

Appendix to Lecture Part III
Chronological Summary of Pauline Epistles

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1. Approaches

A. Four options

1) Theological Development of Paul's thought

This is too subjective (Jewett, A Chronology of Paul's Life).

2) Chronological References in Paul's letters

Some who don't trust Acts as source for historical information do this (J. Knox, 1950; Luedemann, 1984).

3) Chronological References in Paul's letters and Acts

4) Deductive-experimental method: Chronological References in Paul's letters and Acts, and connections to history and archaeology (Jewett, 1979).

B. Suitable option

#3 is suitable for Evangelicals, and we should not be afraid of #4.

C. Outer Framework:

1) The Beginning: His conversion

It is likely Paul was converted within a year or two of the crucifixion, i.e., 33-4..

a. Paul was called a young man (*neanias*) at the time of Stephen's martyrdom (Acts 7:58).

b. Tradition: 18 months gap

Irenaeus preserved a tradition that the interval between Pentecost and the conversion of Paul was 18 months.

c. Escape from Damascus

a) Paul stated that it was three years after his conversion that he left Damascus (Gal 1:18), presumably on the occasion when the governor under King Aretas attempted to seize him (2 Cor 11:32f.).

b) Damascus was in Roman hands, certainly until 33 and probably until 37. Since Aretas died in 40, he probably gained possession of Damascus between 37 and 40. During that time and probably nearer the beginning, Paul escaped from Damascus.

c) Since this was three years after his conversion, his conversion must have taken place soon after 34, if not in that year.

2) First Missionary Journey

There is nothing in the narrative to suggest a protracted stay at any of the numerous places visited. However, they stayed for quite a while at Antioch after their return.

3) Jerusalem council: 49

After the first missionary journey and before the second missionary journey.

4) Second Missionary Journey

a. Gallio

The Jews in Corinth brought their accusations against Paul to Gallio, probably soon after he became proconsul of Achaia (Act 18:12). An inscription at Delphi shows that Gallio's year of office began in mid-summer of either 51 or 52. If the former, then Paul must have arrived in Corinth early in 50 and remained there until the summer of 51, when he returned to Antioch via Ephesus and Jerusalem before the onset of winter made sea travel impossible.

b. Aquila and Priscilla & Claudius' edict

In Corinth, Paul met Aquila and Priscilla who had recently been forced to leave Rome in consequence of Claudius' edict expelling Jews from Rome (Act 18:2). Since it was probably in 49 that the edict was issued, they would have reached Corinth early in 50, not long before Paul arrived.

c. Thus, the second missionary journey can be dated from late 49 or early 50 until 52.

5) The End: His death

He may have died in the Neronian persecution ca 64-8. Guthrie favors the earlier part of the persecution.

a. Captivity letters: No help

b. Acts:

a) Voyage to Rome. The transfer of office from Felix to Festus about 59/60. Seasonal data-->59 fits best with the journey detail (Acts 27). Arrival at Rome early 60.

b) Two years captivity in Acts 28:30-->62.

c. Tradition

a) Martyrdom of Peter and Paul: Nero's persecution at the time of the great fire of 64.

b) Clement of Rome (95): Mentioned in his letter about Paul's preaching in the East and in the West. Possible trip to Spain before his death.

3) Conclusion:

Paul's letters must thus be fitted into a time span of thirty-odd years or less, between the outer limits of A.D.33 and 64.

D. Major historical events from external source (Wayne House, Chart for NT)

<i>Roman</i>	<i>Jewish</i>	<i>Christian</i>
Reign of Tiberius 14-37	Reign of Herod Agrippa I: 37-44	Crucifixion: 30-33
Dismissal of Pilate 36	Death of King Aretas 40	Paul's conversion 33-35
Claudius 41-54;	Death of Agrippa I 44;	Martyrdom of James and imprisonment of Peter 41-44;
Proconsul Sergius Paulus of Cyprus converted 47-48;	Expelling of Jews from Rome 49	Judean famine and Paul's relief visit 46-47;
Gallio as Proconsul of Achaia Summer 52		Paul's 1'st mission 47-49;
Nero 54-68	Felix 52-59;	Jerusalem Council 49;
	Festus 59-61	Paul's 2'nd mission 49-51
		Paul's 3'rd mission 52-57;
		Paul before Festus and Agrippa II; Appeal 58-59
		Paul in Rome 60
Great Fire of Rome; Persecution 64;	Jewish Revolt 66;	Martyrdom of James, the Lord's brother 62;
Vespasian 69-79	Flight of Jerusalem Christians to Pella 66	Martyrdom of Paul and Peter 64-68
	Fall of Jerusalem 70	

2. Pauline Chronology

<i>Year</i>	<i>Detail</i>	<i>Letter</i>
34	Conversion	
36/37	First visit to Jerusalem after conversion	
10 years	Tarsus	
47	Tarsus to Antioch, One year at work	
48	First Mission	Galatians*
49	Apostolic Council	
49-52	Second Mission	
7/50-3/52	In Corinth	1 & 2 Thess.
Sum 52-5/56	Third Mission	
Late Sum 52- Pente55	In Ephesus	
		1 Cor (Easter), Gal*
Oct 55	In Macedonia	2 Cor.
Winter 55-56	In Corinth	Romans
Pente 56	Arrest in Jerusalem,	
6/56-9/58	Imprisonment at Caesarea,	
9/58-2/59	Voyage to Rome	
3/59	First Imprisonment in Rome	Phil., Eph., Col., Phlm.
61-63	Possible Visits to Crete, Eph., Miletus, etc.	
Fall or Wint 61-62	In Macedonia	1 Timothy
Fall 61/62		Titus
Fall 64	Second Imprisonment in Rome	2 Timothy
65-67	Martyrdom in Rome	

3. Dating of the letters

A. Focus on the date of Galatians

1) Evidence: Gal 1:11-2:14 with Acts (esp. 9, 11, 15)

a. 1:11-16 Conversion

b. 1:17 Arabia and Damascus

c. 1:18-20 "three years later" to Jerusalem for 15 days, meeting with Peter.

d. 1:21-24 Syria and Cilicia

e. 2:1-10 "after an interval of 14 years" a private conference in Jerusalem with James, Peter, and John about the Gentile mission.

f. 2:11-14 Incident with Peter at Antioch

2) Interpretation

a. Match Gal 1:18 with Acts 9

b. Match Gal 2:1-10 with Acts 15?

a) Negative

1. Under oath, Paul does not mention the intervening visit for famine relief (Acts 11).

2. He does not mention the apostolic decrees from Acts 15.

b) Positive

1. Both have the same issue, obligation of Gentiles to keep the law.

2. The same participants, Paul, Barnabas, Peter, James and others.

3. Same decision that Gentiles need not be circumcised.

4. Negative can be explained by the fact that they are not relevant to the discussion in Galatians (Lightfoot, Machen). Paul is defending his apostleship directly from the Lord and his gospel of salvation by faith alone.

c. Match Gal 2 with Acts 11?

a) Negative

It is unlikely there were two conferences where the same people debate the same issue with the same outcome.

b) Positive

Paul does not specifically mention the conciliar decree.

d. Match Gal 2 with both Acts 11 and 15 (Kraft)

Kraft says Acts 11 and 15 are a doublet, and reflect only one meeting, the former taken from the Antioch source, the latter from the Jerusalem source. This is unnecessarily skeptical of Luke's method.

3) Dating and addressees

a. "The date of the Epistle depends on the decision regarding its destination." (Guthrie)

a) Land of the (ethnic) Galatians in the north? (Kuemmel)

1. Ethnic:

Celtic tribes that settled there in 3rd c. B.C.

2. "Territory view": Kuemmel

It is a territory. Paul is not consistent in his geographical terminology. He does not always only use Roman Provincial names.

3. Archaeology

Recent archaeology has unearthed evidence of Jewish settlements in Anatolia.

4. Acts

1) 2nd and 3rd journey

Paul visited there in the 2nd and 3rd journeys (?).

2) Acts not as exhaustive account.

Acts does not provide a complete picture of Paul's work (Kuemmel). He might have traveled and done more work in the north than it lets on to.

3) Acts 18:23 mentions disciples in the north (?).

b) The Roman province of Galatia in the south? (F.F. Bruce)

1. 1st journey

Paul visited there on the 1st journey. Iconium, Lystra, Derbe.

2. Audience

Intended audience would then include the regions of Phrygia, Lycaonia, and Pisidia, and the city of Antioch.

3. Roman provincial names

Paul usually uses Roman provincial names in his geographical references.

4. Jewish religion (Galatians)

The letter assumes a reasonable acquaintance with Jewish religion (i.e., the significance of the Torah), which is more likely in the southern part of Asia Minor, where Jewish influence was general (note also the repeated Jewish resistance against Paul in these regions.).

5. Acts

Acts goes into detail in 13, 14, and 16 concerning the southern region, but says little about the work in the north (possibly 16:6 and 18:23) (?).

6. Bearers of collection

According to Acts 20:4, Paul had designated Christians from the south as bearers of the collection (Gaius of Derbe, and Timothy of Lystra), but none from the north.

b. Dating based upon North Galatian region as addressee

It had to be after the 2nd journey (Acts 18:22ff.), i.e., sometime between A.D. 53 and 57.

c. Dating based upon South Galatia as addressee is more compelling. It could have been written immediately after the 1st journey, and hypothetically before the Jerusalem council, i.e., before A.D. 49.

d. If South Galatia is the addressee, then it was written between A.D. 48/49 and 57.

a) Arguments for the late date

1. Theology

Theological and Stylistic Affinity with the Corinthians and Roman correspondence, thus they were written at the same times (A.D. 54-55), and in Ephesus during the 3rd journey (Kuemmel also suggests Macedonia).

[Very subjective appeal: Theological]

2. Gal 2 and Acts 15

Late date (after A.D. 50) would allow matching them.

3. "First time" Visit (?)

Late date makes accounting for the "first time" visit (Gal 4:13) more plain. Acts 16:6 and 18:23 are Paul's two visits to Galatia.

4. Sequence: Persecution and Calm

There is persecution in 2 Corinthians, but Romans is calm. Galatians fits well into the sequence between them.

[Persecution was sporadic by provinces. What happened in Corinth and Rome may not be true in Galatia.]

5. Peter's action

It could be argued that Paul's account of Peter's withdrawal from fellowship with the Gentiles was more likely to have happened after the Jerusalem council. Paul's point was that Peter was being hypocritical, violating the conciliar decision.

b) Arguments for earlier date

1. Just after the 1st journey (A.D. 48-9)

2. Paul's two visits to Jerusalem are Acts 9:26 and 11:28-30.

3. "The former time" in Gal 4:13

It could be as opposed to the current time of the writing of the letter, or to the first of many times on the 1st journey that Paul preached there.

4. Apostolic decree

Paul does not specifically mention the apostolic decrees from Acts 15, though they would have supported his argument, so the letter must have been written before the council in A.D. 49.

5. Peter's action

His withdrawal from fellowship with Gentiles (Gal 2:12) is more likely before (a precipitating cause?) than after the council.

1) A problem

If Gal 2:12 was before Acts 15, was it also before Acts 10:1-11:18 (Peter's vision)? Was it Paul, and not the vision, that convinced Peter to associate with Gentiles? This would contradict the biblical account in Acts.

2) Also Paul accuses Peter of "hypocrisy" implying that Peter should have known better.

3) Gal 2:12 must, therefore, be after Acts 10-11, and it is to this that Paul's charge of hypocrisy referred.

4) Conclusion regarding Galatians

a. Addresses:

Though it is not conclusive, the evidence favors the south Galatian region, because of the Jewish population, and the detail given concerning the work in the region on all three missionary journeys against the questionable passing references to the north.

b. Dating

That Paul does not make use of the apostolic decrees of Acts 15 in his argument, and that Peter also does not abide by that decision, favors a date before A.D. 49/50, i.e., 49, in Antioch (Acts 14:20). This allows a straightforward understanding of Paul's sworn claim to have only visited Jerusalem twice (Acts 9,11).

B. First Macedonian Journey: First and Second Thessalonians

1) 1 Thessalonians

a. Written from Corinth on the 2nd journey.

a) From Achaia (1 Thess 1:9) or Athens, where Paul waited alone for Timothy to return with reassurance from Thessalonica (1 Thess 3:1-8).

b) No greetings from other "brothers and sisters" at the end.

Written at an early stage in the first Achaian mission, not long after Paul had left Thessalonica.

b. Gallio

Acts 18 suggests that Paul's appearance before Gallio was early in the proconsulate of Gallio, and toward the end of Paul's 18 months in Corinth. We can date Gallio from summer A.D. 52. This is the most certain point of departure in Paul's chronology (Guthrie, 566).

c. 1 Thessalonians was written early in the 18 months, thus early 51 (Guthrie).

d. Kuemmel notes in 3:1 that Paul speaks as if he has already left Athens, thus it was written in Corinth and in 3:6 Timothy and Silas are with Paul, which agrees with Acts 18:5. He dates it in 50.

2) 2 Thessalonians

a. Soon after the first, before his next visit.

b. He is still with Timothy and Silas.

c. Corinth, in 51.

d. Written before 1 Thessalonians?

a) Arguments

1. Distress

In 2 Thessalonians, the distress is present, in 1 Thessalonians it is past.

2. Handwritten conclusion

At the end of 2 Thessalonians he explains his handwritten conclusion, which would only be necessary in the first letter to any group.

b) Answers (Kuemmel)

1. Distress

But in 1 Thess 3:3f, the difficulties are still present, and could break out again at any time.

2. 2 Thess

There are also places in 2 Thess where he recalls earlier communication.

C. Final Macedonian Journey: 2 Corinthians

The visit to Macedonia which Paul projects in 1 Cor 16:5-9, and from which he apparently writes 2 Cor 7:5-16, clearly reflects a later journey, when both the Corinthian and Macedonian churches are well established and Paul is busy organizing the collection.

1) Dating and place of writing

a. Guthrie says "a year ago" (2 Cor 8:10; 9:2) may mean "in the previous (calendar) year," thus it might be only seven months later than 1 Corinthians, i.e., Fall of 57. Collection for the saints in Jerusalem.

b. Carson agrees, placing it in Macedonia.

c. Kuemmel agrees about the time span, and places it in 55/56 in Macedonia (2 Cor 7:5).

[I agree with Kuemmel.]

2) Hardship catalogues (2 Cor 6:4-10; 11:21-33; 12:1-10)

Series of toils and travels. They presuppose several years of travels. This letter must have been written at an advanced stage of his ministry (or at least these sections of the letter.).

D. Ephesian Ministry: 1 Corinthians

Between these two tours like an extended period in Ephesus from where Paul writes 1 Cor. (16:8-9) and where he suffered a life-threatening "affliction" (2 Cor 1:8-11; cf. 1 Cor 15:32).

1) Variety of dating

a. Carson: It was written early in 55, nearly 2 1/2 years after leaving Corinth.

[My comment: I agree with Carson. Considering Paul's writing it still from Ephesus, it has to be

16:1 Collection for the saints in Jerusalem-->3rd mission.

16:5-9 Plan for Final Macedonian trip

16:8 Plan to stay at Ephesus until Pentecost.

16:15ff. Greetings. Many names.

Clearly reflects a later journey, when both the Corinthian and Macedonian churches are well established.

b. Kuemmel agrees with Carson.

c. Guthrie: It is not certain, but perhaps it was written in Spring of 57, during the 3rd journey.

d. Wikenhauser agrees.

2) Place of writing: All place it in Ephesus.

1 Cor 16:8 clearly mention the place of writing as Ephesus.

E. Paul's imprisonment

1) The "captivity" letters: few chronological help.

2) Five imprisonments

Philippi, Ephesus, Caesarea, Rome (x2)

The writer assumes that Paul was released after 2 years of the first Roman imprisonment, and that he traveled to Spain possibly; Crete etc. He wrote 1 Timothy and Titus during this period of freedom. It is speculative but no worse than other suggestions. It must be emphasized that after the imprisonment described in Acts 28, almost nothing is known about his activity after such a release.

3) Time and Place

a. 2 Timothy: Rome (2 Tim 1:17). Imminent martyrdom(2 Tim 4:7-8). During his second imprisonment. Right before martyrdom

b. Ephesians and Colossians: Too general to be of much help.

c. Philippians and Philemon:

F. Romans

1) Carson

It depends on when Paul was in Greece. He is not sure, but dates the book ca 57.

2) Kuemmel ad Wikenhauser

They place it in Corinth, 55/56 and 58 respectively.

3) Guthrie

It was written during the time that Nero had established peace in the provinces (hence Paul's exhortations to respect 'authorities'), i.e., between 57 and 59.

G. Ephesians

1) Guthrie

Same imprisonment as Colossians, i.e., first Roman imprisonment, between 60 and 62, probably mid to late in this period.

2) Carson

Early 60's

3) Kuemmel: Doubt about Pauline authorship

Between 80 and 100, in Asia Minor.

H. Colossians

1) Bruce

Not an Ephesian imprisonment, and Rome is more likely than Caesaria.

2) Carson

If it was written from Rome, then early 60's. Otherwise, late 50's.

3) Kuemmel

Epaphras was less likely to visit in Rome than Caesarea, and 56-58 would fit that.

I. Philemon

1) Kuemmel

Same time as Colossians, since Onesimus returned to Colossae with the messenger.

2) Carson and Guthrie: Same as Colossians.

J. Philippians

1) Guthrie

Rome, toward the end of the imprisonment, i.e., 61-62.

2) Carson

Uncertain. Late 50's or early 60's.

3) Kuemmel

Least likely to be Rome, on account of the kinship of the polemic in Phil 3 with that of Galatians and Romans. Thus, either Ephesus (53-55) or Caesarea (56-58).

[Subjective idea based upon theology]

K. Pastorals: 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus

1) Guthrie

"The chronology of the closing period of Paul's life is too obscure to attach a definite date to the Pastoral Epistles." 1 Timothy and Titus not long before the end, 2 Timothy when the end was imminent.

2) Carson

1 Timothy and Titus after his release, in 62 or 63 and 2 Timothy in second imprisonment (mid 60's).

3) Kuemmel: Early 2'nd c.

4) Robert/DuToit

Titus in Autumn 62 from Greece or Macedonia, 2 Timothy in the second imprisonment in Rome.