timothy 1:4) of Simon and his followers. The teachers simply did not understand the difference between what the Apostles had taught and what the heretics were teaching (1 Timothy 1:7). The key point that Timothy needed to make was an emphasis on the Mosaic Law, which was not made for righteous people, but exposes the lawless and insubordinate very clearly (1 Timothy 1:9-10).

There were three things that Timothy needed to emphasize (1 Timothy 4:13):

1. The Reading, that is from the Scriptures and the memoirs of the Apostles²³⁷.
2. The Exhortation, which was a homily or commentary appropriate for the time.
3. The Teaching or Doctrine, where the heretics cloaked their falsehoods in familiar sounding terms.

About these heretics, Paul stated, “If anyone teaches otherwise and does not consent to wholesome words, *even* the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which accords with godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing, but is obsessed with disputes and arguments over words. From which come envy, strife and reviling, evil suspicions, useless wrangling of men of corrupt minds and destitute of the truth, who suppose that godliness is a *means of* gain. From such withdraw yourself” (1 Timothy 4:3-5).

²³⁵ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, November 5.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for October 30, November 5>.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, November 5.

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

²³⁶ The genealogies had to do with the seemingly endless lineage of the gods promoted by the heretics.

²³⁷ The canon of the New Testament was not established until c. 300 years later. The “memoirs of the Apostles” refers to the Gospels, and later to the writings of Paul.

Some people, Paul said, will not endure good teaching because their heart is not right with God. Simon and his followers simply tell these people what they want to hear.

“The time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine, but according to their own desires, *because* they have itching ears, they will pile up for themselves teachers. They will turn *their* ears away from the truth, and be turned aside to fables. But you be watchful in all things, endure afflictions, do the work of an evangelist, fulfill your ministry” (2 Timothy 4:3-5).

Some of these heretics that Timothy had to deal with had been pillars of the Church, like Hymenaeus, Philetus and Alexander (1 Timothy 1:18-20, 2 Timothy 2:17, 4:14), where Paul had to deliver two of them over to Satan that they may learn not to blaspheme. Others that Paul warned Timothy about were Phygellus, Hermogenes and Demas, three of the original Seventy, who had recently left Paul to follow the teachings of Simon Magus (2 Timothy 1:15, 4:10). These heretics taught that the Resurrection was already past (2 Timothy 2:18), which was a common element in Simon’s teaching²³⁸. They taught that by being baptized in the name of Simon, they would be immortal and not need a resurrection²³⁹. Paul warned Timothy to beware of these heretics when he encounters them.

“Be diligent to present yourself approved to God, a worker who does not need to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth. But shun profane *and* idle babblings, for they will increase to more ungodliness. And their message will spread like cancer” (2 Timothy 2:15-18).

“But evil men and impostors will grow worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived. But you must continue in the things which you have learned and been assured of, knowing from whom (plural) you have learned them” (2 Timothy 3:13-14).

“Now the Spirit expressly says that in latter times some will depart from the faith, giving heed to deceiving spirits and doctrines of demons, speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their own conscience seared with a hot iron” (1 Timothy 4:1-2).

Paul gave Timothy a standard by which he could recognize the heretics, and a summary of their character, where he compared them with the magicians who opposed Moses in Egypt²⁴⁰. This agrees with descriptions of later writers²⁴¹, who described Simon and his followers. Jerome wrote²⁴² that it was common for Simon and the heretics that followed him to have bands of women that they would use for fornication and other purposes

²³⁸ Their concept was that our resurrection occurs as we come up out of the waters of baptism. As with many heresies, there was some insight into the importance and power of baptism, but with a twisted understanding.

²³⁹ Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, I, xxiii, 4-5. See also Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, II, xxxii, 5. Tertullian, *Against All Heresies*, II, ix Appendix, 1.

²⁴⁰ That is, Jannes and Jambres, who were able to duplicate Moses’ sign with his staff (Exodus 7:8-13) and the first two of the Ten Plagues on Egypt (Exodus 7:17-22, 8:1-7). With the Third Plague, they recognized the hand of God (Exodus 8:16-19), just as Simon recognized a power greater than his in the giving of the Holy Spirit (Acts 8:13, 18-21)

²⁴¹ Tertullian, “On Idolatry”, I, ii, 9, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, v.3.

Roberts and Donaldson, “The Clementine Homilies”, II, 22, *PseudoClementine Literature*, Ante-Nicene Fathers, v. 8.

²⁴² Jerome, *Letter to Ctesiphon*, CXXXIII, 4.

“But know this, that in the last days perilous times will come. For men will be lovers of themselves, lovers of money, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, unloving, unforgiving, slanderers, without self-control, brutal, despisers of good, traitors, headstrong, haughty, lovers of pleasure rather than lovers of God, having a form of godliness but denying its power. And from such people turn away! For of this sort are those who creep into households and make captives of gullible women loaded down with sins, led away by various lusts, always learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth. Now as Jannes and Jambres resisted Moses, so do these also resist the truth: men of corrupt minds, disapproved concerning the faith” (2 Timothy 3:1-8).

Part of the teachings of the heretics was either an indifference to or a concentration on certain foods and behavior, such as taught by the Ebionites²⁴³. Eating of meat offered to idols and the renunciation of the faith in times of persecution were matters of indifference to Simon²⁴⁴, since, he said, salvation has not been promised to *bodies*. Since bodies didn’t matter, some, like the Nicolaitans, were grossly immoral²⁴⁵. On the other hand, others of these heretics²⁴⁶ abhorred certain kinds of food. Paul addressed the Colossians regarding the ascetic, food-abhorring group of heretics:

“Let no one judge you in food or in drink, or regarding a festival or a new moon or Sabbaths²⁴⁷, which are a shadow of things to come, but the substance is of Christ. Therefore, if you died with Christ from the basic principles of the world, why, as *though* living in the world, do you subject yourselves to regulations -- ‘Do not touch, do not taste, do not handle’, which all concern things which perish with the using -- according to the commandments and doctrines of men? These things indeed have an appearance of wisdom in self-imposed religion, *false* humility, and neglect of the body, *but are* of no value against the indulgence of the flesh” (Colossians 2:16-17, 20-23)

Just before his death, Paul said to Timothy, “Greet Priscilla and Aquila, and the household of Onesiphorus” (2 Timothy 4:19). Timothy was Bishop of Ephesus, and Priscilla and Aquila had now returned to Ephesus. John Chrysostom noted²⁴⁸ that Paul greeted Priscilla first more than half of the time.

“Paul was then in Rome; to Onesiphorus he said, ‘The Lord grant to him that he may find mercy from the Lord in that Day’ (2 Timothy 1:18). By this naming of him, he makes those of his household also more zealous in such good actions.”

“‘Greet Priscilla and Aquila’ (2 Timothy 4:19). These are the ones that Paul makes continual mention of, with whom too he had lodged, and who had taken Apollos into confidence with them. Paul names the woman first²⁴⁹, as being I suppose more zealous, and more faithful, for she had then received Apollos. It was

²⁴³ Eusebius, Church History, III, 28.

²⁴⁴ Eusebius, Church History, IV, 7.

²⁴⁵ Tertullian, Against All Heresies, II, ix Appendix, 1

²⁴⁶ Roberts and Donaldson, “Constitutions of the Holy Apostles”, VI, ii, 8, Ante-Nicean Fathers, v. 7.

²⁴⁷ These were some of the major observances of 1st Century Judaism.

²⁴⁸ John Chrysostom, Homilies on 2 Timothy, X, v.19.

²⁴⁹ Acts 18:18, Romans 16:3, 2 Timothy 4:19, compare Acts 18:26, 1 Corinthians 16:19.

to them no slight consolation to be thus greeted. It conveyed a demonstration of esteem and love, and a participation in much grace. For the bare greeting of that holy and blessed man was sufficient to fill with grace him who received it.”

Chrysostom also stated²⁵⁰ that the “cloak” that Paul left in Troas with Carpus (2 Timothy 4:13) may be a mistranslation. Paul may have been referring to a “bag” to hold copies of the Scriptures and not an outer garment.

“The word here translated ‘cloak’ is not the same word as the outer garment referred to elsewhere (Matthew 5:40). This word may mean a garment, but more likely means a bag in which the books were contained. What did Paul have to do with books, when he was about to depart this life and go to God? He needed them a lot, that he might deposit them in the hands of the faithful, who would retain them in place of his own teaching. All the faithful would suffer a great blow, but particularly those who were present at his death.”

The State of the Church in Other Places

The Memoirs of Edessa state²⁵¹ that Luke placed his record of the Acts of the Apostles in the hands of Priscilla and Aquila for safekeeping, and that they accompanied him after the death of Paul.

“Luke the evangelist had such diligence that he wrote the exploits of the Acts of the Apostles, and the ordinances and laws of the ministry of their priesthood, and where each one of them went. By his diligence, Luke wrote these things, and he placed them in the hand of Priscilla and Aquila, his disciples. They accompanied Luke up to the day of his death, just as Timothy and Erastus of Lystra, and Menaeus, the first disciples of the Apostles, accompanied Paul until he was taken up to the city of Rome because he had withstood Tertullus the orator” (Acts 24:1-21).

Before his death, Paul sent others of the Seventy on missions to various places. Crescens²⁵² spent the rest of his life in Galatia and died there of old age. Titus was only in Dalmatia (Macedonia) for a short time and spent the rest of his life as Bishop of Crete. Timothy finished his life in Ephesus just before the Apostle John was freed from exile on Patmos; John ordained Gaius as Bishop of Ephesus when he returned from Patmos. From Paul’s words, the implication is that he sent Tychicus to Ephesus to fill in for Timothy so that Timothy could come to Rome for some final discussions with Paul before Paul was beheaded.

“Be diligent to come to me quickly; for Demas has forsaken me, having loved this present world, and has departed for Thessalonica -- Crescens for Galatia, Titus for Dalmatia. Only Luke is with me. Get Mark²⁵³ and bring him with you, for he is useful to me for ministry. And Tychicus I have sent to Ephesus. Bring

²⁵⁰ John Chrysostom, Homilies on 2 Timothy, X, v. 13.

²⁵¹ Roberts and Donaldson, ed., “The Teaching of the Apostles”, 8-10, in Memoirs of Edessa, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, Peabody, MA, 1995.

²⁵² Constitutions of the Holy Apostles, VII, 46.

Eusebius of Caesarea, Church History, III, 4

²⁵³ This Mark is probably Barnabas’ cousin Mark.

the “cloak” that I left with Carpus at Troas when you come -- and the books, especially the parchments” (2 Timothy 4:9-13).

John Chrysostom noted²⁵⁴ that the saints in the Early Church were bound together very tightly. Phoebe was very zealous on Paul’s behalf and Aquila and Priscilla risked their lives for Paul’s sake. Paul’s take-away was that scholars and their teachers should have a great loyalty and affection to each other.

The disciples were bound together perfectly with Paul; and not men only but women also. Listen to what Paul says about Phoebe, I commend to you Phoebe our sister, who is a servant of the church in Cenchrea, that you may receive her in the Lord in a manner worthy of the saints, and assist her in whatever business she has need of you; for indeed she has been a helper of many and of myself also’ (Romans 16:1-2). In this instance Paul bore witness to her of her zeal; but Priscilla and Aquila went as far even as death for Paul’s sake; and about them he thus writes, ‘Greet Priscilla and Aquila, my fellow workers in Christ Jesus, who risked their own necks for my life, to whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles’ (Romans 16:3-4). They risked death clearly. Paul said, about Aquila and Priscilla, that they went as far as death, not considering their own life, in order that they might supply your deficiency in your service towards me’. Notice how they loved their teacher? Notice how they regarded his rest before their own life? (Compare 2 Corinthians 7:5). On this account no one surpassed them then. Now this I say: not that we may hear only, but that we may also imitate. Not to the ruled only, but also to those who rule is what we say addressed. Scholars should display anxiety about their teachers, and teachers should have the same loving affection as Paul toward those placed under them; not those present only, but also those who are far off. Paul, dwelling in the whole world just as in one house, thus continually took thought for the salvation of all. He dismissed everything of his own: bonds, troubles, stripes and straits; he watched over and inquired each day into what state the affairs of the disciples were. Often for this very purpose alone he sent, now Timothy, and now Tychicus; about Timothy he says, ‘That you may know our affairs, and *that* he may comfort your hearts’ (Ephesians 6:22). Again, about Timothy; I sent to know your faith, lest by some means the tempter had tempted you, and our labor might be in vain’ (1 Thessalonians 3:5). Paul sent Titus again elsewhere and another to another place. Since Paul himself, by the compulsion of his bonds, was often detained in one place, he was unable to meet those he needed to; so, he met them through the disciples.

Paul’s “Thorn in the Flesh”

John Chrysostom points out²⁵⁵ that Paul was caught up into Paradise – at the beginning of his apostleship – so that he might not be inferior to the rest of the Apostles, or might not seem to be. They had accompanied Christ but Paul had not.

²⁵⁴ John Chrysostom, Homily on Lowliness of Mind, 6.

²⁵⁵ John Chrysostom, Homilies on 2 Corinthians, XXVI, vv. 2-6.

The third heaven, which Paul and John saw in their visions, is a term used by 1st century Jews to describe heavenly realms. For example, the sun is described as stopping in mid-heaven, or the second heaven, for Joshua (Joshua 10:13). Birds also fly in mid-heaven (Revelation 8:13, 19:17); the boundaries between these three heavens are somewhat blurred.

In order that Paul might not get too conceited concerning his visions, the Lord also gave him a “thorn in the flesh”, “a messenger of Satan” to beat him up. (Greek: *kolaphizo* = to strike with the fist). Much speculation has been made concerning whether this was some physical problem or whether it refers to some people that Paul fought against. We may imply a physical weakness from Paul’s words; however, John Chrysostom states²⁵⁶ that the thorn in the flesh was actually Alexander the Coppersmith and those with him.

“We will explain what is meant by the ‘thorn’, and who this ‘messenger of Satan’ is. There are some who have said that Paul means a kind of pain in the head which was inflicted by the devil; but God forbid! The body of Paul never could have been given over to the hands of the devil, seeing that the devil himself submitted to the same Paul at his mere bidding. Paul set him laws and bounds, when he delivered over the fornicator for the destruction of the flesh, and the devil dared not to transgress them. What then is the meaning of what is said? An adversary is called, in the Hebrew, Satan; the Scripture has used this word to refer to adversaries²⁵⁷. Speaking of Solomon, it says, ‘Now the Lord raised up an adversary against Solomon, Hadad the Edomite’ (1 Kings 11:14). What he says then is this: God would not permit the Preaching to progress at times, in order to check our conceit; but he permitted the adversaries to set upon us. This was enough to pluck down Paul’s conceit; pains in the head would not do that. By the ‘messenger of Satan’, he means Alexander the coppersmith, the party of Hymenaeus and Philetus, all the adversaries of the word; those who contended with and fought against him, those that cast him into a prison, those that beat him, that led him away to death; for they did Satan’s business. Just as he calls those Jews children of the devil, who were imitating his deeds, so also, he calls a ‘messenger of Satan’ everyone that opposes God. Paul says therefore, ‘A thorn in the flesh was given to me, a messenger of Satan to punch me’ (2 Corinthians 12:7); not as if God puts arms into such men’s hands, God forbid! Not that He chastises or punishes, but for the time allows and permits them.”

Alexander was most likely the son of Simon of Cyrene, who had been pressed into service to carry Jesus’ cross at the crucifixion (Mark 15:21). Simon and his sons, Alexander and Rufus, were probably among those men from Cyprus and Cyrene (Acts 11:20) who had started the Church in Antioch.

Rufus was in Antioch when Paul and Barnabas were sent off on their 1st Missionary Journey and when Paul and Silas were sent off on the 2nd. After the 2nd Missionary Journey, Rufus was sent to Rome by Peter and Paul and was there when Paul wrote Romans (Romans 16:13). Later Rufus was ordained Bishop of Thebes in Greece.

²⁵⁶ John Chrysostom, Homilies on 2 Corinthians, XXVI, v. 7.

²⁵⁷ For other uses of the Hebrew word “*satan*” to refer to “adversaries”, see also Numbers 22:22, 32; 1 Samuel 29:4; 2 Samuel 19:22.

Alexander chose a different path for himself, however. He was associated with the craftsmen such as Demetrius the silversmith in Ephesus (Acts 19:24) who built small idols; he opposed Paul in about 54 AD (Acts 19:33). Later Paul referred to Alexander as a coppersmith (2 Timothy 4:14). Yet Alexander rejected the Faith. Along with Hymenaeus, Paul felt it necessary to deliver them to Satan that they may learn not to blaspheme (1 Timothy 1:19-20). They were part of a Gnostic heresy that claimed that the resurrection was already past (2 Timothy 2:16-18); this overthrew the faith of some people. Finally, it was Alexander that was primarily responsible for Paul's martyrdom in about 67 AD (2 Timothy 4:14). Paul warned Timothy to beware of Alexander because he greatly resisted Paul's words (2 Timothy 4:15). The implication is that he went out of his way to have Paul hunted down, arrested and accused before the Roman authorities, and he may have even testified against Paul before Emperor Nero.

Whether the "thorn in the flesh" was Alexander or some physical weakness, Paul asked the Lord three times to remove it (2 Corinthians 12:8). But each time, the Lord said, "My grace is sufficient for you, for My strength is made perfect in (your) weakness" (2 Corinthians 12:9).

Paul's example is a good lesson for us today. Whether we have had visions of the Lord in glory or not, the Lord will put limits on us so that we don't get too exalted above measure (2 Corinthians 12:7). That way the Lord gets the glory for the achievements and His strength is made perfect in our weakness (2 Corinthians 12:9). Paul took pleasure in infirmities, reproaches, needs, persecutions and distresses for Christ's sake (2 Corinthians 12:10). For being weak, then he was strong.

Simon Magus' Last Dealings with Peter and Paul in Rome

Toward the end²⁵⁸ of Nero's reign, about 67 AD, Simon had a major confrontation with the Apostles Peter and Paul. This would be the 4th time that the Apostle Peter was in Rome. The Church Historian Eusebius summarized²⁵⁹ the need for this as follows.

"Because Christianity was becoming so widespread, Satan used Simon Magus to try to seize Rome for himself. Aided by his deceitful arts, Simon led many of the inhabitants of Rome astray, and thus brought them into his own power. Justin in his First Apology²⁶⁰, which he addressed to Antoninus (emperor 138-161 AD) in behalf of the Christians, states this. Irenaeus also agrees with him in the first book of his work, Against Heresies²⁶¹, where he gives an account of the man and of his profane and impure teaching. We have understood that Simon was the author of all heresy from his time down to the present²⁶². Modest men even refrain to utter with the lips those matters, which they keep secret, on account of their excessive baseness and lewdness. This most abominable sect makes a sport of those miserable females that are literally overwhelmed with all kinds of vices".

²⁵⁸ One source states that the attempt of Simon to ascend back to his father in heaven – which resulted in his death – took place early in Nero's reign before Paul arrived in Rome. The other sources all state that Paul was present, which places the time in the mid 60's. These other sources are: Eusebius, Arnobius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Severus, as well as The Constitutions of the Holy Apostles and The Acts of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul. We are following the pattern here of the vast majority of the accounts of the death of Simon.

²⁵⁹ Eusebius, Church History, II, 13-14.

²⁶⁰ Justin Martyr, First Apology, XXVI.

²⁶¹ Irenaeus, Against Heresies, I, xxiii.

²⁶² Eusebius wrote in the 4th Century.

“The evil power, who hates all that is good and plots against the salvation of men, constituted Simon at that time the father and author of such wickedness, as a mighty antagonist of the great, inspired Apostles of our Savior. But neither the conspiracy of Simon nor that of any of the others who arose at that period could accomplish anything in those Apostolic times. For everything was conquered and subdued by the splendors of the truth and by the divine word itself which had begun to shine from heaven upon men, and which was then flourishing upon earth, and dwelling in the Apostles themselves. Coming to the city of Rome, Simon was in a short time so successful in his undertaking that those who dwelt there honored him as a god by the erection of a statue. But this did not last long. Immediately, during the reign of Claudius, the all-good and gracious Providence led Peter to Rome against this great corrupter of life. He, like a noble commander of God, carried the costly merchandise of the light of the understanding from the East to those who dwelt in the West, proclaiming the light itself, and preaching the kingdom of heaven”.

While many of the Church Fathers and Church historians give an account of Simon’s encounter with Peter and Paul in Rome, we are given the most details of this encounter from one of the New Testament Apocryphal works²⁶³. Following this account, we will look at accounts of these same events from other sources.

“After Paul appealed to Caesar (Acts 25:8-12) and headed for Rome, the Jews in Rome heard that he was coming. These Jews informed Emperor Nero that Paul was a magician and that he was coming to Rome to destroy them as he had destroyed their brethren in Judea; they persuaded Nero, with many gifts, to ban Paul from Rome. Christians in Rome sent word to Paul warning him of this and Paul landed at Syracuse²⁶⁴ on Sicily instead (Acts 28:12). The Jews in Puteoli beheaded the shipmaster, who resembled Paul in appearance, and then sent his head to Caesar. Nero then rejoiced that the enemy of the Jews was dead”.

“When Paul arrived in Rome in c. 60 AD, great fear fell upon the Jewish leaders. When they met, the Jewish leaders, allied with Simon, tried to pit Paul against Peter, saying that while Paul was a Hebrew of Hebrews (Philippians 3:5), Peter was bringing in new teachings to the Gentiles²⁶⁵. Similarly, they tried to pit the Jewish Christians against the Gentile Christians, and an angry mob of both Jewish and Gentile Christians met Paul outside the door of his house the next day. Paul spoke to them saying that they ought not to make attacks upon each other, but that they should rather give heed to this, that God had fulfilled His promises which He swore to Abraham our father, that in his seed he should inherit all the (Gentile) nations (Genesis 12:3, 17:5). For God is not a respecter of persons. ‘As many as have sinned in the Law shall be judged according to the Law, and as many as have sinned without the Law shall perish without the Law’ (Romans 2:11-12). But we,

²⁶³ Roberts and Donaldson, “Acts of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul”, Apocrypha of the New Testament, Ante-Nicene Fathers, v. 8.

²⁶⁴ While this is the same route that Paul took as he was being led to Rome as a result of his appeal to Caesar (Acts 25:8-12), the circumstances appear different from those described in Acts 28. This account probably represents Paul’s return to Rome in c. 67 AD after his release from house arrest (Acts 28:30).

²⁶⁵ We note that this is exactly the opposite of what Peter and Paul had agreed on. Peter was responsible for the Jews and Paul for the Gentiles. Apparently they didn’t like what Peter said to them.

brethren, ought to thank God that, according to His mercy, He has chosen us to be a holy people to Himself. We ought to boast only in this, whether Jews or Greeks, that we are all one in the belief of His Name” (Ephesians 2:11-22). “And Paul having thus spoken, the Jewish and the Gentile Christians were reconciled”.

“As a result of Peter’s preaching in Rome, Nero’s wife, Octavia (also called Libia), and Agrippina²⁶⁶, the wife of Agrippa the Prefect, felt that they could no longer live with their husbands because of their idolatry²⁶⁷. Others were no longer willing to return to the army or to serve in the palace. Simon Magus used this occasion to say many evil things about Peter, saying that he was a wizard and a cheat. And they believed Simon, wondering at his miracles; for he made a brazen serpent move itself, and stone statues to laugh and move themselves, and himself to run and suddenly to be raised into the air”.

“This reached the ears of Nero, and Simon was summoned to appear before the Emperor. Using his magic, Simon changed himself both in face and stature into different forms, and was in frenzy, having the devil as his servant. When Nero saw this, he supposed Simon to be truly the son of god”.

“Prior to Paul’s arrival, Simon had “proved” to Nero that he was not a magician. Simon had said to Nero, ‘Order me to be beheaded in a dark place, and there to be left slain; and if I do not rise on the third day, know that I am a magician; but if I rise again, know that I am the Son of God’. And Nero having ordered this, in the dark, by his magic art Simon managed that a ram should be beheaded. The ram appeared to be Simon until he was beheaded. And when he had been beheaded in the dark, he that had beheaded him, taking the head, found it to be that of a ram; but he would not say anything to the emperor, lest he should scourge him, having ordered this to be done in secret. Thereafter, accordingly Simon said that he had risen on the third day, because he took away the head of the ram and the limbs — but the blood had been there congealed. And on the third day he showed himself to Nero, and said, ‘Order that my blood, that has been poured out, be wiped away; for behold, having been beheaded as I promised, I have risen again on the third day’. Thus, Nero had developed a liking for Simon”.

“Speaking to Nero, Simon said, ‘O good emperor: I am the son of god come down from heaven. Until now I have endured Peter only calling himself an Apostle; but now he has doubled the evil. For Paul also teaches the same things, and having his mind turned against me, is said to preach along with him. If you do not plan their destruction, it is very plain that your kingdom cannot stand. Then Nero, filled with concern, ordered to bring Peter and Paul speedily before him”.

“Before Nero, Simon began attacking Peter and Paul. Nero replied to Simon that they were from a race of men that teach us to love every man. Why then was he persecuting them? Simon replied that they had turned all Judea away from believing that Simon was the Christ. Peter injected that Simon had been deceiving many people about who was the Christ. If Nero wished to know the truth about what happened to the Christ, he could read the letter written by Pontius Pilate to Claudius. Nero ordered that this letter be brought and read publicly. In the letter, Pilate documented the deceit of the Jewish leaders in plotting the death of an

²⁶⁶ This Agrippina may not be the same person as Nero’s mother.

²⁶⁷ Later, in 62 AD, Nero divorced Octavia, and then later had her killed.

innocent man (the Christ), and after He rose from the dead, they bribed the soldiers to continue their lies. Pilate warned Claudius against trusting anything the Jewish leaders say”.

“Turning to Peter, Nero asked Peter if all the things stated by Pilate were true. Peter replied that they were, and that Simon is full of lies and deceit. Simon replied that he wonders that the Emperor would consider trusting the words of a poor, uneducated fisherman. To prove who he is, Simon promised to send his angels against Peter. Peter scoffed at Simon’s angels”.

“To demonstrate that Simon was not a god, Peter challenged Simon to disclose what Peter was thinking, for God can search the hidden things of the heart. As a test of this, Peter asked Nero to have a barley loaf brought to Peter secretly; Nero ordered this to be done. Peter blessed the loaf, broke it and then stuffed the two halves up his sleeves”.

“Simon then turned the challenge around and demanded that Peter disclose what he was thinking. Peter replied that he would do this by deeds and not just by words. Simon said, ‘No one knows the thoughts of men, but God alone. Is not, therefore, Peter lying?’ Peter said, ‘You say that you are the Son of God; tell what I have in my mind; disclose, if you can, what I have just done in secret!’”

“Then Simon, enraged that he was not able to tell the secret of the Apostle, cried out, saying, ‘Let great dogs come forth, and eat him up before Caesar’. And suddenly there appeared great dogs, and rushed at Peter. But Peter, stretching forth his hands to pray, showed to the dogs the loaf, which he had blessed; when the dogs saw the blessed bread, they disappeared. Then Peter said to Nero, ‘Behold, I have shown you that I knew what Simon was thinking of, not by words, but by deeds. For he, having promised that he would bring angels against me, has brought dogs, in order that he might show that he had not God-like but dog-like angels’”.

“And Peter said to Simon, ‘Certainly you pretend to be a god; why, then, don’t you reveal the thoughts of every man?’ Nero said, ‘And now, why do you delay, and not show yourself to be a god, in order that these men may be punished?’ Simon changed the subject again and said, ‘Give orders to build for me a lofty tower of wood, and I will go up on it, call my angels, and order them to take me, in the sight of all, to my father in heaven. And these men, not being able to do this, will be put to shame as uneducated men’”.

“And Nero said to Peter, ‘From this will appear how much power either he or your God has’. Peter said, ‘O most mighty emperor, if you were willing, you might perceive that he is full of demons’. Nero was unwilling to perceive that Simon was dodging all the tough questions and said to Peter, ‘Why do you talk in circles? Tomorrow will prove you’”.

Simon Tries to Return to “His Father in Heaven”

In the face of Peter and Paul’s constant debunking of his tricks, Simon wanted to get away from the contest. He claimed that he would ascend back to his father in heaven; but in trying to do so, the events led to his death. Continuing²⁶⁸ with the above account:

²⁶⁸ Roberts and Donaldson, “Acts of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul”, Apocrypha of the New Testament, Ante-Nicene Fathers, v. 8.

“Simon said, ‘Listen, O Caesar Nero, that you may know that these men are liars, and that I have been sent from the heavens, tomorrow I will go up into the heavens, that I may make those who believe in me blessed, and show my wrath upon those who have denied me’. Peter and Paul said, ‘You are called by the devil and hasten to punishment’. Simon said, ‘Caesar Nero, listen to me. Separate these madmen from you, in order that when I go into heaven to my father, I may be very merciful to you. Nero said, ‘And when shall we prove this, that you go away into heaven? Simon said, ‘Order a lofty tower to be made of wood, and of great beams, that I may go up upon it, and that my angels may find me in the air; for they cannot come to me upon earth among the sinners’. Nero said, ‘I will see whether you will fulfill what you say’. Then Nero ordered a lofty tower to be made in the Campus Martins, and all the people and the dignities to be present at the spectacle”.

“And on the following day, the entire multitude having come together, Nero ordered Peter and Paul to be present. Simon said, ‘In order that you may know, O emperor, that these are deceivers, as soon as I ascend into heaven, I will send my angels to you, and will make you come to me”.

Simon then addressed²⁶⁹ the Roman people wrathfully from the top of the tower, saying, “Romans, since you have remained in your ignorance and abandoned me to follow Peter, I am leaving you. I will no longer protect this city, but will command my angels to take me up in their arms as you watch. I will ascend to my father in heaven, from which I shall send down upon you great punishments for not having heeded my words and believed in my deeds.”

Having said this, he clapped his hands together and launched himself into the air; borne up by demons, he flew through the air, soaring aloft.

As Simon lifted off, he was dressed in fine clothes and crowned with laurels to better give himself the appearance of a god. Some details²⁷⁰ of the reaction to this are:

“When Nero saw him flying, he said to Peter, ‘This Simon is true; but you and Paul are deceivers’. Peter replied, ‘Immediately shall you know that we are the true Disciples of Christ; but that he is not Christ, but a magician, and a malefactor’. Nero said, ‘Do you still persist? Behold, you see him going up into heaven’. Then Peter, looking steadfastly at Paul, said, ‘Paul, look up and see’. And Paul, having looked up, full of tears, and seeing Simon flying, said, ‘Peter, finish what you have begun; for already our Lord Jesus Christ is calling us’. And Nero hearing them smiled a little, and said, ‘These men see themselves beaten already, and are gone mad’. Peter said, ‘Now you shall know that we are not mad’. Paul said to Peter, ‘Do it at once”.

“And Peter, looking steadfastly against Simon, said, ‘I command you, angels of Satan who are carrying him into the air to deceive the hearts of the

²⁶⁹ Isaac Lambertsen, The Lives of the Holy Apostles, Holy Apostles Convent Press, Buena Vista, CO, 1990, p. 17.

This is a translation from the following:

The Lives of the Saints in the Russian Language, According to the Menology of St. Dimitri of Rostov, Synodal Press, Moscow, 1908, v. 10, (June) pp. 631-651.

Holy Apostles Convent, tr., The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, Archimandrate Matthew Lagges, 5th Ed., 1979, Volume VI, pp. 428-439.

²⁷⁰ Roberts and Donaldson, “Acts of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul”, Apocrypha of the New Testament, Ante-Nicene Fathers, v. 8.

unbelievers, by the God that created all things, and by Jesus Christ, whom on the third day He raised from the dead, no longer from this hour to keep him up, but to let him go'. And immediately, he fell into a place called Sacra Via, that is, Holy Way, and was divided into four parts, having perished by an evil fate”.

The crowd that was watching began²⁷¹ to exclaim, “Great is the God preached by Peter! There is truly no other God than He!” From an elevated location, Peter then began to teach the people to acknowledge the true God. By his discourse, he converted many to the Christian Faith.

There are many accounts of Simon’s death as a result of his encounter with Peter and Paul. All agree that Simon died from trying to ascend to his father in heaven, but the manner of his actual death differs.

In Arnobius’ description²⁷² of Simon’s attempt to ascend to heaven, Arnobius refers to some man-made device that carried Simon aloft, where there were flames associated with the man-made device. It is possible that Simon used hot air balloon techniques for his flying. Arnobius implies that Simon might have committed suicide after this embarrassing incident.

“In Rome herself, the mistress of the world, where men are busied with the practices introduced by king Numa²⁷³, and the superstitious observances of antiquity, they have nevertheless hastened to give up their fathers’ mode of life, and attach themselves to Christian truth. They had seen the chariot of Simon Magus, and his fiery car, blown into pieces by the mouth of Peter, and vanish when Christ was named. They had seen him trusting in false gods, and abandoned by them in their terror, borne down headlong by his own weight, lying prostrate with his legs broken. And then, when he had been carried to Brunda, worn out with anguish and shame, again cast himself down from the roof of a very lofty house”.

Other early Christian tradition also refers²⁷⁴ to Simon’s fall as he was trying to ascend to heaven. In this account, Peter’s prayer was to restrain the demons that carried Simon, to let him fall, but not to allow him to be killed by his injuries.

“Now when Simon was in Rome, he mightily disturbed the Church, and subverted many, and brought them over to himself; he astonished the Gentiles with his skill in magic. Once, in the middle of the day, he went into their theater, and commanded the people that they should bring Peter also by force into the theater, and promised he would fly in the air. And when all the people were in suspense at this, Peter prayed by himself. And indeed, Simon was carried up into the air by demons, and did fly on high in the air, saying that he was returning into heaven, and that he would supply them with good things from there. As the people made acclamations to him, as to a god, Peter stretched out his hands to heaven, and sought

²⁷¹ Isaac Lambertsen, The Lives of the Holy Apostles, Holy Apostles Convent Press, Buena Vista, CO, 1990, p. 17.

This is a translation from the following:

The Lives of the Saints in the Russian Language, According to the Menology of St. Dimitri of Rostov, Synodal Press, Moscow, 1908, v. 10, (June) pp. 631-651.

Holy Apostles Convent, tr., The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, Archimandrate Matthew Lagges, 5th Ed., 1979, Volume VI, pp. 428-439.

²⁷² Roberts and Donaldson, “The Seven Books of Arnobius Against the Heathen”, II, 12, Ante-Nicene Fathers, v. 6.

²⁷³ That is, Numa Pompilius, the legendary second king of Rome, 715-675 BC.

²⁷⁴ Roberts and Donaldson, “Constitutions of the Holy Apostles”, VI, ii, 9, Ante-Nicean Fathers, v. 7.

God through the Lord Jesus to throw down this pestilent fellow, to dash him against the ground, and bruise him, but not to kill him. Fixing his eyes on Simon, Peter said to him, 'If I be a man of God, and a real Apostle of Jesus Christ, I command the wicked powers, by whom Simon the magician is carried, to let go their hold, that he may be exposed to the laughter of those that have been seduced by him'. When Peter had said these words, Simon was deprived of his powers, and fell down headlong with a great noise, and was violently dashed against the ground, and had his hip and anklebones broken. And the people cried out, saying, 'There is only one God, whom Peter rightly preaches'. And many left him; but some that were worthy of perdition continued in his wicked doctrine. And after this manner the most atheistic heresy of the Simonians was first established in Rome".

Another early traditional account also states²⁷⁵ that Simon did not die immediately, but experienced great suffering for about a day before dying.

"The fallen sorcerer, although his body was broken, yet in accordance with God's providence, remained alive long enough (1) to realize the impotence of the demons and his own lack of power, (2) to be filled with shame and (3) to understand the power of the Almighty God. As he lay on the ground, his limbs shattered, he experienced intense suffering. The next day, he vomited out his impure soul in pain, surrendering it to the hands of the demons, to be dragged down to their father, Satan, in hell".

John Cassian stated²⁷⁶ that the encounter with Simon in Rome was such an ordeal for the Apostle Peter that he fasted the day before in accordance with the Lord's teaching, "This kind does not go out except by prayer and fasting" (Matthew 17:21).

"Some people in some countries of the West think that fasting should be allowed on the Sabbath, because they say that on this day the Apostle Peter fasted before his encounter with Simon. But from this it is quite clear that he did this not in accordance with a canonical rule, but rather through the needs of his impending struggle. For the same purpose, Peter seems to have imposed on his disciples not a general but a special fast, which he certainly would not have done if he had known that it was to be observed by canonical rule. Similarly, he would surely have been ready to appoint it even on Sunday, if the occasion of his struggle had fallen upon it. But no canonical rule of fasting would have been made general from this, because it was no general observance that led to it, but a matter of necessity, which forced it to be observed on a single occasion".

²⁷⁵ Isaac Lambertsen, The Lives of the Holy Apostles, Holy Apostles Convent Press, Buena Vista, CO, 1990, p. 18.

This is a translation from the following:

The Lives of the Saints in the Russian Language, According to the Menology of St. Dimitri of Rostov, Synodal Press, Moscow, 1908, v. 10, (June) pp. 631-651.

Holy Apostles Convent, tr., The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, Archimandrate Matthew Lagges, 5th Ed., 1979, Volume VI, pp. 428-439.

²⁷⁶ John Cassian, The Institutes of the Coenobia, III, 10.

Cyril of Jerusalem also referred²⁷⁷ to Simon's claim to deity in Rome, and the statue that honored him as such. Cyril also mentioned that Simon's death resulted from his attempt to ascend to heaven, which was thwarted by Peter and Paul.

“As the delusion was extending, Peter and Paul, chief rulers of the Church, arrived and set the error right. And when the supposed god Simon wished to show himself off, they subsequently showed him as a corpse. Simon promised to rise aloft to heaven, and came riding in a demons' chariot on the air. But the servants of God fell on their knees, and having shown that agreement of which Jesus spoke, that if two of you shall agree concerning anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them (Matthew 18:19). They launched the weapon of their concord in prayer against Magus, and struck him down to the earth”.

“And marvelous though it was, yet this was not a marvel. These brought the supposed god down from the sky to earth, thence to be taken down to the regions below the earth. In this man first the serpent of wickedness appeared; but when one head had been cut off, the root of wickedness was found again with many heads in his followers”.

The Church Historian, Severus, also referred²⁷⁸ to the encounter of Peter and Paul with Simon Magus in Rome, which resulted in the death of Simon. Severus places this encounter in c. 62 AD at Paul's first visit to Rome instead of in c. 67 AD when Paul was executed.

“At that time, our divine religion had obtained a wide prevalence in the city. Peter was there executing the office of bishop, and Paul, too, after he had been brought to Rome, on appealing to Caesar from the unjust judgment of the governor (Acts 25:8-12, 28:19). Multitudes then came together to hear Paul (Acts 28:30-31), and these, influenced by the truth, which they were given to know, and by the miracles of the Apostles, which they then so frequently performed, turned to the worship of God. After that the well-known and celebrated encounter of Peter and Paul with Simon took place. After he had flown up into the air by his magical arts, he was supported by two demons (with the view of proving that he was a god). The demons were put to flight by the prayers of the Apostles, and he fell to the earth in the sight of all the people, and was dashed to pieces”.

Hippolytus gives a different account²⁷⁹ of Simon's death. In his account, Simon told his disciples to bury him alive, saying that he would rise on the third day, but never did. Since Hippolytus doesn't mention Simon's attempt to ascend to heaven, the “burial” could be connected with Simon's injuries after his fall to give Simon a chance to escape and save face.

“This Simon, deceiving many in Samaria by his sorcery, was reproved by the Apostles, and was laid under a curse, as it has been written in the Acts (Acts 8:20-23). But he afterwards solemnly rejected the faith, and attempted this practice of sorcery. Journeying as far as Rome, he fell in with the Apostles. Peter offered repeated opposition to him since he was deceiving many by his sorcery. At last, when conviction was imminent, he stated that, if he were buried alive, he would rise the third day. And accordingly, having ordered a trench to be dug by his disciples, he directed himself to be interred there. They executed the injunction

²⁷⁷ Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Lectures*, VI, 14-15.

²⁷⁸ Philip Schaff, “The Sacred History of Sulpitius Severus”, II, 28-29, *Post-Nicene Fathers Second Series*, v. 11.

²⁷⁹ Hippolytus, *The Refutation of All Heresies*, VI, 15.

given; whereas he remained in that grave until this day, for he was not the Christ. This constitutes the legendary system advanced by Simon, and from this Valentinus derived a starting-point for his own doctrine”.

Nero’s Reaction to Simon’s Death: the Martyrdom of Peter and Paul

Nero was angry with Peter and Paul for their part in the death of his friend Simon. He ordered²⁸⁰ Peter to die by crucifixion, and Paul, since he was a Roman citizen, to be beheaded.

“Then Nero ordered Peter and Paul to be put in irons, and the body of Simon to be carefully kept three days, thinking that he would rise on the third day. To whom Peter said, ‘He will no longer rise, since he is truly dead, being condemned to everlasting punishment’. And Nero said to him, ‘Who commanded you to do such a dreadful deed?’ Peter said, ‘His blasphemy against my Lord Jesus Christ has brought him into this gulf of destruction’. Nero said, ‘I will destroy you by an evil death’. Peter said, ‘This is not in your power, even if it should seem good to you to destroy us; but it is necessary that what our Master promised to us should be fulfilled”.

“Then Nero, having summoned Agrippa, said to him, ‘It is necessary that men introducing mischievous religious observances should die. Therefore, I order them to take iron clubs, and to be killed in the sea-fight²⁸¹. Agrippa said, ‘Most sacred emperor, what you have ordered is not fitting for these men, since Paul seems innocent beside Peter’. Nero said, ‘By what fate, then, shall they die?’ Agrippa answered and said, ‘As seems to me, Paul’s head should be cut off, and Peter should be raised on a cross as the cause of the murder’. Nero said, ‘You have most excellently judged’. Then both Peter and Paul were led away from the presence of Nero. And Paul was beheaded on the Ostesian road”.

Ambrose of Milan mentioned²⁸² that there was a short gap between the death of Simon Magus and the arrest and martyrdom of Peter. Peter could have escaped, but he was told by Christ not to do so.

“After Peter had overcome Simon, in sowing the doctrine of God among the people, and in teaching chastity, he stirred up the minds of the Gentiles. When the Christians begged Peter to withdraw himself for a little while, although he desired to suffer, yet was he moved at the sight of the people praying. They asked him to save himself for the instruction and strengthening of his people. At night he began to leave town. Seeing Christ coming to meet him at the gate, and entering the city, he said, ‘Lord, where are You going?’ Christ answered, ‘I am coming to be crucified again’. Peter understood the divine answer to refer to his own cross, for Christ could not be crucified a second time, for He had put off the flesh by the

²⁸⁰ Isaac Lambertsen, The Lives of the Holy Apostles, Holy Apostles Convent Press, Buena Vista, CO, 1990, p. 18.

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Holy Apostles Convent, tr., The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, Archimandrate Matthew Lagges, 5th Ed., 1979, Volume VI, pp. 428-439.

²⁸¹ The sea-fights were a favorite spectacle of the Roman emperors, where the combatants were persons condemned to death.

²⁸² Ambrose of Milan, Sermon against Auxentius on the Giving Up of the Basilicas, 13.

passion of the death which He had undergone. ‘The death that He died, He died to sin once for all; but the life that He lives, He lives to God’ (Romans 6:10). So, Peter understood that Christ was to be crucified again in the person of His servant. Therefore, he willingly returned; and when the Christians questioned him, he told them the reason. Peter was immediately seized, and glorified the Lord Jesus by his cross.”

There are further details²⁸³ of the beheading of the Apostle Paul associated with a one-eyed woman named Perpetua:

“As Paul was being led away to be beheaded by three soldiers, who were brothers, a God-fearing one-eyed woman named Perpetua wept for him as he was being dragged along. When Paul saw her, he asked her to give him her handkerchief, saying that he would return it to her. Knowing that Paul was about to be beheaded, Perpetua asked the soldiers to bind Paul’s eyes with the handkerchief when they behead him. After Paul was beheaded, someone gave the woman her handkerchief back, and her eye was restored as she was carrying it”.

“When the woman saw the three soldiers about three hours later, she noted that she had recovered her sight from the handkerchief, and that she had asked the Lord that she might be considered worthy to become His slave as Paul was. The soldiers exclaimed with one voice that they might be His slaves also”.

“Perpetua later mentioned, in the Emperor’s palace, that both she and the three soldiers had believed in Christ. Nero, filled with rage, executed the three soldiers and had Perpetua locked in irons in prison. While in prison, Perpetua met Potentiana, the sister of Nero’s wife. Potentiana had desired to become a Christian, but didn’t know what to do. She had informed her sister and the wives of some of the Senators about what she had heard about Christianity, and the other women then left the palace and refused to have anything to do with their husbands’ idolatry. Perpetua informed Potentiana of what she knew of the Faith”.

After a few days, Nero tortured Perpetua a great deal, and finally killed her by tying a large stone to her neck and throwing her off a cliff. Potentiana was also tortured a great deal and finally burned alive”.

As Peter was being crucified²⁸⁴, the crowd of bystanders reviled Nero and wanted to kill him. But Peter restrained them and told them of earlier events where the Lord told him that this would happen. Angels also appeared to receive Peter’s body.

“And Peter, having come to the cross, said, ‘Since my Lord Jesus Christ, who came down from heaven upon the earth, was raised upon the cross upright, and He has called me to heaven, my cross ought to be fixed head downward, so as to direct my feet towards heaven. I am not worthy to be crucified like my Lord. Then, having reversed the cross, they nailed his feet up”.

“And the multitude was assembled reviling Caesar, and wishing to kill him. But Peter, hanging on the cross, restrained them saying, ‘A few days ago, being exhorted by the brethren to leave, I was going away. And my Lord Jesus Christ

²⁸³ The Story of Perpetua; part of Roberts and Donaldson, “Acts of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul”, Apocrypha of the New Testament, Ante-Nicene Fathers, v. 8.

²⁸⁴ Roberts and Donaldson, “Acts of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul”, Apocrypha of the New Testament, Ante-Nicene Fathers, v. 8.

met me, and having adored Him, I said, Lord, where are You going? And He said to me, I am going to Rome to be crucified. And I said to Him, Lord, weren't You crucified once for all? And the Lord answered and said, I saw you fleeing from death, and I wish to be crucified instead of you. And I said, Lord, I'm going; I will fulfill Your command. And He said to me, Fear not, for I am with you. On this account, then, children do not hinder my going; for already my feet are going on the road to heaven. Do not grieve; therefore, rather rejoice with me, for today I receive the fruit of my labors". And thus speaking, he said, "I thank You, Good Shepherd, that the sheep which You have entrusted to me, sympathize with me. I ask, then, that with me they may have a part in Your kingdom". And having thus spoken, he gave up the Spirit".

"And immediately there appeared men glorious and strange in appearance. And they said, 'We are here on account of the holy and chief Apostles from Jerusalem'. And they, along with Marcellus, an illustrious man, who left Simon and had believed in Peter's words, took up his body secretly, and put it under the terebinth near the place for the exhibition of sea-fights in the place called the Vatican".

"And the men, who had said that they came from Jerusalem, said to the people, 'Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, because you have been deemed worthy to have great champions. And know that Nero himself, after not many days, will be utterly destroyed, and his kingdom shall be given to another'. And after these things the people revolted against him. And when he knew of it, he fled into desert places; through hunger and cold he gave up the spirit, and his body became food for the wild beasts".

"And some devout men of the regions of the East wished to carry off the relics of the saints, and immediately there was a great earthquake in the city; and those that dwelt in the city having become aware of it ran and seized the men, but they fled. But the Romans took the relics, put them in a place three miles from the city, and there they were guarded a year and seven months, until they had built the place in which they intended to put them. And after these things, all having assembled with glory and singing of praise, they put them in the place built for them. And the consummation of the holy glorious Apostles Peter and Paul was on the 29th of the month of June".

When Peter and Paul were executed, others were also beheaded with them. Included in these were Herodion and Olympas²⁸⁵, of the Seventy, who had come to Rome with the Apostle Peter.

²⁸⁵ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, April 8, November 10. <http://oca.org/FSlives.asp>, April 8, November 10.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, November 10.

APPENDIX A

The Seventy and Other Apostles

Achaicus: Achaicus was not one of the original Seventy Apostles, but some say he was added to the ranks of the Seventy later. Prior to Paul writing his second letter to Corinth, Fortunatus and Achaicus along with Deacon Stephanas brought a letter from Corinth to Paul which is now lost (1 Corinthians 16:15-17). Paul then answered this letter in his second letter (i.e. the one we know as 1 Corinthians). These three men probably returned to Corinth after delivering the letter. Achaicus is not recorded as serving as Bishop at any city.

Agabus: Agabus was²⁸⁶ one of the original Seventy Apostles and was a prophet in the Church of Jerusalem along with Joseph Barsabas and Silas (Acts 15:22-32). During the reign of Emperor Claudius (41-52 AD), and about the time that Paul first came to Antioch, Agabus predicted a great famine (Acts 11:27-30); Paul and Barnabas brought alms from Antioch to relieve the effects of the famine. Agabus also predicted the suffering of the Apostle Paul by the Jews in Jerusalem (Acts 21:10-14). He also preached²⁸⁷ in many other lands and converted many pagans to Christ; he started in Jerusalem, then he prophesied in Antioch, then in other parts of the world.

Amplias: Amplias was²⁸⁸ one of the original Seventy Apostles and was a follower of Andrew of the Twelve Apostles. Since Paul refers to Amplias as being in Rome in c. 55 AD when he wrote his Epistle to Rome (Romans 16:8), there had to have been some contact between Paul and Andrew in sending Amplias²⁸⁹. Paul likely met Amplias on the 2nd Missionary Journey as he passed through Macedonia. Andrew ordained Amplias as Bishop of Odessos in Macedonia²⁹⁰ and Amplias was later martyred there due to his preaching and his destruction of the idols. According

²⁸⁶ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, April 8.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for April 8.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2005, April 8.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

²⁸⁷ See <http://oca.org/FSlives.asp>, April 8.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2005, April 8.

²⁸⁸ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, October 31.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for October 31.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, October 31.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

²⁸⁹ Paul refers to Amplias rather warmly "my beloved in the Lord", suggesting that Paul worked with Amplias a while. Because Paul refers to him in such a warm, personal manner, it is very probable Paul worked with him prior to his arrival in Rome. If Paul didn't work with them in Macedonia (Philippi, Thessalonica and Berea) or Achaia (Athens and Corinth) on his 2nd Missionary Journey, he must have done so on his 3rd Missionary Journey just prior to the drafting of the letter to the Romans. Most likely, however, would be that Paul worked with them in Macedonia, on his 2nd Missionary Journey. On his 3rd Missionary Journey, there may have been a very good report concerning him as Paul passed through Macedonia heading for Corinth -- therefore the term "my beloved". While in Macedonia on his 3rd Missionary Journey, Paul must have sent him to Rome to join Aquila and Priscilla -- whom he sent to Rome from Ephesus.

²⁹⁰ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2008, July 30.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

to the Bulgarian Orthodox Church²⁹¹, Amplias was already there serving as Bishop in 56 AD²⁹². Odessos is today called Varna and is located in Bulgaria. It has also been called Odysopolis and Odysus. According to tradition, Amplias was also Bishop of Lydda²⁹³ (also called Diospolis) at one time²⁹⁴.

Ananias: Ananias was²⁹⁵ one of the original Seventy Apostles, and he was the Bishop of Damascus at the time of the conversion of the Apostle Paul (Acts 9:10-18). At that time, Ananias had a vision from the Lord to go heal Paul's blindness, even though Ananias was greatly afraid of Paul. Ananias did as he was commanded; he healed and baptized Paul.

Later Ananias went to Eleutheropolis to preach the Gospel. He was arrested by Governor Lucian and tortured for a long time before being stoned to death.

Andronicus and Junia: Andronicus was one of the original Seventy Apostles. He and his wife Junia began traveling with Paul and Silas in c. 48 AD at the beginning of the 2nd Missionary Journey. To understand this, we need to look forward to c. 55 AD when Paul wrote to the Church of Rome from Corinth. There he addressed two of his "countrymen", Andronicus²⁹⁶ and Herodion²⁹⁷ (Romans 16:7, 11), who were both members of the original Seventy Apostles (Luke 10:1-20). Paul there referred to Andronicus (and his wife Junia) as his "fellow prisoner" (Romans 16:7). However, the only recorded prison time Paul spent between 48 and 55 AD was in Philippi (Acts 16:19-34), about 51 AD. Andronicus thus must have accompanied Paul and Silas as they headed for Macedonia (and Philippi) after Paul had visited Andronicus in Tarsus²⁹⁸. Andronicus must have been imprisoned along with Paul and Silas in Philippi, but not mentioned in Luke's account of Acts.

²⁹¹ See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Varna>.

²⁹² This means that Amplias went to Macedonia right after he was no longer needed in Rome.

²⁹³ See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lod>.

²⁹⁴ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, October 31. [http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for October 31](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20October%2031).

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

²⁹⁵ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, October 1. [http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for October 1](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20October%201).

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, October 1.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

²⁹⁶ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, May 17. See: [http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for May 17](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20May%2017).

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2005, March 28, 2002, November 10.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

²⁹⁷ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, April 8, November 10. See: [http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for April 8, November 10](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20April%208,%20November%2010).

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2006, May 17.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

²⁹⁸ Andronicus and Junia were native to Tarsus and were related to Paul. See Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, May 17, July 30. See also: <http://oca.org/FSlives.asp>.

As Paul and Silas passed through Philippi (and Macedonia) on the 2nd Missionary Journey, Andronicus and his wife Junia probably also stayed behind with Luke²⁹⁹, since Andronicus has traditionally been referred to as the Bishop of Pannonia in Illyricum. During these 5 years, Luke got around to the whole area. Paul left Luke in Philippi c. 49-50 AD. By 55 AD when Paul wrote to the Romans, he said, “From Jerusalem and round about to Illyricum I have fully preached the gospel of Christ” (Romans 15:19). Paul is never recorded as going to Illyricum himself; but Luke could easily have been there during the five years that he was in Philippi.

After their tour of Rome, Andronicus and Junia traveled³⁰⁰ widely, but they spent the rest of their lives living as brother-sister and not as husband-wife. They healed many pagans, and as they did, the pagans voluntarily tore down the temples that they used to use for idol worship. There are differing accounts of their deaths, but it was probably by martyrdom, since their bones were discovered many years later in Byzantium (then Constantinople).

Apelles: There are two members of the Seventy Apostles named Apelles; one was Bishop of Smyrna; the other was Bishop of Heraclea in Thrace. The one Paul refers to as being in Rome is the one associated with Smyrna³⁰¹. When Paul referred to this Apelles as “Approved in Christ” (Romans 16:10), Paul used the same word³⁰² to refer to Apelles that he used to refer to Peter and James, except elsewhere this word is often translated that Peter and James “were of reputation” (Galatians 2:2, 6, 9). This suggests that Apelles was a presbyter in one of the Churches before being sent to Rome³⁰³. After his work in Rome, this Apelles was ordained by the Apostle Andrew as Bishop of Smyrna, became a light to the city of Smyrna and was martyred by the Jews and pagan Greeks for preaching the Gospel³⁰⁴. The other Apelles was Bishop of Heraclea in Thrace³⁰⁵. He was an outstanding orator and brought many people to Christ. This Apelles may have interacted with Paul when Paul passed through Troas.

The earliest accounts say that both men named Apelles were members of the original Seventy Apostles. Hippolytus (c. 230 AD) lists³⁰⁶ Apelles, Bishop of Smyrna, and Dorotheus of

²⁹⁹ For more details regarding this, see the section of the 2nd Missionary Journey titled “The Evangelist Luke Remained Behind in Philippi”.

³⁰⁰ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2006, May 17.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, May 17.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for May 17](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20May%2017).

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

³⁰¹ Hippolytus, On the Seventy Apostles, 28.

³⁰² That is the Greek word dokimos meaning “tested” or “approved”.

³⁰³ Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, 28, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

³⁰⁴ Smyrna is located on the western coast of Asia Minor about 70 miles NW of Ephesus.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for September 10](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20September%2010).

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, September 10

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

³⁰⁵ While there are many cities named after the Greek Hero Heracles, this Heraclea is probably the one along the northern coast of the Sea of Marmara near Byzantium (later Constantinople), and was at one time the Metropolitan See for Constantinople. See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Perinthus>.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, October 31.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for October 31](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20October%2031).

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, October 31.

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

³⁰⁶ Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

Tyre (c. 320 AD) lists³⁰⁷ Apelles, Bishop of Heraclea as being the original members. Both of these lists date to the 1st century, since they both also list the four members of the Seventy who apostatized³⁰⁸: Demas, Nicholas of Antioch, Hermogenes, and Phygellus, who were removed from the ranks of the Seventy in the 1st century and replaced with others. Since Smyrna and Heraclea are only 200 miles apart, it is to be expected that confusion might arise over the identity of these two Apostles.

Of the Apelles, the Bishop of Smyrna, John Chrysostom noted³⁰⁹ that the praise that Paul passed on to Apelles is no small thing. Being “approved in Christ” means being blameless!

“There is no praise like this, being blameless, and giving no handle in the things of God. For when Paul says, ‘approved in Christ’, he includes the whole list of virtues. These praises are great, not mere titles of rank; they are of virtue. This same honor Paul paid to all of those mentioned, not just at random, or as addressing several of inferior virtue with the great ones. Since he is addressing one along with another in the same letter, he honors them all alike. By stating the praise particular to each, he sets before us the virtue peculiar to each. He neither gives birth to envy by honoring one and dishonoring another, nor makes them listless and confused, by giving them all the same dignity, though they did not deserve it.”

Apollos: Apollos was one of the original Seventy Apostles and was native to Alexandria. Since he knew only the Baptism of John when he came to Ephesus in c. 52 AD (Acts 18:24-28), he must have been away from Jerusalem at the time of Pentecost. Priscilla and Aquila took him aside and explained³¹⁰ the things that he had missed. John Chrysostom noted³¹¹ how awakened Apollos was in the Spirit. Apollos was a very eloquent (Acts 18:24) and learned man³¹² and vigorously refuted the Jews publicly, showing from the Scriptures that Jesus is the Christ (Acts 18:28). Gregory of Nyssa wrote³¹³ that Apollos very effectively watered what Paul had planted. Alexander Roberts wrote³¹⁴ that he attributed the great Alexandrian School to the Apostle Apollos. Alexander Roberts further stated³¹⁵ that it was Alexandria, not Rome, which was the center of the Christian world in the first three centuries, thanks in part to the foundation laid by the Apostle

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, September 10.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for October 31

³⁰⁷ Dorotheus, “The Choosing of the Seventy Holy Apostles”, in Lives of Orthodox Christian Saints, New Valaam Trading Company, 2008.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, September 10

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, September 10.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for September 10.

³⁰⁸ For more details on why these four apostles apostatized, see Mark Kern, Simon Magus Heresiarch, St. Athanasius Press, 2004.

³⁰⁹ John Chrysostom, Homilies on Romans, XXXI, v. 10.

³¹⁰ For more details, see the Section titled, “Paul Leaves Aquila and Priscilla in Charge in Ephesus”.

³¹¹ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, XL, Recapitulation.

³¹² John Chrysostom, Homilies on 1 Corinthians, III, 7.

³¹³ Gregory of Nyssa, Against Eunomius, II, 15.

³¹⁴ Roberts and Donaldson, “Elucidation 4”, in Archelaus, Disputations with Manes, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Volume 6, Hendrickson Publishers, Peabody, MA, 1995.

³¹⁵ Roberts and Donaldson, “Introductory Notice to Peter of Alexandria”, in Ante-Nicene Fathers, Volume 6, Hendrickson Publishers, Peabody, MA, 1995

Apollos. Paul later sent Apollos back to Corinth (1 Corinthians 16:12), and again to Titus on Crete (Titus 3:13) to water some more.

Aquila and Priscilla: Aquila was not one of the original Seventy Apostles, but was added to the ranks of the Seventy later. Paul first met Aquila and Priscilla³¹⁶ in Corinth on his 2nd Missionary Journey. Aquila and Priscilla had been expelled from Rome by Emperor Claudius along with all the Jews in Rome (Acts 18:2). Aquila was a tent-maker like Paul, so Paul stayed with them for the year-and-a-half that he was in Corinth. When Paul left Corinth, Aquila and Priscilla traveled with him, and Paul left them in Ephesus to teach the new Christians while he went back to Antioch. On Paul's 3rd Missionary Journey, they were still there, and Paul sent them on ahead to Rome before he wrote his Epistle to the Romans in c. 55 AD. At that time, Claudius had died and Nero was then Emperor. In Ephesus (1 Corinthians 16:19) as in Rome (Romans 16:3-5), the Church met in the home of Aquila and Priscilla.

Aquila and Priscilla were not in Rome in 62 AD (Colossians 4:7-18) when Paul was under house-arrest there, and they were in Ephesus in c. 66 AD working with Timothy (2 Timothy 4:19) in his battle against others of the Seventy Apostles who had apostatized.

Archippus: Archippus was not one of the original Seventy Apostles, but was added to the ranks of the Seventy later. Paul was very close to three people who were from Colossae: Epaphras, Archippus, and Philemon (with his wife Apphia). Philemon and Epaphras were members of the original Seventy; Archippus was not. At the time that Paul spent two years in Ephesus (c. 53 to 55 AD); the Church in Colossae was getting started, probably at the hands of Epaphras and Archippus was the Bishop there. Paul needed to encourage Archippus to fulfill the ministry which he received in the Lord (Colossians 4:17), indicating that Archippus was having some difficulty. Archippus may have been having so many problems with local heretics that he was considering quitting. Just a few years later, Archippus was martyred along with Philemon and Apphia. Archippus was the Bishop of Colossae and Philemon was the roving Bishop of that whole area. Later on, Epaphras took over for Philemon after Philemon was martyred.

Aristarchus: Aristarchus³¹⁷ was one of the original Seventy Apostles and traveled with the Apostle Paul extensively. Prior to traveling with Paul, Aristarchus was ordained as Bishop of Apamea, a city on the Orontes River in Syria, where he brought many people to knowledge of God. He was from Thessalonica of Macedonia (Acts 19:29, 20:4, 27:2).

³¹⁶ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2008, July 14; 2004, February 13; 2003, January 4.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, July 14.
<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for July 14.

³¹⁷ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, April 14.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, April 15, September 27.
<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp>, April 15, September 27

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

Aristarchus lived very much like John the Baptist³¹⁸, wearing a garment of animal skin, a leather belt and eating locusts³¹⁹ and wild honey (Matthew 3:4, Mark 1:6). As a Bishop in Syria, he would have had easy contact with Paul during the break Paul had between the 2nd and 3rd Missionary Journeys (Acts 18:22-23), and he began accompanying Paul at the beginning of the 3rd Missionary Journey. Aristarchus also accompanied Paul on the 4th Missionary Journey to Rome (Acts 27:2), for which, Paul calls him “My fellow prisoner” (Colossians 4:10). Paul also refers to Aristarchus as “My fellow laborer” (Philemon 1:24).

There are two Apostles named Aristarchus, both mentioned by both Hippolytus and Dorotheus of Tyre as being members of the original Seventy Apostles. The other Aristarchus was beheaded³²⁰ on the same day as Paul.

Aristobulus: Aristobulus was³²¹ one of the original Seventy Apostles, and was also the brother of the Apostle Barnabas and the father-in-law of the Apostle Peter. He followed the Apostle Paul for a while (Romans 16:10), and was later consecrated as Bishop of Britain. Britain was a wild and savage people at that time and Aristobulus was at one time beaten and at another time dragged through the marketplace. Nevertheless, by means of these afflictions and no small trials, many of the islanders were influenced by his deeds and words, so that they came to believe in Christ. He consequently built churches, and ordained deacons and presbyters. The blessed apostle reposed in peace.

Artemas: Artemas was³²² one of the original Seventy Apostles. When Timothy began traveling with Paul on Paul’s 2nd Missionary Journey, Paul had to ordain someone else in his place. This would have had to have been Artemas, of the Seventy, who was later regarded as the Bishop of Lystra and who had been traveling with Paul and Silas at the beginning of the 2nd Missionary Journey. Paul sent Artemas as a courier to Titus on Crete (Titus 3:12) c. 14 years later. Little is known about Artemas after the death of Peter and Paul in c. 67 AD except that he stayed in Lystra and he died in peace.

³¹⁸ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, April 14.

³¹⁹ The term “locusts” refers not to an insect, but to the bean of the “locust tree”, which was ground into flour. See http://www.sierrapotomac.org/W_Needham/BlackLocust_060515.htm. The “locust tree” is similar to a carob tree.

³²⁰ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, April 15, September 27 both refer to the life of Aristarchus. One says that Aristarchus was beheaded with Paul, but the other doesn’t. Yet both have Aristarchus as Bishop of Apamea.

³²¹ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2005, March 15; 2002, October 31.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, March 16, October 31.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for March 16, October 31](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20March%2016,%20October%2031).

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

³²² Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, October 30.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for October 30](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20October%2030).

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, October 30.

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

Asyncritus: Asyncritus was one³²³ of the original Seventy Apostles and was later Bishop of Hyrcania, which was a province of the Persian Empire south of the Caspian Sea. When Paul wrote to him as being in Rome in c. 55 AD (Romans 16:14), it does not appear that Paul knew him well, and it is not obvious which of the Twelve Apostles sent him to Rome. He was later tortured and martyred in Hyrcania by the Jews and Greeks.

Barnabas: Barsabas³²⁴ was one³²⁵ of the original Seventy Apostles and was also a long-time associate of the Apostle Paul, even from their youth. The Apostle Barnabas was born³²⁶ in c. 14 BC on the island of Cyprus into the family of the tribe of Levi, and he was named Joseph (Acts 4:36). He received his education at Jerusalem³²⁷, being associated with his friend and fellow student Saul (the future Apostle Paul) under the renowned teacher of the Law, Gamaliel. Joseph was pious; he frequented the Temple; he strictly observed the fasts and avoided youthful distractions. Barnabas was a very well-known and well-liked member of the Apostles. He had a unique gift for encouraging the brethren, which showed up in the name “Barnabas” that the brethren gave him.

After the Ascension of the Lord to Heaven, Barnabas sold land belonging to him near Jerusalem and he brought the money to the feet of the Apostles, leaving nothing for himself (Acts 4:36-37). After the stoning of Stephen, it was Barnabas who was the leader of the Seventy Apostles, the first in preaching and chief spokesman of the Seventy.

After the scattering of the saints with the stoning of Stephen, and the beginning of the Church at Antioch, the Apostles “sent out Barnabas to go as far as Antioch. When he came and had seen the grace of God, he was glad, and encouraged them all that with purpose of heart they should continue with the Lord. Barnabas was a good man, full of the Holy Spirit and of faith. And a great many people were added to the Lord” (Acts 11:22-24). Shortly after arriving in Antioch, “Barnabas departed for Tarsus to seek Paul. And when he had found him, he brought him to Antioch. So, it was that for a whole year they assembled with the church and taught a great many people. And the disciples were first called Christians in Antioch” (Acts 11:25-26). About a year later, the Church in Antioch sent Barnabas and Paul out on their 1st Missionary Journey, where they were also accompanied by others of the Seventy Apostles.

After Barnabas and Paul returned from the 1st Missionary Journey, they went up to Jerusalem accompanied by Titus to meet with the Apostles over the issue of circumcision for the Gentiles. The Church in Jerusalem completely ratified what Barnabas and Paul had been teaching the Gentiles and sent a letter stating this to be read in all the Gentile Churches.

³²³ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2005, April 8.

Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, April 8.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for April 8.

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

³²⁴ For more information on the Apostle Barnabas, see Mark Kern, The Feast Day of the Apostle Barnabas, St Athanasius Press, 2011.

³²⁵ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2007, June 11.

Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, June 11.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for June 11.

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

³²⁶ See <http://ocafs.oca.org/FeastSaintsViewer.asp?SID=4&ID=1&FSID=101691>. If Barnabas died in 62 AD at age 76, he had to have been born in c. 14 BC, and he was probably 15 to 20 years older than the Apostle Paul.

³²⁷ Nikolai Velimirovic, The Prologue from Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, June 11.

After the Council in Jerusalem, Barnabas and Paul split up by mutual consent, where Barnabas took John Mark and went back to Cyprus, where he spent most of the rest of his life working with his countrymen. Finally, in c. 62 AD, the Jews on Cyprus got infuriated at Barnabas and incited the pagans against him. Barnabas was stoned to death, and later buried in a cave by John Mark.

Caesar: Caesar was one³²⁸ of the original Seventy Apostles and was later a Bishop in the Peloponnese. However, there is no reference to him in the Scriptures and there is no reference regarding him working with the Apostle Paul.

Carpus: Carpus was one of the original Seventy Apostles and, according to tradition³²⁹, he was the first Bishop of Berea. He was ordained by Silas and Timothy after Paul had to leave town quickly in c. 50 AD; for Silas and Timothy to ordain a presbyter by themselves indicates that they had become mature Apostles and they were capable of embarking on their own missionary journeys at this time. In c. 67 AD, just before Paul's martyrdom in Rome, Carpus was in Troas (2 Timothy 4:13), directly across the Aegean Sea from Berea, working as an Apostle there.

Cephas: Cephas is one of the only members of the original Seventy Apostles who is not referred to in the Scripture. According to tradition, he was Bishop of Iconium³³⁰, but this must have been after the martyrdom of Tertius in Iconium. Tertius wrote down Paul's Epistle to the Romans (Romans 16:22) in c. 55 AD from Corinth, where he was traveling with Paul and was then sent to Iconium as Bishop, where he spent the rest of his life. Probably by the 60's, Tertius was martyred in Iconium and Cephas took over for him as Bishop. Prior to taking over in Iconium, Cephas was probably traveling with Paul much of the time.

Clement of Sardis: Clement was one of the original Seventy Apostles³³¹, and was later Bishop of Sardis in Western Asia Minor, but he is not to be confused with Clement the Bishop of Rome in the late 1st century. Sardis was one of the Churches that the Apostle John wrote to (Revelation 3:1-4) and was about 50 miles northwest of Ephesus.

³²⁸ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2003, December 8.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, December 8.
<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for December 8>.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5
³²⁹ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, May 26.
<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for May 26>.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2006, May 26.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

³³⁰ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, December 8.
<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for March 30, December 8>.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, December 8.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

³³¹ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, May 26.
<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for May 26>.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2006, May 26.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

Paul addressed Clement of Sardis when he was in Philippi in c. 62 AD (before he was sent to Sardis) asking him to help some of the women in Philippi who were having difficulty.

“I implore Euodia and I implore Syntyche to be of the same mind in the Lord. And I urge you also, true companion, help these women who labored with me in the Gospel, with Clement also, and the rest of my fellow workers, whose names *are* in the Book of Life” (Philippians 4:2-3).

Clement of Rome: Clement of Rome was never considered one of the Seventy Apostles. His journey to Christianity was a very dramatic one and is documented in the “Recognitions of Clement”. Both his parents were related by blood to the emperors in Rome, but he was separated from his parents while still a young man. The “Recognitions” describe his journeys looking for his parents and how he encountered the Apostles Barnabas and Peter, and how they assisted him in recognizing his parents and his twin brothers. The prefect in Antioch heard of Clement’s reunion with his family and wrote about this remarkable reunion to the emperor in Rome. Clement’s father was then recalled to Rome by the emperor and restored to his previous position with honors and wealth. Clement was later ordained Bishop of Rome by Peter before Peter’s martyrdom.

Besides the “Recognitions”, Clement is credited with writing an Epistle to the Church of Corinth while he was Bishop of Rome. There are other documents that some people claim were written by Clement, but not all agree about this.

Cleopas: Cleopas, also called Alphaeus, was the father of the Apostles of the Twelve James and Matthew, and he was also one of the original Seventy Apostles. Most say that Cleopas died shortly after Pentecost; however, Dorotheus said³³² that he lived until the late 1st century and was crucified by Domitian (ruled 81 to 96 AD).

Codratus: Codratus (or Quadratus) was not one of the original Seventy Apostles, but was added to the ranks of the Seventy later. As Bishop of Athens, he wrote a defense of Christianity and gave it to Emperor Hadrain; this defense was so strong that Hadrain decreed that Christians should not be persecuted without special cause. When he was stoned, beaten and driven out of Athens, he went to Magnesia where he was martyred.

Crescens: Crescens was one of the original Seventy Apostles, but did not work with the Apostle Paul very much. Crescens was ordained³³³ as Bishop of Carthage, and later Paul sent him to Galatia (2 Timothy 4:10), where he eventually finished his life. Crescens later went to Gaul³³⁴ but returned to Galatia after ordaining someone in his place there.

Crispus: Crispus was not one of the original Seventy Apostles, but may have been added to the ranks of the Seventy later. Paul first met Crispus when Crispus was the Synagogue Ruler in

³³² Dorotheus of Tyre, The Choosing of the Seventy Holy Apostles.

³³³ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2006, July 30.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for January 4, July 30>.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, July 30.

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

³³⁴ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2008, July 30.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, July 30.

Corinth (Acts 18:5-8). Crispus was baptized by Paul in Corinth (1 Corinthians 1:14) on Paul's 2nd Missionary Journey and faithfully followed Paul after that. Crispus was ordained³³⁵ Bishop of the Greek island of Aegina.

Demas: Demas was one of the original Seventy Apostles³³⁶, but he apostatized in c. 67 AD just before Paul was beheaded (2 Timothy 4:10). He was working with Paul when Paul wrote his Epistles to the Philippians and Colossians in c. 62 AD (Philemon 1:24, Colossians 4:14) during the 4th Missionary Journey. He was also with Paul on the 1st Missionary Journey³³⁷. He very likely also accompanied Paul on the 2nd and 3rd Missionary Journeys. According to Hippolytus³³⁸, he became a priest for the idols of Thessalonica after he abandoned Paul (2 Timothy 4:10).

Dionysius: Dionysius was not one of the original Seventy Apostles, and was never considered among the ranks of the Seventy. However, he played an important role in the Church in the 1st century. Dionysius was converted along with his wife Damaris in Athens on Paul's 2nd Missionary Journey (Acts 17:34). At that time, Dionysius was³³⁹ a member of the Areopagus Council (Athenian high court), and was an outstanding jurist on the 9-member council regarding justice for all. At that time Paul ordained Hierotheos as Bishop of Athens, where Dionysius had been a student of Hierotheos. When Hierotheos died in the mid 50's AD, Paul ordained Dionysius in his place. Whereas Hierotheos wrote many wonderful hymns for the Church, Dionysius composed many instructive books³⁴⁰.

Dionysius traveled to many places, including Jerusalem to meet the Virgin Mary, and to Rome to visit Paul just before he was beheaded. He also traveled to Gaul with two of the disciples of Bishop Clement of Rome. There he planted many seeds in Paris, Spain and Britain before being martyred³⁴¹ by Domitian at the age of 90 in c. 96 AD.

Epaenetus: Among the first Paul addressed in Rome was Epaenetus 'Greet my beloved Epaenetus, who is the first fruits of Achaia to Christ' (Romans 16:5). Epaenetus (or Epenetus) was one of the original Seventy Apostles and he was probably native to Achaia (Corinth and Athens are part of Achaia). Since Paul was writing Romans from Corinth (Corinth is in Achaia!) on his second visit there, he must have run into Epaenetus on his first visit (during his 2nd Missionary Journey) either in Athens or Corinth. Since Epaenetus was also Bishop of Carthage

³³⁵ <http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for January 4.

³³⁶ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, May 26.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for May 26.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2006, May 26.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

³³⁷ See the section titled: "The Church of Iconium in Galatia", and also see Holy Apostles Convent, The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, Holy Apostles Convent, 2002, September 24, pp. 589-593.

³³⁸ Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

See also Mark Kern, Simon Magus the Heresiarch, St. Athanasius Press, 2004 at

<http://www.stathanasius.org/resources/e-books/>.

³³⁹ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, October 3.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, October 3.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for October 3.

³⁴⁰ There is some controversy today over the author of these books attributed to Dionysius; some think that the author was a man of the same name who lived in the 5th century.

³⁴¹ Some think that the one who was martyred in 96 AD was another man named Dionysius.

(in North Africa) by the time of Paul's 1st Missionary Journey, the "first fruits of Achaia to Christ" probably refers to Epaenetus' conversion in Jerusalem when the Lord sent the Seventy out two by two (Luke 10:1-20). From Paul's affectionate greeting, however, there must have been some contact also on Paul's 2nd Missionary Journey. We can conclude that Epaenetus was native to Achaia, and was visiting Jerusalem during Jesus' public ministry, when Jesus selected him as one of the Seventy. As Bishop of Carthage³⁴² for many years, Epaenetus must have returned home to Achaia for a visit when he met Paul on Paul's 2nd Missionary Journey.

Since Paul was so affectionate with Epaenetus in his letter to Rome, it is likely that it was Paul who sent him to Rome in c. 55 AD (Romans 16:5) along with seventeen others of the Seventy (Romans 16:3-15) to counteract the heresy³⁴³ that developed there. Following that Epaenetus went back to Carthage and finished his life there.

John Chrysostom stated³⁴⁴ that Paul's praise of Epaenetus was no small one, and a proof of great excellence and faithfulness in him.

"It is worth learning from this how Paul distributes to each different praise. This praise is no slight one, but very great, and a proof of great excellence in Epaenetus, that Paul should hold him beloved. Paul had no idea of loving by favor, but by cool judgment. Paul gives further praise: 'Who is the first-fruits of Achaia'. What Paul means is, either that he leaped forward before anyone else, and became a believer (this is no slight praise), or that he displayed more faithful behavior than any other. On this account after saying, 'who is the first-fruits of Achaia', Paul does not stop, but to prevent your suspecting it to be a glory of the world's, he added, 'unto Christ'. Now if in civil matters, he that is first seems to be great and honorable, much more so in these. Since they were probably common folks, Paul speaks of the true noble birth and preeminence, and gives Epaenetus his honors from this. Paul says, that he 'is the first-fruits', not of Corinth only, but of the whole nation, as having become as it were a door, and an entrance to the rest. This reward is no small one! Such a one will reap much recompense also from the achievements of others, in that he too contributed much toward them by beginning."

Epaphras: Epaphras was one of the original Seventy Apostles, and he played an important role in the Church in the 1st century.

During the time that Paul spent two years in Ephesus on the 3rd Missionary Journey (c. 53 to 55 AD), it was probably Epaphras who founded the Church in Colossae, perhaps with the help of others. At the time that Paul wrote to the Colossians from Rome (c. 62 AD), Epaphras was then in Rome with Paul (Colossians 1:7, Colossians 4:12, Philemon 1:23) and Archippus, one of the original Seventy Apostles, was Bishop of Colossae. Epaphras was very active in teaching the Colossians as "a faithful deacon of Christ" (Colossians 1:7-8).

Paul mentioned a "great conflict" (Colossians 2:1) that he had for Colossae and Laodicea. From the text of Colossians, we can infer that Paul got word of what was happening in Colossae from Epaphras, who had journeyed to Rome to seek Paul's help. Epaphras brought word to Paul

³⁴² Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, July 30.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for July 30.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2008, July 30.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

³⁴³ For more information, see Mark Kern, Simon Magus the Heresiarch, St Athanasius Press, 2004.

³⁴⁴ John Chrysostom, Homilies on Romans, XXXI, v. 5.

about the inroads that the heresies of Simon Magus had been making in Colossae³⁴⁵. Evidently things were changing in Colossae and there were a number of heresies present that Epaphras brought to Paul's attention. Paul answered many of these heresies in his Epistle.

Demetrius of Rostov stated³⁴⁶ that Epaphras was later the Bishop of Colossae, Laodicea and Hierapolis³⁴⁷. This is reasonable, since Archippus, Philemon and Apphia were martyred about the same time as Paul.

Epaphroditus: Epaphroditus³⁴⁸ was one of the original Seventy Apostles. He was probably from Philippi and Paul calls him an Apostle and a Liturgist to Philippi as well as his fellow-worker and fellow-soldier (Philippians 2:25). We first see him in Paul's letters in c. 62 AD when Paul sent him to Philippi from Rome. Epaphroditus had been longing for the Philippians and was distressed because they were worried about him when he was sick (Philippians 2:26-30). This implies that he had been working with Paul for quite a while already. When Paul passed through Philippi on his 2nd Missionary Journey, Epaphroditus was probably there. On the 2nd Missionary Journey, Paul left Luke behind in Macedonia³⁴⁹ and Luke worked with several others of the Seventy in Macedonia. On Paul's 3rd Missionary Journey, as he passed through Philippi again, Luke started traveling with Paul again. Probably Epaphroditus did so also and Hermas of the original Seventy was left behind in Philippi. Hermas thus became known as the first Bishop of Philippi.

Epaphroditus was later ordained as Bishop for Colophon in Pamphylia³⁵⁰.

Erastus: Erastus, the Steward of the Jerusalem Church and one of the original Seventy, was mentioned as one of Paul's deacons (Greek *diaconos*, sometimes translated minister) along with Timothy while Paul was in Ephesus on the 3rd Missionary Journey. Paul sent into Macedonia two of those who ministered to him, Timothy and Erastus, but he himself stayed in Asia for a time" (Acts 19:21-22). He was also with Paul when Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans on the 3rd Missionary Journey (Romans 16:23). Probably Erastus joined Paul from Antioch. Erastus was at first³⁵¹ a deacon and treasurer of the Church of Jerusalem. Erastus, being an expert in finances and stewardship³⁵², went on to serve the Church of Jerusalem in the same capacity. Blessed Theophylact

³⁴⁵ For more details, see the section titled: "Paul Wrote to the Colossians".

³⁴⁶ Demetri of Rostov, "The Great Collection of the Lives of the Saints", tr. Fr. Thomas Marretta, Chrysostom Press, House Springs, MO, 2002

³⁴⁷ Hierapolis was about 15 miles North of Laodicea.

³⁴⁸ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, December 8.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for March 30, December 8.](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20March%2030,%20December%208)

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2003, December 8.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

³⁴⁹ See the section of "Paul" on the 2nd Missionary Journey titled "The Evangelist Luke Remained Behind in Philippi".

³⁵⁰ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, December 8.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2003, December 8

³⁵¹ <http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for January 4.

³⁵² The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, November 10.

says³⁵³ that he served as steward for the Church at Corinth also. Dorotheus stated³⁵⁴ that Erastus was later Bishop of Paneas.

John Chrysostom pointed out³⁵⁵ something about Gaius and Erastus³⁵⁶. By hosting Paul (Romans 16:23), Gaius exhibited the strictness of his life as agreeable to Paul. By referring to Erastus, Paul was quick to point out that the Gospel had reached more than just the poor folks, and that high office and riches are not an impediment to the Kingdom of God.

“Notice what a crown Paul framed for Gaius by bearing witness to such great hospitality in him, and brought in the entire Church into Gaius’ house! (Romans 16:23) When you hear that Gaius was Paul’s host, do not admire him for his generosity only, but also for his strictness of life. Unless he were worthy of Paul’s excellency, Paul would never have lodged there; Paul, who took pains to go beyond many of Christ’s commands, would never have trespassed against that law, which asks us be very particular about who receives us, and about lodging with ‘worthy’ persons (Matthew 10:11). ‘Erastus, the treasurer of the city, greets you, and Quartus a brother’ (Romans 16:23). There is a purpose in Paul’s adding ‘the treasurer of the city’. As he wrote, ‘All the saints greet you, but especially those who are of Caesar’s household’ (Philippians 4:22), that he might show that the Gospel had taken a hold on great folk. Here too Paul mentions the title with a view to the same object; he shows that, to the man who pays attention, neither riches, the cares of government, nor anything else of the kind are a hindrance.”

Evodius: Evodius³⁵⁷ (also spelled Evodus, Euodius, Euodus) was the 1st Bishop of Antioch, and it was he who coined the term “Christian” as the Bishop of Antioch (Acts 11:26). Evodius never accompanied Paul on any of his Missionary Journeys, but it was Evodius who Paul reported back to after each of his first two Missionary Journeys (Acts 14:26-28; 18:22-23). Evodius was one of the original Seventy Apostles and was martyred in c. 64 AD by Vespasian, just before the destruction of Jerusalem, and he was then replaced as Bishop by Ignatius.

Evodius wrote several works, but all have been destroyed during the persecution of the Church at various times. One of these works was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and described the circumstances where she gave birth to Christ at the age of fifteen. We know about these works because they were quoted by various others at different times.

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³⁵⁴ Dorotheus of Tyre, The Choosing of the Seventy Holy Apostles.

³⁵⁵ John Chrysostom, Homilies on Romans, XXXII, v. 23.

³⁵⁶ Erastus was native to Lystra. See Roberts and Donaldson, ed., “The Teaching of the Apostles”, 10, in Memoirs of Edessa and Other Ancient Syriac Documents, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Volume 8, Hendrickson Publishers, Peabody, MA, 1995.

³⁵⁷ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, September 7.

[http://oca.org/FSLives.asp for September 8](http://oca.org/FSLives.asp%20for%20September%208).

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, September 7.

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

Fortunatus: Fortunatus was not one of the original Seventy Apostles, but may have been added to the ranks of the Seventy later³⁵⁸. He carried³⁵⁹ a letter to Paul from Corinth (1 Corinthians 16:15-17) along with Paul's reply, which we know as "1 Corinthians". He was later beheaded for the Faith.

Gaius: Gaius³⁶⁰ was one of the original members of the Seventy Apostles, yet Paul felt it necessary to baptize Gaius in Corinth (1 Corinthians 1:14) on the 2nd Missionary Journey. Gaius had also been ordained an elder for the Church in Derbe on Barnabas and Paul's 1st Missionary Journey. Gaius was still in Derbe when Paul and Silas returned on the 2nd Missionary Journey. Since Gaius was with Paul at the end of the 2nd Missionary Journey (Romans 16:23), Gaius must have started accompanying Paul and Silas as they began their 2nd Missionary Journey. Gaius then accompanied Paul on his 3rd Missionary Journey (Acts 19:29).

Paul refers to the baptism of Gaius and Crispus (1 Corinthians 1:14) as being the only two he baptized in Corinth besides the household of Stephanas. Since Paul wrote this from Ephesus on his way back to Corinth on the 3rd Missionary Journey, the baptism must have occurred on his first visit to Corinth on the 2nd Missionary Journey or at Derbe on the 1st Missionary Journey. Gaius must have started to accompany Paul on the 2nd Missionary Journey such that we now see him traveling with Paul when Paul arrived in Ephesus on his 3rd Missionary Journey (Acts 20:4). Gaius went on to become Bishop of Ephesus after Timothy.

Tertullian argued³⁶¹ that Paul's mission was not to baptize, but to preach; however, Paul did baptize when necessity called for it. This suggests that the baptism of Gaius was some exceptional circumstance.

Paul said, 'For Christ sent me not to baptize' (1 Corinthians 1:17), as if by this argument baptism were done away! For if so, why did he baptize Gaius, Crispus, and the house of Stephanas? However, even if Christ had not sent him to baptize, yet He had given other apostles the precept to baptize. But these words were written to the Corinthians with respect to the circumstances of that particular time; where schisms and dissensions were agitated among them, while one attributed everything to Paul, another everything to Apollos. The 'peace-making' Apostle Paul, for fear he should seem to claim all gifts for himself, said that he had been sent 'not to baptize, but to preach'. Preaching comes first; baptizing comes second. Therefore, I think baptizing was permitted to him to whom preaching was the norm.

³⁵⁸ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2003, January 4.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for January 4.

Fortunatus is not listed as one of the Seventy by:

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

³⁵⁹ For more details, see the section titled "Paul's Epistles to Corinth".

³⁶⁰ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, November 5.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for November 5.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, November 5.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

³⁶¹ Tertullian, On Baptism, III, ii, 14.

Hermas: Hermas was³⁶² one of the original Seventy Apostles and was later Bishop of the city of Philippi³⁶³, where he died as a martyr. When Paul wrote to him as being in Rome in c. 55 AD (Romans 16:14), it does not appear that Paul knew him well, and it is not obvious which of the Twelve Apostles sent him to Rome; it may have been Luke who did so when Luke was in Macedonia. Hermas is best known for an instructive book he wrote called “The Shepherd”, which was very popular in the first few centuries, and was treated as Scripture by many until the canon of the Scripture was settled in the late 4th century.

Hermes: Hermes was³⁶⁴ one of the original Seventy Apostles and was later Bishop of Dalmatia³⁶⁵. When Paul wrote to him as being in Rome in c. 55 AD (Romans 16:14), it does not appear that Paul knew him well, and it is not obvious which of the Twelve Apostles sent him to Rome.

Hermogenes: Hermogenes was³⁶⁶ one of the original Seventy Apostles, but he apostatized to follow the arch heretic Simon Magus. The Apostle Paul referred to Hermogenes:

“This you know, that all those in Asia have turned away from me, among whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes” (2 Timothy 1:14-15).

Since Hermogenes had already apostatized before Paul was beheaded, his time in Ephesus must have been short-lived. When Paul spent two years in Ephesus (c. 56-58 AD), only the idolaters were in Ephesus³⁶⁷, not the heretics; similarly, when Paul wrote his Epistle to the Ephesians³⁶⁸ (c. 62 AD). When Paul wrote his first Epistle to Timothy³⁶⁹ (c. 64 AD), Paul asked Timothy to remain in Ephesus as Bishop, probably to counteract the teachings of Hermogenes and Phygellus³⁷⁰, who was Bishop there. Paul stated,

³⁶² The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, November 5.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, April 8, May 31.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for March 8, May 31.

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

³⁶³ There is some disagreement about this. Dorotheus says Dalmatia, which is near Philippi; the Prologue says Philippopolis instead of Philippi.

³⁶⁴ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2005, March 8; 2002, November 5.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, November 5.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for November 5.

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

³⁶⁵ Dorotheus said that Hermes was Bishop of Philippopolis and Hermas was Bishop of Dalmatia, exactly backward from what others said.

³⁶⁶ Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

Dorotheus of Tyre, The Choosing of the Seventy Holy Apostles.

³⁶⁷ See the sections titled:

“Paul’s Return to Ephesus”

“The Jewish Exorcists and the Magicians”

“The Controversy over the Temple of Diana”

“The Widespread Renown of the Apostle Paul”

“The Riot over the Temple of Diana”

“Onesiphorus Was Very Helpful to Paul in Ephesus”

³⁶⁸ At this time Paul warned the Ephesians about the heresies of the followers of Simon Magus. Earlier Paul had warned the Ephesians that “savage wolves will come in among you, not sparing the flock” (Acts 20:29).

³⁶⁹ Phygellus was apparently one of these wolves, and he appears to have been Bishop of Ephesus at this time.

³⁷⁰ Phygellus was probably in league with Hermogenes, another member of the original Seventy Apostles who apostatized also. Alexander and Philetus (), not Apostles, helped Phygellus also.

“As I urged you when I went into Macedonia -- remain in Ephesus that you may charge some that they teach³⁷¹ no other doctrine, nor give heed to fables and endless genealogies, which cause disputes rather than godly edification which is in faith” (1 Timothy 1:3-4).

This was a formidable task for Timothy, since Phygellus and Hermogenes were members of the original Seventy Apostles, but Timothy was not; besides, Timothy was probably much younger. This was something akin to Timothy coming to Ephesus and defrocking two archbishops.

Siding with Phygellus and Hermogenes against Timothy and Paul were Alexander, Hymenaeus and Philetus. Alexander and Hymenaeus were so bad that Paul felt it necessary to deliver them over to Satan for the destruction of their flesh in hope that they might be saved (1 Timothy 1:20). Paul stated to Timothy very strongly that he (Timothy) was involved in warfare against these heretics

“This charge I commit to you, son Timothy, according to the prophecies previously made concerning you, that by them you may wage the good warfare” (1 Timothy 1:18).

Paul quoted Hymenaeus and Philetus as “straying concerning the truth, saying that the resurrection is already past; and they overthrow the faith of some” (2 Timothy 2:18). Their concept was that our resurrection occurs as we come up out of the waters of baptism. As with many heresies, there was some insight into the importance and power of baptism, but with a twisted understanding.

Tertullian lumped together³⁷² Hymenaeus, Philetus, Hermogenes and Phygellus in speaking of those who deserted Paul and the things of God, and he compared them to Judas Iscariot.

“The Scripture says, ‘Your eyes are upon the ways of the children of men’ (Jeremiah 32:19 LXX). ‘Man looks at the outward appearance, but God looks at the heart’ (1 Samuel 16:7 LXX). ‘The Lord knows those who are His’ (2 Timothy 2:19); and ‘Every plant which My heavenly Father has not planted will be uprooted’ (Matthew 15:13); and ‘So the last will be first, and the first last’ (Matthew 20:16); and He carries ‘His winnowing fan *is* in His hand, and He will thoroughly clean out His threshing floor’ (Matthew 3:12). Let the chaff of a fickle faith fly off as much as it will at every blast of temptation, all the purer will be that heap of grain which shall be laid up in the granary of the Lord. Did not certain of the disciples turn back from the Lord Himself, when they were offended? Yet the rest did not therefore think that they must turn away from following Him, but because they knew that He was the Word of Life, and had come from God, they continued in His company to the very last, after He had gently inquired of them whether they also would go away (John 6:66-67). It is a comparatively small thing, that certain men, like Phygellus, Hermogenes, Philetus, and Hymenaeus, deserted Paul (2 Timothy 1:15, 2:17; 1 Timothy 1:20); the betrayer of Christ was himself one of the apostles. We are surprised at seeing His churches forsaken by some men, although the things which we suffer after the example of Christ Himself, show us to be Christians. ‘They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would have continued with us’” (1 John 2:19).

³⁷¹ Those charged with “teaching” were usually the Bishops.

³⁷² Tertullian, The Prescription Against Heretics, II, I, 3.

Herodion: Herodion traveled with Paul on many of Paul's missionary journeys³⁷³ and Paul called him his kinsman (Romans 16:11) when Herodion was in Rome in c. 55 AD (at Peter's and Paul's request). He is often confused with another person called Rhodion, who some think is just a contraction of Herodion. But the consensus seems to be that they were two different persons.

Hippolytus refers³⁷⁴ to Herodion as one of the original Seventy Apostles and the Bishop of Tarsus, but Herodion didn't remain there long. Herodion was also referred to in some accounts as the Bishop of Neoparthia³⁷⁵ and in others as the Bishop of New Patras³⁷⁶, where he was severely beaten and left for dead by the idolaters and the Jews. But he miraculously survived and continued to accompany the Apostles Paul and Peter. Finally, he was beheaded by Emperor Nero in c. 67 AD on the same day that Peter was crucified and Paul was beheaded. The most likely sequence of events is that Herodion was the Presbyter (later called Bishop) of Tarsus before or during Paul's 1st Missionary Journey; then he accompanied Paul on the 2nd Missionary Journey and part of the 3rd Missionary Journey. After that he was sent to Rome in c. 55 AD with the 17 other members of the Seventy Apostles who are addressed in Romans 16. After he completed his mission in Rome, he was assigned to help out in either Neoparthia or New Patras.

James: James was the step-brother of Jesus and one of the original Seventy Apostles. That is, he was the natural son of Joseph, the Virgin Mary's husband, from before he married the Virgin. After Pentecost, this James³⁷⁷ was chosen by Peter, James and John (the sons of Zebedee) as the first Bishop of Jerusalem. After Paul's conversion, James was there in Jerusalem to receive Paul and also to hustle him out of town to avoid a murder plot (Galatians 1:18-19; Acts 9:28-30). James asked Paul specifically to remember the poor in Jerusalem (Galatians 2:10), who were being persecuted by the confiscation of all their property.

When Paul returned to Jerusalem after the 1st Missionary Journey, it was James the Lord's brother who presided over the Council of Jerusalem regarding circumcision. It was he who insisted on drafting a letter to all the Gentile Churches stating that the Gentiles did not need to be circumcised (Acts 15:1-30).

When Paul returned to Jerusalem after the 3rd Missionary Journey, James insisted that Paul be purified by the Mosaic Law rituals (Acts 21:18-26) to show everyone that Paul kept the Law³⁷⁸ (which Paul had been doing). James pointed out to Paul at this time how many thousands of his brethren had left the idolatry of the Pharisees and Sadducees to become Christians (Acts 21:20).

During Paul's two years in prison in Caesarea, while he was waiting for his appeal to Caesar in Rome to be processed, James sent a number of the brethren from Jerusalem to visit Paul since Paul was allowed free access to visitors (Acts 24:23-24).

³⁷³ <http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for April 8.

³⁷⁴ Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

³⁷⁵ Nickolai Velimirovic, *Prologue From Ochrid*, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, April 8.

³⁷⁶ *The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church*, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2006, March 28.

³⁷⁷ Note that James the Lord's brother (Galatians 1:19) is not the same person as James, the son of Alphaeus (Matthew 10:3, Mark 3:18, Luke 6:15, Acts 1:13). James the Lord's brother remained in Jerusalem the rest of his life and was murdered in front of the Temple in c. 62 AD. James the son of Alphaeus spent most of the rest of his life after Pentecost in Egypt and was crucified there.

³⁷⁸ For more details on what James was doing by insisting on this, see the section titled: "What Was Bishop James' Methodology in Jerusalem?"

After Paul was sent to Rome, comfortably out of the reach of the Jewish Zealots in Jerusalem, they took out their anger and frustration on Bishop James and murdered him³⁷⁹ right in front of the Temple in c. 62 AD.

Jason: Jason was³⁸⁰ one of the original Seventy Apostles. Jason was a native of Tarsus and had been Bishop of Tarsus during Paul's 1st Missionary Journey. According to tradition³⁸¹, Jason was still Bishop of Tarsus when Paul started his 2nd Missionary Journey³⁸² and began traveling with Paul on the 2nd Missionary Journey. Jason evidently had a real vision for the impact that Paul's 2nd Missionary Journey would have on the world and wanted to join Paul. After leaving Philippi, Paul, Silas and Timothy visited Thessalonica, and stayed with Jason (Acts 17:7), who was now living in Thessalonica. Knowing that he would come to Thessalonica, Paul must have sent Jason ahead to obtain a house where everyone could stay when they got there. Again, Paul's preaching created an uproar, but Jason put up Paul's bail, and the brethren sent them away by night to Berea, which was also in Macedonia (Acts 17:10-12). Jason was worthy to be admired in how he put himself in danger for Paul's sake (Acts 17:5-9). We might note that just as Paul and Silas took a beating for the sake of the Christians in Philippi³⁸³ on the 2nd Missionary Journey, so Jason did in Thessalonica a few months later. Jason was imitating Paul; he was probably traveling with Paul and Silas and saw what happened in Philippi. Jason could see the benefit to others in taking a beating on their behalf (1 Thessalonians 2:1-2). Jason later joined up with Paul in Corinth (Romans 16:21) on the 3rd Missionary Journey, probably leaving Silvanus behind in Thessalonica as Bishop. On Paul's 3rd Missionary Journey, when he wrote Romans, Paul was staying in Corinth; with him in Corinth were Lucius, Jason and Sosipater (Romans 16:21), all members of the original Seventy and now doing Apostolic work with Paul. Jason later went on his own missionary journey to establish the Church on the Island of Corfu in the Peloponnesus (West coast of Greece), along with the Apostle of the Seventy, Sosipater³⁸⁴.

Justus: Justus, also known as Joseph, Barsabas, Judas (Acts 1:23, 15:22) and Jesus (Colossians 4:11), was Jesus' older step-brother (Matthew 13:55, Mark 6:3), one of the leading men in the Jerusalem Church, and himself a prophet (Acts 15:32). He was one of the original

³⁷⁹ For more details on the death of James, the Lord's brother, see the section titled: "The Murder of James the Lord's Brother in Jerusalem".

³⁸⁰ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2005, April 29.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, April 28.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for April 28.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

³⁸¹ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, April 28.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp>, April 28

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

³⁸² Jason is traditionally known as the Bishop of Tarsus, but he also was a key helper of Paul on the 2nd Missionary Journey in Thessalonica (Acts 17:5-9). After Paul's 2nd Missionary Journey, Jason teamed up with Sosipater to evangelize the island of Corfu. The only time he could have been Bishop of Tarsus is prior to Paul's 2nd Missionary Journey.

³⁸³ For more details, see the section titled: "Paul and Silas Took a Beating for the Philippian Christians".

³⁸⁴ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, April 28.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for April 28.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, April 29.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

Seventy Apostles³⁸⁵ and he was one of two put forward to replace Judas Iscariot as one of the Twelve Apostles (Acts 1:15-26). Justus and Silas were sent to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas after the Council of Jerusalem to confirm the judgment of the Council that the Gentiles did not need to be circumcised (Acts 15:22-23). Silas continued with Paul on his 2nd Missionary Journey, but Justus returned to Jerusalem (Acts 15:32-34). Later Justus worked with Paul when Paul was under house-arrest in Rome (Colossians 4:11). Justus continued to be Bishop of Eleutheropolis³⁸⁶ and died there as a martyr. He is also credited³⁸⁷ with writing a book called “Divine Peace”.

Linus: The only time we encounter Linus in the Scriptures is in c. 67 AD when Paul wrote to Timothy just before his death in Rome. Linus was Bishop of Rome at that time, but he died³⁸⁸ soon afterward in the 2nd year of Emperor Vespasian (i.e. 70 AD) after having been Bishop of Rome for 12 years. Yet Linus was one of the original Seventy Apostles³⁸⁹ appointed by the Lord Jesus (Luke 10). From tradition³⁹⁰, Linus was the first Bishop of Rome (starting in c. 58 AD) and was ordained by Peter before Peter had to leave Rome. We note that this fits well with Romans 16; since Linus isn’t mentioned by Paul, he had to have been ordained after 55 AD³⁹¹. This means that Linus was Bishop of Rome before the death of Peter³⁹². Ignatius of Antioch referred³⁹³ to Linus as having been a deacon to the Apostle Paul at one time, just as Stephen was to James in Jerusalem. This must have occurred prior to 55 AD. From this we can conclude that Linus traveled with Paul during the 3rd Missionary Journey and possible the latter part of the 2nd Missionary Journey. Linus was martyred in Rome after Peter and Paul, and Clement became Bishop of Rome

³⁸⁵ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, October 30.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, October 30.

[http://oca.org/FSLives.asp for October 30](http://oca.org/FSLives.asp%20for%20October%2030).

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

³⁸⁶ Eleutheropolis was located just to the West of the Dead Sea.

³⁸⁷ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, October 30.

³⁸⁸ From Eusebius of Caesarea, Church History, III, 13, Linus died in the second year of Emperor Vespasian or about 70 AD.

³⁸⁹ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2005, November 5.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, November 5.

[http://oca.org/FSLives.asp for November 5](http://oca.org/FSLives.asp%20for%20November%205).

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

³⁹⁰ Irenaeus of Lyons, Against Heresies, III, iii, 3.

Eusebius of Caesarea, Church History, V, 6.

Jerome, Lives of Illustrious Men, 15.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, May 17.

[http://oca.org/FSLives.asp for May 17](http://oca.org/FSLives.asp%20for%20May%2017).

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2006, May 17.

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

³⁹¹ That is, Paul wrote Romans in c. 55 AD.

From Eusebius of Caesarea, Church History, III, 13, Linus was Bishop of Rome for 12 years

³⁹² There are some opinions that Linus, Anencletus and Clement were all co-presbyters in Rome for a while. See Roberts and Donaldson, ed., “Introductory Note to the First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians”, in Ante-Nicene Fathers, Volume 1, Hendrickson Publications, Peabody, MA, 1995.

³⁹³ Ignatius of Antioch, Epistle to the Trallians, 7.

after that. It is quite possible³⁹⁴ that Linus and Clement were co-presbyters for a while in Rome and that Clement, who was related to the Emperors, took over for Linus after Linus' death.

Lucius: Lucius³⁹⁵ was Bishop of Laodicea in Northern Syria³⁹⁶. When Paul wrote Romans, he was in the middle of his 3rd Missionary Journey and was staying in Corinth at the time. With him in Corinth were Lucius, Jason and Sosipater (Romans 16:21), all members of the original Seventy and now doing Apostolic work with Paul; they were also kinsmen of Paul (Romans 16:21).

Luke: Luke the Evangelist was³⁹⁷ one of the original Seventy Apostles, was native to Antioch and was trained as a physician (Colossians 4:14). In writing his Gospel, Luke addressed it to Theophilus (Luke 1:3, Acts 1:1), who was then governor of Antioch. Luke's writing style included more attention to details than the other Gospel writers.

Luke did not travel with Barnabas and Paul on the 1st Missionary Journey³⁹⁸. We can see this from the text of Acts, where Luke describes the events of that time in the 3rd person³⁹⁹ (they did this; they did that). On the 2nd Missionary Journey, Luke switches to the 1st person (we did this; we did that), indicating that Luke had joined Paul and Silas in Philippi on the 2nd Missionary Journey. Living in Antioch, Luke had become well-acquainted with Paul from the account that Paul brought back after the 1st Missionary Journey.

In the middle of the 2nd Missionary Journey, after Paul and Silas left Philippi, Luke was left behind with several others of the original Seventy Apostles to care for the Church that was established there. We can see this again from the text of Acts, where Luke switches back to the 3rd person (Acts 17:1) to describe the events of the remainder of the 2nd Missionary Journey and the beginning of the 3rd Missionary Journey⁴⁰⁰. As Paul passed through Macedonia on the 3rd Missionary Journey about 5 years later, Luke then rejoined Paul (Acts 20:5-6), where Paul left others behind in Macedonia to fill in for Luke. During those 5 years, Luke had done an admirable job working as an Apostle.

³⁹⁴ Roberts and Donaldson, ed., "Introductory Note to the First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians", in Ante-Nicene Fathers, Volume 1, Hendrickson Publications, Peabody, MA, 1995.

³⁹⁵ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, September 10.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for September 10>.

Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, September 10.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

³⁹⁶ This is not the same Laodicea that was near Ephesus, and which was addressed by the Apostle John (Revelation 3:14-22).

³⁹⁷ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, October 18.

Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, October 18.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for October 18, January 4>.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

³⁹⁸ For more details, see the section: "Barnabas and Paul Take Their 1st Missionary Journey".

³⁹⁹ Compare Acts 14:1-3, 16:4, 7 (they did this or that) with Acts 16:11, 16 (we did this or that). Luke stayed in Philippi (Acts 17:1), where we notice that Luke switches back to the 3rd person (they passed through..).

⁴⁰⁰ For more details, see the section:

"The Evangelist Luke Remained Behind in Philippi"

"Others of the Seventy Worked with Luke in Macedonia"

"Paul Picks Up Luke in Macedonia"

"Ephraim Also Joins Paul in Philippi"

On the first part of the 4th Missionary Journey, that is the Journey to Rome in chains, Luke and Aristarchus accompanied Paul on the ship that was lost at sea. We can ascertain this also from Luke's use of the 1st person to describe these events⁴⁰¹.

On the second part of the 4th Missionary Journey, that is, the two years of house-arrest in Rome, Luke's account ends⁴⁰² before Paul was released from house-arrest. Most of those years, Luke was with Paul in his travels and in his house-arrest. As Paul was writing Epistles from Rome to Philemon, the Colossians, the Philippians, the Hebrews and the Ephesians, Luke was drafting his account of the Acts of the Apostles, with Paul reviewing it⁴⁰³. According to Dorotheus⁴⁰⁴, it was the Apostle Peter who had asked Luke to write the Acts of the Apostles.

After the death of Paul, Luke continued his work as an Apostle for almost 20 years, traveling from place to place: Italy, Dalmatia, Gaul and especially Macedonia, where he had spent 5 years earlier. When he was quite elderly, Luke traveled to Egypt and Libya, where he ordained as Bishop Abilius as successor to Annas, who had been ordained by the Evangelist Mark.

Luke returned to Greece and raised up a number of Churches, where the newly enlightened believers destroyed all the pagan shrines. At the age of 84, Luke was crucified on an olive tree in Achaia.

The Memoirs of Edessa state⁴⁰⁵ that Luke placed his record of the Acts of the Apostles in the hands of Priscilla and Aquila for safekeeping, and that they accompanied him after the death of Paul.

“Luke the evangelist had such diligence that he wrote the exploits of the Acts of the Apostles, and the ordinances and laws of the ministry of their priesthood, and where each one of them went. By his diligence, Luke wrote these things, and he placed them in the hand of Priscilla and Aquila, his disciples. They accompanied Luke up to the day of his death, just as Timothy and Erastus of Lystra, and Menaëus, the first disciples of the Apostles, accompanied Paul until he was taken up to the city of Rome because he had withstood Tertullus the orator” (Acts 24:1-21).

During his life, Luke created many icons, mostly of the Virgin Mary holding her young son, Jesus. He brought two of these to the Virgin Mary for her approval. Many of Luke's original icons still exist.

Mark the Evangelist: Mark the Evangelist was⁴⁰⁶ one of the original Seventy Apostles and was a follower of the Apostle Peter, who sent him as Bishop to Alexandria⁴⁰⁷. Mark the Evangelist was native to Cyrene of Pentapolis, which is near Libya, and never had any contact with the Apostle Paul.

⁴⁰¹ For more details, see the section titled “The Beginning of the Journey to Rome”.

⁴⁰² John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, LV, Recapitulation.

⁴⁰³ For example, see Philemon 1:22-24, Colossians 4:14-15.

⁴⁰⁴ Dorotheus of Tyre, The Choosing of the Seventy Holy Apostles

⁴⁰⁵ Roberts and Donaldson, ed., “The Teaching of the Apostles”, 8-10, in Memoirs of Edessa, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, Peabody, MA, 1995.

⁴⁰⁶ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, April 25.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, April 25.

[http://oca.org/FSLives.asp for April 25.](http://oca.org/FSLives.asp%20for%20April%2025)

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

⁴⁰⁷ For a detailed study of the life of Mark the Evangelist, see Mark Kern, The Feast Day of Mark the Evangelist, St. Athanasius Press, April 25, 2011.

Mark the Cousin of Barnabas: This Mark was⁴⁰⁸ one of the original Seventy Apostles and was later the Bishop of Apollonia in Samaria, just north of Joppa on the Mediterranean coast. Since Barnabas was native to Cyprus (Acts 4:36), Mark, his cousin, probably was also native to Cyprus. We don't hear from this man named Mark until c. 62 AD when Paul is under house-arrest in Rome; then Mark, Barnabas' cousin is there with Paul.

“I am sending Tychicus to you for this very purpose, that he may know your circumstances and comfort your hearts, with Onesimus, a faithful and beloved brother, who is *one* of you. They will make known to you all things which *are happening* here. Aristarchus my fellow prisoner greets you, with Mark the cousin of Barnabas (about whom you received instructions: if he comes to you, welcome him), and Jesus who is called Justus. These *are my* only fellow workers for the kingdom of God who are of the circumcision; they have proved to be a comfort to me” (Colossians 4:8-11).

Since Mark, the cousin of Barnabas was with Paul during the time of house-arrest, and since Paul wrote to the Colossians and to Philemon at about this time, Paul's reference to Mark in his Epistle to Philemon probably also refers to Mark, the cousin of Barnabas (Philemon 1:23-24).

About five years later, Paul was back in Rome under hard arrest, where he knew that he would not escape this time. Demas of the original Seventy had just apostatized and only Luke was with Paul at this time. Paul asked Timothy to get Mark and bring him to Rome when he comes himself. This Mark is probably Barnabas' cousin also.

“Be diligent to come to me quickly; for Demas has forsaken me, having loved this present world, and has departed for Thessalonica -- Crescens for Galatia, Titus for Dalmatia. Only Luke is with me. Get Mark and bring him with you, for he is useful to me for ministry. And Tychicus I have sent to Ephesus” (2 Timothy 4:9-12).

John surnamed Mark: John Mark was⁴⁰⁹ one of the original Seventy Apostles, and was later Bishop of Byblos in Phoenicia just north of Beirut on the Mediterranean coast. Since Byblos is just 140 miles north of Apollonia, it is easy to see how accounts of John Mark and Mark, the cousin of Barnabas could have gotten confused.

The family of John surnamed Mark lived in the Jerusalem area, which means that John Mark was probably native to the Jerusalem area. When an angel broke Peter out of prison, Peter first came to the house of John Mark's mother to let them know that he was out (Acts 12:12-16), before he left town.

John, surnamed Mark, accompanied Barnabas and Paul on the 1st Missionary Journey, but he abandoned the Apostles⁴¹⁰ when the first hardship came up as they started climbing the

⁴⁰⁸ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, October 30.

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5
Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, October 30.
[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for October 30.](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20October%2030)

⁴⁰⁹ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, September 27.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for September 27.](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20September%2027)
Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5
Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, September 27.

⁴¹⁰ For details, see the section: “John Mark Abandons His Apostleship in Pamphylia”.

mountains toward Antioch of Pisidia. When it came time for the 2nd Missionary Journey, Barnabas wanted to take John Mark, but Paul didn't. So, Barnabas took John Mark and headed to Cyprus, while Paul took Silas and headed overland to the Churches that he and Barnabas had established on the 1st Missionary Journey⁴¹¹.

Later in his life John Mark attained great boldness before God, so that his very shadow healed the sick⁴¹², just like Peter's shadow had in earlier years (Acts 5:15).

Narcissus: Narcissus was⁴¹³ one of the original Seventy Apostles and was sent to Rome by either the Apostle Andrew or Philip in c. 55 AD. Paul greeted him in Rome, but Paul may not have known Narcissus very well or he may not have worked with him very much since Paul didn't have much to say about him (Romans 16:11). Narcissus was made Bishop of Athens by either the Apostle Andrew or Philip, but this was quite a bit after 55 AD. Hierotheos was the first Bishop of Athens and died shortly after 55 AD, after which Paul consecrated Dionysius the Areopagite as Bishop of Athens. Narcissus must have followed Dionysius. He was later tortured and martyred in Athens.

Nicholas of Antioch: Nicholas was⁴¹⁴ one of the original Seventy Apostles and also one of the first seven "deacons" (Acts 6:5). After Philip of the Seventy evangelized Samaria, Nicholas was sent⁴¹⁵ to Samaria as Bishop. There he came under the corrupting influence of Simon Magus and began to deviate from the teachings of the Twelve Apostles in favor of Simon's teachings.

Nicholas never had any contact with the Apostle Paul, but his (and Simon's) teachings caused considerable trouble for the Apostle Paul and the Early Church. Each of Paul's Epistles deals⁴¹⁶ with some aspect of the teachings of Simon (and Nicholas).

Olympas: Olympas was one of the original members of the Seventy Apostles and a follower of the Apostle Peter⁴¹⁷. Olympas traveled continuously with Peter and never got a chance

⁴¹¹ For details, see the section: "Visiting the Churches from the 1st Missionary Journey".

⁴¹² [http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for September 27](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20September%2027).

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, September 27.

⁴¹³ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, October 31; 2002, November 14. The reference included in the history of the Apostle Philip on November 14 could be another man named Narcissus.

Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, October 31.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for March 16, October 31](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20March%2016,%20October%2031).

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

⁴¹⁴ Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

⁴¹⁵ For considerably more details on the life of Nicholas of Antioch, see Mark Kern, The First Seven Deacons, St. Athanasius Press, 2007.

⁴¹⁶ For example, see the sections:

"Paul Wrote to the Colossians"

"Paul Wrote to the Philippians"

"Paul Probably Wrote to the Hebrews at This Time"

"Paul Wrote to the Ephesians"

"Paul Wrote to Timothy the First Time"

"Paul Wrote to Titus"

"Paul Wrote to Timothy Again"

See also Mark Kern, Simon Magus the Heresiarch, St. Athanasius Press, 2004 at

<http://www.stathanasius.org/resources/bible-study-downloads/>.

⁴¹⁷ Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, November 10.

to settle down as Bishop of any city. In c. 67 AD, when Peter was crucified and Paul was beheaded, Olympas was beheaded at Nero's command also.

Onesimus: Onesimus was⁴¹⁸ probably not one of the original members of the Seventy, but he may have been added later. He was originally a slave of Philemon, who stole something of Philemon's and headed to Rome. In Rome, he met⁴¹⁹ the Apostle Paul, who was still under house-arrest, and Paul converted him and baptized him (Philemon 1:10). After serving Paul in Rome for a while, Paul sent Onesimus to Colossae, along with Tychicus, to deliver his Epistle to the Colossians, and after that to deliver his Epistle to Philemon (Colossians 4:7-9). Paul asked for Philemon's blessing to free Onesimus, which Philemon did, and Onesimus continued to travel with Paul when Paul was released from house-arrest.

After the death of Paul, Onesimus was made Bishop of Berea⁴²⁰. As an old man during the reign of Trajan (98 AD to 117 AD), Onesimus was arrested, taken to Rome, tortured for many days, and finally martyred in Puteoli according to Dorotheus⁴²¹.

Onesiphorus: Onesiphorus was⁴²² one of the original members of the Seventy Apostles and Paul and Silas stayed at his house⁴²³ while they were in Iconium on the 2nd Missionary Journey. Onesiphorus had a wife and some children⁴²⁴, but they were not recorded as traveling with him; perhaps the children were too young. Onesiphorus was very helpful⁴²⁵ to Paul in Ephesus on Paul's 3rd Missionary Journey, and he probably began traveling with Paul beginning with the 2nd Missionary Journey. Onesiphorus was still in Ephesus, now helping Timothy, when Paul was about to be executed (2 Timothy 4:19).

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for November 10.](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20November%2010)

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, November 10.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

⁴¹⁸ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, February 15.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, February 15.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for February 15.](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20February%2015)

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

⁴¹⁹ For details, see the section titled: "Paul Met Onesimus in Rome".

⁴²⁰ Some think that this Onesimus was Bishop of Ephesus after Timothy. This is probably not the case. See the section titled: "Paul Met Onesimus in Rome".

⁴²¹ Dorotheus of Tyre, The Choosing of the Seventy Holy Apostles.

⁴²² The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, September 7.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, September 7.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for September 7.](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20September%207)

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

⁴²³ For details, see the section titled: "The Church of Iconium in Galatia".

⁴²⁴ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, September 24.

⁴²⁵ For details, see the section titled: "Onesiphorus Was Very Helpful to Paul in Ephesus".

After Paul's death in c. 67 AD, Onesiphorus was Bishop of Colophon, which is located between Ephesus and Smyrna. He was martyred there by being drawn and quartered⁴²⁶. Dorotheus stated⁴²⁷ that at one time he was also Bishop of Cyrene.

Parmenas: Parmenas was⁴²⁸ one of the original Seventy Apostles and also one of the first Seven Deacons. Parmenas was ordained Bishop of the city of Soli on Cyprus, but he became sick shortly afterward and died in Jerusalem in front of the Apostles. Others say⁴²⁹ that Parmenas' sickness came much later during the reign of Trajan (98 – 117 AD).

Patrobus: Patrobus (also spelled Patrobulus) was⁴³⁰ one of the original Seventy Apostles and was later Bishop of Naples and Puteoli in Italy. When he was sent to Rome in c. 55 AD, he didn't have very far to go. When Paul wrote to him as being in Rome in c. 55 AD (Romans 16:14), it does not appear that Paul knew him well, and it is not obvious which of the Twelve Apostles sent him to Rome.

Philemon & Apphia: Philemon was⁴³¹ one of the original members of the Seventy Apostles and Apphia was his wife and helper in everything he did. Philemon and Apphia were very wealthy and were also very close to the Apostle Paul along with Epaphras and Archippus in Colossae. While Archippus was the Bishop of Colossae, Philemon was a roving Bishop in charge of Colossae and neighboring towns – possibly like an archbishop today. As Philemon traveled around to various towns near Colossae, Apphia worked with the local poor and prepared her house in Colossae for the Church to meet in. At the time that Paul spent two years in Ephesus (c. 53 to 55 AD); the Church in Colossae was getting started, probably at the hands of Epaphras.

When Paul wrote his Epistle to Philemon, the primary issue he addressed was the status of Philemon's former slave Onesimus. Onesimus had stolen something of Philemon's and headed to Rome. In Rome, Onesimus met⁴³² the Apostle Paul, who was still under house-arrest, and Paul converted him and baptized him (Philemon 1:10). After serving Paul in Rome for a while, Paul sent Onesimus to Colossae, along with Tychicus, to deliver his Epistle to Philemon (Colossians 4:7-9). Paul asked for Philemon's blessing to free Onesimus, which Philemon did, and Onesimus

⁴²⁶ That is, he was bound behind four wild horses, and the horses were chased off in four directions. In most cases, both arms and one leg would be ripped off, and his body would be dragged along by one of the horses. Centuries later, this kind of execution came to be called "Drawn and quartering". Betting may have also occurred regarding which of the four horses dragged his body.

⁴²⁷ Dorotheus of Tyre, The Choosing of the Seventy Holy Apostles.

⁴²⁸ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2008, July 28.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, July 28.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

⁴²⁹ [http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for July 28](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20July%2028)

⁴³⁰ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, November 5.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, November 5.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for November 5](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20November%205).

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

⁴³¹ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, November 22.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, February 19.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for February 19, November 22](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20February%2019,%20November%2022).

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

⁴³² For details, see the section titled: "Paul Met Onesimus in Rome".

continued to travel with Paul when Paul was released from house-arrest. At the same time that Paul wrote about Onesimus, he also asked Philemon to prepare a guest-room for him for when he visits Colossae next, since Paul had either never been to Colossae, or had been there only briefly.

Philemon, Apphia and Archippus were martyred⁴³³ by the pagans of that area about the same time as the Apostle Paul during the last years of Emperor Nero. During a pagan festival, some of the rioters stormed into the Church that met in Philemon's and Apphia's house and they dragged off Philemon, Apphia and Archippus to the local magistrate. Archippus was stabbed to death en route, while Philemon and Apphia were later buried up to their waist and stoned to death.

Philip: Philip⁴³⁴ was a Samaritan, born in Caesarea and one of the original Seventy Apostles⁴³⁵; he was Bishop of the city of Caesarea, where he lived with his four virgin daughters who were prophetesses (Acts 21:8-9). We need to distinguish this Philip from the Philip who was one of the Twelve Apostles (Matthew 10:3, Mark 3:18, Luke 6:14). Philip of the Seventy was also chosen as one of the first "deacons" along with Stephen (Acts 6:5). Philip of the Seventy worked a great deal of wonders such that he astonished the magician Simon Magus in Samaria (Acts 8:13). When Peter and John came to Samaria, Simon tried to purchase the Gift of the Holy Spirit (Acts 8:18) so that he could do what they were doing. Peter told Simon in effect, "Take your money and go to hell" (Acts 8:20). After Philip left Samaria, the Apostles in Jerusalem sent Nicholas of Antioch to Samaria as Bishop, but Nicholas was corrupted by Simon and he later apostatized to follow Simon's teachings.

In the meantime, Philip was called by the Holy Spirit to speak to the Ethiopian eunuch on the road to Gaza (Acts 8:26-38). Philip did so and thus he sent the message of the Resurrection to Ethiopia. Shortly after this, Matthew and Matthias of the Twelve Apostles went to Ethiopia themselves.

After the Ethiopian eunuch was baptized, Philip was caught up by the Holy Spirit and was teleported to Azotus – about 40 miles away (Acts 8:39-40).

We don't hear from Philip of the Seventy for over 25 years, and by then he was Bishop of Caesarea. Paul passed through Caesarea at that time on his way to Jerusalem and four years of captivity. Paul stayed at the house of Philip (Acts 21:8-10), where we notice that Philip has four virgin daughters who are prophetesses. Philip's daughters would be in their early 30's at this time.

Philip went on to become Bishop of the city of Tralles in Asia Minor, where he converted many pagans, and eventually died of old age.

Philologus and Julia: Philologus (with his wife Julia) was⁴³⁶ one of the original Seventy Apostles and was later ordained by the Apostle Andrew as Bishop of Sinope (near the Black Sea).

⁴³³ <http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for February 19, November 22.

⁴³⁴ Nikolai Velimirovic, *Prologue From Ochrid*, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, October 11.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, October 11.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for October 11.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

⁴³⁵ For many more details about the life of the Deacon Philip, see Mark Kern, *The First Seven Deacons*, St. Athanasius Press, 2011.

⁴³⁶ *The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church*, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, November 5.

Nikolai Velimirovic, *Prologue From Ochrid*, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, November 5.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for November 5.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

When Paul wrote to him as being in Rome in c. 55 AD (Romans 16:15), it does not appear that Paul knew him well, and it is probably Andrew of the Twelve Apostles, who sent him to Rome.

Phlegon: Phlegon⁴³⁷ was one of the original Seventy Apostles and was Bishop of the city of Marathon in Thrace, where he was martyred. When Luke spent about 5 years in Macedonia, Phlegon probably worked with Luke. When Paul wrote to him as being in Rome in c. 55 AD (Romans 16:14), it does not appear that Paul knew him well, and it is not obvious which of the Twelve Apostles sent him to Rome.

Phygellus: Phygellus was⁴³⁸ one of the original Seventy Apostles, but he apostatized to follow the arch heretic Simon Magus. The Apostle Paul referred to Phygellus:

“This you know, that all those in Asia have turned away from me, among whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes” (2 Timothy 1:14-15).

Hippolytus referred to Phygellus as the Bishop of Ephesus⁴³⁹, yet this is not recorded in any of Paul’s letters. Since Phygellus had already apostatized before Paul was beheaded, Phygellus’ time as Bishop of Ephesus must have been short-lived. When Paul spent two years in Ephesus (c. 56-58 AD), only the idolaters were prominent in Ephesus⁴⁴⁰, not the heretics; similarly, when Paul wrote his Epistle to the Ephesians⁴⁴¹ (c. 62 AD). When Paul wrote his first Epistle to Timothy⁴⁴² (c. 64 AD), Paul asked Timothy to remain in Ephesus as Bishop, probably to counteract the teachings of Phygellus⁴⁴³ who was Bishop there. Paul stated,

“As I urged you when I went into Macedonia -- remain in Ephesus that you may charge some that they teach⁴⁴⁴ no other doctrine, nor give heed to fables and endless genealogies, which cause disputes rather than godly edification which is in faith” (1 Timothy 1:3-4).

This was a formidable task for Timothy, since Phygellus was a member of the original Seventy Apostles, but Timothy was not; besides, Timothy was probably much younger.

Siding with Phygellus and against Timothy and Paul were Hermogenes⁴⁴⁵, Alexander, Hymenaeus and Philetus. Alexander and Hymenaeus were so bad that Paul felt it necessary to

⁴³⁷ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2005, April 8.

Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, April 8.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for April 8>.

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

⁴³⁸ Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

Dorotheus of Tyre, The Choosing of the Seventy Holy Apostles.

⁴³⁹ Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

⁴⁴⁰ See the sections titled:

“Paul’s Return to Ephesus”

“The Jewish Exorcists and the Magicians”

“The Controversy over the Temple of Diana”

“The Widespread Renown of the Apostle Paul”

“The Riot over the Temple of Diana”

“Onesiphorus Was Very Helpful to Paul in Ephesus”

⁴⁴¹ At this time Paul warned the Ephesians about the heresies of the followers of Simon Magus. Earlier Paul had warned the Ephesians that “savage wolves will come in among you, not sparing the flock” (Acts 20:29).

⁴⁴² Phygellus was apparently one of these wolves, and he appears to have been Bishop of Ephesus at this time.

⁴⁴³ Phygellus was probably in league with Hermogenes, another member of the original Seventy Apostles who apostatized also. Alexander and Philetus (), not Apostles, helped Phygellus also.

⁴⁴⁴ Those charged with “teaching” were usually the Bishops.

⁴⁴⁵ Hermogenes was also one of the original Seventy Apostles who apostatized.

deliver them over to Satan for the destruction of their flesh in hope that they might be saved (1 Timothy 1:20). Paul stated to Timothy very strongly that he (Timothy) was involved in warfare against these heretics

“This charge I commit to you, son Timothy, according to the prophecies previously made concerning you, that by them you may wage the good warfare” (1 Timothy 1:18).

Paul quoted Hymenaeus and Philetus as “straying concerning the truth, saying that the resurrection is already past; and they overthrow the faith of some” (2 Timothy 2:18). Their concept was that our resurrection occurs as we come up out of the waters of baptism. As with many heresies, there was some insight into the importance and power of baptism, but with a twisted understanding.

Tertullian lumped together⁴⁴⁶ Hymenaeus, Philetus, Hermogenes and Phygellus in speaking of those who deserted Paul and the things of God, and he compared them to Judas Iscariot.

“The Scripture says, ‘Your eyes are upon the ways of the children of men’ (Jeremiah 32:19 LXX). ‘Man looks at the outward appearance, but God looks at the heart’ (1 Samuel 16:7 LXX). ‘The Lord knows those who are His’ (2 Timothy 2:19); and ‘Every plant which My heavenly Father has not planted will be uprooted’ (Matthew 15:13); and ‘So the last will be first, and the first last’ (Matthew 20:16); and He carries ‘His winnowing fan *is* in His hand, and He will thoroughly clean out His threshing floor’ (Matthew 3:12). Let the chaff of a fickle faith fly off as much as it will at every blast of temptation, all the purer will be that heap of grain which shall be laid up in the granary of the Lord. Did not certain of the disciples turn back from the Lord Himself, when they were offended? Yet the rest did not therefore think that they must turn away from following Him, but because they knew that He was the Word of Life, and had come from God, they continued in His company to the very last, after He had gently inquired of them whether they also would go away (John 6:66-67). It is a comparatively small thing, that certain men, like Phygellus, Hermogenes, Philetus, and Hymenaeus, deserted Paul (2 Timothy 1:15, 2:17; 1 Timothy 1:20); the betrayer of Christ was himself one of the apostles. We are surprised at seeing His churches forsaken by some men, although the things which we suffer after the example of Christ Himself, show us to be Christians. ‘They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would have continued with us’” (1 John 2:19).

Prochorus: Prochorus was⁴⁴⁷ one of the original Seventy Apostles and was also one of the first seven deacons. For most of his life he was a follower of the Apostle John, and John dictated his Gospel, his Epistles and the Book of Revelation to Prochorus.

At first, Prochorus was a follower of the Apostle Peter; but after the dormition of the Virgin Mary in the mid 50’s AD, Prochorus became a companion of the Apostle John. Prochorus suffered

⁴⁴⁶ Tertullian, The Prescription Against Heretics, II, I, 3.

⁴⁴⁷ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2008, July 28.

Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, July 28.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for July 28](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20July%2028).

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

along with John on the Island of Patmos, and he wrote down the words John dictated in composing the Book of Revelation.

After the death of the Apostle John, Prochorus was appointed Bishop of Nicomedia in Asia Minor which is about 50 miles from Byzantium.

Pudens: Pudens⁴⁴⁸ was one of the original Seventy Apostles and was a Roman Senator at one time. He never served as a Bishop, like most of the rest of the Seventy. Pudens' home in Rome served as a Church where Peter himself served as priest. Just before Paul's death, we notice that Pudens was with Paul in Rome. Pudens was martyred in Rome by Emperor Nero shortly after Peter and Paul.

Quartus: Quartus is only mentioned as being with Paul in Corinth on the 3rd Missionary Journey when Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans (Romans 16:23). Quartus was known⁴⁴⁹ as the Bishop of Beirut, and he probably joined Paul before the beginning of the 3rd Missionary Journey when Paul was in Jerusalem. Quartus later returned to Beirut, probably when Paul returned to Jerusalem at the end of the 3rd Missionary Journey. He converting many Greek pagans to the Lord in Beirut, and then reposed in peace.

Rhodium: Rhodium (or Rodion) is listed as one of the original Seventy Apostles by both Hippolytus⁴⁵⁰ and Dorotheus of Tyre⁴⁵¹ as a separate individual than Herodion, who was also one of the original Seventy Apostles. Later lists of the Seventy Apostles refer to Rhodium and Herodion as the same person. Dorotheus stated⁴⁵² that it was Rhodium and not Herodion who was martyred with the Apostle Peter in Rome in c. 67 AD.

Rufus: Rufus⁴⁵³ was the son of Simon of Cyrene, who carried Jesus' cross for Him (Mark 15:21), and was probably among those from Cyprus and Cyrene who founded the Church in Antioch⁴⁵⁴ (Acts 11:20). Rufus traveled with Paul to some extent and Paul greeted Rufus warmly, along with Rufus' mother in c. 55 AD (Romans 16:13). Rufus was ordained Bishop of the Greek

⁴⁴⁸ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2005, April 14.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, April 15.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for April 15>.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

⁴⁴⁹ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, November 10.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, November 10.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for November 10>.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

⁴⁵⁰ Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

⁴⁵¹ Dorotheus of Tyre, The Choosing of the Seventy Holy Apostles. For the significance of Hippolytus' and Dorotheus' list of the Seventy Apostles, see Appendix B.

⁴⁵² Dorotheus of Tyre, The Choosing of the Seventy Holy Apostles.

⁴⁵³ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2005, April 8.

Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, April 8.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for April 8>.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

⁴⁵⁴ See Mark Kern, The Apostle Paul, St. Athanasius Press, 2014, the section titled, "The Scattering of the Saints after the Death of Stephen".

city of Thebes (30 miles northwest of Athens) and died there as a martyr for Christ. Rufus was especially noted⁴⁵⁵ for his godliness.

John Chrysostom paid complements⁴⁵⁶ to Rufus and his mother, who was in Rome with her son. This does not mean that Paul and Rufus were brothers; it just means that Rufus' mother was a special lady.

“Paul wrote to Rome, ‘Greet Rufus, chosen in the Lord, and his mother and mine’ (Romans 16:13). Here again the good things are without any drawback, since the son and the mother are each of such a character, the house is full of blessing, and the root agrees with the fruit. Paul would not have simply said, ‘his mother and mine’, unless he had been bearing testimony to the woman for great virtue.”

Silas: Silas⁴⁵⁷ was one of the original Seventy Apostles; he was also one of the leading men in Jerusalem (Acts 15:22) and a prophet (Acts 15:32). We first hear about Silas when Bishop James of Jerusalem sent him to Antioch along with the letter drafted by the Council in Jerusalem. Silas and Justus Barsabas, Jesus' step-brother, were assigned to confirm the contents of the letter among the Gentiles. After doing this, Justus returned to Jerusalem, but Silas stayed in Antioch and accompanied Paul on the 2nd Missionary Journey.

Since the Apostle Silas was present at the Council of Jerusalem, he saw the results of the work of Paul first hand. Being a prophet in the Church of Jerusalem (Acts 15:32), Silas understood the significance of what Paul was doing and the work of the Holy Spirit in Paul. And Silas greatly desired to be part of this work.

As Paul left on his 2nd Missionary Journey with Silas, Silas served to further confirm this letter from the Church in Jerusalem to the Gentiles everywhere Paul went. The result of Paul's Epistle to the Galatians⁴⁵⁸ followed by the visit of Paul and Silas with the letter from the Church in Jerusalem was an authoritative rebuke for everyone who had been trying to push circumcision on the Galatians.

From the text of Luke's account in Acts, Silas was with Paul when they arrived in Corinth (Acts 18:5), but he did not accompany Paul when Paul left Corinth (Acts 18:18). According to tradition, Silas was the first Bishop of Corinth. Silas thus became the Bishop who was presiding at Corinth when Corinth developed the factions favoring Paul, Cephas, Apollo and Christ. Silas was still in Corinth when Paul passed through on the 3rd Missionary Journey.

Silas remained in Corinth for the rest of his life and died there in peace.

Silvanus: Silvanus⁴⁵⁹ was one of the original Seventy Apostles and he is sometimes confused with Silas even though both were members of the original Seventy Apostles. Silvanus

⁴⁵⁵ Eusebius of Caesarea, Church History, III, 36.

⁴⁵⁶ John Chrysostom, Homilies on Romans, XXXI, v. 12.

⁴⁵⁷ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2008, July 30.

Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, July 30.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for July 30.](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20July%2030)

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

⁴⁵⁸ For a summary of the effect of Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, where Paul referred to those pushing circumcision as “accursed” (Galatians 1:6-9), see the section titled “Paul Probably Wrote to the Galatians at this Time”.

⁴⁵⁹ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2008, July 30.

Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, July 30.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for July 30.](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20July%2030)

probably began traveling with the Apostle Paul early on the 2nd Missionary Journey. When Paul got to Thessalonica, Silvanus stayed behind⁴⁶⁰ with Jason, who had put up Paul's bail. Silvanus later became known as the Bishop of Thessalonica.

When Paul was in Corinth on the 2nd Missionary Journey, Silvanus joined Paul for a while as Paul wrote two Epistles to the Church in Thessalonica. Silvanus was there with Paul when Paul wrote both these Epistles (1 Thessalonians 1:1, 2 Thessalonians 1:1, 2 Corinthians 1:19).

Silvanus also worked briefly with the Apostle Peter (1 Peter 5:12), where Silvanus apparently carried Peter's first Epistle around to various Churches.

Silvanus, according to tradition⁴⁶¹, was an older man and he ended his life in Thessalonica.

Sosipater: Sosipater, Paul's kinsman (Romans 16:21), and originally from Berea (Acts 20:4) and had been ordained elder (that is, presbyter) of Iconium on Barnabas' and Paul's 1st Missionary Journey⁴⁶². On the 2nd Missionary Journey, he left Iconium and began traveling with Paul and Silas, where he was replaced in Iconium by Tertius, also of the Seventy. He continued to travel with Paul on the 3rd Missionary Journey and he was with Paul in Corinth in c. 55 AD when Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans (Romans 16:21-22). When the Jews plotted against Paul as he was about to sail to Syria, Paul decided to return through Macedonia. Sosipater of Berea accompanied him to Asia -- also Aristarchus, Gaius, Timothy, Tychicus and Trophimus. These men, going ahead, waited at Troas. Paul sailed away from Philippi after the Days of Unleavened Bread, and in five days joined them at Troas, where they stayed seven days (Acts 20:1-6). Sosipater later went on his own missionary journey to establish the Church on the Island of Corfu, along with the Apostle of the Seventy, Jason⁴⁶³.

Sosthenes: We know Sosthenes as the ruler of the synagogue in Corinth who replaced Crispus when Crispus started following Paul. But Sosthenes was⁴⁶⁴ also one of the original Seventy Apostles. We also need to ask why Sosthenes would backslide from his calling as an Apostle to become synagogue ruler. Why didn't he believe before Paul came? This was now over 20 years after the Crucifixion, and some people may have changed. There was some backsliding among Jesus' disciples earlier. For example, in John 6:66, some of Jesus' disciples walked with

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

⁴⁶⁰ For more details, see the sections titled:

"The Church in Thessalonica"

"The Reaction of the Jews"

⁴⁶¹ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2008, July 30.

⁴⁶² Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, November 10, April 28. See: [http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for October 30, November 10](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20October%2030,%20November%2010).

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, November 10.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

⁴⁶³ Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, April 28.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for April 28](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20April%2028).

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, April 29.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

⁴⁶⁴ Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, December 8.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for December 8](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20December%208).

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, December 8.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

Him no more after He said if we don't eat His body and drink His blood (the Lord's Supper), we have no life in us (John 6:54). Another factor with the Seventy was the possibility that they were in Jerusalem only for Passover and then left shortly afterward. So, after they returned from being sent out two by two, they may have gone home to their native country and weren't present for the Resurrection and Pentecost.

After a year and a half of Paul's stay in Corinth, the Jews couldn't take it any longer and hauled Paul to the judgment seat of the proconsul for Achaia named Gallio. Gallio wouldn't even listen to the Jews' complaint so the Jews instead vented their wrath against Sosthenes, beating him in front of the judgment seat. Sosthenes was probably just trying to be the peacemaker and win over his fellow Jews like James was doing in Jerusalem. About three years later, when Paul wrote to the Corinthians from Ephesus (on his way to Corinth), Sosthenes was now traveling⁴⁶⁵ with Paul as an Apostle (1 Corinthians 1:1).

On Paul's 3rd Missionary Journey when he was at Ephesus, Paul sent Sosthenes to Corinth to find out what was going on. Sosthenes came back to Ephesus at the direction of Silas to seek Paul out with a report on what was going on. Following Paul's letter-writing (i.e. after Paul's 4th letter to Corinth), Sosthenes probably traveled back to Corinth with Paul.

Sosthenes went on to become Bishop of Colophon in Asia Minor, between Ephesus and Smyrna, perhaps after Onesiphorus was martyred there; Sosthenes died in peace in Colophon.

Stachys: Stachys was one of the original Seventy Apostles and was made Bishop of Byzantium⁴⁶⁶ by the Apostle Andrew. Stachys built a Church at Argyropolis, (near Byzantium) and more than 2000 people gathered there to hear him preach. He was a good shepherd to his flock, tirelessly laboring for their salvation and died in peace after being there 16 years. Argyropolis means "silver city" in Greek and there are several cities by that name, making the exact location hard to identify. Stachys was sent to Rome in c. 55 AD by the Apostle Andrew (Romans 16:9), along with seventeen others of the Seventy (Romans 16:3-15) to counteract heresy⁴⁶⁷ that developed there. Since Paul greeted Stachys as "my beloved", this implies that Paul had worked with him to some extent prior to 55 AD⁴⁶⁸. Paul is not recorded as having been to Byzantium, but Troas is about 150 miles from Byzantium; it is quite possible that Paul met Stachys at Troas as he was passing back and forth between Ephesus and Philippi. Stachys was ordained bishop of Byzantium⁴⁶⁹ by Andrew probably in the late 50's AD.

⁴⁶⁵ For more details of Sosthenes' journey back as an Apostle, see the sections titled:

"Silas and Timothy Arrive from Macedonia"

"The Jews Create a Disturbance Again"

⁴⁶⁶ Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, October 31.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for October 31>.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2008, October 31.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

⁴⁶⁷ For more information, see Mark Kern, Simon Magus the Heresiarch, St Athanasius Press, 2004.

⁴⁶⁸ Because Paul refers to him in such a warm, personal manner, it is very probable Paul worked with him prior to his arrival in Rome. If Paul didn't work with them in Macedonia (Philippi, Thessalonica and Berea) or Achaia (Athens and Corinth) on his 2nd Missionary Journey, he must have done so on his 3rd Missionary Journey just prior to the drafting of the letter to the Romans. Most likely, however, would be that Paul worked with them in Macedonia, on his 2nd Missionary Journey. On his 3rd Missionary Journey, there may have been a very good report concerning him as Paul passed through Macedonia heading for Corinth -- therefore the term "my beloved".

⁴⁶⁹ Stachys as Bishop of Byzantium became controversial centuries later. The Bishop of the Church of Rome was regarded throughout Christendom as the spokesman, or "first among equals", for the Church, since Rome

John Chrysostom noted⁴⁷⁰ how Paul heaped praise on some of those he worked with such as Amplias, Urbanus and Stachys. This says a great deal about the character of these men.

“Paul stated, ‘Greet Amplias my beloved, Urbanus, my helper in the Lord and Stachys, my beloved’ (Romans 16:8-9). Paul passes praise upon their persons by his love. The love of Paul was for God, carrying countless blessings with it. If being loved by the king is a great thing, what a great praise must it be to be beloved by Paul? If they had not acquired great virtue, they would not have attracted his love. Those who live in vice and transgressions Paul is accustomed not only to abstain from loving them, but even to anathematize them. He says, ‘If anyone does not love the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be accursed’ (1 Corinthians 16:22); and, ‘If any man preaches any other gospel to you than what we have preached to you, let him be accursed’” (Galatians 1:8).

Stephen: Stephen was⁴⁷¹ one of the original Seventy Apostles and also one of the first seven Deacons. He was stoned to death by the Jewish Zealots after he challenged their concept of the work of God (Acts 6:8-7:60). In speaking with Stephen, the Zealots were not able to “resist the wisdom and the Spirit by which he spoke” (Acts 6:10). Just like they did later with the Apostle Paul⁴⁷², they misrepresented Stephen’s views and accused him of blasphemy before the Sanhedrin. False witnesses were brought in to accuse him of speaking against Moses, the Temple and the Law, just as had been done against Christ (Matthew 24:1-2, 26:61, 27:40 Mark 13:1-2, 14:58, 15:29).

When Stephen was permitted to defend himself, he spoke of Old Testament prophecies just as Paul later did⁴⁷³. Stephen concluded with, “Look! I see the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God! (Acts 7:56) “Then they cried out with a loud voice, stopped their ears, and ran at him with one accord; and they cast *him* out of the city and stoned *him*. And the witnesses laid down their clothes at the feet of a young man named Saul” (Acts 7:57-58). Just before Stephen died, he said, just as Christ had said, “Lord, do not charge them with this sin” (Acts 7:60).

The Zealots left Stephen’s body for the dogs to eat; however, Gamaliel, a secret follower of Christ, came two days later and took Stephen’s body to Caphargamala and buried it in a cave on his own land. Gamaliel was later buried in the same place when he died.

was where the emperor lived. But when Constantine moved the center of government to Constantinople (former Byzantium), the question arose whether the Bishop of Constantinople should now be the first among equals. One of the arguments against the Bishop of Constantinople stated that Constantinople didn’t even have an Apostolic origin. While this is not the case, the Church of Byzantium was not an important center of Christianity prior to Constantine.

⁴⁷⁰ John Chrysostom, Commentary on Acts, XXXI, vv. 8-9.

⁴⁷¹ Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, December 27. <http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for December 27.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2003, December 27.

Hippolytus, “On the Seventy Apostles”, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

⁴⁷² See for example the sections titled:

“The Accusation of the Jewish Zealots against Paul”, and
“Paul’s Response to the Accusations”

⁴⁷³ See for example the sections titled:

“Paul Addresses the Rioters”

Tertius: Sosipater, originally from Berea (Acts 20:4), served well as Presbyter in Iconium and was later replaced by Tertius⁴⁷⁴, also one of the Seventy, who wrote down Paul's Epistle to the Romans (Romans 16:22). Sosipater and Tertius were both with Paul in Corinth in c. 55 AD when Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans (Romans 16:21-22). Sosipater later accompanied Paul to Asia (Acts 20:4) in c. 57 AD, and Tertius was probably in Iconium by that time, taking over for Sosipater as Bishop of Iconium, where he spent the rest of his life and died as a martyr.

Thaddaeus: Thaddaeus was born in Edessa and was⁴⁷⁵ one of the original Seventy Apostles; he is credited with bringing the Gospel to the city of Edessa.

Just before Jesus' Crucifixion, some Gentiles came to see Jesus from Edessa (John 12:21). These Gentiles were from King Abgar of Edessa, and they came to invite Jesus to Edessa to heal their king. Jesus knew that he was going to the Cross, and he couldn't go with them. But he instructed them in the ways of God by telling them about the grain of wheat, loving their own life, and serving Him (John 12:24-26). To let them know that this was for real, Jesus then said, "Father, glorify Your name" (John 12:28).

"Then a voice came from heaven, saying, 'I have both glorified it and will glorify it again'. Therefore, the people who stood by and heard it said that it had thundered. Others said, 'An angel has spoken to Him'. Jesus answered and said, 'This voice did not come because of Me, but for your sake'" (John 12:28-30).

Thus, Jesus assured the Gentiles from Edessa that their desires had been heard, and God the Father witnessed to this from heaven. In the event that Jesus could not come, Abgar had sent a painter along with the group, who had been instructed to paint an image of Jesus, which Abgar had faith would heal his leprosy. Anticipating this, Jesus took a piece of linen cloth, and pressed his face against it, forming an image of his face in the cloth. When the emissaries returned to Edessa, the "Holy Napkin" healed most of King Abgar's leprosy. After Pentecost, Thaddaeus returned to his homeland and healed Abgar of the rest of his disease. The "Holy Napkin" became one of the most famous icons of all time, and today the "Holy Napkin", otherwise known as The Mandylion, has its own Feast Day⁴⁷⁶.

King Abgar was catechized along with the entire city and the surrounding area. The idol worshippers in Edessa also tore down their altars and were baptized. Thaddaeus established many priests and deacons to serve the many new Churches in the Edessa area. Word spread to neighboring Assyria, which was utterly astonished by what was happening in Edessa, and many Churches sprang up in secret in Assyria. After this Thaddaeus traveled to Beirut, where he died in peace in the year 44 AD.

⁴⁷⁴ Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, November 10, October 30.
[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for October 30, November 10](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20October%2030,%20November%2010).

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, November 10.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

⁴⁷⁵ Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, August 21.
[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for August 21](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20August%2021).

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2009, August 21.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

⁴⁷⁶ The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2009, August 16.

Nikolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, August 16.
[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for August 16](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20August%2016).

Timon: Timon was⁴⁷⁷ one of the original Seventy Apostles and served as Bishop of Bostra in Arabia. Bostra was one of the cities of the Decapolis where Jesus sent the Gadarene demoniacs after they were healed (Mark 5:20). It is also close to the place where Paul went after he was converted (Galatians 1:17), and Paul may have worked with Timon during his three years in Arabia.

Timon served well in Arabia and was later persecuted by the Jews and the pagans. When he was an old man, they threw him into a furnace to kill him. Some traditions say that he survived the furnace, only to be subsequently crucified. Others say that he died in the furnace.

Timothy: Timothy was not one of the original Seventy Apostles⁴⁷⁸, but he was added to the ranks of the Seventy later and he is commemorated with the Seventy today. Paul first met Timothy⁴⁷⁹ in Lystra (2 Timothy 3:11, Acts 16:1-2) on his 1st Missionary Journey and Barnabas and Paul ordained Timothy as an elder (or presbyter) for Lystra as they went back through the Churches⁴⁸⁰ on their return to Antioch (Acts 14:23). As Paul and Silas passed through these same Churches on the 2nd Missionary Journey, Timothy joined them⁴⁸¹ in Lystra and continued to travel with them, where Artemas replaced Timothy in Lystra. Since Paul had to leave Thessalonica on short notice due to envy of the Jews, he sent Timothy back⁴⁸² to Thessalonica from Athens to see how things were going with Jason and Silvanus, who was the new presbyter in Thessalonica. In the meantime, Timothy and Silas went with Paul to Berea. When Paul had to leave Berea on short notice also, Silas and Timothy stayed behind in Berea (Acts 17:14) to ordain elders⁴⁸³ for Berea. Shortly after Paul arrived in Athens from Berea, he sent some of the Apostles who were traveling with him to go back to Berea to get Silas and Timothy. By the time Silas and Timothy joined Paul, Paul was in Corinth. As soon as Silas and Timothy arrived in Corinth from Berea, Paul became much bolder in his testimony in the synagogue of Corinth (Acts 18:5). Timothy then accompanied Paul for the rest of the 2nd Missionary Journey and continued on the 3rd Missionary Journey.

Titus: Titus⁴⁸⁴ was with Barnabas and Paul on their 1st Missionary Journey, but he was not one of the original Seventy Apostles⁴⁸⁵; he was later added to the ranks of the Seventy and today he is commemorated with the Seventy.

⁴⁷⁷ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, December 30, July 28.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for December 30, July 28](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20December%2030,%20July%2028),

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2008, July 28.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

⁴⁷⁸ Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

⁴⁷⁹ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, January 22.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for January 22](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20January%2022).

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2003, January 22.

⁴⁸⁰ See the section in this document titled: "Ordaining Elders and the Report Back to Antioch of Syria".

⁴⁸¹ See the section in this document titled: "Visiting the Churches from the First Missionary Journey".

⁴⁸² See the section in this document titled: "The Reaction of the Jews".

⁴⁸³ See the section in this document titled: "The Church in Berea".

⁴⁸⁴ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, August 25.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for August 25](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20August%2025).

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, August 25.

⁴⁸⁵ Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

When Paul and Barnabas returned and reported their results to the Church at Jerusalem, Titus was with them as a 3rd witness to the events, even though he was uncircumcised. The Apostles in Jerusalem accepted Titus as he was and did not compel him to be circumcised (Galatians 2:3). On the 1st Missionary Journey, Titus was just accompanying Barnabas and Paul; on the 3rd Missionary Journey, Titus played a much more prominent role in adjudicating the problems in Corinth (2 Corinthians 7:6-7, 2:12-13). Since Paul mentioned that Titus was his partner and fellow-worker (2 Corinthians 8:23), Titus probably accompanied Paul from the outset of the 3rd Missionary Journey.

After Paul's death, Titus spent the remainder of his life on Crete and died peacefully⁴⁸⁶ at the age of 97.

Trophimus: Trophimus was one of the original Seventy Apostles and we first encounter Trophimus⁴⁸⁷ toward the end of Paul's 3rd Missionary Journey (Acts 20:4). He had obviously been following Paul for a while by then; since he was from Ephesus, we may presume that he began following Paul during the two years that Paul spent in Ephesus on the 3rd Missionary Journey. He continued to accompany Paul to Jerusalem, and he was so close to Paul that some of the Jews mistakenly assumed that Paul had brought him into the Temple (Acts 21:29). Almost 10 years later in c. 67 AD, Paul had to leave Trophimus in Miletus (near Ephesus) because he was very sick.

Trophimus never had the occasion to be Bishop of any city, since he was beheaded under Emperor Nero shortly after Paul was.

Tychicus of Asia: Tychicus⁴⁸⁸ was a native of Asia Minor⁴⁸⁹ (Acts 20:4). Since he was one of the original Seventy Apostles, he must have heard about Paul when Paul spent two years in Ephesus on his 3rd Missionary Journey, and he began following him after that. We see him following Paul toward the end of the 3rd Missionary Journey in c. 57 AD (Acts 20:4) and again being sent to Ephesus by Paul when Paul was still under house arrest in c. 62 AD (Ephesians 6:21). Besides going to Ephesus, Tychicus also went to nearby Colossae (Colossians 4:7) on that same trip. In c. 64 AD, after Paul was released from house arrest, Paul sent either Artemas or Tychicus to Crete to fill in for Titus so that Titus could travel to consult with Paul in Nicopolis (Titus 3:12). At the end of Paul's life in c. 67 AD, Paul sent Tychicus on a mission to Ephesus (2 Timothy 4:12).

After Paul's death, most say⁴⁹⁰ that Tychicus went on to be Bishop of Caesarea. Philip of the Seventy had been Bishop of Caesarea, but later in his life, Philip went on to become Bishop of

⁴⁸⁶ <http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for August 25.

⁴⁸⁷ Nikolai Velimirovic, *Prologue From Ochrid*, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, April 15.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for April 15.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, April 14.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

⁴⁸⁸ Nikolai Velimirovic, *Prologue From Ochrid*, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, December 8.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for December 8.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2003, December 8.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

⁴⁸⁹ Ephesus was also in Asia Minor.

⁴⁹⁰ Nikolai Velimirovic, *Prologue From Ochrid*, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, December 8.

<http://oca.org/FSlives.asp> for December 8.

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2003, December 8.

the city of Tralles in Asia Minor, where he converted many pagans, and eventually died of old age. Tychicus must have become Bishop of Caesarea after Philip.

There is another Tychicus who was one of the original Seventy Apostles, and who was later Bishop of Chalcedon, but he never seems to have had any interaction with Paul.

Urbanus: Urbanus is remembered as the Bishop of Macedonia who was ordained by the Apostle Andrew⁴⁹¹. He served for a long time there and was eventually tortured to death by the Jews and the pagans for his zeal in preaching the Gospel. In the Scriptures, we see Urbanus only in Rome in c. 55 AD (Romans 16:9). Before this, Luke had been left behind in charge in Macedonia⁴⁹² during the middle of Paul's 2nd Missionary Journey (c. 50 AD), and this continued for about 4 years until Paul passed through Macedonia again on his 3rd Missionary Journey (c. 54 AD). Similarly, Urbanus had been left behind in Tarsus so that Jason could continue on the 2nd Missionary Journey with Paul. On the 3rd Missionary Journey, Urbanus started traveling with Paul, and someone else took his place in Tarsus. If Urbanus was in Rome in 55 AD, he had to have been sent there along with the other 17 of the Seventy Apostles who had been sent there. Most likely Urbanus was in Macedonia with Luke from 50 to 54 AD and had proven himself in the work there with his zeal for the Faith. When Paul came through Macedonia on the 3rd Missionary Journey, Paul sent Urbanus to Rome to help the others with dealing with the Heresiarch Simon Magus⁴⁹³. A few years later Urbanus returned to Macedonia. Urbanus was later tortured to death in Macedonia.

Others helping out in Macedonia were Epaphroditus and Hermas, where both were of the original Seventy Apostles. Epaphroditus was probably from Philippi and Paul calls him an Apostle and a Liturgist to Philippi as well as his fellow-worker and fellow-soldier (Philippians 2:25). Hermas was later Bishop of the city of Philippi, where he died as a martyr

Zenas: Zenas⁴⁹⁴ was one of the original Seventy Apostles and was an expert on the Mosaic Law. We only encounter Zenas in the Scriptures following Paul's 4th Missionary Journey when he wrote to Titus on Crete. Paul sent two Apostles to help out on Crete with questions over the Mosaic Law: Zenas the lawyer and Apollos. Zenas was an expert on the Mosaic Law, not civil law; Apollos was very good at showing from the (Old Testament) Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ (Acts 18:24-28). Apollos by himself had a tremendous impact in Corinth; combined with Zenas, these two Apostles had to have had the effect of "stopping the mouths of the circumcision" (Titus 1:11). Zenas isn't recorded as working with Paul earlier than this. This was all happening

⁴⁹¹ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, October 31.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for October 31](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20October%2031).

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, October 31.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5

⁴⁹² For more details regarding this, see the section of the 2nd Missionary Journey titled "The Evangelist Luke Remained Behind in Philippi".

⁴⁹³ For more details regarding Simon Magus, see Mark Kern, Simon Magus the Heresiarch, St. Athanasius Press, 2004. See <http://www.stathanasius.org/resources/e-books/>.

⁴⁹⁴ Nickolai Velimirovic, Prologue From Ochrid, Lazarica Press, Birmingham, 1986, September 27.

[http://oca.org/FSlives.asp for September 27](http://oca.org/FSlives.asp%20for%20September%2027).

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church, translated and published by Holy Apostles Convent, Buena Vista CO, 2002, September 27.

Hippolytus, "On the Seventy Apostles", Ante-Nicene Fathers, Hendrickson Publishers, 1995, v. 5.

about a year before the beginning of the First Jewish-Roman War that occurred from 66 AD to 70 AD.

Afterwards, Zenas became bishop of the city of Diospolis or Lydda in Palestine; this would have been after the destruction of Jerusalem⁴⁹⁵ by the Romans.

⁴⁹⁵ For a summary of the chronology of the destruction of Jerusalem, see <http://www.josephus.org/warChronologyIntro.htm>.

APPENDIX B

Source Data on the Identity of the Seventy Apostles

There is a difference between the original Seventy Apostles and those who are today commemorated as the Seventy Apostles. Similarly, there is a difference between the original Twelve Apostles and those who are commemorated as the Twelve Apostles today. With the Twelve, the Scriptures make it quite clear that Judas was rejected and Matthias was substituted in his place (Acts 1:15-26). Some people say that the Apostles made a mistake in selecting Matthias, and that they should have waited for Paul's conversion. But that is not what the Scriptures say. It says that Matthias "was numbered with the Eleven Apostles" (Acts 1:26). A similar problem occurred with the Seventy Apostles, where four of the Seventy apostatized (these are shown in red type at the end) and were replaced with others before the death of the Apostle Paul. Others such as Timothy and Titus, who were so prominent working with Paul, were added to the ranks of the Seventy later. These are shown at the end in blue.

In the following table are listed ten sources of the list of the Seventy Apostles. The first two (Hippolytus and Dorotheus) include the original Seventy before the four Apostles apostatized, while the other eight include just those whom we commemorate today as the Seventy. Thus, the first two sources have to be dated to around the middle of the 1st century, before any of the Seventy apostatized. The other eight represent lists that were put together after the 1st century, where these other eight are organized left to right in the approximate order of their date of origin.

The impact of Table 15 is that there is very good agreement regarding who most of the Seventy were and who the original Seventy were. A few of the Seventy are not as well-known and there is a lack of 100% consensus on their identity. On these few I have attempted to include those who the majority of sources say were of the Seventy.

Of note in Table 15 is that there were three Apostles named "Mark" among the original Seventy Apostles. Their separate lives are summarized in Appendix A.

Table 15
The Original Seventy Apostles versus Those Added Later

Apostle	Number	Hippolytus	Dorotheus of Tyre	Prologue of Ochrid	Great Synaxaristes	Byzantine Manaion	Greek Manaion	Russian Manaion	OCA Web Site Data	Demetrius of Rostov	Dionysius of Fourna
Original Seventy											
Agabus	1	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Amplias	2	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Ananias	3	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Andronicus	4	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Apelles of Heraclea	5		O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	
Apelles of Smyrna	6	O			C		C		C		C
Apollos	7	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Aristarchus	8	O	O			C	C	C			
Aristarchus, Apamea	9	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Aristobulus	10	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Artemas	11	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Asyncritus	12	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Barnabas	13	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Caesar	14	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C		C
Carpus	15	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Cephas	16	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C		
Clement	17	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Cleopas	18	O		C		C	C	C	C	C	C
Crescens	19	O		C	C	C	C		C	C	C
Epaenetus	20	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Epaphras	21		O							C	
Epaphroditus	22	O		C	C		C		C	C	C
Erastus	23	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Euodus	24	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Gaius	25	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Hermas	26	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Hermes	27	O	O	C	C		C	C	C	C	C
Herodion	28	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
James, Lord's Brother	29	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Jason	30	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Justus	31	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Linus	32	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Lucius	33	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Luke	34	O	O	C	12	C	C	C	C	C	12
Mark Evangelist	35	O	O	C	12	C	C	C	C	C	12
Mark, Barnabas' Cousin	36	O	O	C	C			C	C	C	C
John Mark	37	O	O	C	C		C?	C	C	C	
Narcissus	38	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Nicanor	39	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Olympas	40	O		C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Onesiphorus	41	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Parmenas	42	O	O	C	C		C		C	C	C
Patrobus	43	O	O	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C

Philemon & Apphia	44	O	O		C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Philip	45	O	O		C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Philologus & Julia	46	O	O		C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Phlegon	47	O	O		C	C	C	C	C	C	C	
Prochorus	48	O	O		C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Pudens	49	O	O		C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Quartus	50	O	O		C	C	C	C	C	C	C	
Rhodion	51	O	O				C	C	C			C
Rufus	52	O	O		C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Silas	53	O	O		C	C		C	C	C	C	C
Silvanus	54	O	O		C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Sosipater	55	O	O		C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Sosthenes	56	O	O		C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Stachys	57	O	O		C	C	C	C	C	C	C	
Stephen	58	O	O		C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Tertius	59	O	O		C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Thaddaeus	60	O	O		C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Timon	61	O	O		C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Trophimus	62	O	O		C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Tychicus of Asia	63	O	O		C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Tychicus of Chalcedon	64	O	O				C	C	C			
Urban	65	O	O		C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Zenas	66	O	O		C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Demas	67	O	O									
Hermogenes	68	O	O									
Nicholas	69	O	O									
Phygellas	70	O	O									
Apostles Added Later												
Achaicus	1					C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Aquila	2				C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Archippus	3				C	C				C	C	
Codratus	4				C	C				C	C	C
Fortunatus	5					C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Onesimus	6		O		C	C				C	C	
Simeon	7				C	C				C	C	C
Timothy	8				C	C				C	C	
Titus	9				C	C	C	C		C	C	C
Crispus									C		C	
Mathias							C	C	C			
Apollos (Another)							C					
Luke (Another)							C					