The History of Paul and Peter after Acts until their deaths in 67 AD Based on the Epistles written after the close of Acts

Luke's account in Acts takes us up to Paul's stay in Rome under house arrest awaiting his trial before Nero. That leaves us with the question: What does the Bible tell us about what happened to Paul and Peter between the close of Acts, and the end of their lives in 67 AD? I have found that we can fill out a substantial history of those two central characters of Acts from the other Books of the New Testament. These include the epistles of Paul which were written while he was in Rome awaiting trial: Colossians, Philemon, Philippians, and Ephesians. Also included are the epistles of Paul which written between the time he was acquitted by Caesar's court and his death. Those epistles were Hebrews, 2 Corinthians, Titus, 1 Timothy and 2 Timothy. For the last part of Peter's life our source also includes the epistles of Peter and the non-canonical letter of Clement to the Corinthians.

We know that during the two years that Paul was in his house in Rome, he wrote what are erroneously called the "Prison Epistles." The name is erroneous, because as we have seen, he was not in prison, just under guard, living in his own rented house. As we know, Paul arrived in Rome in the spring of 61 AD. To reconstruct what was happening, it is important to determine when those letters were written. Those Epistles were Colossians, Philemon, Philippians, and Ephesians.

Since Philemon is obviously a letter that was sent at the same time as Colossians, I will deal with Colossians/Philemon as being one issue. Colossians/Philemon, Philippians, and Ephesians, the prison epistles, were written between 61 AD and 63 AD from Rome. We know that they were sent from Rome during Paul's imprisonment there and while he was stilled chained to his guard (Acts 28:20), because of the following passages. Colossians - (Colossians 4:2, Philemon 1:13); Philippians – (Philippians 1:12-18); Ephesians – (Ephesians 6:20) All these passages refer to the restraint that Paul was under. We know that Paul was sent to Rome within months after the appointment of Festus as Governor in 60 AD. We also know that Paul's ship to Rome was off the coast of Crete after the Day of Atonement (called "the Fast" in Acts 27:9). That was October in 60 AD. After being wrecked in Malta. Paul spent the winter there and took ship for Italy (Acts 28:11) where he arrived in early March 61 AD. All three of the prison epistles were written during the next two years Paul was a prisoner in Rome (Acts 28:30).

The first question I will try to reason out, is, in what order were the Epistles written?

Traditionally, they seem to be placed in the order that they appear in our Bible – Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians. That order is clearly not chronological.

The key question in establishing the correct order is: Did Timothy arrive in Rome with Paul, or did he join him later?

There is no reason to believe that Timothy did not accompany Paul on his journey. We know from Acts that both Luke 1 and Aristarchus 2 did. Although no one else is specifically named,

we know from Paul's epistles that his entourage included many who were not named in the account in Acts. Titus for example is never mentioned in Acts, although he clearly accompanied Paul for most of the last ten years of his ministry. Therefore, there is absolutely no reason to believe that Timothy was not among Paul's friends who took care of his needs while he was in Caesarea (Acts 23:23) for two years, or among those who accompanied him on his trip to Rome. Evidently, Mark and Tychicus were on the trip as well.

If Timothy arrived at Rome with Paul, then it would seem that the Epistle to the Colossians and Philemon were written first. We know that those two letters were carried to Colosse by Tychicus (Colossians 4:7-8). He also carried the letter to the Ephesians (Ephesians 6:21).

This brings up two possibilities. Either Paul sent both the letters at the same time, or he sent Tychicus on two separate trips with the two letters. We can dispose of the first possibility because we can reasonably conclude that these two letters were not sent at the same time. We know that at the time Paul wrote Colossians Timothy was with Paul in Rome (Colossians 1:1). On the other hand, when Paul wrote Ephesians, Timothy, who the Ephesians knew well, was not mentioned. We can conclude that was because Timothy was absent. However, when Paul wrote Philippians, Timothy was also with Paul, but Paul revealed his plan to soon send him from Rome to Philippi (Philippians 2:19).

So Timothy was with Paul when he wrote Colossians and Philippians, but not there when he wrote Ephesians. These facts only work if Ephesians was written <u>after</u> Colossians and Philippians.

Also, we have the mention of Aristarchus in Colossians which argues for the placement of Colossians first. We know that Aristarchus arrived in Rome with Paul. In Colossians 4:10, Paul mentions Aristarchus. He is never mentioned as being with Paul in the other epistles. That suggests that he was absent during the other two. Since he arrived with Paul, the natural conclusion is that he had been with Paul during the first letter (Colossians) and then had been sent on some mission after that. He may have been sent back to his home in Macedonia, to accompany Epaphroditus back to Philippi (Philippians 2:28). Besides Aristarchus, we have the mention of Mark only in Colossians which also argues for Colossians first. Colossians tells us that Mark was on his way from Rome to parts east, and would pass through Colosse (Colossians 4:10). 1 Peter 5:13 tells us his ultimate destination was Babylon, where he joined Peter at that time.

This leaves the question of which was written first; Colossians or Philippians? Since Timothy was with Paul when he wrote Colossians, but was about to leave for Philippi when he wrote Philippians, it seems clear that <u>Colossians was written first of those two</u>.

My conclusion as to the date and place of the Prison Epistles:

¹ The extensive use of "we" in the description of the journey in Acts 27 and 28. 2 Acts 27:2.

Colossians – written from Rome in the middle of 61 AD.

Philemon – was clearly written to an individual who was part of the church at Colosse and the letter was sent with the Epistle to the Colossians therefore it was written from Rome in the middle of 61 AD.

Philippians – written from Rome early in 62 AD.

Ephesians – written from Rome middle of 62 AD

In order to get a handle on the rest of Paul's life, we have to correct two other common errors propagated about two of Paul's epistles of the New Testament.

The first error is that someone other that Paul wrote Hebrews.

The second error is that 2 Corinthians was written in 57 AD, shortly after he wrote 1 Corinthians. The truth is that it was written about 65 AD, after Paul's trip to Rome for his trial before Caesar.

Hebrews was written by Paul:

For the first centuries of the Church, Hebrews was universally regarded as having been written by Paul. However, in about the fourth century AD, some started questioning the Pauline authorship of Hebrews because its style was so different from Paul's other letters. Also, there was the fact that, unlike Paul's other letters, his name was not signed to it. Of course, a number of other New Testament books are unsigned, including, Matthew, Mark, John, 1 John, 2 John, and 3 John.

Although the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews is unattributed by the epistle itself, it is my firm opinion that the book was written by the Apostle Paul just after his first Roman imprisonment in 63 AD and not long after the death of James and the leaders of the Jerusalem church. Hebrews 13:23-24 makes it clear that the author of the book was, or had been in Italy and was a friend of Timothy:

Hebrews 13:23-24 "I want you to know that our brother <u>Timothy</u> has been released. If he arrives soon, I will come with him to see you. Greet all your leaders and all God's people. Those from <u>Italy</u> send you their greetings."

We know from Acts and the Epistles of Paul that Timothy had been Paul's right-hand man for fifteen years. We know from Acts that Paul had been imprisoned in Italy. We know that the bond between the two was never broken until Paul's death in 67 AD (1 Timothy and 2 Timothy). We can be fairly certain that the proposed visit of Timothy and the author (Paul), to the Hebrews in Judea, was planned before the outbreak of the Jewish rebellion in 66 AD because the church abandoned Jerusalem in the early part of that year. If the Timothy mentioned in Hebrews is Paul's Timothy, there is little chance that he would have been associated with anyone but Paul before Paul's death.

Also, the subject of Hebrews is very similar to Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Like Romans it tried to explain how the Old Covenant, as great as it was, had been superseded by a superior way of life and faith. Like Romans, it has a heavy infusion of quotations from the Old Testament. Romans has 58 quotations from the OT, Hebrews has 40. Near the end of the letter to the Romans (Romans 15:23-32) Paul recorded his determination to go to Jerusalem. With his knowledge of Jewish scripture and his history as a Pharisee who had persecuted the way of Christ, he seemed to feel that he, personally, could turn the Jews away from the course of destruction on which they were bent. He was very passionate about what he would do to save the Jews from their own folly:

Romans 9:1-4a "I speak the truth in Christ--I am not lying, my conscience confirms it in the Holy Spirit-- I have great sorrow and unceasing anguish in my heart. For I could wish that I myself were under a curse by (ἀνάθεμα εἶναι ἀπὸ) Christ for the sake of my brothers, those of my own race, the people of Israel."

Although there are many that agree that Paul was the author of Hebrews, most of those that disagree base their opinion on the fact that the literary style of Paul's epistles and the Epistle to the Hebrews was different. Two such widely different styles could not emanate from the same writer, they argue. Granting that there is a noticeably different style in Hebrews from all of Paul's writing, I long ago decided that there was a plausible explanation why there are two different styles, but one author. I concluded that Hebrews was originally written in Aramaic 3 like the Books of Matthew and James (both also aimed at the Hebrews). There is no reason, why the writer would appeal to the Jews in a language that would aggravate them from the start. It would not have been understandable to many of its recipients if written in Greek. Also, as a last attempt to appeal to the Hebrews before the destruction of the Temple worship, it would have been needlessly offensive. If the book was written in Aramaic, the differences in the two languages and cultures would dictate widely different styles. As an example compare the Jewish language of the Old Testament to the Greek of the New Testament. The Old Testament is unquestionably more poetic.

After I had come to the above conclusion I was gratified to find that my view had also been subscribed to long before, by Theodoretus, an early 5th Century Christian (393-454 AD), who was the Bishop of Cyprus from Antioch, Syria. He wrote about the time the controversy first arose. He said:

"To be sure, since Paul was writing to Hebrews and was in disrepute among them he may have omitted his name from the salvation on this account. He being a Hebrew wrote Hebrew, that is his own tongue and most fluently while the things which were eloquently written in Hebrew were more eloquently turned into Greek and this is the reason why it seems to differ from other epistles of Paul."

³ Aramaic was the dialect of Hebrew spoken in Christ's and Paul's day.

So why didn't Paul sign the letter? Probably, as Theodoretus also concluded, because he knew his name would arouse such controversy among the very people he was trying to enlighten! He didn't want them to tune out before he had made his point! Acts 21 details how most of them were already prejudiced against Paul:

Acts 21:20b-21 "Then they said to Paul: 'You see, brother, how many thousands of Jews have believed, and all of them are zealous for the law. They have been informed that you teach all the Jews who live among the Gentiles to turn away from Moses, telling them not to circumcise their children or live according to our customs."

In that light, we have to note that the author of Hebrews gives the only personal information by which he might be identified as Paul ("I want you to know that our brother Timothy has been released") in the last two verses of the letter.

We also know that Hebrews was written from Italy because Hebrews 13:24 so indicates, "Those from Italy send you their greetings." Since Paul expressed the liberty to travel (Hebrews 13:23), we have to believe that he was free from prison. We also know that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple in 70 AD because Hebrews 8:5 tells us the Temple was still being used. We know that, in fact it had to have been written before 66 AD because of the Jewish rebellion. The only other time Paul could have been in Italy than on his release from his first imprisonment was just before, or as a consequence of his second and final imprisonment. But in Hebrews, Paul was waiting in Italy for Timothy to arrive after being released from prison somewhere else (probably Philippi). During Paul's second Roman imprisonment Timothy was ministering in Ephesus and was free to travel (2 Timothy 4:11,21). My conclusion is that Hebrews was undoubtedly written by Paul, and the year was 63 AD, just after the end of Paul's first Roman imprisonment, and just after the killing of James (the Lord's brother, and most of the leaders of the church in Jerusalem. This sets the tone for much of what Hebrews has to say.

Date of 2 Corinthians:

For many years I unhesitatingly subscribed to the popular view that 2 Corinthians was written within a year, or two at most, of the First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians and was written during the period, described in Acts 20:1-2, just after Paul left Ephesus and was travelling through Macedonia. The consensus is that this was about 57-58 AD. A few years ago, I innocently decided to prepare some footnotes for 2 Corinthians. As I wrote down the conventional wisdom about the chronology of 2 Corinthians, and tried to defend it, I became acutely aware that I couldn't.

First, I read Luke's description of events in Acts 19. Then I compared it with Paul's description in 2 Corinthians of what (according to the conventional wisdom) was supposedly the same time. There were far too many inconsistencies to reconcile. Chapter 1 of 2 Corinthians described Paul in Asia as a man who was in daily and imminent danger of death, yet Acts 19 described Paul in

Asia as a man who was preaching openly in the same public theatre in Ephesus every day for two years.

Second, I read the passages in 2 Corinthians 12:14 and 13:1. They stated that Paul would be coming a third time to the Corinthians. This was also troubling. Prior to Acts 20, Acts only records one visit to Corinth, not two. I was familiar with the argument made by theologians that Paul had made an unrecorded whirlwind visit to Corinth from Ephesus after writing 1 Corinthians. However, when I reviewed some of the arguments by the commentators who supported this view, one of their statements stuck in my mind. They said that since there were only two recorded visits by Paul to Corinth, therefore an unrecorded visit to Corinth must have been before the visit of Acts 20:1. This argument implied that their chronology was an established fact. I also remembered from recent studies that the statement that they were only two recorded visits by Paul to Corinth was definitely inaccurate. There was a later visit by Paul to Corinth, recorded in 2 Timothy 4:20. There, Paul told Timothy that "Erastus stayed in Corinth." If Erastus staved in Corinth, then Paul went on from Corinth about the time of 2 Timothy. Virtually everyone agrees that 2 Timothy was written in about 65-66 AD and certainly describes the events of the last year of Paul's life. This called into question the scholarship of those commentators.

Third, in 2 Corinthians 11:25 Paul says that, as of that writing, he had been shipwrecked three times. Luke, who was very meticulous in recording Paul's journeys, did not record a single shipwreck before the wreck on Malta which we studied in Acts 20. We also know from Acts, that before Luke took up his detailed account of Paul's journeys in 47 AD, Paul was in a landlocked environment where he could not possibly have been in one shipwreck, let alone three!

As someone who believes in the inerrancy of Scripture, I immediately get nervous about any interpretation of one scripture which seems to call into question the accuracy of other scripture. The dating of 2 Corinthians in 57-58 AD seemed to me to do this for the accuracy of Acts. I therefore had to ask myself if this dating was wrong, or Acts was inaccurate. As a result I looked at the possibility that 2 Corinthians was actually written in about 65 AD after Paul's first Roman imprisonment and after the narrative of Acts had ceased. If so, Paul's first visit to Corinth was the one in about 52 AD described in Acts 18, the visit described in Acts 20 was his second, and the visit described in 2 Corinthians was his third! If so, there was no inaccuracy in Acts which left out a visit to Corinth. Also, if 2 Corinthians was written in 65 AD, Paul's first shipwreck was the one on the island of Malta, recorded in Acts 27. The subsequent two occurred in the three years after Paul's release from prison. That narrative admits no inaccuracy in Acts which left out three shipwrecks. So the dating of 2 Corinthians in 65 AD solved a lot of problems.

However, if this was so, then it makes an important change to the date of writing by seven or eight years, and the whole context of 2 Corinthians as well. It would mean that 2 Corinthians

was a window into the last years of Paul's life and ministry. These years are also dealt with in First and Second Timothy, which reveal a level of persecution and suffering consistent with that revealed in 2 Corinthians.

In my opinion, the three reasons I have given *against* the dating of 57-58 AD for 2 Corinthians are conclusive.

There is yet another argument to be made for dating 2 Corinthians in 65 AD. Read the passage in 2 Corinthians:

2 Corinthians 12:1-7"I must go on boasting. Although there is nothing to be gained, I will go on to visions and revelations from the Lord. I know a man in Christ who fourteen years ago was caught up to the third heaven. Whether it was in the body or out of the body I do not know—God knows. And I know that this man—whether in the body or apart from the body I do not know, but God knows-- was caught up to paradise. He heard inexpressible things, things that man is not permitted to tell. I will boast about a man like that, but I will not boast about myself, except about my weaknesses. Even if I should choose to boast, I would not be a fool, because I would be speaking the truth. But I refrain, so no one will think more of me than is warranted by what I do or say. To keep me from becoming conceited because of these surpassingly great revelations, there was given me a thorn in my flesh, a messenger of Satan, to torment me."

If we date this episode back 14 years from a time of writing of 65 AD, it places it in 51 AD, during Paul's second missionary journey, when he was visiting Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea and Athens. This passage speaks of two things that happened at that time, a vision and a thorn in the flesh. During that time, Acts says that Paul had the only two visions recorded in Acts, other than at his conversion (Acts 16:9-10, 18:9-10). Also at that time Paul first records his unique prophecy of the Rapture of the Church (2 Thessalonians 4:16-17, later repeated in 1 Corinthians 15:51-53), probably first revealed in this vision.4 It was also about this time that he started mentioning in his letters, the fact that he was having trouble writing. In 1 Thessalonians, he mentioned no problem, in Galatians, he says his whole letter is written in a large letter (Galatians 6:11). It may well be that this was a resurgence of the illness, which seemed to have afflicted his eyes, which he contracted when he was in Galatia (Galatians 4:13-15). By the time he wrote 2 Thessalonians, he could only sign the letter (2 Thessalonians 3:17). This well may have been the thorn in the flesh. It certainly appeared at the right time, if 2 Corinthians was written in 65 AD.

My unshakeable conclusion is that Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians was written about 65 AD after his first Roman imprisonment!

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⁴ In fact in 1 Thessalonians 4:15 Paul states that this was according to the Lord's own word. It is not recorded in the Gospels or anywhere else. How could Paul state this except that it was what Paul heard the Lord say in his vision?

If we put 2 Corinthians in 65 AD, that means that Paul made at least two visits to Macedonia after his 1st Roman imprisonment. The first time was when he wrote 2 Corinthians from Macedonia regarding his upcoming visit to Corinth. During that visit, Timothy was with him.

2 Corinthians 1:1 "Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God, and <u>Timothy our brother</u>, To the church of God in Corinth, together with all the saints throughout Achaia."

The second time he visited Macedonia after his 1st Roman imprisonment was when he wrote 1 Timothy. At that time Timothy was in Ephesus.

1 Timothy 1:3 "As I urged you when I went into Macedonia, <u>stay there in Ephesus</u> so that you may command certain men not to teach false doctrines any longer."

If Paul visited Macedonia twice, he also visited Ephesus twice. The first time was when he went from there to Troas on the way to Macedonia to write 2 Corinthians, and the second time was when he left Timothy there prior to writing 1 Timothy. This allowed me to develop a scenario for Paul's last missionary journey based on the facts we have in 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus, 2 Corinthians, and Hebrews. This then is my scenario for Paul's last years.

The Last Years of Paul

62-63 AD

Paul was released from prison in Rome. It is possible, though not likely, that at this time Paul went to Spain for a short trip. Paul wrote Hebrews from Italy (Hebrews 13:24). Timothy had been imprisoned (possibly in Philippi 5 where Paul had sent him).6 (Hebrews 13:23) Paul wrote Hebrews and sent it to Judea stating his intention to visit.7 Timothy was released and rejoined Paul. We know that he had indicated to Philemon that he intended to visit him in Colossae after his first imprisonment,8 and he had also indicated that he planned to visit the Philippians.9 So we know that after Paul's release he intended to visit Philippi, Colossae, and Judea. We have no

⁵ Indeed, Paul comments on the persecution which the Philippians are undergoing which seems to include imprisonment. **Philippians 1:29-30** "For it has been granted to you on behalf of Christ not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for him, since you are going through the same struggle you saw I had, and now hear that I still have.

⁶ Philippians 2:19-24 I hope in the Lord Jesus to send Timothy to you soon, that I also may be cheered when I receive news about you. I have no one else like him, who takes a genuine interest in your welfare. For everyone looks out for his own interests, not those of Jesus Christ. But you know that Timothy has proved himself, because as a son with his father he has served with me in the work of the gospel. I hope, therefore, to send him as soon as I see how things go with me. And I am confident in the Lord that I myself will come soon."

⁷ Hebrews 13:23b "If he arrives soon, I will come with him to see you."

⁸ Philemon 1:22 "And one thing more: Prepare a guest room for me, because I hope to be restored to you in answer to your prayers."

⁹ Philippians 2:24 "And I am confident in the Lord that I myself will come soon."

concrete reason to suppose that Paul failed to fulfill those intentions. I propose that Paul left Italy with Timothy, and then attempted to go back to Judea. According to Josephus, James and the elders of the Church had been arrested and murdered just before that time. It may have been at this time that Paul was shipwrecked and spent a day and a night on the open sea (2 Cor. 11:25). Finally persuaded that God didn't want him back in Judea, he then came back to Ephesus in Asia, possibly by way of Antioch, Tarsus and Colossae.

64 AD

Ephesus was not a safe place for Paul at this time. It is possible that by this time Paul was again a wanted man, only this time, by Nero and the Roman state. Nero had burned Rome and begun persecuting the Christians as convenient scapegoats. Alexander the metal worker 10 made it his personal mission to see that Paul was arrested. Paul sent Titus to Corinth, on what was expected to be a short mission, with a letter and instructions to meet him at Troas where a door had been opened for the gospel. Paul and Timothy went to Troas and preached the gospel. Titus was not there as expected and didn't show up. Paul was worried about the Corinthians. Paul left his cloak and scrolls in Troas. Somewhere during the voyages from Italy to Judea to Asia to Troas to Macedonia, Paul was shipwrecked again.

65 AD

Paul and Timothy went to Macedonia and met Titus. Paul wrote 2 Corinthians describing much of what had happened the previous two years. They gathered the offering for the saints in Judea. Paul, Timothy and Titus went to Corinth as promised and gathered the offering for Judea from the Corinthians. Paul, and Titus went to Crete where Paul preached and left Titus to organize the fledgling church. (Titus 1:5) Paul and Timothy possibly may have tried to take the offering to Judea themselves as it was their original intent. However, Judea was even more dangerous for Paul at that time, so they may have sent it by a third party.

66 AD

Paul and Timothy arrived back in Ephesus. Paul left Timothy there. Paul went to Macedonia by way of Miletus. He had to bypass Troas for some reason (perhaps wind and weather at sea) and thus could not retrieve his cloak and scroll. Paul wrote 1 Timothy and told him these details as well as his intention to eventually return to Ephesus to rejoin him. (1 Timothy 4:13). Paul went to Corinth. Paul wrote his Epistle to Titus and sent Apollos to Crete with instructions to Titus to meet Paul in Nicopolis (Dalmatia). Paul went to the church at Nicopolis and met Titus there.

67 AD

Paul returned to Rome. He probably went voluntarily to Rome and was arrested there. This time there was no house arrest. He was imprisoned in a cell in the Mamertine Prison near the Roman Forum. Titus had been with him but returned to Dalmatia to minister to the church there. Paul wrote 2 Timothy and asked Timothy to come to him and bring Mark. Luke was still with him at that time. Whether or not he was imprisoned with Paul is not specified. We know that Mark and

¹⁰ Acts 19:33-34, also 2 Timothy 4:14 "Alexander the metalworker did me a great deal of harm. The Lord will repay him for what he has done."

Peter had been traveling together in Asia. It seems probable that they both came to Rome in response to Paul's letter. Paul was executed. Within the year Peter was also executed in Rome.

The Last Years of Peter

The last we heard of Peter in Acts was in 51 AD at the Council of Jerusalem. Paul gave his account of meeting with Peter, John, and James at that time (Galatians 2:9). Shortly after that Council we have Paul's account of Peter in Antioch, where at first he associated with the Gentiles, but later separated himself from them to avoid offending the Jews. Paul criticized him for it to his face (Galatians 2:11-21). This was the first time we saw Peter outside of the area of Judea and Samaria. The next time we saw Peter was in 1 Peter, probably about 61 or 62 AD. We get this date, because by that time Mark was with him (1 Peter 5:13), having completed his journey described by Paul in Colossians 4:10, which was written in 61 AD. This seems to indicate that from Antioch, about 52 AD, Peter had travelled east, through the areas where millions of dispersed Jews still lived, having never returned from the Babylonian captivity. He seemed to have been among them for almost ten years. We know from history that, like in Judea, the hearts of the Jews in Babylon, were for the most part hardened against the Gospel. By the time Peter wrote his first epistle, he wrote it, not to Jews, but to mainly Gentile churches in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia (1 Peter 1:1). By the time he wrote 2 Peter, he seems to have moved from Babylon and was personally ministering to those same areas, as in 2 Peter, he calls them "his friends." When Paul, wrote to Timothy in Ephesus to contact Mark, he must have known that Mark was no longer in Babylon, but nearby, in Asia Minor with Peter. We have the testimony of Clement from late in the 1st Century that Peter died in Rome. We know from John's testimony in John 21:18-19 that he died a martyr's death. I can only suppose that when Timothy contacted Mark with Paul's request to come to him in Rome, Mark's mentor Peter decided to come with him. He was killed in the last year of Nero, in the same year as Paul. Tradition says he insisted on being crucified upside down, because he wasn't worthy to die in the same way as His Lord.

