

CHAPTER 5

HISTORICAL IMPLICATIONS

1. Mark in Acts

Mark is identified as Mary's son, John, also called Mark at first in Acts 12:12. According to Acts 12:3-11, after his release from prison, Peter went to Mary's house in which a number of members of the church had assembled and were praying. Glimpsed, John Mark appears to identify his mother as the prominent patron of Peter and is not overtly connected with Peter.¹ However, on the grounds that Mary does not feature further in Acts, and she takes no part in the discovery of Peter, the primary reason of her sole emergence in Acts seems to be only to identify herself as the mother of John, also called Mark. He reemerges after this narrative and subsequently enjoys a crucial companionship with Paul and Barnabas.² It would seem that the link between Peter and John Mark in this account far outweighs that between Peter and Mary,³ and there remains an association between Peter and

¹ Black, *Mark: Images of an Apostolic Interpreter*, 27-28.

² See F. Scott Spencer, *Acts*, Reading: A New Biblical Commentary (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 127; Gerd Lüdemann, *Early Christianity according to the Traditions in Acts*, trans. John Bowden (London: SCM Press, 1987), 141-42; Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 386; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, AB, vol. 31 (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 488; Howard Clark Kee, *To Every Nation under Heaven: The Acts of the Apostles*, The New Testament in Context (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1997), 154; James D. G. Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1996), 163; Robert C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation*, vol. 2 (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 157-58; Bruce, *The Book of the Acts*, 238.

³ Richard N. Longenecker, *Acts*, The Expositor's Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1995), 206; Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 384; Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 386.

John Mark.⁴

Acts 12:25 reports that Barnabas and Saul were accompanied by John Mark, and returned to Antioch after fulfilling their mission in Jerusalem.⁵ This account connotes that John Mark joined Paul and Barnabas in their first mission journey.⁶ In the following account, Acts 13:5, John Mark is depicted as *u`phre, thj*, the denotation of which seems to be indistinct. In Luke 1:2 and Acts 26:16, this term is employed to denote a minister, thus, John Mark would play a significant role.⁷ On the

⁴ Simon J. Kistemaker, *Acts*, New Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1990), 440, propounds that John Mark as a member of Mary's family attended the prayer meeting. See also Jürgen Roloff, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, NTD 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 187; Pierson Parker, "John and John Mark," *JBL* 79 (1960): 101; R. B. Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Westminster Commentaries, 12th ed. (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1939), 178; Shirley J. Case, "John Mark," *ExpTim* 26 (1914-15): 372; H. B. Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indices*, 3rd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1927), xv; James Moffatt, *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, International Theological Library (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929), 293.

⁵ There remains a difference between manuscripts. The better manuscript reads *eivj VIerousalh.m* not *evx (avpo,) VIerousalh.m*. For details of the discussion, specifically see Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the New Testament*, 350-52; C. K. Barrett, *Acts*, ICC (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994), 596.

⁶ See Spencer, *Acts*, 129; Kee, *To Every Nation under Heaven: The Acts of the Apostles*, 154; Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 168; Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Sacra Pagina vol. 5 (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1992), 215; Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation*, 157-58; William Neil, *The Acts of the Apostles*, New Century Bible (London: Oliphants, 1973), 152-53; Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 183. The reference of Col 4:10 that John Mark is Barnabas' cousin (nephew) may be well the reason for choosing him. See I. Howard Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Tyndale New Testament Commentaries (Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1980), 213; R. C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of The Acts of the Apostles* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1961), 489; Bruce, *The Book of the Acts*, 243.

⁷ See Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 395; Kistemaker, *Acts*, 460; C. S. C. Williams, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Black's New Testament Commentaries, 2nd ed. (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1964), 156; R. O. P. Taylor, "The Ministry of Mark" *ExpTim* 54 (1942-43): 137; E. Jacquier, *Les Actes des Apôtres*, Études Bibliques (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1926), 383; Erwin Preuschen, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, vol. 4, part 1 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1913), 81; Bruce, *The Book of the Acts*, 247; Barrett, *Acts*, 612; Lenski, *The Interpretation of The Acts of the Apostles*, 498; Bigg, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 80. Specifically, Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 199, suggests that "it is most unlikely that the apostles required personal service; indeed S. Paul's hands 'ministered to those who were with him.' . . . it was not the custom of the apostles – neither of Peter nor Paul – to baptize with their own hands. So baptism might well be a service for the attendant. . . . John is mentioned in connection with the preaching in the synagogues, on which we might expect some baptisms to follow." See also Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and*

other hand, in Luke 4:20 and Acts 5:22, 26; 20:34; 24:23, this word signifies a subordinate helper in a broad sense and this too would designate the role played by John Mark.⁸

In a now dated 1935 article, which remains astute and persuasive, Holmes investigated the papyri containing *u`phre, thj* written during the first century and a half A.D., and found thirty-four papyri and one ostrakon which include *u`phre, thj*. According to Holmes, *u`phre, thj* had been used to identify an individual who delivers, checks, and handles documents.⁹ Based on his exploration, Holmes contends that “Mark carried a written memorandum dealing with ‘the message of God,’ in other words, a document similar to the gospel which now bears his name.”¹⁰ Holmes’ view means that John Mark already was a bearer of a document concerning Jesus during the first missionary journey.¹¹ Holmes’ view seems to be supported by Taylor. He proposes that *u`phre, thj* in Acts 13:5 is identified as *!zx* (*Chazzan*), a synagogue assistant, by pointing out that both accounts of Luke 4:20 and Acts 13:5 are described in a similar scene, namely, the synagogue.¹² Taylor also sees John Mark as “the schoolmaster – the person whose duty was to impart elementary education. . . . [This action] consisted in teaching the actual wording of the sacred records, the exact and precise statements of the facts and dicta on which their religion was based.”¹³ More recently, Riesner supports the arguments of Holmes and

Indices, xvi.

⁸ Longenecker, *Acts*, 215; Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 397; Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 222.

⁹ B. T. Holmes, “Luke’s Description of John Mark,” *JBL* 54 (1935): 65-67.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 69.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 64. Mary Ann Beavis, *Mark’s Audience: The Literary and Social Setting of Mark 4.11-12*, JSNTSup 33 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 66, supports this argument. See also W. Barclay, “A Comparison of Paul’s Missionary Preaching to the Church,” in *Apostolic History and the Gospel*, ed. W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin (Exeter: Paternoster, 1970), 165-75.

¹² Taylor, “The Ministry of Mark,” 136.

¹³ *Ibid.* See also *Idem*, *The Groundwork of the Gospels* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1946), 23-

Taylor and comments that “it is possible that already Luke might have seen John Mark as a bearer of Jesus traditions. In the context of synagogue preaching and Christian teaching Luke gives him the title of *u`phre, thj* (Acts 13:5).”¹⁴

Underlining the fact that the term *u`phre, thj* is not used in a solitary and consistent denotation in Luke-Acts, Black indicates that John Mark is not depicted as prophet and teacher nor is he chosen by the Holy Spirit in Acts 13:1-2.¹⁵ He also suggests that “if the reader of Acts is intended to regard John Mark as an emissary with prerogatives for teaching, or catechesis, then Luke has certainly left unexploited a fitting juncture in the narrative at which that point might have been clearly communicated.”¹⁶ Black thus concludes that John Mark’s role in Acts 13:5 is “the most colorless,” that is, he was just at “the disposal” of his companions, Barnabas and Saul.¹⁷ Although Black’s argument is suggestive, he also seems to overly emphasize the context of Acts 13:1-4 rather than the sense of *u`phre, thj* itself. To identify Mark’s role, the connotation of *u`phre, thj* in those days far outweighs the context. On this point, Holmes, Taylor, and Reisner’s arguments are not less convincing than Black’s argument.¹⁸

Acts 13:13 shows that Mark left Paul and his company at Perga in Pamphylia and returned to Jerusalem. However, the reason for Mark’s separation from them is not clearly described by the narrator.¹⁹ In the subsequent narrative, Acts

24.

¹⁴ Riesner, “Once More: Luke-Acts and the Pastoral Epistles,” 255.

¹⁵ Black, *Mark: Images of an Apostolic Interpreter*, 32.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 33. However, the Western manuscript (Codex Bezae) supplements the wording “for which they had been sent, should not be with them” in Acts 15:38. See Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the New Testament*, 388. On the basis of this fact, Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 472, comments that “Mark was also supposed to be evangelizing, not merely accompanying Paul and Barnabas.”

¹⁸ See Marshall, *Acts*, 218; Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 501; Neil, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 155.

¹⁹ See Black, *Mark: Images of an Apostolic Interpreter*, 35; Barrett, *Acts*, 627; Haenchen,

15:36, the narrator discloses that Paul has the authority to propose to Barnabas another expedition to hearten the brothers who had been evangelized during their previous campaign.²⁰ However, as for John Mark accompanying them again, a confrontation emerges between them.²¹ As depicted by the narrator in 15:38, in Paul's view²², Mark had deserted Paul and Barnabas on their first missionary expedition. To be sure, Barnabas' wish that Mark accompany them on the next mission originates from his desire to afford Mark a second opportunity.²³ Consequently, Mark accompanied Barnabas when they went to Cyprus on their missionary journey. They are not referred to any more in Acts after this account.²⁴

According to Acts, Mark was clearly connected with the Jerusalem church, which implies, at least, that he was also indirectly associated with Peter.²⁵ Also, Mark as a companion of Paul and Barnabas, took part in the missionary journey and acted

The Acts of the Apostles, 407; Neil, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 157. However, quite a number of scholars suggest that Mark would be dejected about Paul's taking the initiative of their band or about an enlarged missionary journey. See also Andrew C. Clark, *Parallel Lives: The Relation of Paul to the Apostles in the Lucan Perspective*, Paternoster Biblical and Theological Monographs (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2001), 313-14; Hans Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, Hermeneia, trans. James Limburg, A. Thomas Kraabel, and Donald H. Juel (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 103; Spencer, *Acts*, 143; Kee, *To Every Nation under Heaven: The Acts of the Apostles*, 165-66; Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 178; Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 229; Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 204; Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 222; Lenski, *The Interpretation of The Acts of the Apostles*, 511; Bruce, *The Book of the Acts*, 251; Kistemaker, *Acts*, 466; Williams, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 160; Longenecker, *Acts*, 217; Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 404.

²⁰ Clark, *Parallel Lives: The Relation of Paul to the Apostles in the Lucan Perspective*, 312.

²¹ Many commentators opine that the contention between Paul and Barnabas already existed prior to this event in light of Gal 2:13. See Black, *Mark: Images of an Apostolic Interpreter*, 38; Barrett, *Acts*, 756; Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 475-76; Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, 123; Spencer, *Acts*, 158; Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 209; Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 257; Bruce, *The Book of the Acts*, 302; Williams, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 187; Longenecker, *Acts*, 249-50; Case, "John Mark," 374.

²² Clark, *Parallel Lives: The Relation of Paul to the Apostles in the Lucan Perspective*, 314, comments that the narrator takes Paul's side in the contention by pointing out that "Paul is commended by the brethren to the grace of the Lord (15:40, cf. 14:26), but this is not said of Barnabas and Mark." Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 472, supports this position.

²³ See Spencer, *Acts*, 158; Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 258

²⁴ However, Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, 124-25, says that Luke "must have known that Mark later came back to Paul (Phlm 24; Col 4:10; cf. 2 Tim 4:11; there is no reason to doubt the identity of that Mark with John Mark)."

²⁵ Contra Black, *Mark: Images of an Apostolic Interpreter*, 43.

a “suggestive role.”²⁶

2. Mark in the Pauline Letters

Mark appears in Colossians 4:10, Philemon 24, and 2 Timothy 4:11 among, what are traditional Pauline epistles. Of these letters, Colossians and 2 Timothy are disputed, specifically, 2 Timothy, which is one of the Pastoral Epistles (PE), the most disputed letters. However, it should also be noted that a sizeable number of German scholars as well as a considerable number of English scholars have accepted the Pauline authenticity of Colossians, identifying Colossians as a mediator between the disputed and the undisputed letters of Paul.²⁷ In the case of 2 Timothy, the letter has

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 42.

²⁷ See Markus Barth and Helmut Blanke, *Colossians*, trans. Astrid Billes Beck, AB, 34B (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 125-26; Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 340-46; Martin Dibelius, *An die Kolosser, Epheser, an Philemon*, HNT 12 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1953), 53; Ernst Lohmeyer, *Die Briefe an die Kolosser und an Philemon*, KEK (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953), 12; Jülicher and Facher, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 134; Ernst Percy, *Die Probleme der Kolosser – und Epheserbriefe* (Lund: Gleerup, 1946), 66, 136; Josef Ernst, *Der Brief an die Philpper, an Philemon, an die Kolosser, an die Epheser*, RNT (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1974), 373. Eduard Schweizer, *The Letter to the Colossians*, trans. Andrew Chester (London: SPCK, 1982), 23-25 and Wolf–Henning Ollrog, *Paulus und seine Mitarbeiter*, WMANT 50 (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1979), 219-32, uphold an amanuensis theory, which means that Timothy penned the letter under Paul's supervision. Also, In terms of the historical aspect, Bo Riecke, *Re-examining Paul's Letters: The History of the Pauline Correspondence* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2001), 76, relevantly highlights that “all attempts to make Colossians a deutero-Pauline composition of the period A.D. 70-100 are rendered null and void by documents that demonstrate that Colosse lost its cultural importance through an earthquake in 61.” For the English scholars who accept the authenticity of the letter, specifically see David M. Hay, *Colossians*, Abingdon New Testament Commentaries (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2000), 24; James D. G. Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1996), 39; Robert W. Wall, *Colossians & Philemon*, IVPNTC (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 17-18; Arthur G. Patzia, *Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon*, NIBC, vol. 10 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1990), 10; N. T. Wright, *Colossians and Philemon*, TNTC (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1986), 34; Peter O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, WBC, vol. 44 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1982), xli-xliv; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistles to the Colossians, to Philemon, and to the Ephesians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1984), 28-33; R. P. Martin, *Colossians and Philemon*, NCB (London: Oliphants, 1974), 40; C. F. D. Moule, *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and to Philemon*, Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 13-14; Carson and Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 517-26; Gorman, *Apostle of the Crucified Lord: A Theological Introduction to Paul and His Letters*, 477-78; Johnson, *The Writings of the New Testament: An Interpretation*, 395; J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and*

been established as authentic by some notable contemporary scholars.²⁸ Moreover, although not acknowledging the authenticity of the whole of 2 Timothy, with regard to the detailed references to historical events and individuals in the letter, a number of scholars do accept its genuineness. This means that some genuine materials of Paul existed, which were compiled into 2 Timothy. The primary representative of this view is Harrison.²⁹ He insisted that there were five genuine Pauline sections in the PE³⁰, but later decreases his estimation from five to three.³¹ A short fragment is inserted into Titus (3:12-15), and the other fragments are distributed in 2 Timothy. Easton and Dornier later substantially endorsed this line of criticism.³² More recently, Miller contended that two Pauline notes, that is, “II Timothy A” and “II Timothy B,” contain the primitive and the genuine core of 2 Timothy.³³ Thus, it might be said that the individual reference to Mark in 2 Tim 4:11 still has validity.

2.1. Mark in Colossians and Philemon

to *Philemon* (London: Macmillan, 1879), 123-24. According to Kenneth J. Neumann, *The Authenticity of the Pauline Epistles in the Light of Stylostatistical Analysis* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 217-18, the difference of the style between Colossians and the undisputed letters have not rendered decisive outcomes for the authenticity of the letter. For the French scholars, specifically see Jean-Noel Aletti, *Saint Paul: Épître aux Colossiens* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1993).

²⁸ See Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul: A Critical Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 359-71; Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 169-70; van Bruggen, *Die geschichtliche Einordnung der Pastoralbriefe*, 75-89.

²⁹ On this view see Harrison, *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles*, 115-35.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 115-27. These are Tit 3:12-15; 2 Tim 4:13-15, 20, 21a; 2 Tim 4:16-18a; 2 Tim 4:9-12, 22b; and 2 Tim 1:16-18, 3:10, 4:1, 2a, 5b-8, 18b, 19, 21b-22a.

³¹ *Idem*, *Paulines and Pastoral* (London: Villiers Publications, 1964), 106-18. These are Tit 3:12-15; 2 Tim 4:9-15, 20, 21a, 22b; and 2 Tim 1:16-18, 3:10-11, 4:1, 2a, 5b-8, 16-19, 21b, 22a.

³² See B. S. Easton, *The Pastoral Epistles* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947), 18-19; P. Dornier, *Les Épîtres Pastorales* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1969), 24-25.

³³ See James D. Miller, *The Pastoral Letters as Composite Documents* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 149-151. According to Miller, II Timothy A, as a personal note to Timothy, was penned by Paul before his death and would have included 2 Tim 1:1-5, 15-18; 4:6-8, 22a. II Timothy B would have been inserted into 2 Tim 4:9-21 and 22b. See also Malclom C. Bligh, “Seventeen Verses Written for Timothy (2 Tim 4:6-22),” *ExpTim* 109 (1998): 364-69.

Mark emerges in Col 4:10 and Phlm 24, specifically, in each case in the final greeting section. These references to Mark disclose that he was with Paul when the letters were written. It seems likely that these two letters were composed at the same place and almost the same time in light of the individual connections referred to between them.³⁴ For the place of writing of these epistles, as the Captivity letters, in particular, Ephesus, Caesarea, and Rome have been designated.

The Marcionite prologue mentions that Colossians was written from Ephesus.³⁵ In addition, Paul's request for lodgings in Phlm 22 and Epaphras' journey to Paul in Col 4:12 seem to favor Ephesus, since it was located close to Colossae.³⁶ However, considering the references to Mark and Luke, there remains an objection to the choice of Ephesus. Paul had not taken Mark along on the second missionary expedition. Luke, also, had not accompanied Paul during his Ephesian ministry, unless the "We" sections³⁷ in Acts are not construed literally, namely, Luke was only with Paul during the periods mentioned by "We" passages. Furthermore, if Paul had

³⁴ See Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 349; Carson and Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 521; Johnson, *The Writings of the New Testament: An Interpretation*, 387; Markus Barth and Helmut Blanke, *The Letter to Philemon*, Eerdmans Critical Commentary (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2000), 126; Schweizer, *The Letter to the Colossians*, 24-26.

³⁵ As cited by Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 346, "ero apostolus iam ligatus scribit eis ab Epheso."

³⁶ See Carson and Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 521; Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 347. Those who prefer to the case for Ephesus are Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Letter to Philemon*, AB, vol. 34C (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 11; Wright, *Colossians and Philemon*, 36-37; Martin, *Colossians and Philemon*, 30; Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 137-38; G. S. Duncan, *St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry* (New York: Scribner, 1930); Schweizer, *The Letter to the Colossians*, 25-26.

³⁷ The "We" sections that show the transition from the third person to the first person, are found in Acts 16:10-17; 20:5-21:18; and 27:1-28:16. The first "We" section in Acts 16:10-17 implies that Luke met and joined Paul, Timothy, and Silas in Troas during Paul's second missionary journey, specifically, during the sea voyage from Troas to Philippi. The second "We" section in Acts 20:5-21:18 reports some parts of Paul's last missionary journey, particularly the sea trip from Troas to Jerusalem. The last "We" section in Acts 27:1-28:16 shows that Luke accompanied Paul on the sea voyage to Rome and was still with Paul during his Roman imprisonment. For details of the discussion, especially see Stanley E. Porter, *The Paul of Acts* (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 28-33; S. M. Praeder, "The Problem of First Person Narration in Acts," *Novum Testamentum* 29 (1987): 193-218.

been incarcerated at Ephesus for a considerable term, such as at Caesarea or Rome, it is likely that Luke must have reported it, since Luke describes in detail Paul's Ephesian ministry.³⁸

Acts 24:23-27 shows that Paul was detained at Caesarea for two years. The circumstances of Paul's incarceration at Caesarea appear to be similar to that of his Roman custody in a house in Acts 28:30-31, since Paul was allowed to have some freedom and the assistance of friends (Acts 24:23). According to Acts 28:30-31, Paul resided in a rented house under a soldier's guard, and he was allowed to preach and teach during the two years. Scholars point out that confinement was not a kind of punishment for an offence, and prisons functioned as "holding tanks" in ancient Roman society.³⁹ In his 2001 monograph, *Paul in Chains*, Cassidy investigated "categories and grades of imprisonment" in the Roman world, and identifies three types of Roman custody.⁴⁰ Cassidy states that "the first and most harsh category is that of 'prison' (*carcer*). The less severe 'military custody' (*custodia militaris*) is next in order, followed by the comparatively mild 'free custody' (*custodia libera*)."⁴¹ With regard to the form of "military custody," Rapske points out in detail that it had been used in different situations, including a camp or house.⁴² Rapske researched Paul's imprisonment on the basis of the narratives in Acts in his work *The Book of Acts and Paul in Roman Custody*. According to Rapske, military custody in a home was generally less harsh than that in a camp.⁴³

³⁸ van Bruggen, *Die geschichtliche Einordnung der Pastoralbriefe*, 66-67.

³⁹ See Craig S. Wansink, *Chained in Christ* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 28-29; D. G. Reid, "Prison, Prisoner," in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, ed. Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 753.

⁴⁰ Richard J. Cassidy, *Paul in Chains* (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 2001), 37.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁴² Brian Rapske, *The Book of Acts and Paul in Roman Custody* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1994), 28-29.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 29.

In this regard, it is probable that Paul could write his letters, not only in Rome but also in Caesarea.⁴⁴ Consequently, there seem to be some factors that favor the selection of Caesarea. Kümmel suggests that the reference to Aristarchus as Paul's fellow prisoner in Col 4:10 might well match the accounts of Acts 19:29; 20:4; and 24:23 and that both Tychichus, Mark and Luke might be in Caesarea as well as in Rome.⁴⁵ However, the Caesarea narrative in Acts 23-26 is not a "We" section. As pointed out by Barth and Blanke, "Luke and Aristarchus may have joined him only at the last moment before the apostle's embarkation to Rome."⁴⁶ Also, considering Acts 6:5 and 21:8, if these letters were written from Caesarea, Philip should also have been mentioned among the Jewish fellow workers in Col 4:11, yet Paul does not refer to him.⁴⁷

It seems that not only the subscript of several manuscripts of Colossians, but also the references by Jerome, John Chrysostom, and Theodoret, favor the case for Rome.⁴⁸ As indicated by Cassidy⁴⁹ and Rapske⁵⁰, it can be said that Paul's imprisonment in Rome was a military custody within his own house, based on the narrative in Acts 28:16, 30. As for the access to Paul in custody, Rapske rightly points out that everyone was allowed to meet Paul without restraint, but not to stay with

⁴⁴ See Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 128; Idem, *The Letter to Philemon*, 125

⁴⁵ See Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 347. Those who favor the case for Caesarea are van Bruggen, *Die geschichtliche Einordnung der Pastoralbriefe*, 94-96; Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 348; Robinson, *Redating the New Testament*, 65-67; Bo Reicke, "Caesarea, Rome, and the Captivity Epistles," in *Apostolic History and the Gospel*, ed. W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1970), 275-86.

⁴⁶ Barth and Blanke, *The Letter to Philemon*, 125.

⁴⁷ Carson and Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 522.

⁴⁸ See R. McL. Wilson, *Colossians and Philemon*, ICC (London: T & T Clark International, 2005), 20; O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, I; Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 126-27; Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 347.

⁴⁹ Cassidy, *Paul in Chains*, 221.

⁵⁰ Rapske, *The Book of Acts and Paul in Roman Custody*, 182.

him.⁵¹ This means “free access to the prisoner during the day; enforced solitude through the night.”⁵² It seems that access to Paul was not difficult.⁵³ To this end, all statements for individuals in the final greeting sections of Colossians and Philemon might be in harmony with the account of Acts 28:30-31 which describes Paul’s house arrest in Rome.⁵⁴ However, some objections to Rome remain. Paul wanted to visit Spain, not Colossae, but Paul’s request for quarters in Phlm 22 infers that he would abandon that plan.⁵⁵

Considering all mentioned above, although there seems to be no decisive evidence for the place of writing⁵⁶, the case for Rome is more plausible than other places.⁵⁷ It might be well said that Mark was probably with Paul during his custody in Rome.

2.1.1. Mark in Col 4:10-11

Mark, who faded away as a rather negative figure in Acts 15:38-39, reemerges as Barnabas’s cousin (nephew) and greets the Colossian church in Col 4:10. The kinship of Mark and Barnabas might well account for the reason Barnabas should have expressed generosity toward Mark in the confrontation between he and

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 384.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 383-84.

⁵⁴ See O’Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, l-li; Carson and Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 522.

⁵⁵ O’Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, li.

⁵⁶ See Wilson, *Colossians and Philemon*, 23; Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 126-34; *Idem*, *The Letter to Philemon*, 126; Carson and Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 522.

⁵⁷ Those who prefer to the case for Rome are O’Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, liii; Carson and Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 522; Barth and Blanke, *The Letter to Philemon*, 126; Hay, *Colossians*, 23; Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 41; Patzia, *Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon*, 12, 105; Lightfoot, *Saint Paul’s Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 32-33; Bruce, *The Epistles to the Colossians, to Philemon, and to the Ephesians*, 32; Moule, *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 21-25.

Paul.⁵⁸ Interestingly, in Col 4:11, Mark is described as one of Paul's Jewish co-workers who comforted him. This depiction strongly implies that there must have been reconciliation between Paul and Mark.⁵⁹

According to Col 4:10, Paul, in particular, may have sent an instruction (command) for Mark to the Colossian church. In this verse, the word *evntolh*, is used, a term which generally is used for divine commands in Paul. There are two exceptions, here and Tit 1:14, that signify a personal command or an instruction.⁶⁰ Although it is impossible to identify Paul's instruction for Mark clearly, some scholars suggest that this instruction would imply that Mark was restored to Paul's affection because he had regained his character in the Asia Minor churches.⁶¹ Mark seems to be scheduled to visit the Colossian church sooner or later and Paul requests them to welcome (receive) him. The word *de, comai* is frequently used for receiving visitors with hospitality.⁶² To this end, it is reasonable to assume that Mark, as Paul's collaborator, is now closely connected with the Colossian church, possibly with the Asia Minor churches, by Paul's recommendation.⁶³

2.1.2. Mark in Phlm 24

⁵⁸ See Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 277; Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 235.

⁵⁹ See Margaret Y. MacDonald, *Colossians and Ephesians*, SP, vol. 17 (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2000), 180; O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, 250; Hay, *Colossians*, 160; Wilson, *Colossians and Philemon*, 300; Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 479; Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 277; Schweizer, *The Letter to the Colossians*, 239; Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 235.

⁶⁰ Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 277.

⁶¹ See Martin, *Colossians and Philemon*, 131; O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, 250; Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 277. With regard to this suggestion, however, Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 480, insist that it is improbable since it should be presumed that "Paul summarily excommunicated Markus and that he advised all the communities of this action. The text basis for such a view is very scanty."

⁶² See MacDonald, *Colossians and Ephesians*, 180; O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, 250; Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 479-80; Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 277.

⁶³ Eduard Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*, Hermeneia, trans. William R. Poehlmann and Robert J. Karris (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 172, notes that "the recommendation given to Mark now serve to corroborate those instructions."

In Paul's letter to Philemon, Mark is also depicted as one of Paul's co-workers as in Colossians. When comparing the order of the individuals in the final greeting section of Philemon with that of Colossians, Mark is placed second. Both lists disclose the clear consistency of Mark's position.⁶⁴ Based on Mark's greeting to Philemon, there is no doubt that Mark has been acquainted with him, also probably with the Colossian church. Thus, at least, as far as Phlm 24 is concerned, even those who reject the Pauline authenticity of Colossians, cannot deny the fact that Mark was with Paul (probably in Rome) as one of his collaborators and was intimately linked with Philemon⁶⁵ and the Colossian church, which was one of the Asia Minor churches.

Figure 9. The order of the Greeters in Colossians and Philemon

Colossians 4:10-14	Philemon 23-24
Aristarchus	Epaphras
Mark	Mark
Jesus Justus	
Epaphras	Aristarchus
Luke	Demas
Demas	Luke

(Source: Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 348 with modifications)

2.2. Mark in 2 Timothy

⁶⁴ See Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 348; Fitzmyer, *The Letter to Philemon*, 124; Barth and Blanke, *The Letter to Philemon*, 495-96. Dunn, *Ibid*, insists that "only two explanations for the striking similarity of the lists can command real support: either the letters were written within a short time of each other, so that those close to Paul were the same, with only Jesus Justus having come or departed in the interval between; or the writer of Colossians derived his list from that in Philemon, with some random and imaginative changes."

⁶⁵ Philemon is also identified as Paul's co-worker in Phlm 1. See Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 348.

2 Timothy, one of the most disputed letters, contains historical and personal information with respect to Paul's and his companions' lives. Due to their complexity, it has been generally suggested that explaining the historical and individual references in 2 Timothy according to Acts' framework is almost unattainable.⁶⁶ Consequently, the majority of scholars question the authenticity of 2 Timothy, thus regarding it as pseudonymous. This position argues that the historical information and events in the epistle were invented by a forger after Paul's death and are thus inappropriate.⁶⁷

To the contrary, it is frequently suggested that Paul wrote 2 Timothy after his release from Roman custody. This proposal requires Paul's further imprisonment.⁶⁸ Concerning this view, Marshall seems to be cautious in stating that "the proposed scenario is not impossible, but it is unprovable. It should be emphasized that unprovability is not necessarily an argument against a historical hypothesis."⁶⁹ In respect to Marshall's remark, as for the origin of this argument, Mounce points out that "arguments both for and against a release, as far as Acts is concerned, are arguments from silence."⁷⁰ He concludes that "since the historical framework of the PE does not contradict Acts, the silence in Acts is not an argument against the PE."⁷¹ The suggestion of Paul's release and a second Roman imprisonment seems conceivable considering the abrupt ending of Acts, Paul's confidence about his acquittal as mentioned in Philippians and Philemon, and Clement's statement that

⁶⁶ Donald Guthrie, *The Pastoral Epistles*, TNTC, 2nd ed. (Leicester: InterVarsity, 1990), 22-23.

⁶⁷ As an example of the majority attitude toward 2 Timothy, see Meade, *Pseudonymity and Canon*, 118-39; Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy and Ethical Argument in the Pastoral Epistles*, 11-54.

⁶⁸ Marshall, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 68.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁷⁰ Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, lvi. It should be noted that even though Mounce's comments imply that the PE could possibly be fitted into the Acts' narrative, this is not Mounce's point. He is simply but significantly indicating that all such arguments from Acts are based on silence.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

Paul reached the west.⁷²

The conclusions of Fee, Ellis, and Guthrie are remarkable among those who both accept the Pauline authorship of the PE and affirm Paul's second Roman imprisonment. Fee argues that before his release from Roman detention, Paul changed his plans to travel to Spain, then went east with his co-workers including Timothy and Titus after he was acquitted. During this period Paul visited Crete and Ephesus and left Titus and Timothy there respectively. Then, Paul wrote 1 Timothy and Titus and was subsequently rearrested while engaging in his missionary journey. Finally, he was imprisoned in Rome again and composed 2 Timothy.⁷³ Ellis' reconstruction is slightly different. Ellis insists that Paul accomplished his mission trip to Spain on the basis of the reference of Clement of Rome. Then, while returning eastward, Paul was informed of troubles in Crete and Ephesus, and consequently wrote 1 Timothy and Titus.⁷⁴ Guthrie maintains an intermediate position between Fee and Ellis. He comments that Paul's travel to Spain after his acquittal from Roman internment is not necessary to support a defense of a second Roman imprisonment. Guthrie underscores that Paul's further missionary activities in the east mentioned in the PE sufficiently imply his second Roman confinement.⁷⁵

Murphy-O'Connor, basically, upholds only the Pauline authorship of 2 Timothy. Murphy-O'Connor underscores the similarity between 1 Timothy and Titus and also points to the differences between 2 Timothy and the other two letters.

⁷² See Michael Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 78-81; Clement of Rome, 1 *Clement* 5:6-7, in *The Apostolic Fathers*, trans. Bart D. Ehrman, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 1:45, writes that "seven times he [Paul] bore chains; he was sent into exile and stoned; he served as a herald in both the East and the West; and he received the noble reputation for his faith. He taught righteousness to the whole world, and came to the limits of the West, bearing his witness before the rulers."

⁷³ Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy, Titus*, 3-5.

⁷⁴ E. Earle Ellis, *Pauline Theology: Ministry and Society* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1989), 108-10.

⁷⁵ Guthrie, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 27.

Consequently, he contends that the person who composed 2 Timothy is not the same person who wrote 1 Timothy and Titus.⁷⁶ On the basis of this view, in particular, Murphy-O'Connor elaborates his insistence on a second imprisonment by stating that the circumstances of Paul's confinement in 2 Timothy are stricter than that in Acts 28. Thus Paul was released from his first Roman custody and resumed his missionary activities. He went to the west, namely, Spain, and returned to the east, traveling to the Aegean areas. Later, especially after the fire of Rome and subsequently under Nero's persecution, Paul moved to Rome to encourage and support Roman Christians who suffered from severe persecution, and thus was arrested. As a result, he finally sent the letter to Timothy.⁷⁷

Against this suggestion, Harrison argues that "this alleged release and second imprisonment, in spite of all great names and arguments in its favour, must be definitely dismissed as a legend without valid historical basis."⁷⁸ This view claims that what is referred to in Acts alone can be regarded as valid. However, Johnson disagrees with Harrison's presupposition. Johnson discerns that neither the Pauline corpus nor Acts tender Paul's complete chronological ministry, but instead show "a selective and highly stylized" depiction of Paul's journeys or scrappy references to his ministry.⁷⁹ He persuasively indicates:

But it also leaves open the possibility that the Pastorals may provide important additional information about Paul's career and capacity that are not found in other sources. In this respect, the Pastorals are put on the same plane as the other letters. 2 Corinthians tells us of imprisonments and beatings experienced by Paul that are otherwise unreported by Acts . . . Galatians informs us that Paul founded churches throughout Phrygia and did so under the burden of a physical affliction, which we would not have learned elsewhere (Gal 1:2; 4:13-

⁷⁶ Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul: A Critical Life*, 357. Murphy-O'Connor particularly points to "the status of the sender, the recipient, Christology, ministry, the gospel, the attitude toward women, and false teaching" as criteria which make a difference between 2 Timothy and the other epistles (Ibid.).

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 359-71.

⁷⁸ Harrison, *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles*, 6.

⁷⁹ Johnson, *The Writings of the New Testament: An Interpretation*, 425.

14). Romans tell us, as Acts never does, that Paul had a mission in Illyricum (Rom 15:19). All his letters together inform us magnificently of the fact that Acts ignores completely: that Paul wrote letters to his churches!⁸⁰

Although harmonizing the historical references and events in 2 Timothy according to Acts' framework seems to be complicated and enigmatic, an elaborate and persuasive attempt has been executed by van Bruggen. In his 1981 monograph, *Die geschichtliche Einordnung der Pastoralbriefe*, van Bruggen argues that 1 Timothy and Titus were written during the latter period of Paul's third missionary journey and 2 Timothy during his Roman custody mentioned in Acts 28.⁸¹ According to van Bruggen, this view is not new.⁸² Van Bruggen comments that most defenders of authenticity hastily conclude that Paul wrote the PE after his release from Roman house arrest.⁸³

Prior to van Bruggen, this position was advanced by de Lestapis and Robinson in 1976. De Lestapis and Robinson agree that Paul wrote 1 Timothy and Titus during his third mission journey⁸⁴, but there exist momentous differences between them with respect to 2 Timothy. De Lestapis posits that 2 Timothy was written during Paul's Roman house arrest in Acts 28⁸⁵, whereas Robinson postulates that it was written during his confinement in Caesarea.⁸⁶ However, Robinson's view seems unconvincing since Onesiphorus sought Paul in Rome and found him there based on the statement of 2 Tim 1:17. Robinson's claim that, due to misguided information, Onesiphorus looked for Paul in Rome and then reached him in Caesarea,

⁸⁰ *Idem*, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy*, The Anchor Bible, vol. 35A (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 68.

⁸¹ van Bruggen, *Die geschichtliche Einordnung der Pastoralbriefe*, 93.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 22. Before the nineteenth century, van Bruggen's position was common among scholars (*Ibid.*).

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 26-28.

⁸⁴ See S. de Lestapis, *L'énigme des Pastorales de Saint Paul* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1976), 88-91; Robinson, *Redating the New Testament*, 81-85.

⁸⁵ de Lestapis, *L'énigme des Pastorales de Saint Paul*, 262.

⁸⁶ See Robinson, *Redating the New Testament*, 77-80.

is unpersuasive.⁸⁷

Van Bruggen suggests that there remains a time gap between Acts 19:20 and 21 which was not described in detail by Luke. During this period, Paul took a round trip from Ephesus to Corinth and back. This journey fundamentally separates Paul's Ephesian ministry into two phases. Interestingly, both Acts and 1 and 2 Corinthians apparently maintain this suggestion. The first phase was approximately two years (and three months) as reported by Acts 19:8-20. The second phase was Paul's additional ministry in Ephesus described in Acts 19:21-40. This stage would have taken at least nine months or one year with regard to Paul's reference that he had been working for three years in Ephesus in Acts 20:31. Paul made a round trip from Ephesus to Corinth and back between these two stages. During his travels, Paul wrote 1 Timothy and Titus.⁸⁸ With respect to 2 Timothy, van Bruggen contends that it was written during Paul's Roman incarceration in Acts 28, while leaving open the possibility of Paul's second Roman imprisonment.⁸⁹ Philip H. Towner seems to support van Bruggen's reconstruction.⁹⁰

Similarly, Prior's 1989 study places 2 Timothy during Paul's Roman detention. Outstandingly, Prior explored other early Christian documents including *1 Clement*, *the Acts of Peter*, *the Muratorian Fragment*, and Eusebius' testimony as well as Acts, Philippians, and Philemon and presents solid evidence that Paul was acquitted from Roman confinement.⁹¹ Prior confirms that "after the first difficult hearing of his case" Paul wrote 2 Timothy and then was released from Roman imprisonment and continued to engage in further missionary activities, including

⁸⁷ van Bruggen, *Die geschichtliche Einordnung der Pastoralbriefe*, 75-76.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 31-59.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁹⁰ Philip H. Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2006), 12-15.

⁹¹ See Michael Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 69-83.

visiting Spain with his co-workers.⁹²

In this regard, it is significant to mention that even though it is difficult to harmonize the historical events and personal references of 2 Timothy with Acts, it is surely not impossible as demonstrated by some scholars, particularly van Bruggen. Van Bruggen's reconstruction is no less plausible than that of Paul's release and a second imprisonment in Rome. Thus, one who doubts the genuineness of 2 Timothy on account of the intricacy of the rearrangement of the historical and individual references ought to contemplate van Bruggen's restoration.

Once one accepts the Pauline authorship of 2 Timothy, it is almost probably Paul's last letter. It certainly seems that Paul wrote 2 Timothy while imprisoned (2 Tim 1:8, 16) as is the case of the other Captivity letters. However, 2 Timothy appears to betray its provenance, namely, Rome, based on 2 Tim 1:16-17⁹³, whereas the other Captivity letters do not disclose obviously the place of writing. Nonetheless, it is unlikely that Paul's Roman imprisonment in Acts 28:30 refers to that in 2 Tim 1:16-17, since Paul's situation of incarceration in 2 Timothy seems to be more severe than that in Acts.

Mark is requested to visit Paul with Timothy and is described as one who is useful (eu;crhstoj) for Paul's ministry in 2 Tim 4:11. Paul's reference to Mark shows that Mark has already significantly regained his credibility in Paul's view. It might well be proposed that Mark is now in Colossae, if, as is likely, he visited the Colossian church at Paul's behest, and if there is no long time gap between 2 Timothy and Colossians and Philemon.⁹⁴ It also seems likely that Timothy is now in Philippi considering Phil 2:19, 23 which disclose Paul's purposes in dispatching him

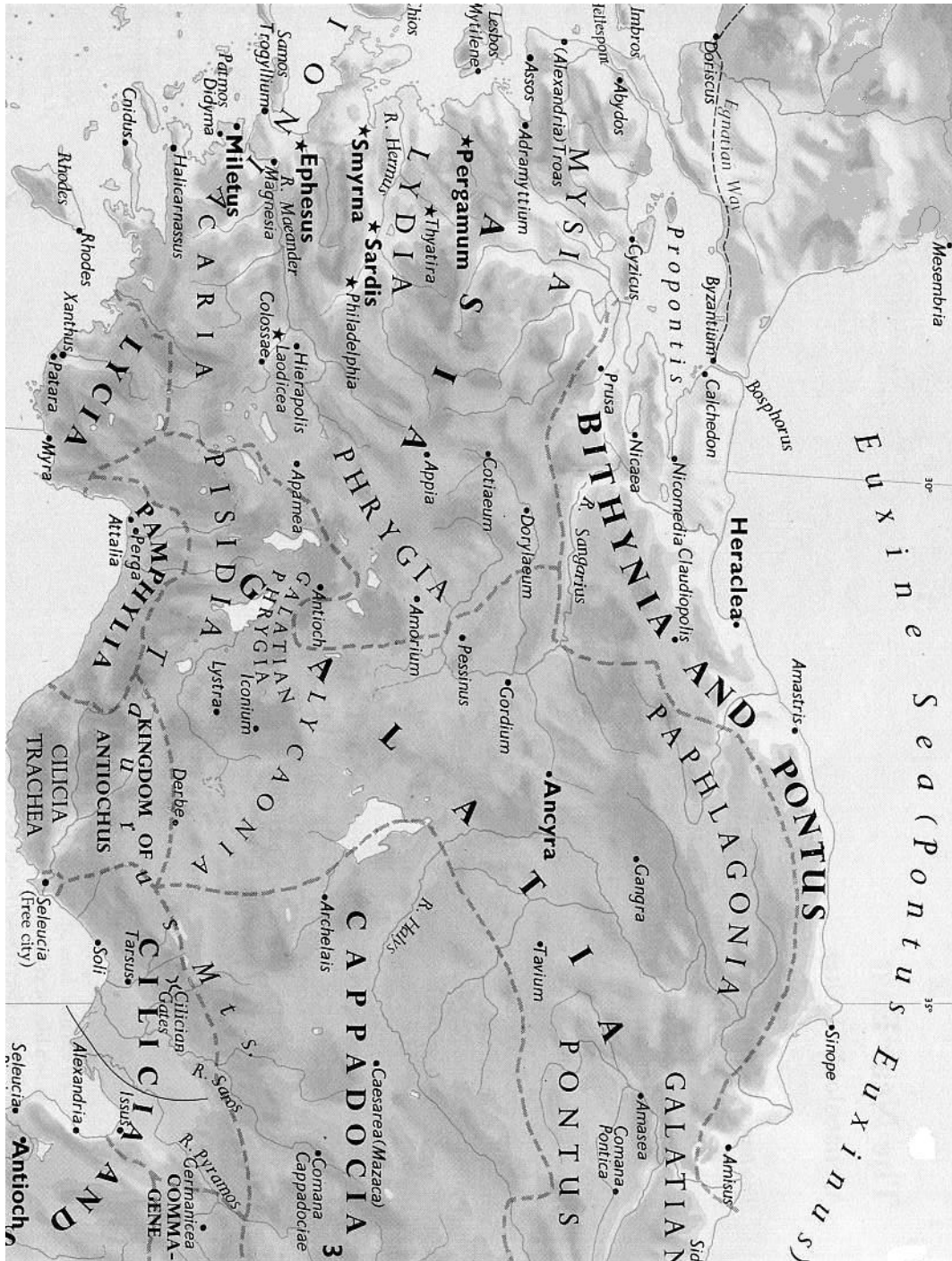
⁹² *Ibid.*, 84.

⁹³ Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 67.

⁹⁴ See Jerome D. Quinn and William C. Wacker, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy*, ECC (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2000), 805; Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 229-230.

there, if Philippians was also written in Rome together with Colossians and Philemon.⁹⁵

Figure 10. Asia Minor



⁹⁵ Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 229-230. Evidently, Timothy appears consistently as the co-author of Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon.

(Source: *Oxford Bible Atlas*, 2nd ed., ed. Herbert G. May (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 91.)

As for Paul's mention that Mark is useful for his ministry (*diakoni, a*), some scholars suggest that Mark's service to Paul was personal.⁹⁶ This view, however, has been criticized by Prior, who argues that "every use of the term by Paul is related to some service to the community. In some instances this service is financial, but it is also used for a service to God, or of Paul's service to the nations. Paul, then, never uses the term for a personal service to an individual."⁹⁷ Prior also insists that Paul envisages further missionary activity after his release from a Roman prison and concludes that Mark's service to Paul is the ministry of mission.⁹⁸ Similarly, Marshall points out that "one does not summon an experienced missionary simply to be a valet."⁹⁹ Riesner also underlines that "it is most likely that *diakoni, a* does not mean personal service but the ministry of proclamation,"¹⁰⁰ and comments that "the reference to Mark (2 Tim. 4:11) can be understood as indicating the importance of Jesus traditions."¹⁰¹ The conclusions of Prior, Marshall, and Riesner are more persuasive since Luke was with Paul in Rome and he must have rendered some personal service to Paul when requested.

Mark in the Pauline letters has been portrayed consistently as Paul's useful co-worker. Mark is clearly associated with the Asia Minor churches, specifically, the Colossian church, and has been with Paul in Rome. Thus, it can be said that during

⁹⁶ Kelly, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 214; Spicq, *Les Epîtres Pastorales*, 814; Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy, Titus*, 294.

⁹⁷ Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 147-48.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 148-49. Prior's view is supported by Ben Witherington III, *Letters and Homilies for Hellenized Christians: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on Titus, 1-2 Timothy and 1-3 John*, vol. I (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2006), 378; Knight, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 466; C. K. Barrett, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 120; Marshall, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 817. Chrysostom *Homily 10*, trans. Philip Schaff, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 13 (New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1914), 513, construes Mark's service as assisting in filling the ministerial vacancy in Rome after his death.

⁹⁹ Marshall, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 817

¹⁰⁰ Riesner, "Once More: Luke-Acts and the Pastoral Epistles," 255.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

Paul's later ministry, Mark has been working as his collaborator in the areas of Rome and Asia Minor.¹⁰²

3. Mark in 1 Peter

As examined above, Acts 12:12 implies that there exists a relationship between Mark and Peter. Mark in 1 Pet 5:13 is portrayed as Peter's son, albeit figuratively¹⁰³, which certainly demonstrates the very intimate relationship between the two individuals. In this respect, it is important to investigate whether Mark in 1 Peter is the same person as is depicted by Acts and the Pauline letters, as well as identifying where Peter and Mark were when the letter was written.

3.1. Peter in Rome

1 Pet 5:13 reads, *Ἐστὶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτὸν καὶ μαρκοῦ υἱοῦ, ὃς ἐστὶν υἱὸς κατὰ τὴν ἀληθείαν*, and this verse shows that Peter and Mark are now in Babylon. Babylon is a symbolic depiction for Rome.¹⁰⁴ The debate continues, however, as to whether Peter resided in Rome and whether he was martyred there.¹⁰⁵ Once, Marsilius of Padua, in his *Defensor Pacis* (1326), was thought to be the first scholar to doubt the Roman tradition of Peter – his sojourn,

¹⁰² Contra Black, *Mark: Images of an Apostolic Interpreter*, 59-60. See also Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 624-26; Johnson, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy*, 440.

¹⁰³ Paul also refers to Timothy and Titus as his sons. Cf. 1 Cor 4:17; 1 Tim 1:2, 18; 2 Tim 1:2; Tit 1:4

¹⁰⁴ There is a consensus among scholars in viewing Babylon as a soubriquet for Rome. See Wand, *The General Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 130; Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, 243; Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter: the Greek Text with Introduction and Notes*, 183; Best, *1 Peter*, 178; Kelly, *The Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, 218-20; Goppelt, *A Commentary on 1 Peter*, 373-75; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 354; Senior, *1 Peter*, 155; Bigg, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 197; Davids, *First Epistle of Peter*, 202-03; Marshall, *1 Peter*, 175; Carson and Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 646; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 311; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 882-84; Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter, Jude*, 251; Jobes, *1 Peter*, 322.

¹⁰⁵ For the outstanding survey of the controversy, specifically see Oscar Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 2nd ed., trans. Floyd V. Filson (London: SCM Press, 1962), 71-75.

martyrdom, and burial in Rome. In fact, the Waldensians in the thirteenth century were the original sect to deny the tradition. They were persuaded that the sole criterion of Christianity was Scripture and it seemed that Scripture held no obvious statement of the sojourn of Peter in Rome, so they rejected the tradition.¹⁰⁶

To the contrary, as noted above, since Babylon was a cryptic expression for Rome, 1 Pet 5:13 can be used as evidence for Peter's residence in Rome. Furthermore, it is almost likely that John 13:36; 21:18-19 and 2 Pet 1:14 disclose Peter's martyrdom.¹⁰⁷ Although these verses do not apparently indicate the place of his martyrdom, considering 1 Pet 5:13, which sheds light on his old age in Rome, they might well be regarded as implied references to his martyrdom in Rome.¹⁰⁸ Apparently, there also remains the post-New Testament tradition to refer to Peter's residence and martyrdom in Rome as early as the end of the first century and the beginning of the second century.¹⁰⁹ In modern scholarship the Roman tradition of Peter has been influentially supported by Cullmann. Cullmann's *Petrus, Jünger – Apostel – Märtyrer* made its appearance in 1952. On the basis of the literary evidence, Cullmann maintains the Roman tradition of Peter.¹¹⁰ Cullmann's view has subsequently been powerfully endorsed by O'Connor, Bauckham, Goppelt, and

¹⁰⁶ See Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 72-73; Daniel Wm. O'Connor, *Peter in Rome: The Literary, Liturgical, and Archeological Evidence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 3. See also *Idem*, "Peter in Rome: A Review and Position," in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults*, ed. Jacob Neusner (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), 146.

¹⁰⁷ Richard J. Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," in *ANRW* 2.26.1, ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992), 544-53; O'Connor, *Peter in Rome: The Literary, Liturgical, and Archeological Evidence*, Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 84-89. Johannes Munck, *Petrus und Paulus in der Offenbarung Johannis* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1950), 56, has identified two witnesses' death in Revelation 11:3-13 as Paul and Peter's martyrdom in Rome.

¹⁰⁸ Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 543; Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 84; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 884-86.

¹⁰⁹ These are *1 Clement* and Ignatius' *Letter to the Romans* and *Letter to the Smyrnaeans*.

¹¹⁰ See Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 79-123.

Elliott.¹¹¹

As the earliest post-New Testament literature as to Peter's martyrdom 1

Clement 5:1-6:4 reads¹¹²:

5:1. VAll v i[na tw/n
avrcai,wn u`podeigma,twn
pauw,meqa(e;lqwmn evpi.
tou.j e;ggista genome,nouj
avqlhta,j\ la,bwmen th/j
genea/j h`mw/n ta. gennai/a
u`podei,gmata) 2. dia.
zh/lon kai. fqo,non oi`
me,gistoi ka.i dikaio,tatoi
stu/loi evdiw,cqhsan kai.
e[wj qana,tou h;qlhsan) 3.
la,bwmen pro. ovfqalmw/n
h`mw/n tou.j avgaqou,j
avposto,loj\ 4. Pe,tron(o]j
dia. zh/lon a;dikon ouv
e[na ouvde. du,o(avlla.
Plei,onaj u`ph,negken
po,nouj kai. ou[tw
martuh,saj evporeu,qh eivj
to.n ovfeilo,menon to,pon
th/j do,xhj) 5. dia. zh/lon
kai. e;rin Pau/loj
u`pomnh/j brabei/on
e;deixen) 6. e`pta,kij
desma.
fore,saj(fugadeuqei,j(liq
asqei,j(kh/rux geno,menoj
e;n te th/| avnatolh/| kai.
evn th/| du,sei(to.

5:1. But to stop giving ancient examples, let us come to those who became athletic contenders in quite recent times. We should consider the noble examples of our own generation. 2. Because of jealousy and envy the greatest and most upright pillars were persecuted, and they struggled in the contest even to death. 3. We should set before our eyes the good apostles. 4. There is Peter, who because of unjust jealousy bore up under hardships not just once or twice, but many times; and having thus borne his witness he went to the place of glory that he deserved. 5. Because of jealousy and strife Paul pointed the way to the prize for endurance. 6. Seven times he bore chains; he was sent into exile and stoned; he served as a herald in both the East and the West; and he received the noble reputation for his faith. 7. He taught righteousness to the whole world, and came to the limits of the West, bearing his witness before the rulers. And so he was set free from this world and transported up to the

¹¹¹ See Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 539-589; Goppelt, *A Commentary on 1 Peter*, 9-14; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 884-87.

¹¹² Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 1:42-47.



gennai/on th/j pi, stewj
 auvtou/ kle,oj e;laben) 7.
 dikaios, nhn dida, xaj o[lon
 to.n ko, smon(kai. evpi.
 to. te, rma th/j du, sewj
 evlqw.n kai. marturh, saj
 evpi. tw/n
 h`goume, nwn(ou[twj
 avphlla, gh tou/ ko, smou
 kai. eivj to.n a[gion
 to, pon
 avvnelh, mfqh(u`pomnh/j
 geno, meno j me, gisto j
 u`pogrammo, j) 6:1. Tou, toij
 toi/j avndra, sin o`si, wj
 politeusame, noij
 sunhqroi, sqh polu. plh/qoj
 evklektw/n(oi[tinej pollaj
 aivki, aj kai. basa, nouj
 dia. zh/lo j paqo, ntej
 u`po, deigma ka, lliston
 evge, nonto evn h`mi/n) 2.
 dia. zh/lo j diwcqei/sai
 gunai/kej Danai>dej
 kai. (aivki, smata deina.
 kai. avno, sia
 paqou/sai(evpi. to.n th/j
 pi, stewj be, baion dro, mon
 kath, nthsan kai. e;labon
 ge, raj gennai/on ai`
 avsqenei/j tw/| sw, mati) 3.
 zh/lo j avphllotri, wsen
 gameta. j avndrw/n kai.
 hvllloi, wsen to. r`hqe..n
 u`po. tou/ patro. j h`mw/n
 vAda, m\ tou/to nu/n
 ovstou/n evk tw/n ovstewn
 mou kai. sa.rx evk th/j

holy place, having become the
 greatest example of endurance. 6:1.
 To these men who have conducted
 themselves in such a holy way there
 has been added a great multitude of
 the elect, who have set a superb
 example among us by the numerous
 torments and tortures they suffered
 because of jealousy. 2. Women
 were persecuted as Danaids and
 Dircae and suffered terrifying and
 profane torments because of
 jealousy. But they confidently
 completed the race of faith, and
 though weak in body, they received
 a noble reward. 3. Jealousy
 estranged wives from their
 husbands and nullified what was
 spoken by our father Adam. "This
 now is bone from my bones and
 flesh from my flesh." 4. Jealousy and
 strife overturned great cities and
 uprooted great nations.

sarko,j mou) 4. zh/loj kai.
e;rij po,leij mega,laj
kate.streyen kai. e;qnh
mega,la evxeri,zwsen)

As noted by Cullmann, *1 Clement* is relevantly viewed “as the decisive literary witness, by both the defenders and the opponents of the tradition” regarding Peter’s sojourn in Rome.¹¹³ The statement of the martyrdom of Peter in *1 Clement* 5:4 seems to be much more related to the context of the list of instances which contains *1 Clement* 4-6. In *1 Clement* 4-6 there are fourteen instances that show that the ultimate outcome of jealousy is death. Among them seven instances (*1 Clement* 5-6) come from “our own generation,” while the other seven instances (*1 Clement* 4) are derived from the Old Testament.¹¹⁴

Cullmann has contended that Peter, Paul, and a great multitude of the elect “were victims of jealousy from persons who counted themselves members of the Christian Church” in light of the context of the epistle.¹¹⁵ Cullmann’s argument has been specifically supported by O’Connor. He also insists that the Roman church were circuitously liable for the martyrdom of Peter and Paul because their inner discord had allowed the Roman magistrates to interfere so as to sustain command.¹¹⁶ While Clement does not obviously account for the reason for the martyrdom of the Apostles, according to O’Connor, it is that the details of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul were not crucial to Clement and the addressees of the letter, namely, the Corinthian church,

¹¹³ Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 91.

¹¹⁴ See Bauckham, “The Martyrdom of Peter,” 554-55.

¹¹⁵ Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 102.

¹¹⁶ O’Connor, *Peter in Rome: The Literary, Liturgical, and Archeological Evidence*, 78.

but the final consequence was crucial.¹¹⁷ O'Connor, therefore, underlines that "Clement exhorted the Corinthians to learn from what had happened in the distant and recent past as a result of interparty rivalry so that they might not meet with similar disaster."¹¹⁸ On the hand, Bauckham highlights the different contexts between the seven instances of Old Testament in *1 Clement 4* and the first five instances of "our own generation" in *1 Clement 5-6* and sees "the martyrs as illustrious examples of endurance in the struggle of faith."¹¹⁹ As depicted by Tacitus, under the Neronian persecution, seized Christians were forced to inform against their companions.¹²⁰ In this regard, Bauckham suggests that "Clement could have thought that some of these were motivated by envy without necessarily thinking of specific party divisions in the Roman church. He could have ascribed jealousy to pagan informers against their Christian neighbours."¹²¹ Bauckham's suggestion seems to be as persuasive as Cullmann and O'Connor's.

Some scholars have argued that *1 Clement 5:4* does not mean Peter's martyrdom.¹²² In his 2004 article, "Did Peter ever go to Rome?," Goulder contends that since Clement was acquainted with Acts, the latter thus roughly replicated its narrative of Peter's afflictions.¹²³ Goulder, therefore, also argues that there remains no obvious statement of Peter's decease in *1 Clement 5:4*, thus Clement did not know anything of his death.¹²⁴ To this end, he concludes that *1 Clement* provides no

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 557.

¹²⁰ Tacitus *The Annals* 15.44, trans. John Jackson, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937), 283-85.

¹²¹ Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 562. See also Michael D. Goulder, "Did Peter ever go to Rome?," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 57 (2004): 389.

¹²² See Michaels, *1 Peter*, lx-lxi; Goulder, "Did Peter ever go to Rome?," 377-396.

¹²³ Goulder, "Did Peter ever go to Rome?," 387.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 389.

evidence to insist upon Peter's martyrdom in Rome.¹²⁵ Bauckham argues against Goulder's view that Acts was well known to Clement, and claims that no compelling proof exists for the familiarity of Acts to Clement since he did not mention the martyrdom of Stephen and James, the son of Zebedee.¹²⁶ But the issue as to whether Clement knew Acts well or not does not seem decisive because John 21:18-19 clearly reports the martyrdom of Peter separately of 1 Clement and Acts, as correctly indicated by Bauckham.¹²⁷ Furthermore, since the first five "our own generation" instances in *1 Clement* 5-6 contain an element unique from the other instances "by their martyrological theme," if Peter were not martyred, he must have been excluded from these instances.¹²⁸ In light of the parallel between Peter and Paul in *1 Clement* 5:4-7, it is obvious that provided Paul was a martyr, then Peter was a martyr too.¹²⁹ Early Christians, including Clement, used the expression "the place of glory which he deserved" in *1 Clement* 5:4 for those who were martyred.¹³⁰

Finally, as for the place of Peter's martyrdom *evn h`mi/n* at the end of *1 Clement* 6:1 seems to shed light on this issue. Cullmann powerfully argues that a great multitude of the elect in *1 Clement* 6:1 "must certainly be sought in Rome; 'among us' proves that."¹³¹ It is commonly accepted that the wording of *polu. plh/qoj* in *1 Clement* 6:1 refers to the Neronian persecution. However, the same place, namely, Rome, cannot be hastily applied to Peter, as pointed out by

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 392.

¹²⁶ Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 560.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* Goulder, "Did Peter ever go to Rome?," 395, however, still proposes without further convincing evidence that "it would seem, then, that John drew his belief that Peter had been crucified not from independent tradition but by inference from the synoptics. Much of John's narrative is obtained by inference."

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 559.

¹²⁹ See O'Connor, *Peter in Rome: The Literary, Liturgical, and Archeological Evidence*, 83; Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 559.

¹³⁰ Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 559.

¹³¹ Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 105.

Cullmann.¹³² Since “the greatest and most upright pillars” in *1 Clement* 5:2 might well include Stephen and James who were certainly not martyred in Rome, and since Peter was also one of the pillars, thus Rome as the place for Peter’s martyrdom does not seem decisive.¹³³ Nevertheless, Cullmann cautiously concludes that “not with absolute certainty but yet with the highest probability, that Peter suffered martyrdom at Rome about the time of the Neronian persecution,”¹³⁴ while Goulder concludes that Peter deceased in Jerusalem “in the 50s AD.”¹³⁵ But both conclusions of Cullmann and Goulder seem to be a little excessive, specifically so in the case of Goulder, considering all the points mentioned above. Finally, Bauckham’s conclusion that *1 Clement* discloses only Peter’s martyrdom is fairly convincing.¹³⁶

As for Peter’s residence in Rome, in his *Letter to the Romans*, Ignatius writes¹³⁷:

4:3. ouvκ w`j Pe,troj kai.
Pau/loj diata,ssomai
u`mi/n) evkei/nou
avpo,stoloi(evgw.
kata,kritoj\ evkei/nou
evleu,qeroi(evgw. de.
me,cri nu/n dou/loj) avllv
eva.n pa,qw(avpeleu,qeroj
genh,somai vIhsou/ Cristou/
kai. avnasth,somai evn
aυtw/| evleu,qeroj) kai.

4:3. I am not enjoining you as Peter and Paul did. They were apostles, I am condemned; they were free, until now I have been a slave. But if I suffer, I will become a freed person who belongs to Jesus Christ, and I will rise up, free, in him. In the meantime I am learning to desire nothing while in chains.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 97.

¹³³ See Bauckham, “The Martyrdom of Peter,” 561; Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 97; O’Connor, *Peter in Rome: The Literary, Liturgical, and Archeological Evidence*, 84; Goulder, “Did Peter ever go to Rome?,” 389-90.

¹³⁴ Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 109. O’Connor, *Peter in Rome: The Literary, Liturgical, and Archeological Evidence*, 86, also concludes that “it is most probable that Clement believed, on the basis of written or oral tradition or both, that Peter and Paul (in that order) died at about same time in Rome during the persecution under Nero.”

¹³⁵ Goulder, “Did Peter ever go to Rome?,” 392.

¹³⁶ Bauckham, “The Martyrdom of Peter,” 562.

¹³⁷ Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 1:274-75.

nu/n manqa,nw dedeme,noj
evpiqumei/n)

Ignatius' *Letter to the Romans* 4:3 has frequently been viewed as a literary evidence for Peter's and Paul's sojourn in Rome. Clearly, Ignatius refers to the names of Peter and Paul in the first sentence of 4:3. Similarly, in his *Letter to the Ephesians* 12:2, Ignatius names Paul and says that the members of the Ephesian church are fellow initiates of Paul. Apparently, Paul visited the Ephesian church and had been associated with them as shown by Acts. In his *Letter to Trallians* 3:3, Ignatius writes with great similarity to *Romans* 4:3.

Romans 4:3 ouvk w`j Pe,troj kai. *Trallians* 3:3 w'n kata,kritoj w`j Pau/loj diata,ssomai u`mi/n) avpo,stoloj u`mi/n diata,ssomai evkei/noi avpo,stoloi(evgw. kata,kritoj

Ignatius does not mention the specific name of an apostle in *Trallians* 3:3, most probably because he could not identify the apostle who particularly enjoined the Trallian church.¹³⁸ In this light, just as Ignatius connected Paul with the Ephesian church, the close linguistic similarity between *Romans* and *Trallians* certainly discloses that since Ignatius joined Peter and Paul with the Roman church he refers to the names of the two apostles in *Romans* 4:3.¹³⁹ On the basis of this observation, it is most likely that Peter and Paul gave an order to the Roman church. In the case of Paul, it is obvious that he did give commands to them by the letter, *Romans*, while Peter's case is unknown. However, it seems very probable that Ignatius believed that

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 565.

¹³⁹ See Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 111; O'Connor, *Peter in Rome: The Literary, Liturgical, and Archeological Evidence*, 20; Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 565.

the two apostles had been occupied in preaching activities in Rome.¹⁴⁰

Cullmann contends that Peter's and Paul's orders to the Roman Christians concerned their martyrdom, by noting that *Romans* 3:1 alludes to *1 Clement*.¹⁴¹ But Schoedel indicates that "Ignatius sometimes seems to reflect more clearly the original point of these themes [suffering and hardship] and thus may be dependent on preClementine tradition."¹⁴² It does not seem indispensable to propose that Ignatius required a written source, namely, *1 Clement*, since if Peter, who was the most outstanding of the Apostles, was martyred in Rome, the capital city of the Empire, this might well have been common knowledge to Ignatius, the bishop of Antioch.¹⁴³

Nevertheless, O'Connor concludes that Ignatius' *Letter to Romans* 4:3 cannot be viewed as clear evidence that "Peter or Paul or both had lived or were martyred in Rome," only acknowledging that at the beginning of the second century a tradition of Asia Minor churches existed that Peter and Paul resided in Rome and exercised their apostolic authority in the Roman church.¹⁴⁴ By contrast, Cullmann proposes that prior to their martyrdom, Peter and Paul were in a position to command the Roman church.¹⁴⁵ Schoedel concludes that naming Peter and Paul in *Romans* 4:3 evidently betrays "Ignatius' awareness of a tradition about their joint presence and their martyrdom in Rome."¹⁴⁶ However, considering all examined above, the conclusions of O'Connor, Cullmann, and Schoedel seem insufficient since Ignatius'

¹⁴⁰ Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 565.

¹⁴¹ Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 110-11.

¹⁴² Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch*, 172.

¹⁴³ Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 566. This argument, nonetheless, does not exclude the possibility that Ignatius might have known *1 Clement*.

¹⁴⁴ O'Connor, *Peter in Rome: The Literary, Liturgical, and Archeological Evidence*, 22. See also PHEME PERKINS, *Peter: Apostle for the Whole Church*, Studies on Personalities of the New Testament (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000), 139.

¹⁴⁵ Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 112.

¹⁴⁶ Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch*, 176.

Letter to Romans 4:3 can be treated at best as only literary proof for Peter's residence in Rome.¹⁴⁷

In his *Letter to the Smyrnaeans*, Ignatius also writes¹⁴⁸:

3:1. VEgw. ga.r kai. meta. th.n
avna, stasin evn sarkī. avto.n
oi=da kai. pisteu.w o;nta) 2.
kai. o[te pro.j tou.j peri.
Pe, tron e=lqen(e;fh
avtoi/j\ La, bete(yhlafh, date,
me kai. i;dete(o[ti ouvκ
eivmi. Daimo, nion avsw, maton)
kai. euvqu.j avtou/ h[yanto
kai. evpi, steusan(kraqe, ntej
th/| sarkī. avtou/ kai. tw/|
pneu, mati) dia. tou/to kai.
qana, tou
katefro, nhsan(hu`re, qesan de.
u`pe.r qa, naton) 3. meta. de.
th.n avna, stasin sune, fagen
avtoi/j kai. sune, pien w`j
sarkiko, j(kai, per pneumatikw/j
h`nwme, noj tw/| patri,)

3:1. For I know and believe that he was in the flesh even after the resurrection. 2. And when he came to those who were with Peter, he said to them, "Reach out, touch me and see that I am not a bodiless daimon." And immediately they touched him and believed, having been intermixed with his flesh and spirit. For this reason they also despised death, for they were found to be beyond death. 3. And after his resurrection he ate and drank with them as a fleshly being, even though he was spiritually united with the Father.

It seems that Ignatius indicates the martyrdom of "those who were with Peter" at the last sentence in *Smyrnaeans* 3:2. The words *qana, tou katefronei/n* in Jewish and Christian literature had been used for the martyr's manner.¹⁴⁹ Most probably, as a fact well known to in his time, Ignatius might have believed that several of the apostles had been martyred.¹⁵⁰ This may point out that his awareness of the martyrdom of Peter does not necessarily originate from *1 Clement*, although he

¹⁴⁷ Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 566.

¹⁴⁸ Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 1: 298-99.

¹⁴⁹ See Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 565; Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch*, 227.

¹⁵⁰ Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 563.

would have been familiar with it.¹⁵¹

The expression *τὸν πετρίαν* seems to be fairly ordinary as far as the fact that Peter is often described as the head of and spokesperson for the apostles in the Gospels. It would be strange, despite Peter being named, if Peter were not included among them. In light of the context, therefore, it is certainly natural to require that Peter's death must have been an instance of martyrdom.¹⁵²

Polycarp, in his *Letter to the Philippians*, writes¹⁵³:

9:1. Parakalw/ ou=n
pa,ntaj(peiqarcei/n tw/|
lo,gw| th/j dikaios,nhj
kai. avskei/n pa/san
u`pomoh,n(h]n kai.
ei;date kat v ovfqalmou.j
ouv mo,non evn toi/j
makari,oi,j vIgnati,w| kai.
Zwsi,mw| kai. `Roufw|
avlla. kai. evn a;lloij
toi/j evx u`mw/n kai. evn
aυtw/| Pau,lw| kai. toi/j
loipoi/j avposto,loij\ 2.
pepeijme,nouj o[ti ou=toi
pa,ntej ovk eivj keno.n
e;dramon(a,ll v evn
pi,stei kai.
dikaosu,nh|(kai. o[ti ei,j
to.n ovfeilo,menon αυtoi/j
to,pon eivsi. Para. tw/|
kuri,w|(w-| kai.
sune,paqon) ouv ga.r to.n
nu/n hvga,pesan

9:1. Therefore I urge all of you to obey the word of righteousness and to practice all endurance, which you also observed with your own eyes not only in the most fortunate Ignatius, Zosimus, and Rufus, but also in others who lived among you, and in Paul himself and the other apostles. 2. You should be convinced that none of them acted in vain, but in faith and righteousness, and that they are in the place they deserved, with the Lord, with whom they also suffered. For they did not love the present age; they loved the one who died for us and who was raised by God for our sakes.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 564.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 563.

¹⁵³ Polycarp *Letter to the Philippians* 9:1, in *The Apostolic Fathers*, trans. Bart D. Ehrman, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 1:344-45.

aivw/na(avlla. to.n u`pe.r
h`mw/n avpogano,nta kai. di
v h`ma/j u`po. tou/ qeou/
avnasta,nta)

Although the wording of to.n ovfeilo,menon auvtoi/j to,pon in *Philippians* 3:2 could be a typical expression of martyrdom for early Christians, including both Polycarp and Clement, it is also cited from *1 Clement* 5:4. As pointed out by Harrison¹⁵⁴, Polycarp also appears to have been well acquainted with *1 Clement*.¹⁵⁵ Even though *Philippians* 3:2 would not be explicit evidence for Peter's martyrdom, this demonstrates that Polycarp appreciated *1 Clement* 5:4 as a reference to Peter's martyrdom.¹⁵⁶

As reported by Eusebius, Dionysius of Corinth wrote his *Letter to Romans*, referring to Peter's residence and martyrdom in Rome.¹⁵⁷

Tau/ta kai. u`mei/j dia.
th/j tosau,thj nouqesi,aj
th.n avpo. Pe,trou kai.
Pau,lou futei,an
genhqeí/san `Rwmai,wn te
kai. eivj th.n h`mete,ran
Ko,rinqon futeu,santej
h`ma/j o`moi,wj
evdi,daxen(o`moi,wj de.
kai. eivj th.n vItali,an
o`mo,se dida,xantej
evmartu,rhsan kata. to.n
auvto.n kairo,n)

“By so great an admonition you bound together the foundations of the Romans and Corinthians by Peter and Paul, for both of them taught together in our Corinth and were our founders, and together also taught in Italy in the same place and were martyred at the same time.”

¹⁵⁴ P. N. Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), 286.

¹⁵⁵ Bauckham, “The Martyrdom of Peter,” 578.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ Eusebius *The Ecclesiastical History* 2.25.8.

Dionysius says that Peter and Paul planted the Roman church and the Corinthian church. The source of Dionysius' reference to Peter's association with the Corinthian church could be found in 1 Cor 1:12; 9:5, prior to assuming another separate tradition.¹⁵⁸ Dionysius' statement that Peter and Paul had been martyred simultaneously could also be his reading of *1 Clement* 5:4-7¹⁵⁹ since he notes that it has been repeatedly recited in the Corinthian church's worship services.¹⁶⁰ In this light, although it is merely a possibility, the reference that Peter and Paul taught together in Italy would be his understanding of Ignatius' *Letter to Romans* 4:3.

Ever since Dionysius, the Roman tradition of Peter had been established by Irenaeus, Muratorian Canon, and Tertullian during the end of the second century and the beginning of the third century. Muratorian Fragment writes¹⁶¹:

Acta autem omnium apostolorum sub uno libro scripta sunt. Lucas optimo Theophilo comprehendit, quae sub praesentia eius singular gerebantur, sicuti et semota passione Petri evidenter declarat, sed et profectio Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis.

Again, the acts of all the apostles have been described in one book. Luke put together for the 'most excellent Theophilus' what had specifically happened in his presence, as he clearly intimates by omitting the passion of Peter as well as Paul's departure from Rome for Spain.

Provided that the Muratorian Fragment was derived in Rome around A.D. 200, it offers distinctive evidence that Peter and Paul were not martyred simultaneously against the views of Dionysius and Irenaeus.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ See *Ibid.*, 583; Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 116.

¹⁵⁹ See *Ibid.*, 583-84; Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 116.

¹⁶⁰ Eusebius *The Ecclesiastical History* 4.23.11.

¹⁶¹ See du Toit, "Historical Section: Survey of the Development, Closure, and Later History of the New Testament Canon," 240-41.

¹⁶² Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 587.

In his *De Praescriptione*, Tertullian writes¹⁶³:

si autem Italiae adiaces, habes Romam unde nobis quoque auctoritas praesto est. Ista quam felix ecclesia cui totam doctrinam apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt, ubi Petrus passioni dominicae adaequatur, ubi Paulus Iohannis exitu coronatur, ubi apostolus Iohannes posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur.

Since, moreover, you are close upon Italy, you have Rome, from which there comes even into our own hands the very authority (of apostles themselves). How happy is its church, on which apostles poured forth all their doctrine along with their blood! where Peter endures a passion like his Lord's! where Paul wins his crown in a death like John's! where the Apostle John was first plunged, unhurt, into boiling oil, and thence remitted to his island-exile!

Similarly, in his *Scorpiace*, Tertullian also reports¹⁶⁴:

Vitas Caesarum legimus: orientem fidem Romae primum Nero cruentavit. Tunc Petrus ab altero cingitur, cum cruci adstringitur. Tunc Paulus civitatis Romanae consequitur natiuitatem, cum illic martyrii renascitur generositate.

We read the lives the Caesars: At Rome Nero was the first who stained with blood the rising faith. Then is Peter girt by another, when he is made fast to the cross. Then does Paul obtain a birth suited to Roman citizenship, when in Rome he springs to life again ennobled by martyrdom.

Tertullian seems to discern that Peter was martyred in Rome, and construes John 21:18 in this way. Tertullian was the first ancient author who manifestly connected

¹⁶³ Tertullian *De Praescriptione* 36.2-3, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina I (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), 216-17. Translation from Peter Holmes, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 3 (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1976), 260.

¹⁶⁴ Tertullian *Scorpiace* 15.3, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina II (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), 1097. Translation from S. Thelwall, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 3 (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1976), 648.

Paul and Peter's martyrdoms with the persecution in Rome under the reign of Nero.¹⁶⁵ In conclusion, two key facts can be certainly drawn from the observation above. The one is that Peter was martyred, and the other is that Peter resided for a while in Rome. Therefore, on the basis of these key facts, it can be inferred that Peter was martyred in Rome, probably under the Neronian persecution.¹⁶⁶

3.2. Mark in Rome

Although Black boldly argues that "both functionally and substantively, the depiction of Mark in 1 Peter is far less reminiscent of John Mark in Acts and far more similar to Mark in the Pauline and Deutero-Pauline letters,"¹⁶⁷ there seems to be a measure of consensus among commentators concerning identifying Mark in 1 Pet 5:13. Mark in 1 Peter has usually been acknowledged as being the Mark described in Acts and the Pauline epistles.¹⁶⁸

In fact, Nineham points out that the most general "Latin name" in antiquity had been "Mark (Marcus)" and there must have existed many individuals whose

¹⁶⁵ Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 587.

¹⁶⁶ Thus, Terence V. Smith, *Petrine Controversies in Early Christianity*, WUNT II. 15 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1985), 38, mentions that "these traditions regarding Peter are important witnesses to the standing of the Peter-figure in the second century – regardless of their historical value. Peter was seen as having played a large role in the composition of the Markan Gospel and as having suffered martyrdom in Rome." See also Timothy Wiarda, *Peter in the Gospels*, WUNT II. 127 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 2000).

¹⁶⁷ Black, *Mark: Images of an Apostolic Interpreter*, 65. See also Johannes Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1903). Black seems to even differentiate Mark in Acts from Mark in the Pauline epistles. Black's this view, however, is evidently criticized by Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, 125, noting that "there is no reason to doubt the identity of that Mark with John Mark."

¹⁶⁸ See Michaels, *1 Peter*, 312; Davids, *First Epistle of Peter*, 203; Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter, Jude*, 251; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 887; Jobes, *1 Peter*, 321; Horrell, *The Epistles of Peter and Jude*, 101; Marshall, *1 Peter*, 175; Kelly, *The Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, 220; Best, *1 Peter*, 179; Goppelt, *A Commentary on 1 Peter*, 376; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 355; Senior, *1 Peter*, 155; Bigg, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 80, 197; Wand, *The General Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 130; Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, 244; Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter: the Greek Text with Introduction and Notes*, 184; Stibbs and Walls, *First Epistle General of Peter*, 177; Riesner, "Once More: Luke-Acts and the Pastoral Epistles," 255.

names were Mark as members of the ancient church.¹⁶⁹ But Nineham's insistence seems flawed, since his instances of the name of Mark are the cases of "*praenomen* (first name)" not those of "*cognomen* (family name)."¹⁷⁰ Therefore, as Martin astutely contends, the references to John Mark "in the NT form a consistent picture and that no other Mark is recognized as a candidate for the office of evangelist or companion of Paul and Peter in patristic times."¹⁷¹ Likewise, Elliott correctly notes that "the absence of any further identification indicates that Mark is presumed to be known to the addressees. The only Mark mentioned in the NT and concerning whom this might have been the case is the John Mark referred to in Acts 12 and 15 and elsewhere in the NT."¹⁷²

In this regard, as examined above and in chapter two, as far as Col 4:10, Phlm 24, 2 Tim 4:11, and the references of Papias and Irenaeus are concerned, the work of Mark's ultimate part in Rome places him in collaboration with Peter at the close of Peter's life.¹⁷³

3.3. Petrine Group in Rome

Since Best, in his 1971 commentary, originally proposed the possibility that 1 Peter originated from a Petrine school in Rome, this view has been promoted by

¹⁶⁹ D. E. Nineham, *Saint Mark*, SCM Pelican Commentaries (London: SCM Press, 1963), 39.

¹⁷⁰ R. P. Martin, "John Mark," in *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, vol. 3, ed. G. W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1986), 260.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.* Clayton N. Jefford, "John Mark," in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 4, ed. D. N. Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 558, also comments that "while the name in 1 Peter cannot be identified definitively with the figure of Mark who appears in the Acts narrative, a consistent picture of role and activities of John Mark would result if such an association can be accepted."

¹⁷² See Elliott, *1 Peter*, 887.

¹⁷³ See *Ibid.*, 888; Robert H. Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1993), 1034-035; Davids, *First Epistle of Peter*, 203; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 312. For Mark's chronology see S. Dockx, "Essai de chronologie de la vie de saint Marc," in *Chronologies néotestamentaires et Vie de l'Église primitive: Recherches exégétiques* (Leuven: Peeters, 1984), 179-198.

several scholars.¹⁷⁴ Most influential in contending this view has been Elliott. He repeatedly argues this position in his article, monograph, and commentary.¹⁷⁵ As mentioned by Elliott, this position has changed “the focus of attention from the specific writer of the letter to the group responsible for its composition and dispatch.”¹⁷⁶

First, Elliott insists that since the expression of Babylon for Rome appeared after A.D. 70, 1 Peter was not written by Peter himself, but composed by a Petrine group in Rome after his death as a pseudonymous letter.¹⁷⁷ But this insistence would be persuasive solely in the case that there remains “the parallel between the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. and the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. that gave rise to the allegorical use of the name Babylon for Rome.”¹⁷⁸ As underlined by Thiede and Bauckham, this argument is improbable.¹⁷⁹ In his 1986 monograph, *Simon Peter: From Galilee to Rome*, Thiede correctly indicates that the figurative expression of Babylon for Rome had already been employed by pagan Roman authors before 70 A.D.¹⁸⁰ Bauckham’s observation also deserves mention.

¹⁷⁴ Senior, *1 Peter*, 5-6; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 127-30; Prasad, *Foundations of the Christian Way of Life according to 1 Peter 1, 13-25: An Exegetico-Theological Study*, 36-46; Soards, “1 Peter, 2 Peter, and Jude as Evidence for a Petrine School,” 3827-849, argues that 1, 2 Peter and Jude renders proof for the being of a Petrine school. David G. Horrell, however, “The Product of a Petrine Circle? A Reassessment of the Origin and Character of 1 Peter,” *JSNT* 86 (2002):32, rightly contends that “Soards’s arguments are on the whole weak and unconvincing, either extrapolating illegitimately from literary similarities to common community (or, more precisely, ‘school’) origin, or taking characteristics common to early Christianity as a whole (such as the use of the Jewish scriptures, specifically the LXX) as indications of the existence of a particular school within early Christianity. The three letters – 1 Peter, 2 Peter and Jude – are too different to support the idea of a common school origin.”

¹⁷⁵ See Elliott, “Peter, Silvanus and Mark in 1 Peter and Acts: Sociological-Exegetical Perspectives on a Petrine Group in Rome,” 250-67; *Idem*, *A Home for the Homeless*, 267-95; *Idem*, *1 Peter*, 127-30.

¹⁷⁶ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 890.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 887.

¹⁷⁸ Bauckham, “The Martyrdom of Peter,” 542-43.

¹⁷⁹ See Carsten P. Thiede, *Simon Peter: From Galilee to Rome* (Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1986), 154; Bauckham, “The Martyrdom of Peter,” 543.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 154, 245-46. Thiede also notes that “other place” in Acts 12:17 means Babylon, namely, Rome (*Ibid.*, 154).

He notes:

. . . Jews living in the western diaspora will not have needed to wait for the fall of Jerusalem before discerning a parallel between the pagan political power under which they were living in exile and the Babylonian empire of the Old Testament. Indeed, there is evidence that diaspora Judaism did perceive this parallel from an early date. The oracle predicting the fall of Rome in the third Sibylline Oracle 3:350-364 (first century B.C.) probably echoes the very same Old Testament prophecies of the fall of Babylon (with 3:357-360, cf. Isa. 47:1; Jer. 51:7; Isa. 14:12; 47:5, 7) as are later taken up in the oracle against Babylon in the fifth Sibylline Oracle of the late first century A.D. (162-178), where Rome is explicitly called Babylon (159). *The parallel between Babylon and Rome seems to have been part of the tradition of the Jewish Sibyllines already before 70 A.D.* Finally, it is unlikely that the fall of Jerusalem played any part in the reasons for the use of the name Babylon for Rome in the book of Revelation (which likewise reapplies to Rome the Old Testament prophecies of the fall of Babylon), where the more general consideration that Rome was the great oppressive pagan power of the day probably accounts for the usage. *This consideration could easily have been operative before 70 A.D.*¹⁸¹

Marshall also points out that pagan Roman authors had initiated the description of the city of Rome as Babylon due to “its luxury and increasing decadence.”¹⁸²

Therefore, the conclusions of Thiede, Bauckham, and Marshall that the use of Babylon as a cipher for Rome had already been used in the 60s A.D. and thus 1 Peter was written in Peter’s old age, and he was martyred under Neronian rule are correct.¹⁸³

Second, Elliott provides seven reasons supporting a Petrine group in Rome and highlights that the hypothesis is “sociologically plausible and logically compelling.”¹⁸⁴ Elliott’s seven reasons might well be summarized into two main factors. One is that since Paul and others worked with their collaborators, a Petrine

¹⁸¹ Bauckham, “The Martyrdom of Peter,” 543.

¹⁸² Marshall, *1 Peter*, 175.

¹⁸³ See Thiede, *Simon Peter: From Galilee to Rome*, 154, 246; Bauckham, “The Martyrdom of Peter,” 543; Marshall, *1 Peter*, 175. Bauckham, *Ibid.*, 543, seems to support an amanuensis hypothesis by noting that “1 Peter is authentic (not necessarily in the sense of being composed by Peter himself, but in the sense of being sent out in his lifetime with his authorization).”

¹⁸⁴ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 890.

group in Rome was unavoidable “from a social and practical” perspective.¹⁸⁵ The other is the apparent appellations of “Silvanus and Mark in 1 Pet 5:12-13.”¹⁸⁶ Elliott’s argument has been criticized by Horrell in his 2002 article, “The Product of a Petrine Circle? A Reassessment of the Origin and Character of 1 Peter.” Horrell contends that although Elliott’s observation is proper, “it does not by any means establish that, by the time of 1 Peter’s writing, there was a distinctively *Petrine* group in Rome.”¹⁸⁷ Even though Acts shows a connection between Peter, Silvanus, and Mark, this cannot be viewed as proof for establishing any powerful connection, specifically for the existence of a Petrine group in Rome. Acts and the Pauline epistles also disclose that Silvanus and Mark had been associated with Paul. Therefore, this fact destabilizes Elliott’s argument that there existed in Rome a peculiarly Petrine group.¹⁸⁸ In conclusion, it would be more persuasive to state that Silvanus and Mark were co-workers of the Apostles, specifically for both Paul and Peter.

4. Mark: Peter’s *εὐαγγελιστὴς* and the Evangelist

While there has been controversy concerning the interpretation of the early church traditions about Mark, in particular referred to by Papias¹⁸⁹, he has been generally identified as the interpreter of Peter and the Evangelist. Obviously, the portrayal of Mark in early Christian tradition can be regarded as valid evidence for the historical connections between two individuals, namely, Peter and Mark. In this regard, the proper assessment of this tradition should be required.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 127.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 128.

¹⁸⁷ Horrell, “The Product of a Petrine Circle? A Reassessment of the Origin and Character of 1 Peter,” 46.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹⁸⁹ Hengel, *Studies in the Gospel of Mark*, 47, notes that Papias’s fragment “must be taken very seriously.”

4.1. Mark as the Interpreter of Peter

That Mark was Peter's *εἰρηνηεὺς*,¹⁹⁰ was originally shown by Papias' fragment which can be dated as early as A.D.130.¹⁹⁰ Since Papias and Irenaeus this identification of Mark had operated as a key aspect. The *Anti-Marcionite Prologue* to the Gospel of Mark reads¹⁹¹:

Marcus adseruit, qui colobodactylus est nominatus, ideo quod ad ceteram corporis proceritatem digitos minores habuisset. Iste interpretis fuit Petri. Post excessionem ipsius Petri descripsit idem hoc in partibus Italiae evangelium.

Mark related, who was called 'cut-fingered' because his fingers were too short for the size of the rest of his body. He was Peter's interpreter. After the departure of Peter himself this same man wrote this Gospel in the regions of Italy.

Likewise, in his *Adversus Marcionem* Tertullian also writes¹⁹²:

Eadem auctoritas ecclesiarum apostolicarum ceteris quoque patrocinabitur euangelii, quae proinde per illas et secundum illas habemus, Iohannis dico atque Mathei, licet et Marcus quod edidit Petri adfirmetur, cuius interpretis Marcus.

That same authority of the apostolic churches will afford evidence to the other Gospels also, which we possess equally through their means, and according to their usage – I mean the Gospels of John and Matthew, whilst that which Mark published may be affirmed to be Peter's whose interpreter Mark was.

In his *De viris illustribus*, Jerome reports¹⁹³:

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ R. E. Heard, "The Old Gospel Prologues," *JTS* 6 (1955): 4.

¹⁹² Tertullian *Adversus Marcionem* 4.5.3, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina I (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), 551. Translation from Peter Holmes, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 3 (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1976), 350

¹⁹³ Jerome *De viris illustribus* 8.1-2, in *Opera omnia*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Patrologiae Latinae [PL], vol. 23 (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1884), 654. Translation from Thomas P. Halton, *On*



Marcus discipulus et interpres Petri, juxta quod Petrum referentem audierat, rogatus Romae a fratribus, breve scripsit Evangelium. Quod cum Petrus audisset, probavit, et Ecclesiis legendum sua auctoritate edidit, sicut Clemens in sexto libro scribit, et Papias Hierapolitanus episcopus. Meminit hujus Marci et Petrus in Epistola prima, sub nomine Babylonis figuraliter Romam significans: Salutatur vos quae in Babylone est coelecta, et Marcus filius meus.

Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, wrote a short gospel at the request of the brethren at Rome, embodying what he had heard Peter tell. When Peter had heard it, he approved it and issued it to the churches to be read by his authority, as Clement, in the sixth book of his *Epistolarum*, and Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, record. Peter also mentions this Mark in his First Epistle, figuratively indicating Rome under the name of Babylon: "She who is in Babylon, chosen together with you, salutes you; and so does my son Mark."

In his *Commentary on Matthew*, Jerome goes on to say¹⁹⁴:

secundus Marcus, interpres apostoli Petri et Alexandrinae ecclesiae primus episcopus, qui Dominum quidem Salvatorem ipse non uidit, sed ea quae magistrum audierat praedicantem iuxta fidem magis gestorum narravit quam ordinem.

The second is Mark, the amanuensis of the Apostle Peter, and first bishop of the church of Alexandria. He did not himself see our Lord and Savior, but he related the matter of his master's preaching with more regard to minute detail than to historical sequence.

Apparently, there is unanimous confirmation among the early Christian writers in viewing Mark as Peter's *epitropos*. Although the term *epitropos* could be construed as "interpreter" or "translator", it clearly signifies "something more than"

Illustrious Men (Washington, D.C: The Catholic University of America Press, 1999), 17-18.
¹⁹⁴ Jérôme, *Commentaire sur Saint Matthieu*, Sources Chrétiennes 242 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1977), 62. Translation from W. H. Fremantle, *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 6 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), 495.

that, specifically in respect of the writing process.¹⁹⁵ Manson insists that the word *εἰρηνευτής* implies that Mark not only was Peter's interpreter, but also his "private secretary and an *aide-de-camp*."¹⁹⁶ Martin also claims that "Mark was Peter's *εἰρηνευτής*, his right-hand man, who was his personal assistant on his missionary tours and served as a trusted associate by putting the apostle's language (whether Aramaic or Greek) into serviceable and acceptable form."¹⁹⁷ Along this line, Senior, Michaels, and Schildgen construe *εἰρηνευτής* as "secretary"¹⁹⁸ or "amanuensis."¹⁹⁹ Similarly, Anderson and Moore also appreciate Mark as "Peter's scribe."²⁰⁰ Unless the expression *εἰρηνευτής* cannot be signified as amanuensis or secretary, the reference to Mark demonstrates his involvement in the writing of 1 Peter.

4.2. Mark as the Evangelist

The other key aspect of Mark mentioned by Papias is that he was the Evangelist. As cited above, since Papias and Irenaeus this tradition had been followed by the *Anti-Marcionite Prologue* to the Gospel of Mark, Tertullian, and Jerome. Along with these early Christian writers, Clement of Alexandria and Origen also speak of the tradition about Mark. Clement of Alexandria, according to Eusebius,

¹⁹⁵ Martin, *Mark: Evangelist and Theologian*, 52.

¹⁹⁶ Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus*, 23

¹⁹⁷ Martin, *Mark: Evangelist and Theologian*, 82. See also E. Best, *Mark: The Gospel as Story*, Studies of the New Testament and Its World (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1983), 23; Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross*, 1035-036; C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, CGNT (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 3-4.

¹⁹⁸ Senior, *1 Peter*, 6.

¹⁹⁹ See Michaels, *1 Peter*, 312; Brenda D. Schildgen, *Power and Prejudice: The Reception of the Gospel of Mark* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999), 35.

²⁰⁰ Janice C. Anderson and Stephen D. Moore, "Introduction: The Lives of Mark," in *Mark & Method: New Approaches in Biblical Studies*, ed. Janice C. Anderson and Stephen D. Moore (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 2-3.

says²⁰¹:

progegra, fqai e; legen tw/n
euvaggeli, wn ta.
perie, conta ta. j
genealogi, aj(to. de. kata.
Ma, rkon tau, thn evschke, nai
th. n oivkonomi, an) tou/
Pe, trou dhmosi, a| evn
`Rw, mh| khru, xantoj to. n
lo, gon kai. pneu, mati to.
euvagge, lion
evxeipo, ntoj(tou. j
paro, ntaj(pollou. j
o; ntaj(parakale, sai to. n
Ma, rkon(w`j a' n
avkolouqh, santa auvtw/|
po, rrwqen kai. Memnhme, non
tw/n
lecqe, ntw n(avnagra, yai ta.
eivrhme, na\ poih, santa
de, (to. euvagge, lion
metadou/ nai toi/ j
deome, noij auvtou/ \ o[per
evpigno, nta to. n Pe, tron
protreptikw/ j mh, te
kwlu/ sai mh, te
protre, yasqai)

He said that those Gospels were first written which include the genealogies, but that the Gospel according to Mark came into being in this manner: When Peter had publicly preached the word at Rome, and by the Spirit had proclaimed the Gospel, that those present, who were many, exhorted Mark, as one who had followed him for a long time and remembered what had been spoken, to make a record what was said; and that he did this, and distributed the Gospel among those that asked him. And, that when the matter came to Peter's knowledge, he neither strongly forbade it nor urged it forward.

In his *Adumbrationes* on 1 Pet 5:13, Clement of Alexandria goes on to say²⁰²:

*Marcus Petri sectator, palam
praedicante Petro Evangelium
Romae coram quibusdam
Caesareanis equitibus, ete multa
Christi testimonia proferente; penitus*

Mark, the follower of Peter, while Peter publicly preached the Gospel at Rome before some of Caesar's equites, and adduced many testimonies to Christ, in order that

²⁰¹ Eusebius *The Ecclesiastical History* 6.14.5-7.

²⁰² Clement of Alexandria *Adumbrationes* on 1 Pet 5:13, in *Opera omnia*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* [PG], vol. 9 (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1884), 732. Translation from William Wilson, ANF, vol. 2, 573.

*ab eis ut possent quae dicebantur
memoriae commendare, scripsit ex
his quae Petro dicta sunt,
Evangelium quod secundum
Marcum vocitatur.*

thereby they might be able to
commit to memory what was
spoken, of what was spoken by
Peter, wrote entirely what is called
the Gospel according to Mark.

Also according to Eusebius Origen comments²⁰³:

deu,teron de. to. Kata.
Ma,rkon(w`j Pe,troj
u`fhgh,sato
auvtw/|(poih,santa(o]n
kai. ui`o.n evn th/|
kaqolikh/| evpistolh/| dia.
tou,twn w`molo,ghsen
fa,skwn ‘ avspa,zetai
u`ma/j h` evn Babulw/ni
suneklekth. kai. Ma/rkoj o`
ui`o,j mou `\

Secondly, that according to Mark,
who wrote it in accordance with
Peter’s instructions, whom also
Peter acknowledged as his son in
the catholic epistle, speaking in
these terms: ‘She that is in Babylon,
elect together with you, saluteth you;
and so doth Mark my son.’

It seems that these early Christian writers rely on Papias’ note. Thus, Telford claims that “that early church tradition was virtually unanimous in supporting the claim is not surprising since the later church fathers were almost certainly dependent upon Papias, hence offer no independent attestation. Papias’ evidence itself is unreliable and often ambiguous.”²⁰⁴ As Hengel emphasizes, however, Papias’ fragment has been frequently “misunderstood and indeed mishandled in more recent scholarship.”²⁰⁵ At least there is a consensus between scholars that Papias’ main purpose is to defend the Gospel of Mark. Since Mark was not an eye-witness, the link between Peter and Mark certainly could confirm the apostolic authority of the Gospel

²⁰³ Eusebius *The Ecclesiastical History* 6.25.5.

²⁰⁴ W. R. Telford, *The Theology of the Gospel of Mark*, New Testament Theology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 10.

²⁰⁵ Hengel, *Studies in the Gospel of Mark*, 47.

of Mark.²⁰⁶ Prior to Papias' note this association between the two individuals is separately assured in 1 Pet 5:13 and "cannot be a later invention in order to secure 'apostolic' authority for the Gospel."²⁰⁷ Hengel comments that the insistence that on the grounds of 1 Pet 5:13 Papias created the connection between Peter and Mark is absurd.²⁰⁸ He goes on to say, "Papias certainly knows I Peter (and I John, HE 3,39,17) Both traditions are independent and provided reciprocal confirmation. It is also an unprovable assertion that only the first clause of the quotation is the tradition of the presbyter and that the rest is only the interpretation of Papias. Papias reproduces this tradition in his own words and the exact wording can no longer be reconstructed."²⁰⁹

Furthermore, along with the *Anti-Marcion Prologue* to the Gospel of Mark in his *Refutatio Omnium Haeresium*, Hippolytus of Rome writes²¹⁰:

VEpeida.n ou=n Marki,wn h'
tw/n evkei,nou kunw/n tij
u`lakth/| kata. tou/
dhmiourgou/(tou.j evk th/j
avntiparage,sewj avgaqou/
kai. kakou/ profe,rwn
lo,gouj(dei/ auvtoi/\$j%
le,gein o[ti tou,touj ou;te
Pau/loj o` avpo,stoloj
ou;te Ma,rkoj o`

When, therefore, Marcion or some one of his hounds barks against the Demiurge, and adduces reasons from a comparison of what is good and bad, we ought to say to them, that neither Paul the apostle nor Mark, he of maimed-finger, announced such (tenets). For none of these (doctrines) has been written in the Gospel according to Mark. But

²⁰⁶ See Martin, *Mark: Evangelist and Theologian*, 80-83. See also Etienne Trocme, *The Formation of the Gospel according to Mark*, trans. Pamela Gaughan (London: SPCK, 1975), 73-75.

²⁰⁷ Hengel, *Studies in the Gospel of Mark*, 47. See also Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross*, 1029-033.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 150. Black, *Mark: Images of an Apostolic Interpreter*, 87, insists that "the literary connection, described by Papias as existing between Peter and Mark, was deduced by the bishop of Hierapolis from 1 Peter 5:13."

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

²¹⁰ Hippolytus *Refutatio Omnium Haeresium* 7.30.1, *Patristische Texte und Studien* 25, ed. Miroslav Marcovich (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1986), 311. Translation from J. H. Macmahon, ANF, vol. 5, 112.



koloboda, ktuloj	(the real author of the system) is
avnh, ggeilan & tou, tw n ga.r	Empedocles, son of Meto, a native
ouvde<i.j> evn tw/ <kata.>	of Agrigentum.
Ma, rkon euvaggeli, w	
ge, graptai & (avlla.	
vEmpedoklh/j M<e,>twno j	
vAkraganti/noj\	

These two works of the early Christian writers depict Mark as the one who has “stumpy-fingers.” Because this portrayal of Mark would hardly be fictitious, it must have come from a genuine reminiscence.²¹¹ Apparently, it seems that there existed another tradition of Mark independent of Papias’ fragment. In this light, it seems probable that the early Christian writers must have identified Mark not only as Paul and Peter’s co-worker but also as Peter’s *e`rmhneuth, j* and the Evangelist whose fingers were stumpy.²¹²

There remains a difference among the early church traditions concerning the dating of Mark’s Gospel. As mentioned above, according to Clement of Alexandria²¹³ and Jerome²¹⁴, Mark wrote his gospel during Peter’s lifetime. On the

²¹¹ See Sean P. Kealy, *Mark’s Gospel: A History of Its Interpretation* (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), 14; Hengel, *Studies in the Gospel of Mark*, 3.

²¹² See France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 39-41; John R. Donahue and Daniel J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, SP, vol. 2 (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2002), 40-41; Ben Witherington III, *The Gospel of Mark: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 25-26; Joel Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, AB, vol. 27 (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 24; Bas M. F. van Iersel, *Mark: A Reader-Response Commentary*, trans. W. H. Bisscheroux, JSNTSup 164 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 30-31; Beavis, *Mark’s Audience: The Literary and Social Setting of Mark 4.11-12*, 66; Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross*, 1026-045; Morna D. Hooker, *The Gospel according to ST Mark*, BNTC (London: A & C Black, 1991), 5-7; Robert A. Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, WBC, vol. 34A (Dallas: Word Books, 1989), xxviii-xxix; Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 21-23; John Bowman, *The Gospel of Mark* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), 22-23; A. E. J. Rawlinson, *St Mark*, WC (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1925), xxv-xxxi; Ezra P. Gould, *The Gospel according to ST. Mark*, ICC (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1896), xi-xii. Also G. G. Gamba, “L’evangelista Marco Segretario-« Interpretare » della Prima Lettera di Pietro?,” *Salesianum* 44 (1982): 70, insists that “the remarkable statements in 1 Pt 5,13 suggest to the Author that Mark might be the redactor or the scribe through whom this first ‘Roman papal encyclical’ was produced.”

²¹³ See Eusebius *The Ecclesiastical History* 6.14.5-7; Clement of Alexandria *Adumbrationes* on 1 Pet 5:13.

other hand, according to Irenaeus²¹⁵ and the *Anti-Marcionite Prologue* to the Gospel of Mark²¹⁶, it seems that Mark composed his gospel after Peter's death. However, it should also be noted that there is a debate over the interpretation of the wording of *Meta. de. th.n tou,twn e;xodon* in Irenaeus *Against the Heresies* 3.1.1. Several scholars argue that the term *e;xodoj* does not signify Peter and Paul's death, but simply their departure from Rome.²¹⁷ This argument seems plausible since Clement of Rome refers to Paul's departure from Rome to the west (Spain) after his release.²¹⁸ In addition, even if the word *e;xodoj* refers to Peter and Paul's death, the term *parade, dwke\$n%* (handed down) strongly manifests the probability that Mark wrote his gospel during Peter's lifetime but published [handed down] it after his death.²¹⁹ To this end, the references of Irenaeus and the *Anti-Marcionite Prologue* to the Gospel of Mark can not be viewed as compelling evidence that Mark wrote his gospel after Peter's death.²²⁰

5. Conclusion

Acts shows not only that Mark was associated with the Jerusalem church, which infers that he was also indirectly connected with Peter, but also that Mark as a co-worker of Paul and Barnabas participated in a missionary expedition and had

²¹⁴ Jerome *De viris illustribus* 8.1-2.

²¹⁵ Irenaeus *Against the Heresies* 3.1.1.

²¹⁶ Heard, "The Old Gospel Prologues," 4.

²¹⁷ Contra Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 584-86. See France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 37; Thiede, *Simon Peter: From Galilee to Rome*, 157-58; T. W. Manson, "The Foundation of the Synoptic Tradition: the Gospel of Mark," in *Studies in the Gospels and Epistles*, ed. Matthew Black (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962), 38-40.

²¹⁸ Clement of Rome *1 Clement* 5:6

²¹⁹ See Theodore B. Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1909), 433-34; Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, 86.

²²⁰ Nevertheless, the case that Mark wrote his gospel after Peter's death should not significantly effect the thesis of this study itself that Mark was the contributive amanuensis of 1 Peter, since this study basically does not argue the literary dependence of 1 Peter on Mark's Gospel or *vice versa*. Thus, this study still leaves open the possibility of the both cases.

significant duties. Along this line, Mark in the Pauline letters has been depicted constantly as Paul's helpful collaborator. Colossians, Philemon, and 2 Timothy demonstrate that Mark is obviously associated with the Asia Minor churches, specifically, the Colossian church, and had been with Paul in Rome. It is most likely, therefore, that during the period of Paul's later ministry, Mark had been acting as his co-worker in the areas of Rome and Asia Minor.

In this vein, 1 Pet 5:13 exhibits the intimate relationship between Peter and Mark in Rome. Apparently the early Christian writers disclose that Peter sojourned some time in Rome and was martyred. This sheds light on the probability that Mark's eventual duty in Rome must have set working alongside Peter.

Although some dispute still remains concerning the interpretation of Papias' note, there is also an independent portrayal of Mark by the *Anti-Marcion Prologue* to the Gospel of Mark and Hippolytus of Rome. The early Christian writers consistently reported that Mark was Peter's *εἰρηνεύτης*, and the Evangelist. Unless there is a decisive factor that rejects the early church tradition about Mark, in light both of the intimate relationship between Peter and Mark from 1 Pet 5:13 and the practice of first-century letter writing, the historical connection supports the hypothesis that Mark was the contributive amanuensis of 1 Peter.