When Luke the evangelist wrote his Gospel, he highlighted for Theophilus, his reader, some of the features he offered, while affirming the Gospels already written (Luke 1:1-4). Following the model of this wonderful historian, I, too, would like to affirm the many wonderful commentaries written on the Pastoral Epistles, which are Pastor Paul's instructions and admonitions to two young pastors. As many of the other commentary writers of the New Covenant Commentary Series, I come from an international background, born and reared in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, and later in New Jersey in the United States, my mother from Puerto Rico and my father from The Netherlands. Like others in the series, I have focused on the flow of argument. My own translation is an attempt to illustrate the literal text as a basis for interpretation and stylistic analysis. I have studied the meaning of the text in light of its immediate and larger literary, biblical, historical, social, and cultural contexts. In particular, I have asked myself, how might these ancient communities have understood and received these teachings? To enrich my study, I traveled to Crete, Ephesus, Rome, and Greece, visiting many key ancient Greco-Roman sites. These were wonderful trips which were accomplished with the help and companionship of my husband, the Rev. Dr. William David Spencer, and son, Mr. Stephen William Spencer.

In addition, I have always thought that scholarship would be advanced if more women were to study and publish on these letters that relate frequently to women and to church life. Thus, as a female Presbyterian minister ordained for forty years (October 1973), I have paid consistent attention to any issues that relate to women and their role in the church. It is not, however, a commentary solely focused on "women's issues." As an active minister, who has taught New Testament theology for ministry for many years, I have also highlighted Paul's ministry strategies, his coworkers, and their community. My own initial training was in stylistics, and, thus, when appropriate, I have also highlighted Paul's rhetorical strategies.

Even though I have focused on the flow of argument, paragraphs and sentences are constructed from words and phrases. Therefore, in order to study the thoughts, I have also paid attention to semantics and grammar. I have done a close reading of the text. Like Luke, I have attempted to do a thorough investigation, but one understandable to my readers. My husband, as a theologian and a grammarian, graciously read the entire commentary. I am a "scholar," but also a believer with the simple faith of a child (Luke 18:16–17). I do believe these words, although those of the Apostle Paul, are also God-breathed, I have, therefore, not read these letters as a skeptic, but as someone who is in love with God, who inspired the words and thoughts, and in sympathy with Paul, as a friend and colleague in ministry, who was mentoring other ministers in very difficult situations.

Either Titus or 1 Timothy could have been written first. However, if Paul had just left Rome, he might have first traveled to Crete before moving on to Ephesus, Colossae, and Philippi.¹

As I was writing the commentary, occasionally beautiful Christian melodies and lyrics based on 1 Timothy would echo in my mind, such as "Immortal, Invisible, God Only Wise" and "Now Unto the King Eternal." May my words also encourage you further to enjoy and trust God's awesome presence and words! God is our merciful, sovereign, impartial Savior and Creator, and worthy of much study, as well as praise.

AUTHORSHIP OF PASTORAL LETTERS

1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, and Titus begin: "*Paul*, an apostle of Christ Jesus," or "*Paul*, a slave of God, but apostle of Jesus Christ." Because of similarity to the headings to Paul's other letters, many commentators conclude that Paul is the author of all the Pastorals.² Even commentators, such as C. K. Barrett, who conclude that Paul is *not* the author, agree that the external evidence supports Paul as author.³

Commentators ask, could the type of person who wrote these letters be the same Paul who wrote the other New Testament letters? Who is the

- 1. See Authorship and Historical Context of Pastoral Letters below.
- 2. See Bernard 1922; Ellicott 1865; Fee 1988; Guthrie 1990; Hillard 1919; Humphreys 1895; Johnson 1996; Kelly 1963; Lock 1924; Mounce 2000; Payne 2009; Ramos 1992; Robertson 1931; Towner 2006; Zahn 1953.
- 3. Barrett 1963: 4. See also Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972; Hanson 1982; Maloney 1994; Marxsen 1970; Quinn 2000.

real Paul? Is Paul the person driven with zeal to serve Jesus the Messiah, his life being on the line every day? Is he forgiving and merciful? Has he rejected his rabbinic past, relying on the Spirit, living each day open to the paradoxes of life? Or, is the author of the Pastorals a condemning man, full of fears, a hierarchically conservative man who wants everything and everyone in its order and place? Instead of rejecting his past, has he accepted fully his conservative traditions as he aims to appease his environment? As Dornier concludes: "The style of the moralist has taken the place of the style of the prophet."

Although authorship has to be decided on external evidence, not subjective criteria, the Paul we meet in the Pastorals is still very much aware of the irreproachableness of his own past. In Titus and 1 Timothy, he has been released from prison and wants to make sure no believer is apprehended for the wrong reasons. He wants people to enjoy God's creation and not be ascetic—to marry, to eat. Although truth is crucial, it is so because of the health it brings. The God Paul highlights is a merciful God, Savior, hope of the world, and forgiving. God is savior before he is judge.

We have extensive external evidence supporting Paul as the author. *The Muratorian Canon* (A.D. 170–80) says that Paul addressed seven churches by name: Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Galatians, Thessalonians, and Romans, and he wrote four letters to individuals: Philemon, Titus, two to Timothy, written from "personal affection" but "held sacred in the esteem of the church catholic for the regulation of ecclesiastical discipline." *The Canon* adds that forged letters should not be received with the genuine ones, because "it is not fitting that gall be mixed with honey." Papyrus 32 (A.D. 175–200), an Alexandrian text, includes Titus 1:11–15 and 2:3–8. Eusebius (260–339) states that the Epistles of Paul are universally "recognized" as true and genuine, while books "put forward by heretics under the name of the apostles" . . "must be shunned as altogether wicked and impious" (*Hist. eccl.* 3.25).

Allusions to, and quotations of, the Pastoral Letters start early. Clement of Rome's Letter to the Corinthians (c. 95) alludes to 1 Timothy 1:17 (61:2) and Titus 3:1 (2:7; 33:1; 34:4). The *Letter of Ignatius to the Magnesians* (8:1) alludes to 1 Timothy 1:4 and Titus 3:9. Polycarp (71–155), the Bishop of Smyrna, alludes to 1 Timothy 3:8; 5:5; 6:7, 10; and 2 Timothy

^{4.} In Hanson 1982: 3-4.

^{5.} The early church did not accept pseudonymous writings as authoritative. See also Lea 1991: 535–59; Westcott 1896: 438, 441, 453, 455–56, 565; Harris 1969: 253.

4:10. Irenaeus (130–202), who "saw Polycarp in his early youth" (*Haer.* 3.4), writes that "Paul mentions Linus in his Epistle to Timothy" (*Haer.* 3.3). He titles this book, "The Refutation & Overthrow of the Knowledge Falsely So Called." The *Acts of Paul* (160) includes people only found in the Pastorals (Onesiphorus, Hermogenes, and Demas). Origen (185–253/4) often refers to Paul as the author of the epistles of Timothy and Titus, and Tertullian (155–220) quotes all three Pastoral letters (1 Tim 6:20; 2 Tim 1:14; Titus 3:10–11): "I wonder since [Marcion] received a letter written to an individual, the Epistle to Philemon, that he rejected two to Timothy and one to Titus written on the subject of church order."

However, the Pastoral Letters are not in p46, but, then, neither is Philemon (and no one questions Paul's authorship of Philemon). The scribe compiling p46 excluded all personal letters to individuals. (On the other hand, the Pastorals could have been included in the missing pages as the scribe was compressing his letters.)⁸ Codex Vaticanus (4 c.) omits the Pastoral Epistles, Philemon, Revelation, and part of Genesis and the Psalms. The first person to deny positively the genuineness of 1 Timothy is F. Schleiermacher in 1807, on the basis of style and language. In 1835, F. C. Baur questioned all three letters. Current concerns with Paul as the author of the Pastorals result from historical, literary, ecclesiological, and theological reasons.⁹

Historical Reasons

The travel plans in the Pastorals do not seem to fit with those reported in Acts. Marxsen concludes: "the Pastorals can have been written by Paul only if he was set free again after a first Roman imprisonment." As a

- 6. Irenaeus quotes 1 Tim 1: 4, 9; 2:5; 4:7; 6:20; 2 Tim 4:9–11; Titus 3:10–11, among other verses (I.16.3; III.14.1;17.1). Other early church fathers who quote the Pastorals include Justin Martyr (100–148), *Dial.* 47 (Titus 3:4), Clement of Alexandria (150–215) (1 Tim 4:1; 6:20; "the second epistle to Timothy," Titus 1:12), and Athenagoras (177–180) (quoting 1 Tim 2:2).
- 7. Eusebius says Paul wrote Titus 3:9 (*Hist. eccl.* 4.14.7). Theophilus, a contemporary of Jerome, cites Titus 2:15 as written by Paul as a basis for acting against those propagating the heresy of Origen (*Letter* 87).
 - 8. Marshall 1999: 6.
- 9. For more on these issues as well as chronology, epistolary format, style, content, and theology see Porter 1995: 105-23. As is apparent from my stance in this commentary, I do not find these arguments convincing.
 - 10. Marxsen 1970: 211.

matter of fact, we do have ample proof that Paul was indeed released. Paul writes in Philippians 2:24: "I trust in the Lord that shortly also I myself will come" after Timothy. He asks Philemon to "prepare for me a guest room" (22). The arrest described in Acts, Philippians, Colossians, Ephesians, and Philemon is a mild house arrest, which is usually a maximum of two years. Thus, Paul expects release. According to Acts 25:25, Governor Festus states that Paul does not deserve death and King Agrippa agrees that Paul could have been released (Acts 26:32). While, in contrast, 2 Timothy describes a more intensive period. Paul explains: "At my first defense no one took my part; all deserted me." "For I am already on the point of being sacrificed, the time of my departure has come." "Luke alone is with me." Demas is gone (Col 4:14) (2 Tim 4:6, 9, 11, 16). Nero's early years were known for his mildness and clemency (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 2.22), but he changes after A.D. 64.

The early church also has proof of Paul's release. Clement, who lived in the West, wrote that Paul "reached the farthest limits of the West" (1 Clem. 5:7). He appears to say that Paul went beyond Italy to Spain. Eusebius quotes Origen's Commentary on Genesis (3:1) that Paul later was martyred in Rome under Nero: after defending himself, "the apostle is said to have set out again on the ministry of preaching and, coming a second time to the same city, found fulfillment in martyrdom. During this imprisonment he composed the second epistle to Timothy" (Hist. eccl. 2.22; 3.3).

Scholars have difficulty setting a later date for the Pastorals.¹¹ But, such late dates are not necessary since Gaius and Nero "took their divinity very seriously." In A.D. 66 Nero was described officially as "lord and saviour of the world." "The cult was already well developed during Paul's life." Especially in Titus, "the author was trying to counter the imperial cult": Christ as true Savior versus the false savior Caesar.¹² Therefore, Titus and 1 Timothy are more likely written after Paul's first Roman imprisonment before Nero began persecuting Christians (c. A.D. 62–64),

^{11.} Some say the Pastorals have "no trace of" persecution such as existed in Ignatius's day (Hanson 1982: 12–13). Ignatius died in A.D. 113, whereas, Emperor Domitian, who persecuted Christians, died in A.D. 96. Some, therefore, conclude that the Pastorals have to be written before the time of Domitian, but this is too early for other critics. Another option is one or two years before Ignatius died, but for still others this is too near Ignatius's time. Another date for the letters' composition is after A.D. 112 when Trajan revived the imperial cult but before anyone was killed.

^{12.} Hanson 1982: 186-87.

while 2 Timothy was written during Paul's second Roman imprisonment (c. A.D. 66-67).

Literary Reasons

Some scholars also see literary problems. They conclude that the Pastorals have a vocabulary distinct from the other letters, however they do not agree about the number of word differences. They notice some different words and style: eusebeia ("godliness"), sophrosynē ("selfcontrol"), theosebeia ("religion"), semnos ("character"), hygiēs ("sound"), dynastēs ("ruler"), makarios ("blessed"), and sōtēr ("savior"). In contrast, some words important to Paul do not occur: "evangelize," "give thanks," "boast," "spiritual," "wisdom" (sophia), "body," "life" (psychē), "in Christ." Dibelius and Conzelmann summarize: "Personal elements fade into the background, and the letter's primary purpose is to transmit regulations ... which are not intended" for Timothy, "but for other people." ¹³ They conclude that the genre is household codes (haustafel). First Timothy is a collection of materials like the Didache.14 The style is similar to Polycarp's letter to the Philippians, as is its theology and ecclesiology. 15 First Timothy 6:6-10 reproduces popular philosophical maxims on wealth.¹⁶ However, Marxsen concludes in a circular manner that any similarities to Paul come from the "Pauline tradition."17

Nevertheless, Dibelius and Conzelmann accepted even many years ago that: "Recent debate has shown that the method of arguing against authenticity on the basis of statistics is inadequate."18 According to linguists who studied the Federalist papers, 100,000 words of undisputed authorship are needed to compare with disputed writings, but the whole New Testament has under 140,000 words. 19 According to Sakae Kubo's Greek-English Lexicon, 1 Timothy has 66 words which occur only once in the New Testament. In Philippians (another letter to a positive audience), Paul uses 36 unique words in four chapters. In the first four chapters of 1

```
13. Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972: 1.
14. For example, 1 Tim 2:8 = Did. 7–10, 14, 15.
```

^{15.} Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972: 6.

^{16.} Hanson 1982: 4.

^{17.} Marxsen 1970: 214.

^{18.} Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972: 3; cf. Harrison 1964.

^{19.} Spencer 1998b: 149; Mounce 2000: cxv.

Timothy, Paul uses 31 unique words, less than in Philippians 1–4. Most of the unique words are in 1 Timothy chapters 5–6, but, in chapter 5, Paul has a unique topic—widows.²⁰

The argument about missing words is very subjective. "Savior" occurs also in Philippians 3:20 ("Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ") and Ephesians 5:23. Paul's use of *eusebeia* occurs only in the Pastoral letters. But, Peter also uses it.²¹ Could that word have become important at this time in the church's life to describe the need of the church? Or could it be a key to Paul's message at this time? Or, could it be a word brought to Paul's consciousness by Peter and others? Hillard explains that differences can come from "(a) lapse of time, the author's age and new experiences; (b) different circumstances, purposes and needs; and even (c) the author's own reading, study and thought—since no active mind, and least of all men's St. Paul's, could stand still."²²

Some of the words that do not occur also only occur in a few of Paul's letters. They are arbitrarily "important" words. For example, "spiritual" (*pneumatikos*) does not occur in 2 Corinthians, Philippians, or Philemon and "boast" (*kauchaomai, kauchēsis*) does not occur in Colossians, 2 Thessalonians, and Philemon. Hanson says the "prose is pedestrian." It has no "depth," but if any commentator sees depth of meaning, he rejects it. For example, about 1 Timothy 6:7, C. K. Barrett writes "The final nakedness of death demonstrates and underlines the initial nakedness of birth." To which Hanson replies: "But this seems over-subtle for the author's mentality." Yet, the Pastorals have numerous poetical sections, such as great indeed is "the mystery of our religion: He was manifested in the flesh, vindicated in the Spirit, seen by angels, preached among the nations, believed on in the world, taken up into glory" (1 Tim 3:16 RSV).

Is 1 Timothy like the *Didache* and like Polycarp's letter?²⁴ The *Didache* is as much like 1 Corinthians as it is like 1 Timothy. The *Didache*

^{20.} Paul also used several of these "unique" words in other forms in other letters (leaving only 53 unique words in 1 Tim).

^{21. 2} Pet 1:3, 6, 7; 3:11; Acts 3:12.

^{22.} Hillard 1919: xxxii. See Mounce's (2000: civ-cx) lists of words that relate to Paul's new historical situation. Paul adapts his style as he communicates with different congregations. See Spencer 1998b: 148, app. 1.

^{23.} Barrett 1963: 84; Hanson 1982: 107. Yet Quinn & Wacker (2000: 6) point out the Pastorals have "alliteration, assonance, rhyme, paronomasia, polysyndeton . . . asyndeton."

^{24.} E.g., Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972: 2, 6-7.

discusses how to baptize (ch. 7), when to fast (ch. 8), how to give the eucharist and give grace (chs. 9–10, 14), and what criteria should be followed for choosing bishops and deacons (ch. 15). The *Didache* is very specific, for example, fast on Wednesdays and Fridays (8:1), whereas 1 Timothy is more general (as in 1 Tim 2:8: the men should pray "lifting holy hands without quarreling"). Polycarp's letter is much like all of the New Testament letters, because he freely quotes them. Hanson claims that 1 Timothy 6:6–10 reproduces popular philosophical maxims on wealth, but his proof comes from the third to sixth century A.D.²⁵

What is the real concern? Paul now seems to want to please the world more than before and he is concerned about orthodoxy and declares clearly that Jesus is God.

Ecclesiological Reasons

Marxsen writes: "The tension of Christian existence in the new eschatological situation has been abandoned in favour of a Christian adjustment to this world." Now there is an "emphasis on the idea of tradition," a fixed tradition. Therefore, he concludes, Paul is claimed as author and Christian doctrine is a "deposit." Doctrine and offices are in harmony with apostolic authority. The author appears not to argue with heretics but simply to contrast false versus true teaching. "Good citizenship" is key. The bishop, deacon, elder hierarchy is close to the episcopate of the second century, in contrast to Acts 14:23, where only elders are mentioned.

However, the passing on of correct tradition has always been Paul's practice, as in 1 Corinthians 11:23: "I myself *received* (*paralambanō*) from the Lord what also I *delivered* (*paradidōmi*) to you." "Received" and "delivered" are key words to describe the passing on of authoritative teaching. In 1 Corinthians 15:3, Paul repeats: "For I *delivered* to you as of first importance, what I also *received*." In Galatians 1:6, he is "astonished" they are turning to a different gospel and in 2 Corinthians 11:4, the

- 25. Hanson 1982: 109 cites Diogenes Laertius (third century), one century too late even for his theory!
 - 26. Marxsen 1970: 212-13.
 - 27. Hanson 1982: 5, 26. Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972: 1.
 - 28. Marxsen 1970: 215.
 - 29. Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972: 2-3, 8.
 - 30. Hanson 1982: 4, 48.

Corinthians should not accept any different gospel. Moreover, the offices in the Pastorals are not so clear. Even Marxsen writes: it is "difficult to determine the relationship between them. We certainly cannot speak of a three-fold hierarchy, for bishop and deacons . . . are never mentioned along with the elders." In Philippians 1:1, bishops and deacons are mentioned together, whereas in Ignatius' letters the bishop already has clear power over the deacon. In *Ignatius to the Magnesians*, the deacon is "subject to the bishop" and to the presbytery, and the bishop presides in the place of God (the Father) while the presbyters are in the place of the council of the apostles and the deacons in the place of Jesus Christ.³² By the time of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (A.D. 380, also from Syria), the bishop, presbyter, deacon, deaconess, widows, virgins, women elders, and older and younger women are seated in order (2.7).

Theological Reasons

Some scholars complain that the Pastorals must be late because Jesus is clearly called God in Titus 2:13, the "Son" is never used for Christ, and the Holy Spirit is not mentioned.³³ The Pastorals have more emphasis on works. There is no mention of the cross, the law seems misunderstood (1 Tim 1:8), grace appears an exterior aid, not an interior presence, and faith has a content. Love is one virtue among many. There is an emphasis on civil "bourgeois" virtues—temperance, common sense, seriousness, integrity about money, fidelity, and respectability. In contrast, some scholars contend, Paul would have said "pride" is the root of all evil (Rom 7). "Mystery" becomes the Christian faith as a whole, not the saving action of God in Christ. Baptism appears to be a method of salvation (Titus 3:5). The heresy confronted seems similar to the Gnosticism of the second century, like Ignatius' Gnosticism, for example, where "suffering is only a semblance."³⁴

But how compelling are such objections? Even in Philippians 2:6, Jesus is in the "form" of God, while the "Son" is not used in the Letter to the Philippians. Further, the Spirit is, certainly, mentioned in the Pastorals: vindication in the Spirit, the Spirit says, guarded by the Holy Spirit,

```
31. Marxsen 1970: 214.
```

^{32.} Ign. Magn. 2; 6; also Trall. 2; 3.

^{33.} E.g., Hanson 1982: 2-3, 39-40.

^{34.} Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972: 3 citing Ign. Trall. 10.

and renewal by the Holy Spirit.³⁵ Both in Romans 7 and 1 Timothy 1 the law is good, but it is limited. Paul presents a powerful example of grace in 1 Timothy 1:12–16 and one mediator in 1 Timothy 2:5–6. Integrity about money is always a concern for Paul, for example, he disparages "*peddlers* of God's word" (2 Cor 2:17) and, similarly, godliness is not a means of gain (1 Tim 6:5). Pride is not the point of Romans 7. Rather, the point is Paul cannot do what he wants. The Pastorals have baptism allusions, as "washing of rebirth" (Titus 3:5). Even Dibelius and Conzelmann explain the author is not writing against Marcion.³⁶ Marxsen notes "we cannot identify [the heretics] with any of the familiar Gnostic systems."³⁷ Docetism is more a problem in 1 John, than in 1 Timothy.

Summary

The Pastoral Letters present us with overwhelming evidence that Paul is their author. Bernard explains that the Pastorals appear: "in Gaul and Greece in 177, in Rome in 140 (certainly)—as far back as 95, if we accept Clement's testimony—and in Asia as early as 116."³⁸ The letterheads themselves and the early church claim Paul as author and the Pastorals as part of the canon. The letters fit into Paul's life after his first release from prison. The Pastoral vocabulary is no less unusual than the rest of Paul's letters. Right teaching was always Paul's concern. He has the same basic faith in Jesus as always.

Nevertheless, these scholars have raised valuable questions: Can we box a person as bourgeois or prophetic? Do we really understand Paul? What is the place of the law? Where is the place of morality in the Christian life? When have we moved from concern for the salvation of others to concern for others' salvation of us? To what extent are Paul's practices examples to be copied as opposed to examples with underlying principles?

What difference does authorship make? If Paul the apostle sent from God did not write these letters, they are in reality advice from some unknown Christian. Consequently, Hanson spends much of his commentary positing "contradictions" between the Pastorals and Paul's

```
35. 1 Tim 3:16; 4:1; 2 Tim 1:14; Titus 3:5.
```

^{36.} Dibelius and Conzelmann 1972: 2; Marxsen 1970: 213.

^{37.} Marxsen 1970: 2.

^{38.} Bernard 1922: xx.

teachings. Linda M. Maloney agrees: "Clearly, the issue of the letters' *authority* is in some sense connected with their *authorship*." Their context would be second century developed Gnosticism and a church over one hundred years later. If Paul is not the author, who is? If we cannot trust when the author writes "Paul" and "Timothy," how can we trust the writer who says: "the one mediator between God and humankind, Christ Jesus, himself human, who gave himself a ransom for all" (1 Tim 2:5–6 NRSV)? And, why should we do what the letters say?

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

If, however, we trust the information given to us in the Pastoral Letters (as this author does) and assume Paul completed his plans, we may posit the following possible historical reconstruction:

- 1. Paul and Timothy leave Paul's house arrest in Rome (c. A.D. 61-62).40
- 2. Possibly, Paul may have traveled to *Spain* (Rom 15:24, 28), probably arriving at the central Roman port of Dertosa (Tortosa) (if not later after leaving Nicopolis, Achaia).
- 3. Paul and Titus travel to *Crete*. Paul leaves Titus behind (Titus 1:5). Possibly, Timothy had been in Crete as well or he went directly to Ephesus.
- 4. Paul and Timothy travel to *Ephesus*, Asia. Timothy remains (1 Tim 1:3).
- 5. Paul visits Colossae (Phlm 22).
- 6. Paul travels to *Philippi*, Macedonia, and probably writes Titus and 1 Timothy from Macedonia (Phil 2:24; 1 Tim 1:3).
- 7. Paul winters in *Nicopolis*, Achaia, where he meets Titus (Titus 3:12).
- 8. Paul visits *Corinth*, Achaia (2 Tim 4:20).
- 9. Paul meets Timothy in *Ephesus*, Asia (1 Tim 3:14; 4:13; 2 Tim 4:12).
- 10. Paul visits nearby *Miletus* (2 Tim 4:20).
- 11. Paul travels to the seaport *Troas*, Asia. He is not supported by Christians in Asia (2 Tim 1:15; 4:13–14).
 - 39. Maloney 1994: 362.
 - 40. Acts 28:14-31; Phil 1:1; 2:19, 23; Col 1:1; Phlm 1, 22.

12. Paul is arrested and incarcerated in *Rome*, where he will be joined by Timothy (c. A.D. 66) (2 Tim 1:8, 17; 4:6–8, 16, 21).⁴¹



41. Paul, of course, may have visited other places. See also Fee (1992: 4-5) for a similar reconstruction.