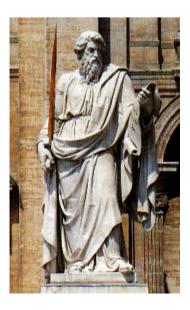
# St. Paul: Life & Letters

Catholic Bible Institute – Diocese of Orange January 4, 2014 Felix Just, S.J., Ph.D. – Loyola Institute for Spirituality



### **Opening Prayer & Announcements**

### **Presentation 1 – Intro to Paul's Letters**

Overview: Letters & Epistles in the NT: "Pauline" & "Catholic" Categories: Pauline/Deutero-Pauline; Authentic/Pseudepigraphic; Undisputed/Disputed Lectionary: Second Readings for Sunday Masses in the Liturgical Seasons Structure: Ancient Letters & Paul's Letters; Special Features of Paul's Letters Q & A

## Presentation 2 – Intro to Paul's Life and Ministry

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## Presentation 3 – Social Aspects of Pauline Christianity

Approaches to "History": Traditional ("Great Men") vs. Social (common people)
Aspects of Ancient Roman Society: Citizenship, Households, Travel & Mail, Slavery, Courts & Trials, Prisons & Prisoners
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## **Presentation 4 – Paul's Theology and Ethics**

Aspects of Pauline Theology – God, Jesus, Spirit, Church, etc. 1 & 2 Thessalonians – Christian Faith, Community, Eschatology 1 & 2 Corinthians – Unity, Morality, Spiritual Gifts, Resurrection, etc. Philippians – Friendship, Thanksgiving, Mutual Support Romans & Galatians – Faith & Justification Paul vs. James – Differences? Contradictions? Pauline Ethics – Love and other Virtues Q & A

## **Closing Prayer & Departure**

## The New Testament Canon: An Overview by Genre

(in parentheses: total number of chapters / verses in each book)

Four "Gospels": attributed to the four "Evangelists"; narrative "portraits" of Jesus' life and ministry:

| <b>Matthew</b> (28 / 1071) | ~             |                      |
|----------------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| <b>Mark</b> (16 / 678)     | }             | The Synoptic Gospels |
| Luke (24 / 1151)           | J             |                      |
| <b>John</b> (21 / 878)     | $\rightarrow$ | The Fourth Gospel    |

<u>One "Acts"</u>: a partial narrative account of the growth of early Christianity; not a complete "history" of apostolic Christianity: Acts of the Apostles (28 / 1008)

Twenty-One "Letters" or "Epistles": written by (or attributed to) various early Christian "apostles"

Thirteen "Pauline Letters": attributed to Paul; written to communities or individuals; listed by decreasing length, not age: **Romans** (16/433) **1** Corinthians (16/437)**2** Corinthians (13 / 257) Galatians (6 / 149) Ephesians (6 / 155) - letters to Christian communities in these cities\_ **Philippians** (4 / 104)Colossians (4 / 95) **1 Thessalonians** (5 / 89) **2** Thessalonians (3/47)**1 Timothy** (6 / 113) **2 Timothy** (4 / 83) letters to individual Christian leaders, but only **Titus** (3 / 46) the first three are called the "Pastoral Letters" Philemon (1/25)

One Biblical "Sermon": interpreting Jesus' significance in light of OT; not really a "letter" (no author/audience explicit): Hebrews (13 / 303)

<u>Seven "Catholic Epistles"</u>: attributed to other apostles; written to broader audiences ("catholic" = "general, universal"): James (5 / 108)

**1 Peter** (5 / 105) **2 Peter** (3 / 61) **1 John** (5 / 105) **2 John** (1 / 13) **3 John** (1 / 14) **Jude** (1 / 25)



<u>One "Apocalypse"</u>: a highly symbolic narrative that interprets a historical crisis and provides hope for a better future: The Book of Revelation (22 / 404)

**More about the Gospels** – the word "Gospel" is derived from the Old English "god-spel" (*god* = good; *spel* = news), which is equivalent to Greek *eu-angelion* (*eu* = good; *angelion* = message; *angelos* = messenger). Originally "gospel" referred to *oral* proclamations (see Mark 1:14-15), but it is later used for a particular genre of *written* literature (based on its use in Mark 1:1).

- Matthew, Mark, and Luke are called the "**Synoptics**" because they see Jesus "with the same eye"; the "**Fourth Gospel**" (John) is substantially different from the Synoptics in content, style, and theology, but no less valuable.
- About thirty other early Christian "Gospels" were not accepted into the New Testament (called "non-canonical Gospels).
- All four canonical Gospels were originally written in Koine ("Common") Greek between the late 60's and early 90's.
- The authors of the Gospels are usually called the four "Evangelists" (from Greek *euangelion*, lit. "good news").
- The official titles are "The Gospel *according to*..." (although we often use the shorter, but less accurate titles "Gospel *of*...")
- The **Q-Document** ("Quelle" = "source" in German) is a hypothetical collection of sayings & teachings of Jesus; many scholars think it was a written source (from the 50's?) used later by Matthew and Luke, but it is now lost.
- The NT Gospels are similar to ancient biographies in literary form, but very different from modern biographies!

Pauline Letters or Epistles – the thirteen letters attributed to Paul are often subdivided into various groups:

- Seven "authentic" or "undisputed Pauline Letters" (Rom, 1 & 2 Cor, Gal, Phil, 1 Thess, Phlm);
- Six "disputed" or "*deutero-Pauline Letters*" (Col, Eph, 2 Thess, 1 & 2 Tim, Titus), since some scholars think these are "authentic" [actually written by Paul], while others argue that they were written pseudepigraphically (by Paul's followers after his death);
- The three letters written to early "pastors" (1 & 2 Tim, Titus) are usually also called the "Pastoral Epistles."
- Eph, Phil, Col, Phlm are sometimes called "Prison Letters," since Paul apparently wrote them while he was in prison.
- The anonymous sermon apparently written "To the Hebrews" was not written by Paul, nor even attributed to him!



## Lectionary for Mass – Readings from the NT Epistles

| C      |                            | Vara D                                  | No an O                               |
|--------|----------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| Sunday | Year A<br>1 Cor 1:1-3      | Year B<br>1 Cor 6:13c-15a, 17-20        | Year C<br>1 Cor 12:4-11               |
| 2<br>3 | 1 Cor 1:10-13, 17          | 1 Cor 6:130-15a, 17-20<br>1 Cor 7:29-31 | 1 Cor 12:12-30 <i>or</i> 12:12-14, 27 |
|        |                            |   | 1 Cor 12:31—13:13 <i>or</i> 13:4-13   |
| 4      | 1 Cor 1:26-31              | 1 Cor 7:32-35                           |                                       |
| 5      | 1 Cor 2:1-5                | 1 Cor 9:16-19, 22-23                    | 1 Cor 15:1-11 <i>or</i> 15:3-8, 11    |
| 6      | 1 Cor 2:6-10               | 1 Cor 10:31—11:1                        | 1 Cor 15:12, 16-20                    |
| 7      | 1 Cor 3:16-23              | 2 Cor 1:18-22                           | 1 Cor 15:45-49                        |
| 8      | 1 Cor 4:1-5                | 2 Cor 3:1b-6                            | 1 Cor 15:54-58                        |
| 9      | Rom 3:21-25, 28            | 2 Cor 4:6-11                            | Gal 1:1-2, 6-10                       |
| 10     | Rom 4:18-25                | 2 Cor 4:13—5:1                          | Gal 1:11-19                           |
| 11     | Rom 5:6-11                 | 2 Cor 5:6-10                            | Gal 2:16, 19-21                       |
| 12     | Rom 5:12-15                | 2 Cor 5:14-17                           | Gal 3:26-29                           |
| 13     | Rom 6:3-4, 8-11            | 2 Cor 8:7, 9, 13-15                     | Gal 5:1, 13-18                        |
| 14     | Rom 8:9, 11-13             | 2 Cor 12:7-10                           | Gal 6:14-18                           |
| 15     | Rom 8:18-23                | Eph 1:3-14 <i>or</i> 1:3-10             | Col 1:15-20                           |
| 16     | Rom 8:26-27                | Eph 2:13-18                             | Col 1:24-28                           |
| 17     | Rom 8:28-30                | Eph 4:1-6                               | Col 2:12-14                           |
| 18     | Rom 8:35, 37-39            | Eph 4:17, 20-24                         | Col 3:1-5, 9-11                       |
| 19     | Rom 9:1-5                  | Eph 4:30—5:2                            | Heb 11:1-2, 8-19 or 11:1-2, 8-12      |
| 20     | Rom 11:13-15, 29-32        | Eph 5:15-20                             | Heb 12:1-4                            |
| 21     | Rom 11:33-36               | Eph 5:21-32 <i>or</i> 5:2a, 25-32       | Heb 12:5-7, 11-13                     |
| 22     | Rom 12:1-2                 | James 1:17-18, 21b-22, 27               | Heb 12:18-19, 22-24a                  |
| 23     | Rom 13:8-10                | James 2:1-5                             | Phlm 9-10, 12-17                      |
| 24     | Rom 14:7-9                 | James 2:14-18                           | 1 Tim 1:12-17                         |
| 25     | Phil 1:20c-24, 27a         | James 3:16—4:3                          | 1 Tim 2:1-8                           |
| 26     | Phil 2:1-11 or 2:1-5       | James 5:1-6                             | 1 Tim 6:11-16                         |
| 27     | Phil 4:6-9                 | Heb 2:9-11                              | 2 Tim 1:6-8, 13-14                    |
| 28     | Phil 4:12-14, 19-20        | Heb 4:12-13                             | 2 Tim 2:8-13                          |
| 29     | 1 Thess 1:1-5b             | Heb 4:14-16                             | 2 Tim 3:14—4:2                        |
| 30     | 1 Thess 1:5c-10            | Heb 5:1-6                               | 2 Tim 4:6-8, 16-18                    |
| 31     | 1 Thess 2:7b-9, 13         | Heb 7:23-28                             | 2 Thess 1:11-2:2                      |
| 32     | 1 Thess 4:13-18 or 4:13-14 | Heb 9:24-28                             | 2 Thess 2:16—3:5                      |
| 33     | 1 Thess 5:1-6              | Heb 10:11-14, 18                        | 2 Thess 3:7-12                        |
| 34     | 1 Cor 15:20-26, 28         | Rev 1:5-8                               | Col 1:12-20                           |

Second Readings for Sundays during Ordinary Time (semi-continuous readings from most of the NT Epistles):

First Readings for Sundays during the Easter Season (selections from the Acts of the Apostles):

| Sunday or Feast                  | Year A             | Year B                      | Year C               |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| Easter Sunday                    | Acts 10:34a, 37-43 | same as Year A              | same as Year A       |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> Sunday of Easter | Acts 2:42-47       | Acts 4:32-35                | Acts 5:12-16         |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> Sunday of Easter | Acts 2:14, 22-33   | Acts 3:13-15, 17-19         | Acts 5:27-32, 40b-41 |
| 4 <sup>th</sup> Sunday of Easter | Acts 2:14a, 36-41  | Acts 4:8-12                 | Acts 13:14, 43-52    |
| 5 <sup>th</sup> Sunday of Easter | Acts 6:1-7         | Acts 9:26-31                | Acts 14:21-27        |
| 6 <sup>th</sup> Sunday of Easter | Acts 8:5-8, 14-17  | Acts 10:25-26, 34-35, 44-48 | Acts 15:1-2, 22-29   |
| Ascension of the Lord            | Acts 1:1-11        | same as Year A              | same as Year A       |
| 7th Sunday of Easter             | Acts 1:12-14       | Acts 1:15-17, 20a, 20c-26   | Acts 7:55-60         |
| Pentecost Sunday                 | Acts 2:1-11        | same as Year A              | same as Year A       |

Second Readings during Liturgical Seasons (selected readings from various NT Epistles):

| Sunday or Feast   | Year A                     | Year B                         | Year C                           |
|---|----------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 <sup>st</sup> Sunday of Advent  | Rom 13:11-14               | 1 Cor 1:3-9                    | 1 Thess 3:12-4:2                 |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> Sunday of Advent  | Rom 15:4-9                 | 2 Pet 3:8-14                   | Phil 1:4-6, 8-11                 |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> Sunday of Advent  | Jas 5:7-10                 | 1 Thess 5:16-24                | Phil 4:4-7                       |
| 4 <sup>th</sup> Sunday of Advent  | Rom 1:1-7                  | Rom 16:25-27                   | Heb 10:5-10                      |
| Christmas: Vigil Mass   | Acts 13:16-17, 22-25       | same as Year A                 | same as Year A                   |
| Christmas: Mass at Midnight   | Titus 2:11-14              | same as Year A                 | same as Year A                   |
| Christmas: Mass at Dawn   | Titus 3:4-7                | same as Year A                 | same as Year A                   |
| Christmas: Mass during the Day  | Heb 1:1-6                  | same as Year A                 | same as Year A                   |
| Sunday within the Octave of<br>Christmas: Holy Family                             | Col 3:12-21 or 3:12-17     | opt.: Heb 11:8, 11-12, 17-19   | <i>opt.:</i> 1 John 3:1-2, 21-24 |
| January 1: Octave of Christmas<br>Solemnity of Mary, Mother of God                | Gal 4:4-7                  | same as Year A                 | same as Year A                   |
| Second Sunday after Christmas<br>(if Epiphany is not transferred)                 | Eph 1:3-6, 15-18           | same as Year A                 | same as Year A                   |
| January 6:<br>The Epiphany of the Lord  | Eph 3:2-3a, 5-6            | same as Year A                 | same as Year A                   |
| <i>Sunday after January 6:<br/>The Baptism of the Lord</i>                        | Acts 10:34-38              | <i>opt.:</i> 1 John 5:1-9      | opt.: Titus 2:11-14; 3:4-7       |
| 1 <sup>st</sup> Sunday of Lent  | Rom 5:12-19 or 5:12, 17-19 | 1 Pet 3:18-22                  | Rom 10:8-13                      |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> Sunday of Lent  | 2 Tim 1:8b-10              | Rom 8:31b-34                   | Phil 3:17—4:1 or 3:20—4:1        |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> Sunday of Lent  | Rom 5:1-2, 5-8             | 1 Cor 1:22-25                  | 1 Cor 10:1-6, 10-12              |
| 4 <sup>th</sup> Sunday of Lent  | Eph 5:8-14                 | Eph 2:4-10                     | 2 Cor 5:17-21                    |
| 5 <sup>th</sup> Sunday of Lent  | Rom 8:8-11                 | Heb 5:7-9                      | Phil 3:8-14                      |
| Palm Sunday   | Phil 2:6-11                | same as Year A                 | same as Year A                   |
| Holy Thursday   | 1 Cor 11:23-26             | same as Year A                 | same as Year A                   |
| Good Friday   | Heb 4:14-16; 5:7-9         | same as Year A                 | same as Year A                   |
| Easter Vigil  | Rom 6:3-11                 | same as Year A                 | same as Year A                   |
| Easter Sunday   | Col 3:1-4 or 1 Cor 5:6b-8  | same as Year A                 | same as Year A                   |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> Sunday of Easter  | 1 Pet 1:3-9                | 1 John 5:1-6                   | Rev 1:9-11a, 12-13, 17-19        |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> Sunday of Easter  | 1 Pet 1:17-21              | 1 John 2:1-5a                  | Rev 5:11-14                      |
| 4 <sup>th</sup> Sunday of Easter  | 1 Pet 2:20b-25             | 1 John 3:1-2                   | Rev 7:9, 14b-17                  |
| 5 <sup>th</sup> Sunday of Easter  | 1 Pet 2:4-9                | 1 John 3:18-24                 | Rev 21:1-5a                      |
| 6 <sup>th</sup> Sunday of Easter  | 1 Pet 3:15-18              | 1 John 4:7-10                  | Rev 21:10-14, 22-23              |
| Ascension of the Lord   | Eph 1:17-23                | opt.: Eph 4:1-13 or 1-7, 11-13 | opt.: Heb 9:24-28; 10:19-23      |
| 7 <sup>th</sup> Sunday of Easter (if not Ascension)                               | 1 Pet 4:13-16              | 1 John 4:11-16                 | Rev 22:12-14, 16-17, 20          |
| Vigil of Pentecost  | Rom 8:22-27                | same as Year A                 | same as Year A                   |
| Pentecost Sunday  | 1 Cor 12:3b-7, 12-13       | <i>opt.:</i> Gal 5:16-25       | <i>opt.:</i> Rom 8:8-17          |
| Sunday after Pentecost:<br>Most Holy Trinity                                      | 2 Cor 13:11-13             | Rom 8:14-17                    | Rom 5:1-5                        |
| Sunday after Trinity Sunday:<br>Body and Blood of Christ                          | 1 Cor 10:16-17             | Heb 9:11-15                    | 1 Cor 11:23-26                   |
| Friday after the 2 <sup>nd</sup> Sunday after<br>Pentecost: Sacred Heart of Jesus | 1 John 4:7-16              | Eph 3:8-12, 14-19              | Rom 5:5b-11                      |

Note: The second readings are *semi-continuous* during the Easter Season, but *thematically chosen* in the other liturgical seasons.

## Pauline Chronology: The Life and Missionary Work of St. Paul of Tarsus

#### The Traditional (but *Inaccurate*) Division of Paul's Travels:

People usually talk about "Paul's Three Missionary Journeys" followed by "Paul's Voyage to Rome":

- 1) Acts 13 14 A journey through Cyprus, Pamphylia, and Pisidia (today's South-Central Turkey).
- 2) Acts 15:39 18:22 A journey through Macedonia and Achaia (modern Greece) and Asia Minor (Western Turkey).
- 3) Acts 18:23 21:16 Another Journey through Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Achaia, ending in Jerusalem.
- R) Acts 22 28 After being arrested in Jerusalem and imprisoned in Caesarea, Paul is taken by ship to Rome.

#### Problems with this schema:

- *Paul is not in charge* during the *first* journey; rather, **Barnabas** is the leader of the mission and Paul is his assistant (see Acts 9:27; 11:25-30; 13:1-3; **14:12**).
- After Paul and Barnabas separate, *Paul never travels or works alone,* but always has a growing number of **assistants** (esp. Timothy; see Acts 15:39-40; 16:1-3; and the beginnings of most of Paul's letters).
- The so-called second & third "journeys" are *not circle-trips leaving and returning to Antioch* (see Acts 18:18-23).
  Rather, Paul makes a *definite break* with Barnabas and the Church at Antioch (see Gal 2:11-14; Acts 15:39-40).
  He spends several years preaching & founding churches in Macedonia & Achaia, esp. in the city of *Corinth*.
  - After leaving Corinth, he makes his main base of missionary operations in *Ephesus*, the capital of Asia Minor.
- If Paul ever returned to *Antioch*, it was probably only for a *brief visit* (see Acts 18:22-23); but he is no longer a member of the community there, nor commissioned by them to go out and preach.

## A More Accurate and Comprehensive Overview: Five Main Phases of Paul's Life

The following chronology is based on a combination of evidence from Paul's own letters and from the Acts of the Apostles, since neither gives us a complete picture and there are some points of tension between them.

#### 0) Pre-Christian Phase (ca. AD 10-35)

- A. Paul was a Jew who was born in **Tarsus**, the capital of CILICIA (Acts 9:11, 30; 11:25; 21:39), but possibly also lived and received part of his education in *Jerusalem*, "at the feet of Gamaliel" (Acts 22:3).
- B. He was a Hebrew, born of Hebrew parents (Phil 3:5; 2 Cor 11:22); probably also a Roman citizen (Acts 22:25-29; 23:27).
- C. He was *bi-lingual* (Hebrew/Aramaic and Greek) and *bi-cultural* (Jewish and Hellenistic/Greek), making him an ideal "transition figure" for the spread of early Christianity from Palestine to the rest of the Roman empire.
- D. He was originally named "Saul" (Acts 7:58–13:9; 22:7; 26:14), but later (as a Christian) changed his name to "Paul" (see Acts 13:9ff and in all the Epistles).
- E. Raised as a *Pharisee*, he was very *zealous* for the Torah & Jewish Traditions (Phil 3:5; Acts 23:6-9; 26:5).
- F. He begins *persecuting* the followers of Jesus, because he considers belief in Jesus as Messiah to be incompatible with Judaism (Gal 1:13-14; Phil 3:5-6; 1 Cor 15:9; Acts 7:58; 8:1; 9:1-2; 22:3-5; 26:4-12).

#### 1) First Phase of Paul's New Christian Life: In the EAST (ca. AD 35-49)

- A. Jesus "reveals" himself to Paul (traditionally called Paul's "conversion") while Paul is traveling on the road to **Damascus** in southern SYRIA (Gal 1:11-12, 15-16; 1 Cor 15:8-10; Acts 9:3-30; 22:6-21; 26:12-18).
- B. Paul begins preaching in Arabia, Damascus, Syria, and Cilicia, despite some opposition (Gal 1:17-24; 2 Cor 11:23-33).
- C. Barnabas takes interest in Paul, helps & protects him, introduces him to other Christians (Acts 9:26-30; 11:25-30; 12:25).
- D. Commissioned by the church of **Antioch**, in Northern SYRIA, Barnabas and Paul go on their first missionary journey to Cyprus, Pamphylia, and Phrygia (Acts 13–14); Barnabas is clearly the leader, with Paul as his assistant (see esp. Acts **14:12**, when Barnabas is called "Zeus," the king of Greek gods, while Paul is called "Hermes," the Greek messenger god).
- E. Barnabas and Paul participate in the "**Council of Jerusalem**" (*ca. AD 49*; Gal 2:1-10; Acts 15) (Note: Many scholars think this council was slightly later, *ca.* AD 51.)

#### 2) Early Independent Missionary Phase: In MACEDONIA & ACHAIA (ca. AD 50–52)

- A. Paul breaks with Barnabas due to the "Incident at Antioch" (contrast Gal 2:11-14 with Acts 15:36-41).
- B. Paul travels with Silas & Timothy through ASIA and crosses over to **MACEDONIA**, where they establish small Christian churches, esp. in **Philippi** & **Thessalonica**, possibly also in Beroea (Acts 16:1–17:15).
- C. After getting kicked out of one Macedonian city after another, the three missionaries go down to **ACHAIA**; Paul alone briefly visits *Athens*, but his preaching is not very successful there (Acts 17:16-34).
- D. They move on to **Corinth**, the capital of ACHAIA, where they stay for over 18 months (Acts 18:11, 18); they meet Prisca & Aquila in Corinth soon after **Emperor Claudius** had expelled Jews from Rome in AD 49 (Acts 18:2).
- E. Paul is brought to trial before the **Proconsul Gallio** (Acts 18:12-17), who was in *Achaia only in AD 51–52*; this fact is the only fixed date in the chronology of Paul's life, from which all other dates are calculated backward or forward.
- F. From Corinth, Paul & his companions write 1 Thess, and probably also 2 Thess (see 1 Thess 3:1-6).

#### 3) Mature Missionary Leadership Phase: In ASIA Minor (ca. AD 53–57)

- A. Paul travels through Asia, then to Syria (including brief visits to Jerusalem and Antioch), and back again to **Ephesus**, the capital of ASIA (Acts 18:18–19:41).
- B. He remains in **Ephesus** for *at least 27 months*, probably longer, preaching and strengthening the churches (Acts 19:8, 10, 22); Ephesus becomes his "missionary headquarters" with more and more associates over time.
- C. Paul travels personally and sends & receives messengers and letters back and forth from Ephesus to Macedonia, Corinth, various parts of Asia Minor, and possibly other regions (1 Cor 16:5-12; 2 Cor 8-9; Phil 2:19-30; 4:10-20).
- D. He and his associates found other Christian communities in and around Asia Minor; e.g., *Epaphras* establishes a church in Colossae (Col 1:7).
- E. Paul encounters opposition from Jews and Gentiles, and is blamed for a riot caused by some silversmiths in Ephesus, since he preached against the "idolatry" of worshipping pagan gods (see Acts 19:26); he probably spends some time in prison in Ephesus.
- F. From Ephesus, Paul & his companions write 1 Cor, 2 Cor, Phil, Phlm, and probably Gal (see 1 Cor 15:32; 16:8; 16:19).

#### 4) Final Missionary Travel Phase: To the WEST (ca. AD 58-62/64)

- A. Paul wants to go to Rome & Spain, but first to collect & deliver money for poor Christians in Jerusalem (1 Cor 16:1-4; Rom 15:22-32; Acts 19:21); he stays in **Corinth** three more months (Acts 20:3), and *writes Rom* from there (Rom 16).
- B. Paul and some associates deliver this collection to **Jerusalem**; soon he is arrested in the Temple (Acts 20–21).
- C. Paul is held under arrest for about two years in **Caesarea**; at his trial he appeals to Caesar and is taken to **Rome**, where he remains under house-arrest for two more years (Acts 22–28); possibly *writes Col from prison in Caesarea*.
- D. We cannot be sure what happened next, since nothing else is written in Acts: either he was tried, found guilty, and executed; or he was tried, found innocent and released, so he might have gone to preach in **Spain**, as he had planned.
- E. Early Christian tradition agrees Paul was executed during the reign of Emperor Nero; but we cannot be sure whether it was at the end of his first Roman imprisonment (AD 62), or after his return from Spain (AD 64), since his death is not recorded in the Acts of the Apostles.

#### X) After Paul's Death: His legacy continues (AD 60's - 90's and beyond)

- A. Paul's associates continue to preach, gain converts, build up Christian churches, address problems, write letters, etc.
- B. 1 Tim, 2 Tim, Tit, and Eph are probably pseudepigraphic (i.e., letters written in Paul's name by his followers after his death).
- C. Ephesus and Colossae remain strong centers of Pauline-style Christianity, possibly led by Timothy and Onesimus.
- D. Someone begins collecting and editing Paul's letters (cf. 2 Pet 3:15-16); by the late first century, about 10 letters are circulating together (not yet 1 Tim, 2 Tim, or Tit); Ephesians possibly functions as an introduction or "cover letter."
- E. Eventually, *thirteen letters* attributed to Paul are recognized as "canonical" (i.e., accepted in the NT; the "Letter to the Hebrews" was sometimes also thought to be written by Paul, but most scholars and church leaders today agree that it is not Pauline).
- F. Other legends about Paul develop, as recorded in non-canonical works (e.g., "Acts of Paul"; "Acts of Paul and Thecla").

## Paul's Associates and Co-Workers

by Felix Just, S.J., Ph.D.

Some people think that Paul of Tarsus was the first Christian missionary, or even that he was the real "founder" of the Church. While he was obviously *one of the most important* early Christian preachers and writers, he was definitely *not the first one, nor the only one*! A careful reading of the New Testament (of his own letters as well as the Acts of the Apostles) shows that several other people *before* Paul had been sent out by God and/or by the early Christian communities to preach the good news about Jesus (i.e., "apostles" or "missionaries"). Moreover, when Paul was traveling and preaching, he never went alone. Rather than being some kind of "Lone Ranger," Paul *always* worked together with other Christian missionaries, indeed with more and more associates as time went on.

The Acts of the Apostles tells us about many other early Christians who were disciples, apostles, deacons, prophets, and preachers long before Paul even came to believe in Jesus. Moreover, in his own letters Paul usually distinguishes between those people who were Christians and/or missionaries before him, whom he calls *apostoloi* ("missionaries"), *adelphoi* ("brothers"), and/or *koinonoi* ("equal partners"), and those who were his own converts and co-workers, to whom he refers as *tekna* ("children"), *synergoi* ("junior partners"), or with a variety of other terms. A careful study of these different individuals and groups can help us better to understand the growth of the early Church.

### I) Christian Leaders and Missionaries before Paul:

#### • "The Twelve" Apostles:

- o "apostles" (Gk apostoloi, from the verb apo-stello) literally means "those sent out" (i.e. "missionaries" or "messengers")
- o during his lifetime, Jesus chose twelve disciples to send out on a mission (Mark 3:13-19; Matt 10:2-4; Luke 6:14-16)
- o according to Acts, eleven of them are still together in Jerusalem after Jesus' death and resurrection (Acts 1:13)
- o only Judas Iscariot is dead (Matt 27:3-10; Acts 1:18-19), but a disciple named Matthias replaces him (1:15-26)
- o like the other apostles, Matthias knew Jesus personally and was selected to be a "witness" to his resurrection (1:22)
- o the leaders of the community of disciples are "the twelve" (6:2), especially Peter and John (1:15; 2:14; 3:1; 4:1; 8:14; 15:6)

o however, a few *other* early Christians are also called "apostles" in the New Testament (see below).

#### • The "Brothers" of Jesus:

- o the Gospels report some tensions between Jesus and his own family during his lifetime (Mark 3:21, 31-35; John 7:1-10)
- o but the mother and brothers of Jesus are among the community of believers in Jerusalem after his ascension (Acts 1:14)
- o some of the "brothers of the Lord" were probably active as traveling missionaries (1Cor 9:5), thus might have been called "apostles"
- James, one of Jesus' "brothers" (Mark 6:3), later becomes a prominent leader of this community (Acts 12:17; 15:13; 21:18; 1Cor 15:7; Gal 1:19; 2:9, 12), and is even called an "apostle" by Paul (Gal 1:19); this is not the same person as "James, the son of Zebedee, the brother of John," one of the original twelve apostles (see Mark 1:19-20; Acts 12:2).
- o one of the "catholic" letters of the NT is attributed to James, and another letter to Jude, the brother of James (Jude 1; cf. Mark 6:3).
- Other "Apostles":
  - *apostoloi* ("missionaries") are mentioned 80 times in the NT, including 28 times in Acts, over 35 times in the Pauline and deutero-Pauline letters, but fairly rarely in the four Gospels (only Matt 10:2; Mark 3:14; 6:30; John 13:16; and six times in Luke).
  - in the Gospels and Acts, "apostles" *usually* refers to **the twelve** (see above), except in John 13:16, where Jesus speaks of "messengers" in general, and in Acts 14:14, where the narrator calls Paul and Barnabas "apostles".
  - **Paul** frequently calls *himself* an apostle throughout his letters (esp. at the beginnings: Rom 1:1; 1 Cor 1:1; Gal 1:1; etc.), stressing his equal status with the "other apostles" (esp. the twelve and/or the leaders and missionaries of the Jerusalem church).
  - he also explicitly calls Barnabas an apostle (1Cor 9:5-6), implies that Apollos (1 Cor 1:12; 3:4--4:6) and Silas (and possibly also Timothy?) are apostles (1Thess 2:7), and calls Andronicus and Junia "prominent among the apostles" (Rom 16:7).
- Barnabas:
  - o a Jewish "Levite" named Joseph, but nicknamed Barnabas ("son of encouragement") by the apostles (Acts 4:36).
  - o mentioned a total of 31 times in the NT, mostly in Acts, but also in 1Cor 9:6; Gal 2:1, 9, 13; Col 4:10.
  - o originally from the island of Cyprus, he becomes a member and generous benefactor of the Jerusalem community (4:37).
  - o he is the one who introduces Saul (Paul) to the apostles (9:26-27) and later brings him from Tarsus to Antioch (11:25-26).
  - o Barnabas is sent by the Jerusalem church to teach and preach to the new Greek-speaking Christians in Antioch (11:19-26).
  - o the Christians of Antioch send Barnabas and Saul back to Jerusalem to deliver some donations for famine relief (11:27-30).
  - o when Barnabas and Saul are sent out on another mission (13:1--14:28), Barnabas is the *leader* and Paul the *assistant* (14:12).
  - Barnabas and Paul attend the "Council of Jerusalem" to discuss the issue of circumcision with other Xn leaders (15:1-35; cf. Gal 2:1-13).
  - after Barnabas and Paul separate (cf. Gal 2:11-14), Barnabas continues preaching with Mark in Cyprus (Acts 15:39), but unfortunately Acts says nothing more about him after this, and Col 4:10 only tells us that Mark was "the cousin of Barnabas."
  - although they do not belong to "the twelve," Barnabas and Paul are called "*apostles*" in a broader sense (i.e. missionaries "sent out" by the church), both by Luke (Acts 14:14) and by Paul himself (1Cor 9:5-6).
- Seven Deacons:
  - o seven Greek-speaking believers in Jerusalem (Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, and Nicolaus) are chosen to help with the daily distribution of food to the widows and poor members of the community (Acts 6:1-6).
  - o although the noun "deacon" (*diakonos*) is not directly used for them (cf. Rom 16:1; Phil 1:1; 1Tim 3:8), Luke describes their role using the noun "service" (*diakonia*) and the verb "to serve" (*diakoneo*)
  - o Stephen does "great wonders and signs" and also starts preaching, for which he is soon stoned to death (6:8--7:60).

Philip also preaches in Samaria (8:4-13), converts a royal official from Ethiopia (8:26-39), preaches in the region of Caesarea (8:40), where he later hosts Paul and his companions at his house (21:8); this Philip (called "the evangelist" in 21:8) is different from the "apostle" Philip (1:13).

#### • Prophets:

- o biblical "prophets" convey God's messages to the people through words and symbolic actions (not just "predicting the future")
- o just like Elijah, Isaiah, Ezekiel, and many other OT figures, John the Baptist and even Jesus are called "prophets" in the NT
- but some early Christians are also called "prophets" and listed as leaders of the Church, second in rank directly after the apostles (1Cor 12:28-29; 14:29; Eph 2:20; 4:11).
- o *Agabus* is a Christian prophet from Jerusalem who also visits the Christians in Antioch (Acts 11:28) and Caesarea (21:10).
- other Christians explicitly called "prophets" include *Barnabas*, *Simeon Niger*, *Lucius of Cyrene*, *Manaen*, *and Saul* as leaders of the Church in Antioch (13:1), as well as a certain *Judas* (nicknamed Barsabbas) and *Silas* in Jerusalem (15:22, 32).

#### • Elders:

- o Greek presbyteros ("presbyter" or "elder") generally refers to older men who are respected leaders of some community.
- o in the Gospels, "elders" always refers to Jewish leaders (along with the chief priests and scribes) who opposed Jesus.
- o in Acts, these Jewish elders are also opponents of the apostles (4:5, 8, 23; 6:12; 22:5; 23:14; 24:1; 25:15).
- but "elders" (or "apostles and elders") *also* refers in Acts to a different group of people: the leaders of the *Christian* community in Jerusalem (11:30; 15:2-6, 22-23; 16:4; 21:18).
- o later, "elders" are also appointed by the Christian missionaries as leaders of other *local* churches (Acts 14:23; 20:17; 1Tim 4:14; 5:17-22; Titus 1:5; James 5:14; 1Pet 5:1-5).

#### • Servants/Slaves of God/Christ:

- Paul and other NT writers sometimes refer to themselves as "servants" or "slaves" (*doulol*) of God or of Christ (Rom 1:1; 1Cor 7:22; Gal 1:10; Phil 1:1; Col 4:12; 2Tim 2:24; Titus 1:1; James 1:1; 2Pet 1:1; Jude 1:1; Rev 1:1; Rev 22:3,6).
- Paul calls himself, Cephas/Peter, and Apollos "servants" (*hyperetai*, also translated "attendants, guards, or police" elsewhere in the NT) and "stewards" (*oikonomoi*, also translated "managers or trustees") of God (1 Cor 4:1), thus indicating his equal status with these apostles.

#### II) Paul and His Main Missionary Associates:

#### • Paul:

- o before becoming a Christian himself, Paul opposed and persecuted those who believed in Jesus (Acts 7:58; 8:1-3; 9:1-5).
- o after coming to believe in Jesus, Paul does some initial preaching (Acts 9:19-22, 26-30; cf. Gal 1:15-24).
- o but for most of his first 14 or more years as a Christian, he is not really an independent missionary (Gal 2:1).
- o he is recruited by Barnabas (see above) to help evangelize the early Christian community in Antioch (11:25-30).
- on the first "missionary journey" (Acts 13-14), Barnabas is clearly the leader and Paul the assistant; not only is Barnabas usually named before Paul (13:1-2, 7), but after healing a man in Lystra, the people assume that Barnabas is *Zeus* (the father god) and Paul is *Hermes* (the messenger god).
- after Paul breaks up with Barnabas, Paul expands his preaching and traveling, first with the help of Silvanus (a.k.a. Silas) and Timothy, and later with the help of more and more missionary associates.
- o he also interacts with other Xn preachers throughout the years, especially Apollos and Titus, but also Peter and James (see below).
- among his many associates, Paul distinguishes between those who were Christians before him or independent of him (converts of other preachers), and those who became Christians due to his own preaching; for the former he uses more respectful language and titles (calling them brothers, apostles, or partners), while he feels free to give commands to his own converts (whom he calls sons, co-workers, junior partners, etc.).

#### • "Brothers" and "Sisters":

- adelphos ("brother") and adelphe ("sister") have a variety of meanings in the NT, referring sometimes to the family of Jesus (esp. James in Gal 1:19), sometimes to other people's blood-relatives, and sometimes to all Christian believers in general (Rom 14:10-23; 1Cor 6:5-6; etc.).
- o in contrast, *syngenes* ("relative" or "kin"; Mark 6:4; Luke 1:58; Acts 10:24; etc.) or *syngeneia* ("family" or "kindred"; Luke 1:61; Acts 7:3, 14) refers to members of one's own (extended) family, or to "compatriots" from the same ethnic group (clearly Rom 9:3; possibly 16:7, 21).
- Paul calls some people "*brothers*," even though they are almost certainly *not* his blood-relatives, in order to stress their close mutual connection, such as *Quartus* (Rom 16:23), *Sosthenes* (1Cor 1:1), **Apollos** (1Cor 16:12), **Timothy** (2Cor 1:1; Col 1:1; 1Thess 3:2; Phlm 1), **Titus** (2Cor 2:13), *two anonymous companions of Titus* (2Cor 8:18, 22; 12:18); *Tychicus* (Eph 6:21; Col 4:7), *Epaphroditus* (Phil 2:25), *Onesimus* (Col 4:9; Phlm 16), and **Philemon**(Phlm 7, 20).
- Paul also calls **Phoebe** "*our sister*" (Rom 16:1, in the broader Christian sense), sends greetings to "*Nereus and his sister*" (16:15), and greets "*Apphia, the sister*" (PhIm 2).
- o in contrast, Paul calls some people his "relatives" (*syngenes*), such as *Andronicus and Junia* (Rom 16:7), *Herodion* (16:11), and *Lucius, Jason, and Sosipater* (16:21); Acts also mentions "*the son of Paul's sister*," but without naming either one (Acts 23:16).
- to stress that someone's status is equal to his own, he sometimes also calls him a "partner" (*koinonos*), incl. Titus (2Cor 8:23) and Philemon (Phim 17 even though he is one of Paul's converts).

#### • "Fathers" and "Children":

• the Gospels stress that there is really only one "Father," namely God (Matt 6:9; 23:9), and that believers become the "children of God" (Matt 5:9; Luke 20:36; John 1:12; cf. Rom 8:14-21; Gal 3:26; 1John 3:1; etc.).

- however, Paul often refers to his converts (those who became Christians due to Paul's own preaching) as his "children" (*tekna*) or "sons" (*huioi*), especially Timothy (1Cor 4:17; Phil 2:22; 1Tim 1:2; 2Tim 1:2; 2:1), Titus (Tit 1:4), Onesimus (PhIm 10), and all the Christians in Thessalonica (1Thess 2:11), Corinth (1Cor 4:14; 2Cor 12:14), and Galatia (Gal 4:19).
- Thus, he also refers to himself as the "father" (*pater*) of individual converts (Phil 2:22) or the whole community (1Thess 2:11), or else says that he has "fathered" or "given birth" (*gennao*) to those who believe (1Cor 4:15; Philm 10).
- o Peter similarly refers to John Mark as "my son" (1Pet 5:13), even though they are not blood-related.
- Timothy:
  - Paul's closest assistant (mentioned 26 times in the NT), the co-author and/or deliverer of six of Paul's letters (2Cor; Phil; Col; 1Thess; 2Thess; Phlm), and the addressee of two other (probably deutero-Pauline) letters (1Tim & 2Tim).
  - originally from Lystra in Lycaonia, the son of a Greek father and Jewish-Christian mother (Acts 16:1; 2Tim 1:5); Timothy joins Paul ca.
     49/50 AD and works with him throughout his life.
  - Paul variously calls him "my beloved and faithful *child* in the Lord" (1Cor 4:17; cf. 1Tim 1:2; 2Tim 1:2), "our *brother*" (1Thess 3:2; 2Cor 1:1; Col 1:1; Phlm 1), "a *servant* of Christ Jesus" (Phil 1:1), and "our/my *co-worker*" (1Thess 3:2; Rom 16:21).
  - he was with Paul and Silvanus when they first established Christian communities in Philippi, Thessalonica, and Corinth (2Cor 1:19; Acts 16:1--18:11), and later when Paul was traveling around the Aegean Sea and to Jerusalem (Acts 19:22; 20:4; Rom 16:21).
  - o but he was also sent as Paul's emissary to revisit the Christians in various provinces, esp. Macedonia (1Thess 3:1-6; Phil 2:19-24) and Achaia (1Cor 4:17; 16:10-11).
  - o according to one of the "Pastoral Letters," Paul had Timothy stay in Ephesus to guide and teach the church there (1Tim 1:1-3; 4:11-16).
- Titus:
  - o one of Paul's closest associates, mentioned 13 times in the Pauline and deutero-Pauline letters (but curiously never in Acts).
  - a Gentile convert to Christianity who accompanies Barnabas and Paul to the Jerusalem Council; although he is an uncircumcised Greek, he is not compelled to be circumcised (Gal 2:1-3).
  - o Paul tells the Corinthians that Titus is "my brother" (2Cor 2:13) and "my partner and co-worker for you" (8:23).
  - o Titus later serves as Paul's messenger to the Christian communities in Macedonia and Achaia, esp. in Corinth (2Cor 7:5--8:24; 12:18).
  - o he may also have preached in Dalmatia (modern Albania & Bosnia; 2Tim 4:10),
  - according to one of the "<u>Pastoral Letters</u>," Paul left Titus on the island of Crete to organize and appoint leaders for the churches there (Tit 1:4-5).
- Silvanus/Silas:
  - o the same person named "Silas" in Acts is always called "Silvanus" in Paul's letters and in 1Pet 5:12.
  - a Christian "leader" and "prophet" from Jerusalem (Acts 15:22, 32), who accompanied Paul and Timothy at the beginning of their missionary activity in Macedonia and Achaia (1Thess 1:1; 2Thess 1:1; 2Cor 1:19; Acts 15:40--18:5).
  - o probably parted company with Paul, since he is not mentioned later in Acts nor in Paul's other letters.
  - o later associated with Peter in Rome, serving as his secretary, and called "faithful brother" (1Pet 5:12).
- Other "Co-Workers":
  - *synergoi* (literally "co-workers," but meaning "assistants" or "junior partners") is a term that Paul uses mostly for his own missionary assistants, but only rarely for the apostles or other missionaries who were Christians before or independent of Paul.
  - individuals called *synergoi* by Paul include Prisca and Aquila (Rom 16:3), Urbanus (Rom 16:9), Timothy (Rom 16:21; 1Thess 3:2), Titus (2Cor 8:23), Epaphroditus (Phil 2:25), Clement (Phil 4:3), Aristarchus, Mark, and Justus (Col 4:10-11), Philemon (Phim 1), Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, and Luke (Phim 24)
  - o interestingly, Paul refers to himself and Apollos as "co-workers / junior partners" of God (1Cor 3:9; cf. 2Cor 1:24)
  - Paul uses several other Greek terms containing the prefix syn- ("with") to designate his assistants, including systratiotes ("fellow soldier") for Epaphroditus (Phil 2:25) and Archippus (Phim 2), synaixmalotos ("fellow prisoner") for Aristarchus (Col 4:10), Epaphras (Phim 23), and Andronicus and Junia (Rom 16:7), and syndoulos ("fellow slave") for Epaphras (Col 1:7) and Tychicus (Col 4:7).

#### • More and More Missionaries and Christians:

- As time goes on, more and more people not only join the Christian communities founded by Paul, but also join in his missionary efforts; consider the number of individuals named in just some of his letters, in approximately chronological order:
- **1 Thess:** only *Silvanus and Timothy* are mentioned as Paul's co-workers (1:1; 3:2, 6); the greetings at the end of the letter are sent to the "brothers" (Christians) in general, but without naming any individuals (5:26).
- Phil: along with *Timothy* (1:1; 2:19-24), *Epaphroditus* is mentioned as Paul's co-worker (2:25-30; 4:15-20), as well as *Euodia, Syntyche, Clement*, "and the rest of my co-workers" (4:2-3).
- Phlm: Paul (with Timothy) writes this letter to *Philemon, Apphia, and Archippus* (1-2), talks extensively about *Onesimus* (10-16), and concludes by conveying greetings from *Epaphras* (his "fellow prisoner"), as well as *Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, and Luke*, his "coworkers" (22-23).
- 1 Cor: in this letter Paul mentions Sosthenes ("our brother"; 1:1), Chloe's messengers (1:11), Apollos and Cephas (as "apostles" or "servants" of Jesus; 1:12; 3:22; etc.), Timothy, his "son," and other brothers (4:17; 16:10), the household of Stephanas ("first converts in Achaia"; 16:15), Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus (Corinthians who are visiting Paul; 16:17), and finally conveys greetings from Aquila and Prisca and "the church in their house" (16:19).
- Rom: in the last chapter, Paul commends "*Phoebe*, a deacon of the church at Cenchraea" (16:1-2), sends greetings to *Prisca and Aquila* (v.3), *Epaenetus*, "the first convert in Asia" (v.5), and over twenty-five other individuals, families, and households (vv.6-16); he also conveys greetings to the Romans from eight other individuals, including *Timothy, Lucius, Jason, Sosispater, Tertius, Gaius, Erastus, and Quartus* (vv.21-23; see below for further details on all of these).

## III) Early Christians associated with Paul (in alphabetical order):

- Achaicus see Fortunatus
- *Agabus* a Christian "prophet" from Jerusalem who also visits the Christians in Antioch (Acts 11:28; where he predicts a severe famine) and Caesarea (21:10; while Paul and his companions are staying at the house of Philip the Evangelist).
- Alexander a coppersmith who did "great harm" to Paul and opposed his preaching (2Tim 4:14-15); possibly the same person mentioned in Acts 19:33, and/or the former Christian whom Paul curses (together with Hymenaeus) in 1Tim 1:20.
- Ananias a disciple in Damascus who restores Paul's sight and baptizes him (Acts 9:10-19; 22:12; not the same as the Ananias of Acts 5:1-11, nor the Jewish High priest of Acts 23:2; 24:1).
- Apollos an Alexandrian Jew who became a Christian missionary, described as eloquent and knowledgeable of Scripture; he preached and interacted with some of Paul's associates in Ephesus (Acts 18:24-26), in Corinth (Acts 18:27-28; 19:1; 1Cor 1:12; 3:4-6, 22; 4:6; 16:12), and possibly on Crete (Tit 3:13); Paul calls him a "brother" (1Cor 16:12) and refers to himself, Apollos, and Cephas/Peter collectively as "servants of Christ and stewards of God's mysteries (1 Cor 4:1).
- Aquila & Prisca (a.k.a. Priscilla) a married couple, Jewish Christians, natives of Pontus, who were expelled from Rome ca. 49 AD due to the "Edict of Claudius" (Acts 18:1-3); close co-workers of Paul's early mission in Corinth (1Cor 16:19), then leaders of the church in Ephesus (Acts 18:18, 24-28; 2Tim 4:19), and later evidently back in Rome, where they are leaders of a "house-church" (Rom 16:3-5).
- Archippus a "fellow soldier" of Paul, somehow connected with Philemon (Phim 1:2); Paul tells the Colossians to exhort him, "See that you complete the task you have received from the Lord" (Col 4:17).
- Aristarchus a Christian from Thessalonica in Macedonia; a "traveling companion" (Acts 19:29, 20:4, 27:2) and "fellow prisoner" (Col 4:10) and "fellow worker" (PhIm 24) of Paul.
- Artemas Paul's messenger to Titus (Titus 3:12).
- Barnabas an early "apostle" and senior partner of Paul (see section I above).
- Barsabbas see Joseph and Judas
- Carpus Paul left books and parchments with him at Troas, and asks Timothy to retrieve them (2Tim 4:13).
- Cephas an alternate name for the apostle Peter, with whom Paul occasionally interacts (1Cor 1:12; 3:22; 9:5; 15:5; Gal 1:18-2:14); just like Petros in Greek, Cephas in Hebrew is simply the nickname "Rocky".
- Claudia see Eubulus
- Chloe's people Christians who brought Paul news about divisions in the church at Corinth (1Cor 1:11).
- Crescens Paul merely reports that he has gone to Galatia (2Tim 4:10).
- Crispus a synagogue official in Corinth (Acts 18:8); one of the very few people that Paul personally baptized (1Cor 1:14).
- Damaris a woman who was one of Paul's few converts in Athens (Acts 17:33).
- Demas sends greetings to the Colossians (Col 4:14) and to Philemon (PhIm 24); later deserts Paul and goes to Thessalonica (2Tim 4:9-10).
- Dionysius the Areopagite a man who was one of Paul's few converts in Athens (Acts 17:34).
- Epaphras a native of Colossae and Paul's "beloved fellow servant," who probably founded the Christian community in his hometown (Col 1:7); Paul later conveys Epaphras' greetings back to the Colossians, calling him a "servant of Christ Jesus" who prays on their behalf (Col 4:12); also Paul's "fellow prisoner," probably while in Ephesus (PhIm 23).
- Epaphroditus delivers gifts from the Philippian Christians to Paul, while he is imprisoned (probably in Ephesus); Epaph. becomes ill, but later recovers (Phil 2:25-30; 4:15-18).
- Erastus the "city treasurer" of Corinth (Rom 16:23; 2Tim 4:20), whom Paul later sends to Macedonia (Acts 19:22).
- Eubulus Paul conveys greetings to Timothy from Eubulus, Pudens, Linus and Claudia (2Tim 4:21).
- Eunice the mother of Timothy who is also a Christian (2Tim 1:5; cf. Lois).
- *Eutychus* a young man in Troas who hears Paul preaching late at night; sitting in a window, he falls asleep and falls three stories to the ground; the other Christians think he is dead, but Paul raises him up (and then continues preaching! Acts 20:7-12).
- *Fortunatus and Achaicus* Christians from Corinth who visit Paul in Ephesus; Paul commends them (along with Stephanas) to the community, saying they have "refreshed my spirit" (1Cor 16:17-18).
- Gaius a Christian from Macedonia who becomes a traveling companion of Paul, is with him in Ephesus (Acts 19:29; 20:4), hosts Paul and the church in Corinth (Rom 16:23), and is one of the few people that Paul personally baptized (1Cor 1:14); probably *not* the same Gaius who is a leader of a Johannine church (3 John 1).
- Hermogenes see Phygelus
- Hymenaeus see Alexander
- James not the son of Zebedee (killed by Herod Agrippa in Acts 12:2), but a "brother" of Jesus (Mark 6:3), who later becomes a prominent leader of the Christian community in Jerusalem (Acts 12:17; 15:13; 21:18; 1Cor 15:7; Gal 1:19; 2:9; cf. James 1:1); Paul calls him an "apostle" (Gal 1:19), although there are tensions between Paul and some "people from James" who insist that non-Jewish Christians must be circumcised (Gal 2:12).
- Jason a Jewish Christian who houses Paul and Silas in Thessalonica, and is arrested because of his association with them (Acts 17:5-9); possibly, but probably not the same as the Jason mentioned in Rom 16:21 (see Lucius below).
- Judas a.k.a. Barsabbas (not Judas Iscariot, nor the same as Joseph Barsabbas, below) an early disciple sent as a representative of the community in Jerusalem to the Christians in Antioch after the "Council of Jerusalem"; he and Silas are "leaders among the brothers" (Acts 15:22) and messengers (15:27) and "prophets" (15:32).
- Justus a.k.a. Jesus one of only a few Jews ("ones of the circumcision") among Paul's co-workers; Paul conveys greetings from Justus to the Colossians; a comfort to him (Col 4:11).
- Linus see Eubulus

- Lois the grandmother of Timothy who was also a Christian (2Tim 1:5; cf. Eunice).
- Lucius Paul conveys to the Romans the greetings of "Lucius and Jason and Sosipater, my relatives" (Rom 16:21); he is probably a different person from the following:
- Lucius of Cyrene one of the "prophets and teachers" of the church in Antioch, named along with Barnabas, Simeon called Niger, Manaean (a Herodian), and Saul (Acts 13:1).
- Luke called "the beloved physician"; sends greetings to the Colossians (Col 4:14) and Philemon (Phim 24); later again with Paul (2 Tim 4:11).
- Lydia a female merchant ("seller of purple cloth") from Thyatira; a "worshiper of God" (Jewish proselyte?) who is Paul's first convert in Philippi (Acts 16:11-15); Paul briefly stays in her house after being released from prison (16:40).
- Manaen see Lucius of Cyrene
- Mark a young Christian from Jerusalem, a.k.a. John Mark, at whose mother's house Peter stays (Acts 12:12); an early missionary associate of Paul and Barnabas (12:25; 13:5, 13; 15:37-39); called the "cousin" of Barnabas (Col 4:10); involved in preaching to the Christians in Colossae (PhIm 24); Paul calls him "useful in my ministry" (2Tim 4:11); later he is again associated with the apostle Peter, who calls him "my son" (1Pet 5:13).
- *Mary* the mother of John Mark (Acts 12:12); Peter goes to her house in Jerusalem after being freed from prison.
- Mnason a Christian from Cyprus, who gave Paul & companions hospitality on their journey top Jerusalem (Acts 21:16).
- Nympha a Christian who hosts the community of believers in Colossae; Paul greets her and "the church in her house" (Col 4:15).
- Onesimus a slave belonging to Philemon, but converted to Christianity by Paul (who calls him "son"; Phim 10); Paul asks Philemon to free Onesimus, so that he can become a "useful" brother (i.e. a missionary; Phim 11-15); he later evidently did become a Christian leader (Col 4:9).
- Onesiphorus a faithful benefactor; Paul sends greetings to his household in Ephesus (2Tim 1:16; 4:19).
- Peter see Cephas
- Philemon a Colossian convert and co-worker of Paul; Paul pleads for him to release his slave Onesimus (Phim 1).
- **Phoebe** deacon of the church at Cenchreae (a port of Corinth) and benefactor of Paul, whom Paul recommends and who probably delivers Paul's letter to the Roman church (Rom 16:1-2).
- Phygelus and Hermogenes Christians in Asia Minor who later abandoned Paul (2Tim 1:15).
- Pudens see Eubulus
- Prisca see Aquila
- Quartus Paul calls him "our brother," and conveys his greetings to the Christians in Rome (Rom 16:23).
- Secundus a Christian from Thessalonica who accompanies Paul on his final journey to Jerusalem (Acts 20:4).
- Silvanus [Silas] a Christian "prophet" from Jerusalem who worked with Paul and Timothy during their initial preaching in Macedonia and Achaia (see section II above).
- Simeon Niger see Lucius of Cyrene
- Simeon another name for the apostle Simon Peter (Acts 15:14; cf. 2 Peter 1:1); see also Cephas
- Sopater, son of Pyrrhus a Christian from Beroea who accompanies Paul on his final journey to Jerusalem (Acts 20:4).
- Sosipater see Lucius
- Sosthenes an official of the Jewish synagogue at Corinth who becomes a Christian; Paul calls him a "brother" (1Cor 1:1; Acts 18:17).
- Stephen one of seven Greek-speaking disciples chosen to serve the community in Jerusalem (Acts 6:1-6); he works miracles and preaches to other Jews (6:8--7:57); Paul is present and evidently approves when Stephen is stoned to death (Acts 7:58--8:1; cf. 11:19; 22:20).
- Stephanas a Christian from Corinth; Paul's first convert in Achaia (1Cor 1:16, 16:15-18).
- Tertius Paul's secretary; sends his own greetings to Christians in Rome: "I, Tertius, the writer of this letter, greet you in the Lord" (Rom 16:22).
- Timothy a convert of Paul, and his closest missionary companion (see section II above).
- Titius Justus a "worshiper of God" (Jewish proselyte) in whose house Paul stayed and preached in Corinth (Acts 18:7).
- Titus another early missionary who worked very closely with Paul (see section II above).
- Trophimus a Christian from Ephesus in Asia who travels with Paul for a while (Acts 20:4; 21:29); Paul left him ill in Miletus (2Tim 4:20).
- *Tychicus* another traveling companion of Paul from Asia (Acts 20:4); Paul's messenger to the Ephesians, Colossians, and Titus, delivering news and encouragement (Eph 6:21-22; Col 4:7-9; 2 Tim 4:12; Titus 3:12).
- Zenas a lawyer whom Paul tells Titus to send along with Apollos, seeing "that they lack nothing" (Titus 3:13).

#### The following people are mentioned only in the list of people to whom Paul is sending greetings in Rom 16:3-16

- Ampliatus Paul greets him as "my beloved in the Lord" (Rom 16:8)
- Andronicus & Junia a husband/wife team, or possibly a brother/sister pair of missionaries, whom Paul calls "my relatives" and "prominent among the apostles"; they were in prison with him at some point, and were Christians even before Paul was (Rom 16:7); some manuscripts read *Junias* (a man's name), while others read *Junia* (a woman's name); since Paul calls them "apostles," many people have assumed this must be a man; but it is more likely that it is a women, and that the spelling was changed slightly in later copies of this letter because of the assumption that an apostle had to be a man.
- Apelles Paul greets him as "approved in Christ" (Rom 16:10)
- Aristobulus Paul greets the members of his family (Rom 16:10)
- Asyncritus Paul greets "Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermes, Patrobas, Hermas, and the brothers with them"; but we know nothing else about any of these early Christians (Rom 16:14)
- Epaenetus Paul greets him as "my beloved" and "the first fruits (i.e., first convert) in Asia (Rom 16:5)
- Hermas and Hermes see Asyncritus
- *Herodion* Paul greets him as "my relative" (Rom 16:11)

- Julia see Philologus
- Junia see Andronicus
- Mary Paul greets her, telling the Christians in Rome, "she has worked very hard among you" (Rom 16:6)
- *Narcissus* Paul greets the members of his family who are "in the Lord" (Rom 16:11)
- Nereus & Olympas see Philologus
- Patrobus see Asyncritus
- Persis Paul greets him as "the beloved," saying "he has worked hard in the Lord" (Rom 16:12)
- *Philologus* Paul greets "Philologus, Julia, Nereus and his sister, and Olympas, and all the saints who are with them"; they are probably members of a "house-church" in Rome, but we know nothing else about them (Rom 16:15)
- Phlegon see Asyncritus
- Rufus and his mother Paul greets them, calling Rufus "chosen in the Lord," and describing his mother as "a mother to me also" (Rom 16:13)
- *Stachys* Paul greets him as "my beloved" (Rom 16:9)
- Tryphaena and Tryphosa Paul greets them as "workers in the Lord" (Rom 16:12)
- Urbanus Paul greets him as a "co-worker in Christ" (Rom 16:9)

## IV) Other Christians in the Acts of the Apostles not directly connected with Paul:

- Aeneas a paralyzed man from Lydda who is bedridden for eight years, Peter heals him (Acts 9:33-34).
- Ananias and Saphira a married couple, early disciples in Jerusalem who die after "lying to the Holy Spirit" (Acts 5:1-11).
- *Cornelius* a God-fearing Roman centurion stationed in Caesarea; who is the first Gentile covert to Christianity, he has a vision to invite Peter to his house (Acts 10:1-48).
- Dorcas Greek name for Tabitha, a female disciple in Joppa who is known for her good works, Peter raises her from the dead (Acts 9:36-42).
- Joseph a.k.a. Barsabbas a.k.a. Justus a disciple of Jesus nominated to replace Judas as an "apostle" (Acts 1:23), although Matthias was selected instead (1:26); not directly connected with Paul; probably not the same person as Judas Barsabbas (see section III above).
- Matthias a disciple of Jesus chosen to replace Judas as one of the twelve apostles (Acts 1:15-26)
- Nicanor / Nicolaus / Parmenas see Philip
- Philip one of seven Greek-speaking disciples (Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, Nicolaus) chosen to serve ("*diakoneo*") the community in Jerusalem (Acts 6:1-6); it is uncertain, but possible that Paul knew some of them, esp. *Nicolaus*, a "proselyte from Antioch."
- Prochorus see Philip
- Rhoda maid in the house of Mary, mother of John Mark; she forgets to open the gate for Peter, she is so overjoyed to hear him (Acts 12:13-15)
- Tabitha see Dorcas
- Theophilus the addressee/recipient of the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles (Luke 1:3; Acts 1:1); his name means "lover of God"
- Timon see Philip
- The Twelve Apostles (Acts 1:26, 6:2)

## V) Jews, Romans, and Other Non-Christians connected with Paul in the Acts of the Apostles:

- Agrippa: King Herod Agrippa II & Queen Bernice appears at the hearing of Paul in Caesarea (Acts 25:13)
- Ananias the Jewish high priest who supervises the case against Paul before Felix (Acts 23:2, 24:1).
- Claudius Roman Emperor from 41-54 AD who orders all Jews to leave Rome (Acts 11:28, 18:2).
- Claudius Lysias see Lysias
- Demetrius silversmith in Ephesus who made silver shrines to Artemis, he ignites a riot because of the loss of business and diminished worship of Artemis at the hands Paul's preaching (Acts 19:24-29, 19:38).
- Drusilla Jewish wife of Felix (Acts 24:24).
- Elymas a.k.a. Bar-Jesus a magician who opposes Paul on Cyprus, he was stricken with temporary blindness (Acts 13:6-12).
- Felix Roman governor of Judea from 52-59 AD who leaves Paul imprisoned in Caesarea (Acts 23:24-26, 24:22-27, 25:14).
- *Festus* Roman governor of Judea from 59-62 AD who sends Paul to Rome for a trial before the emperor, he accuses Pula of being insane (Acts 24:27, 25, 26:24-32).
- Gallio the Roman proconsul of Achaia in 51-52 AD; he refused to hear a case brought against Paul by local Jews (Acts 18:12-17); this incident gives us the only firm date in Pauline Chronology (i.e., only evidence for where Paul was in what year, since Gallio was proconsul for such a short time).
- Gamaliel a Jewish rabbi and Pharisees who educated Paul in Jerusalem (Acts 22:3); possibly the same *Gamaliel* (or his son) also defends the early disciples in Jerusalem (Acts 5:34), although he was probably not a Christian himself.
- Herod Paul is jailed at the palace of King Herod Agrippa II in Caesarea (Acts 23:35); see "Agrippa" above
- Julius a Roman centurion who is given charge over Paul on his journey from Caesarea to Rome, he treats Paul kindly (Acts 27:1, 3).
- Lysias a Roman tribune of Roman cohort who rescues Paul from being killed in a riot, writes a letter to Felix to explain (Acts 23:26-35, 24:22).
- *Porcius Festus* see Festus
- *Publius* leading Roman official of Malta who lends hospitality to Paul for three days after his shipwreck, Paul heals his father of fever and dysentery (Acts 28:7-8).
- Sergius Paulus proconsul of Cyprus who converts after hearing Paul teach and seeing him strike Elymas blind (Acts 13:7-12).
- Seven Sons of Sceva sons of a Jewish high priest who try to exorcise demons in the name of Jesus (Acts 19:13-14).
- Tertullius an attorney brought by Ananias to report his case against Paul to Felix, he accuses Paul of being an agitator (Acts 24:1-8).

## Social Aspects of the Pauline World

### Introduction: Old vs. New Methods of Doing "History"

- The older "Great Men" approach: focused on the "movers & shakers" (generals, kings, bishops), on "important" military and political events, on overall economic structures and social institutions. VS.
- The newer "Social History" approach: investigates the "daily life" of ordinary people, their interpersonal/social relationships, their problems, questions, struggles and concerns.
- We need to *challenge previous assumptions* and *ask fresh questions*, answers may not be as obvious as they seem!
- This is not just a trivia game; we always also need to ask about the theological relevance: "SO WHAT?"

### Some Aspects of the "Social Situation" of the "Pauline World"

#### A. Paul's "Citizenship"

- Citizenship in the Roman Empire:
  - o originally, only the free inhabitants of the city of Rome were considered "Roman citizens"
  - o but as time went on more and more people from other areas gained citizenship through various means;
  - o if non-Roman soldiers retired from the imperial army, they were usually given citizenship;
  - o if slaves belonging to Roman citizens were freed, they were usually granted citizenship;
  - o yet most people were not "Roman citizens," but citizens of their own native cities or countries (Acts 19:35)

#### • Privileges of Roman Citizenship:

- Roman citizens had more legal rights: they could not be flogged or held in prison without trial (Acts 16:37-38)
- Roman citizens could appeal to the Emperor (the "Supreme Court") if found guilty by a local court (25:10-12)
- Roman citizens could only be executed by the sword (i.e., beheading), but not tortured (e.g., crucifixion)
- Roman citizens were exempt from some taxes and other obligations, esp. local rules and regulations

#### • Paul's Multiple Citizenships:

- o a Hebrew, an Israelite, Jew/Judean 2Cor 11:22; Phil 3:5; Acts 21:39--22:3
- o a citizen of Tarsus Acts 9:1; 21:39; 22:3; cf. Acts 15:21; Gal 1:21
- o a Roman citizen Acts 16:16-40 (esp. 37-38); 22:25-29; 23:27
- o a citizen of heaven! Phil 3:20; Eph 2:19

#### B. Churches & Households

- **Definitions:** In the NT, a "church" is not a building, but a community of believers who met in private houses.
  - The Greek word usually translated "church" (*ekklesia*) originally means "assembly, congregation, community."
  - o The weekly gatherings of a church were held in the larger homes of the wealthier members of the community.
- Nature of churches: The composition, size, number of NT churches was much smaller than we might assume:
  - During the Pauline period, there was usually only one church in each city or town; only in the largest cities (like Rome) were there more than one church.
  - Each community was only as large as could gather in the homes where they met (a few dozen, not thousands)
     See Gal 3:28; 1Cor 1:26-29; Rom 16:1-16; 1Cor 1:2; Rom 1:7
  - Community leadership & structure: There were different kinds of leaders in the early Christian communities:
    - o Persons in whose homes the communities met were "patrons" or "hosts", but might not be the main leaders.
    - o Sometimes the "first converts" in a particular city would be the natural leaders of the local community
    - See 1Cor 1:10-16; 12:27-30; 16:15-19; Rom 16:23a; Phil 1:1

#### C. Slavery in the Roman Empire - Slavery in 1st cent. Mediterranean was very different from slavery in 19th cent. America:

- Who were slaves? In the ancient world, people could become slaves for various reasons:
  - *Birth:* children born to slaves were automatically also slaves.
  - *POWs:* prisoners of war would often be sold as slaves.
  - o *Debts:* some people were sold, or sold themselves (or their children) into slavery to pay debts (cf. Matt 18:25).
- How did slaves live? The socio-economic situation of ancient slaves was not necessarily all that bad:
  - Life would obviously be miserable for slaves doing hard labor in the mines or similar situations;
  - But life might be fairly comfortable for slaves of rich people, like senators, governors, or emperors (cf. Rom 16:23b; Phil 4:22).
  - o Slaves could own money and other property, so that a slave might even own another slave!
  - Slaves might be given large amounts of authority by their masters (cf. Matt 18:23-35).

•

- How long were they slaves? Not always life-long; many would eventually be freed (cf. 1Cor 7:21-23):
  - Debt-slaves often had a limited time of service agreed upon with their masters.
  - o Some slaves might be able to save enough money to buy their own freedom.
  - Masters might reward especially good slaves for their service by setting them free (cf. Phlm 13-16).
  - o Slaves of Roman citizens would usually be granted Roman citizenship when they were freed.
- Slaves in the New Testament? There are many NT references to slavery:
  - Christians who are slaves are told to obey their earthly masters (Col 3:22-24; Eph 6:5-8).
  - o Christian masters were not expected to free their slaves (1Tim 6:1-2), with few individual exceptions (Phlm 13-16).
  - Masters are told not to treat their slaves harshly (Col 4:1; Eph 6:9).
  - Erastus, the "city treasurer", was probably a slave (Rom 16:23b).
  - Paul and other Christians often use "slave" language metaphorically to describe their relationship with Jesus and/or God (Rom 1:1; 1Cor 7:21-23; Gal 1:10; etc.)

#### D. Travel & Mail

- Travel: In the early Roman empire, travel was relatively easy, safe and fast, both by land and by sea:
  - o see Rom 15:17-32; **1Cor 16:6, 11, 18**; 2Cor 1:16; and all of Acts!
- Roads: The Romans built a large network of stone-paved roads connecting many parts of the empire:
   originally built for the military (like our interstate highway system!), but benefited all travelers
- Accommodations: Public Inns were available, but most people preferred Private Hospitality:
- see Rom 12:13; Acts 2:46; 12:12; 15:3; 20:38; 21:1-16; etc.
- Mail: Letters could easily be sent to friends living in other places:
  - o The Roman empire had regular mail service for government and military officials, but not for the general public.
  - Most people would have to send letters along with friends or merchants traveling to other places.
  - Letters of recommendation were important for travelers visiting friends of friends: see 1Cor 16:1-4, 10-11; 2Cor 8:16-24; Rom 16:1-2; Acts 18:27

#### E. Courts & Trials, Prisons & Prisoners - Ancient judicial systems were completely different from today's in several respects:

- Prisons today are mostly for the incarceration of people after they have been found guilty of a crime;
  - o Ancient prisons were only used as holding tanks for people before they came to trial (Acts 5:17-40; 12:3-19);
  - o But since there was no right to a "speedy trial", people might be in prison for years (Acts 21:27--26:32; 28:16-31).
  - Prison conditions were generally abysmal, and prisoners awaiting trial were often mistreated (Acts 16:16-40).
  - o Roman citizens were not supposed to be beaten, and had certain other privileges (Acts 16:37; 22:25).
- Modern prisons provide food, medicine, etc., but ancient prisons provided almost nothing for prisoners.
  - o To survive, a prisoner's family or friends had to bring him food, blankets, medicine, and other necessities.
  - Without outside help, a prisoner could easily starve or die of illness before even coming to trial.
  - The NT has examples of people providing assistance to Paul while he was in prison (Phil 2:25-30; Phlm 10-14).
  - That is why "visiting prisoners" is such an important charitable obligation (Matt 25:31-46; etc.).
- There was no separate judicial branch in ancient governments, but the political administrators served as judges:
  - The Roman's usually allowed local peoples to live under their own laws, and be judged by their own rulers.
  - o More important cases were tried before provincial governors; only citizens of Rome could "appeal to the emperor."
  - The state did not bring charges against individuals, but other private individuals had to accuse people of crimes.
  - o If the defendant was found innocent, the penalty he/she would have received sometimes fell upon the accuser!
- After trial, innocent people were freed; guilty people were punished in various ways (but did not remain incarcerated):
  - *Fines*: monetary penalties or the forfeit of property.
  - *Flogging*: beatings or other physical punishments (Acts 5:40).
  - o Exile: being forced to leave home and/or told where they may live (Rev 1:9).
  - o Death: capital punishment, using especially means of execution for slaves and foreigners (Jesus).
- Thus Paul was not in prison because he had been found guilty of some crime, but he was still awaiting trial after being arrested (see Phlm 1, 9, 23; Col 4:3, 10; Phil 1:7-26; 2Cor 1:8-11; cf. Acts 19:21-41).

#### "So What?" – Sample Application: Interpreting Paul's Letter to Philemon

**Old Interpretation:** Onesimus is a "runaway slave" who had stolen from his master Philemon. Onesimus meets Paul in prison and becomes a Christian. Then Paul sends him back to his master, pleading for Philemon to show mercy and not to punish him too harshly.

**New Interpretation:** Onesimus is a slave sent by Philemon to help care for Paul in prison. Paul converts him to Christianity, and wants him to stay with him and become his missionary associate. So Paul carefully asks Philemon to do him this great favor and free Onesimus.

## Main Stages of Paul's Relationship with the Christians in Corinth

#### 0) The Edict of Claudius: Roman Emperor Claudius expels Jews from the city of Rome (probably 49 AD):

- This decree is mentioned in Acts 18:2, and also by the Roman historian Suetonius.
- It was probably promulgated shortly before Paul first came to Corinth (ca. 51 AD).
- Suetonius (ca. 120 AD), near the middle of his biography of Claudius, makes very brief mention of an incident involving the Jews of Rome: *ludaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantis Roma expulit* = "Since the Jews were constantly causing disturbances at the instigation of Chrestus, he [Claudius] expelled them from Rome" (Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, Claudius 5.25.4)
- "Chrestus" is possibly a variant spelling for "Christus" or "Christ." Most scholars agree that this statement does not refer directly to "Christ" or to an individual named "Chrestus," but most likely to a disturbance caused by some Jewish-Christian missionaries encountering opposition from other Jews in Rome when they preached that "Jesus is the Christ."
- Scholars debate whether this expulsion applied to all Jews, only to some Jews, or mainly to the Jewish Christians.
- Jews (and Jewish Christians) were able to return to Rome soon after the death of Claudius (54 AD).

#### 1) The Initial Mission of Paul, Silvanus/Silas, and Timothy in Corinth (ca. 51-53 AD):

- Paul, Silvanus (a.k.a. Silas) and Timothy worked together at the beginning of their mission in Corinth (see Acts 18:5; 2 Cor 1:19; Silas is not mentioned later, since he probably left Paul and became a missionary associate of Peter cf. 1 Peter 5:12).
- They meet Aquila and Prisca/Priscilla, Jews (a married couple?) who were expelled from Rome (Acts 18:2; cf. Rom 16:3-4).
- Paul and his associates *stay in Corinth over 1½ years* (Acts 18:11, 18), building up a small Christian community that includes *some* wealthier people and even some religious and civil officials (Acts 18:7, 8, 17; 1 Cor 1:26; Rom 16:23).
- During this time (or maybe later) they also establish Christian communities in nearby towns, such as Cenchreae (Rom 16:1).
- From Corinth, Paul also sends letters and messengers back to the churches in Macedonia (1 Thess 2:17--3:10; 2 Thess 2:2, 15).
- Paul is put on trial in Corinth before the proconsul Gallio in 51 AD, but the case is dismissed and Paul is released (Acts 18:12-17).
- Some time later, Paul and several associates depart Corinth and go to Ephesus (Acts 18:18).

#### 2A) While living in Ephesus, Paul keeps contact with the Christian community in Corinth (ca. 54-57 AD):

- Paul sends a series of letters & representatives back to Corinth, and also receives letters and visitors from Corinth.
- In *one letter, now lost* (but mentioned in 1 Cor 5:9), Paul tells them not to associate with immoral people (bad Christians, that is!).
- Other Christian missionaries also visit and preach in Corinth, especially *Apollos* (1 Cor 1:12; 3:4-6, 22; 4:6; Acts 18:24--19:1), and possibly also *Peter* (a.k.a. *Cephas*; 1 Cor 1:12; 3:22; 9:5) and *Barnabas* (9:6), or at least some of their associates.
- Paul sends Timothy to visit (see 1 Cor 16:10-11); Timothy is already on the way when Paul writes 1 Cor, but he expects this letter to
  arrive before Timothy does, so evidently Timothy is taking the longer land-route over Macedonia.
- Paul receives an oral report from Chloe's people about disunity in Corinth (1 Cor 1:11); these are not necessarily full-blown factions yet, but at least groups with allegiances to different teachers.
- Paul receives a letter from the Corinthians containing various practical and theological questions (1 Cor 7:1ff); this letter is probably delivered to him by *Sosthenes* (1 Cor 1:1), or possibly by *Stephanas* (1 Cor 16:15-18).

#### 2B) Paul writes what is now called the "First Letter to the Corinthians" (ca. 54 AD):

- The letter is written in response to the above-mentioned crisis reported by Chloe's people (see 1 Cor 1:10)
- Using various arguments, Paul's response stresses that maintaining the unity of the curch is essential (1 Cor 1-4).
- He also answers questions and rebuts arguments presented in the letter he received from Corinth (1 Cor 7:1).
- Paul's letter was probably delivered to Corinth not by Timothy, but by *Sosthenes* (1 Cor 1:1).

#### 2C) Paul & his associates visit and write to the Christians in Corinth several more times (ca. 55-57 AD):

- Paul sends Timothy and Titus to Corinth several more times (2 Cor 1:1; 2:13; 7:5-16; 8:6, 16-24; 12:18).
- Other Jewish-Christian missionaries arrive in Corinth and evidently criticize Paul and his preaching (2 Cor 11:4-5, 12-15, 22-23).
- Paul himself visits Corinth a second time, but encounters serious problems (2 Cor 2:1-11; 7:12; 13:2).
- Paul intends to visit the Corinthian Christians a third time (2 Cor 12:14; 13:1).
- Paul writes and receives several other letters (see the back of this page), including what we call the "Second Letter to the Corinthians".

#### 3) After leaving Ephesus, Paul visits Corinth one last time (ca. 58 AD):

- Paul spent three more months in "Greece" (Acts 20:2-3), almost certainly staying in Corinth for most of this time.
- Later, some of Paul's associates remain influential in the church at Corinth (see 2 Tim 4:20).
- Paul's influence on the Christians in Corinth is well known and honored in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century (see 1 Clement).

#### A Summary of the Correspondence between Paul and the Corinthians:

Different scholars have advanced a variety of proposals about the total number of letters written between Paul and the Christians in Corinth, from as few as four to as many as 7 different letters. The following is only one possible suggestion:

- Cor A = a *previous* letter, now *missing* (mentioned in 1 Cor 5:9)
- Letter *from* the Corinthians *to* Paul (mentioned in 1 Cor 7:1)
- Cor B = most of 1 Cor (Paul responds to oral and written reports from Corinth; see 1Cor 1:11; 7:1; 16:17)
- Cor C = 2 Cor 2:14 6:13; 7:2-4 (Paul defends his apostleship against various unnamed opponents)
- Cor D = 2 Cor 10:1 13:10 (the so-called "Letter of Tears"? as mentioned in 2 Cor 2:3-4; 7:5, 12)
- Cor E = 2 Cor 1:1 2:13; 7:5-16; 13:11-13 (a "Letter of Reconciliation")
- Cor F = 2 Cor 8 (instructions for how to organize the collection for the poor in Jerusalem)
- Cor G = 2 Cor 9 (more instructions for the Jerusalem collection)

#### An Outline of the First (Canonical) Letter of Paul to the Corinthians (adapted from HCBD)

- I. Letter Beginning: Sender, Recipients, Formal Greeting, Thanksgiving (1:1-9)
- II. Letter Body: Appeals, Counsels, Instruction (1:10–15:8)
  - A. Appeals for unity (1:10–4:21)
    - 1) Initial appeal (1:10-17)
    - 2) Excursus: the wisdom of the cross (1:18–2:16)
    - 3) Continuation of appeal (3:1–4:21)
    - B. Counsels about the church in the world (5:1–11:1)
      - 1) An incestuous man (5:1-13)
      - 2) Going to pagan courts (6:1-11)
      - 3) Going to prostitutes (6:12-20)
      - 4) Sex, marriage, and divorce (7:1-40)
      - 5) Meat from pagan rites (8:1—11:1)
    - C. Counsels about life within the church (11:2-14:40)
      - 1) Introduction (11:2)
      - 2) Hair of people who pray or prophesy (11:3-16)
      - 3) Disorders at the Lord's Supper (11:17-34)
      - 4) Spiritual Gifts (12:1—14:40)
      - Instruction about the resurrection of the dead (15:1-58)
        - 1) The tradition (15:1-11)
          - 2) Christ, the first fruits (15:12-34)
          - 3) The resurrection body (15:35-58)
- III. Letter Conclusion (16:1-24)

D.

- A. The collection and various itineraries (16:1-12)
- B. Summary appeals, final counsels (16:13-18)
- C. Greetings, autograph postscript, benediction (16:19-24)

An Outline of the Second (Canonical) Letter of Paul to the Corinthians (adapted from HCBD)

- I. Letter Beginning: Sender, Recipients, Formal Greeting, Blessing (1:1-11)
- II. Letter Body: Assurances, Instruction, and Warnings (1:12–13:10)
  - A. Assurances of concern (1:12–2:13)
    - 1) Introduction (1:12-14)
    - A canceled visit (1:15—2:2)
    - 3) A tearful letter (2:3-11)
    - 4) A trip to Macedonia (2:12-13)
    - Comments on apostolic service (2:14–5:19)
      - 1) Introduction (2:14—3:6)
        - 2) The ministry of the new covenant (3:7—4:6)
        - 3) The ministry and mortality (4:7–5:10)
        - 4) The ministry of reconciliation (5:11-19)
    - C. Various appeals and warnings (5:20–9:15)
      - 1) About reconciliation with God (5:20—6:10)
      - 2) About reconciliation with the Pauline apostolate (6:11–7:3)
      - 3) About the collection of Jerusalem (7:4–9:15)
    - D. Warnings about false apostles (10:1–13:10)
      - 1) A call for obedience and understanding (10:1-18)
      - 2) "A fool's speech" (11:1—12:13)
      - 3) Warnings in advance of a visit (12:14–13:10)
- III. Letter Conclusion (13:11-13)
  - Final appeals and greetings (13:11-12)
  - B. Benediction (13:13)

A.

B

## **St. Paul's Teachings on Love and Other Virtues: Neglected Treasures**

Christian morality is not based only on the Ten Commandments, but also traditionally focuses on the seven "Deadly Sins" and the opposing seven "Principal Virtues," as well as other categories of virtues and vices. These teachings are already found in the **Old Testament** and in the words of **Jesus** as recorded in the Gospels, but are *especially* prominent in the writings of **St. Paul**, for whom *love* is the most important virtue.

#### **Decalogue / Ten Commandments:**

- Two Main Lists, as recorded in books attributed to Moses:
  - o Exodus 20:1-17 and Deuteronomy 5:6-21
- Quotations and Applications of parts of the Decalogue elsewhere in the Bible:
  - o Old Testament: Leviticus 19:1-18; Jeremiah 7:3-11; Hosea 4:1-2; Wisdom 14:21-31
  - *New Testament:* Matthew 5:17-48 ("antitheses"); Mark 7:10, 21-22 & Matt 15:4, 19 ("purity"); Mark 10:17-22 ("rich man"; par. Matt 19:16-22; Luke 18:18-23); Romans 13:8-10; James 2:8-11

#### **Commandments to Love God and to Love our Neighbors:**

- Shema / "Hear, O Israel..." Deut 6:4-5; quoted by Jesus in Mark 12:29-30; Matt 22:37; cf. Luke 10:27
- "Love your neighbor" Lev 19:18; quoted in Mark 12:31 & par.; Matt 19:19; Rom 13:9; Gal 5:14; James 2:8

#### Seven "Deadly Sins" & Seven "Principal Virtues":

| Capital/Deadly Sins: | pride     | <b>avarice</b>     | <b>envy</b>    | wrath            | <b>lust</b>     | <b>gluttony</b>    | <b>sloth</b>     |
|----------------------|-----------|--------------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------|--------------------|------------------|
|                      | arrogance | greed              | jealousy       | anger            | impurity        | voracity           | laziness         |
|                      | superbia  | <i>avaritia</i>    | <i>invidia</i> | <i>ira</i>       | <i>luxuria</i>  | gula               | <i>acedia</i>    |
| Principal Virtues:   | humility  | <b>generosity</b>  | kindness       | <b>patience</b>  | <b>chastity</b> | temperance         | <b>diligence</b> |
|                      | modesty   | charity            | gratitude      | compassion       | purity          | moderation         | fervor           |
|                      | humilitas | <i>liberalitas</i> | humanitas      | <i>patientia</i> | castitas        | <i>temperantia</i> | <i>industria</i> |

The "capital sins" (or at least the idea of listing *seven* major vices) are based in part on a passage from Proverbs: "There are six things that the LORD hates, *seven* that are an abomination to him: haughty eyes, a lying tongue, and hands that shed innocent blood, a heart that devises wicked plans, feet that hurry to run to evil, a lying witness who testifies falsely, and one who sows discord in a family." (**Prov 6:16-19**)

### "Theological Virtues" & "Cardinal Virtues"

The seven main virtues are often listed differently in Christian ethics, not in contrast to the seven "deadly sins" but rather as a combination of three **"Theological Virtues" and** four **"Cardinal Virtues":** 

- Theological Virtues: *faith*, *hope*, *love* 
  - o See 1 Cor 13; 1 Thess 1:3; 5:8; Gal 5:5-6; Col 1:4-5, 23; Heb 10:39; 11:1
- Cardinal Virtues: prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance
   Discussed by various Church fathers and theologians after the New Testament times.
- See also the Catechism of the Catholic Church, §§1805-1845 (seven virtues) and §1866 (capital sins).

#### **Old Testament Texts mentioning Virtues and Vices:**

- The OT contains very few extended lists of virtues and/or vices, aside from the Ten Commandments, since ethical discussions did not become popular until the Hellenistic period (3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BCE and later).
- Isaiah 11:1-3a Ancient Greek and Latin versions list the seven traditional "gifts of the Spirit": *wisdom, understanding, counsel, fortitude, knowledge, piety, and fear of the Lord*" (see CCC, §1831).
- See also Exodus 34:6; Proverbs 6:16-19; Hosea 2:19-20; Micah 6:8
- Psalms and Proverbs also mention other virtues and vices, but usually individually, rather than in lists.

### Ethical Materials in the New Testament GOSPELS:

- Longer discussions of **virtues** and **vices**, habitual actions and ethical attitudes to be practiced and avoided, respectively, are not often found in the Gospels, but much more frequent in the NT letters, esp. Paul's.
- Matthew 5:1-12 & 23:1-26; Luke 6:20-26 Beatitudes & Woes
- Matthew 5:43-48 & Luke 6:27-36 Love Enemies; Matt 7:12; Luke 6:31 Golden Rule
- Matthew 15:17-20 & Mark 7:20-23 Jesus mentions several "evils from within" that "defile" people

#### Ethical Teachings in PAUL's Letters, with contrasting Virtues and Vices:

- 1 Corinthians 13:4-8a, 13 "LOVE is *patient*; love is *kind*; love is *not envious* or *boastful* or *arrogant* or *rude*. It does *not insist on its own way*; it is *not irritable or resentful*; it *does not rejoice in wrongdoing*, but *rejoices in the truth*. It bears all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things. Love never ends... And now *faith*, *hope*, *and love abide*, these three; and *the greatest of these is love*."
- Galatians 5:13-26 "For you were called to freedom, brothers and sisters; only do not use your freedom as an opportunity for self-indulgence, but *through love* become slaves to one another. For the whole law is summed up in a single commandment, "*You shall love your neighbor as yourself.*" If, however, you bite and devour one another, take care that you are not consumed by one another. Live by the Spirit, I say, and do not gratify the desires of the flesh. For what the flesh desires is opposed to the Spirit, and what the Spirit desires is opposed to the flesh... Now the works of the flesh are obvious: *fornication, impurity, licentiousness, idolatry, sorcery, enmities, strife, jealousy, anger, quarrels, dissensions, factions, envy, drunkenness, carousing, and things like these*. I am warning you, as I warned you before: those who do such things will not inherit the kingdom of God. By contrast, the fruit of the Spirit is *love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, generosity, faithfulness, gentleness, and self-control*. There is no law against such things...." (These are the nine traditional "fruits of the Spirit"; the Latin Vulgate Bible also includes *goodness, modesty, and chastity*, for a total of twelve.) A very similar text is **Romans 13:8-14**.
- Romans 12:9-21 "Let *love* be genuine; hate what is evil, hold fast to what is good; *love one another* with mutual affection; outdo one another in showing honor. Do not lag in zeal, be ardent in spirit, serve the Lord. Rejoice in hope, be patient in suffering... *Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good.*"
- See also 1 Thessalonians 5:12-22; Colossians 3:1-17; Ephesians 4:25-32; 5:1-10; 1 Timothy 3:2-11; 6:3-12; 2 Timothy 2:22-26; Titus 1:6-9; 3:1-3

#### More VIRTUE Lists and related texts in the Pauline & Deutero-Pauline Letters:

- Romans 5:3-5 "We also boast in our sufferings, knowing that *suffering* produces endurance, and *endurance* produces character, and *character* produces hope, and *hope* does not disappoint us, *because God's love has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit* that has been given to us."
- See also Romans 14:17; 2 Corinthians 6:3-10; Ephesians 6:10-20; 1 Timothy 4:12; 2 Timothy 3:10-11a

#### More VICE Lists and related texts in the Pauline & Deutero-Pauline Letters:

- 2 Corinthians 12:20-21 "I fear that there may perhaps be *quarreling, jealousy, anger, selfishness, slander, gossip, conceit, and disorder...* I may have to mourn over many who previously sinned and have not repented of the *impurity, sexual immorality, and licentiousness* that they have practiced."
- See also Romans 1:18-31; 1 Corinthians 5:9-11; 6:9-10; 1 Timothy 1:8-11; 2 Timothy 3:1-5

#### "Household Codes" in the New Testament:

- Four of the *later* NT letters contain passages with instructions for particular groups of people within Christian "households" as to how they should treat other members of their family. These are similar to, yet also *significantly different* from, "codes of conduct" found in other Greco-Roman moral writings.
- Colossians 3:18—4:1; Ephesians 5:21—6:9; Titus 2:1-10; and 1 Peter 2:18—3:7

#### More Ethical Passages in the "Catholic Epistles" and the "Book of Revelation":

• Hebrews 13:1-8, 16-17; James 2:8-13; 3:13—4:4; 1 Peter 2:1; 3:8-9; 4:3-4, 15; 2 Peter 1:5-11; 1 John 2:1-11; 3:4-18; 4:7-21; Revelation 9:20-21; 21:8; 22:15

## "Justification by Faith" in Galatians & Romans

## **Definitions:**

Most people think of "justification," "salvation," etc., as if they were *states of being*, referring to what you *are* (or are not). Similarly, they often talk about "faith" as if it were only an *object*, something that you *have* or *possess* (or not). In the New Testament, however, these terms refer primarily to *processes*, things that you *do*, or even more importantly, what God and Jesus have *done for you*:

- "Justification" the *process* of being "justified" (accepted by other people or by God)
- "Salvation" the process of being "saved" (rescued from any type of danger or catastrophe)
- "**Redemption**" the *process* of being "redeemed" (getting something back by repaying a loan)
- "Sanctification" the *process* of being "sanctified" (set apart, made holy, dedicated to God)
- "Righteousness" the process of being "made right" (put back into "right relationship" with God)
- "Faith" the *action* of "trusting" someone (relying on them or "entrusting" yourself to them)

All of these terms originally come from secular (non-religious) language, although today they are usually used in religious contexts.

## **Process and Results:**

Many people think that our salvation depends on *our* own faith *in* Jesus, how firmly we believe in him; but what Paul actually says is that salvation is accomplished primarily through *the faith of Jesus* (his faithfulness to God, as shown by his willingness to do God's will, dying on the cross):

- "our faith *in* Jesus" an inaccurate translation of Gal 2:16, 20; 3:22; and Rom 3:22, 26; all of which use the genitive case (indicating possession; meaning "of") in the Greek text, not the preposition "in."
- "the faith *of* Jesus" the trust that Jesus himself had in God, believing that his death on the cross would be vindicated by the resurrection.
- *our* faith *in* Jesus is supposed to be just like the faith/trust *of* Jesus *in* his Father, in the particular circumstances of our own lives.
- the *foundation* of our salvation is the faith *of* Jesus (the cross!); *our* faith *in* Jesus is a *consequence* or *response* to Jesus' action.

|                     | Galatians   | Romans   |
|---------------------|---|--|
| Audience            | Primarily Gentile Christians (who had not been Jews)  | Mixed cmty of Jewish Christians & Gentile Christians   |
| Main Point          | Gentile Christians need not follow the whole Torah  | Both Jews & Gentiles are sinners; both can be saved  |
| Thesis<br>Statement | Gal 2:16 –<br>" we know that a person is justified <i>not</i> by the works<br>of the law <i>but</i> through the faith of Jesus Christ. And<br>we have come to believe in Christ Jesus, so that we<br>might be justified by the faith of Christ, and <i>not</i> by<br>doing the works of the law, because <i>no one</i> will be<br>justified by the works of the law." | Rom 1:16-17 –<br>"For I am not ashamed of the gospel; it is the power of<br>God for salvation to everyone who has <i>faith</i> , to the Jew<br><i>first</i> and <i>also</i> to the Greek. For in it the righteousness<br>of God is revealed through faith for faith; as it is written:<br>'The one who is righteous will live by faith.' " |
| Structure           | <i>Theology:</i> Gal 3:1—5:12<br><i>Ethics:</i> Gal 5:13—6:10   | <i>Theology:</i> Rom 1—11<br><i>Ethics:</i> Rom 12—15  |
| Analogies           | Gal 4:21-31<br>Jews: slaves to the Law;<br>compared to Hagar and "the present Jerusalem"<br>Christians: free children;<br>compared to Sarah and "the Jerusalem above"   | Rom 11:11-32<br>Jews: olive tree with roots & natural branches<br>(some broken off, but can be grafted in again)<br>Gentiles: wild olive branches grafted into a cultivated<br>olive tree (but could be broken off again)  |

## Paul & James on Faith & Works

- Many readers of the New Testament misinterpret both Paul and James, concluding that their statements about faith and works contradict each other. That is simply not true! There are differences in emphasis, but no actual contradictions in teaching, if one understands both properly.
- Paul and James agree that *both* "faith" *and* "works" are essential parts of Christian life, although they have different roles. Paul and James also agree that salvation ultimately comes from God and from Jesus Christ, not from us or anything that we do.
- However, since Paul and James wrote to *different* audiences in *different* situations about *different* problems, their letters have *different* presuppositions and *different* emphases. To combat the opinion of some people that circumcision and other "works of the law" were necessary for Gentile converts to early Christianity, **Paul** stresses that the foundation of our salvation is the death of Jesus, not the laws of Moses. To combat the opinion of other people that professing faith in God is enough for salvation, **James** stresses that Christians must put their faith into concrete action.

## What Paul and James actually wrote:

- **Galatians 2:16** "Yet we know that a person is justified *not* by the works of the law but through faith in/of Jesus Christ. And we have come to believe in Christ Jesus, so that we might be justified by faith in/of Christ, and not by doing the works of the law, because no one will be justified by the works of the law." (*see all of Gal 2:15—3:14*)
- **Romans 3:28** "For we hold that a person is justified by faith apart from works prescribed by the law." (*see all of Rom 3:21—4:25*)
- James 2:24, 26 "You see that a person is justified by works and *not* by faith *alone*... For just as the body *without* the spirit is dead, so faith *without* works is also dead." (*see all of James 2:14-26*)

#### The common but *incorrect* interpretation, leading to an *apparent* contradiction between Paul and James:

- Paul supposedly said: Justification comes not by our good works, but by our faith in Jesus alone.
- James *supposedly* said: Justification comes by our good works, *not* by our faith in God.

#### **Errors with these interpretations:**

1. **Paul** is *not* talking about "good works" in the sense of "charitable acts"; rather, he says "works of the Law" (Gal 2:16; 3:2-12; Rom 3:28), which refers to the Jewish/Mosaic laws on circumcision, sacrifices, dietary restrictions, etc.

\* When **James** says "works," he means acts of charity = care for widows, orphans & the poor, love for neighbors, etc. (James 1:27; 2:8; 2:15-16)

- Paul is *not opposed* to "good works" or "charitable actions"; he sees them as necessary *consequences* (although not the foundation) of authentic Christian living (see Gal 5–6; Rom 12–15).
   \* Conversely, James is *not opposed* to faith; he presupposes it, and then stresses that authentic faith must be put into action (James 2:14-26).
- 3. **Paul** is *not* talking primarily about *our* "faith *in* Jesus," but rather the "faith *of* Jesus" in God (i.e., Jesus' own trusting in God; see Gal 2:16, 20; Rom 3:22, 26); based on this foundation, *our* faith in God/Jesus is a necessary (but secondary) response.

\* In contrast, James does mean people's faith, both believing in God (2:23) and believing in Jesus (2:1).

- 4. Paul does *not* use the same definition of "faith" as James; for Paul, "faith" means "trusting" God, "entrusting oneself" to God's plans (Rom 4:3-22).
  \* For James, "faith" is an intellectual assent to theological truths, e.g., "believing *that* God is one" (2:19; even demons "believe" in God's existence).
- 5. **Paul** did *not* write the word "alone" in Rom 3:28; Martin Luther was the one who added the word "*allein*" in his German Bible translation.

\* **James** does *not* write "by works alone" but stresses "not by faith alone"; he maintains that *both* have to go together.

**Summary:** Rather than contradicting or disagreeing with each other, it seems that James (probably written after Paul's letters) intended to *correct* some popular *misinterpretations* of Paul's teachings that evidently arose in some circles of early Christianity.