

# ADALYA

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SUNA-İNAN KIRAÇ AKDENİZ MEDENİYETLERİ ARAŞTIRMA ENSTİTÜSÜ  
SUNA & İNAN KIRAÇ RESEARCH INSTITUTE ON MEDITERRANEAN CIVILIZATIONS

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THE ANNUAL OF THE SUNA & İNAN KIRAÇ RESEARCH INSTITUTE ON MEDITERRANEAN CIVILIZATIONS

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## Saint Paul in Pamphylia: Intention, Arrival, Departure

Mark WILSON\*

### Introduction

In 2000 D. A. Campbell published a critical note on Paul's visits in Pamphylia mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (henceforth Acts) chapters 13 and 14<sup>1</sup>. The present article builds on Campbell's observations to address several outstanding questions regarding Paul's visits to Pamphylia and to highlight several new archaeological discoveries either not mentioned by Campbell or found since then. But did such a journey even happen? Murphy O'Connor is representative of scholars who dismiss the journey as a Lukan creation: "A close analysis of this account brings to light so many improbabilities that it becomes impossible to accord it any real confidence"<sup>2</sup>. However, most scholars do not take such a negative approach in dealing with the account of Luke, the traditional author. Speaking positively about the text, Campbell concluded that Paul's two visits to Pamphylia, although seeming initially a bit puzzling, are "*deliberately asymmetrical, and it is this that betrays their almost certain accuracy in historical terms*" (his italics)<sup>3</sup>. This article will examine three dimensions related to Paul coming to Pamphylia: 1) whether it was intended, 2) where it happened, and 3) the circumstances of departure. Paul's arrival is mentioned in Acts 13:13: "Putting out to sea from Paphos, Paul and his companions arrived at Perga of Pamphylia" (Gr. Ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Πάφου οἱ περὶ Παῦλον ἦλθον εἰς Πέργην τῆς Παμφυλίας)<sup>4</sup>.

### Intention

The genesis of the first journey originated in Antioch on the Orontes where Paul (still Saul in the Acts narrative) and Barnabas were sent forth by the prophets, teachers, and local Christians to the ministry work to which they had been called<sup>5</sup>. The two were joined by John Mark, the cousin of Barnabas, who was to serve as their helper<sup>6</sup>. The group's first stop was Salamis, the

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<sup>1</sup> Campbell 2000.

<sup>2</sup> Murphy-O'Connor 2004, 44. This assessment is surprising given the statement that Murphy O'Connor, 1996, 96 n. 124, made earlier about the journey: "Thus there is a definite historical basis to Luke's account in Acts 13-14".

<sup>3</sup> Campbell 2000, 595.

<sup>4</sup> All translations are my own. The Latin spelling of the city's name, used in all English translations of the Bible, is utilised, although most other historical and archaeological texts use the Greek spelling Perge. The spelling of Attalia is similar. The site of Perga today is north of Aksu, and Attalia is the Kaleiçi area of Antalya.

<sup>5</sup> Acts 13:1-4.

<sup>6</sup> Colossians 4:10; Acts 13:5.

former capital of Cyprus located on the north-eastern coast of the island. Salamis is regarded as the traditional home of Barnabas, so their initial activity was in Jewish synagogues where Barnabas was already known<sup>7</sup>. The three then proceeded on the Roman road that ran along the island's southern coast arriving at the Roman provincial capital of Paphos<sup>8</sup>. The intention of Paul and Barnabas clearly was to begin their activity in Cyprus, particularly in its two major cities. But were Pamphylia and Galatia also a part of the original plan?

Scholars are divided into two camps whether the apostles intended to visit Pamphylia and points farther north in Galatia – it was either planned or unplanned. The former contend that Paul and Barnabas had Asia Minor in mind before their departure from Antioch. Ramsay espouses this position: “There seems no doubt that the plan of work for the missionaries, probably sketched out even before they started from Syrian Antioch (Acts 13:2), must have contemplated the evangelization of Pamphylia next after Cyprus”<sup>9</sup>. However, the reasons suggested for targeting this region have been varied. Alford, quoting Strabo, noted that the inhabitants of Pamphylia were nearly allied in character to those of Cilicia, Paul's home region. He concluded that “it may have been Paul's design, having already preached to his own province, to extend the Gospel of Christ to the neighbouring people”<sup>10</sup>. Allen refined this observation suggesting that Paul confined his work within the limits of Roman administration, so by “preaching in South Galatia, St Paul was evangelizing the Roman province next in order to his native province of Cilicia, in which there were already Christian churches”<sup>11</sup>. Allen fails to explain, however, why Paul took such a roundabout route to the cities of Galatia when a more direct route was available. Conybeare and Howson suggest three additional reasons for the Pamphylian-Galatian mission: 1) the natives of these comparatively unsophisticated districts would be more likely to receive the message of salvation than those more exposed to the corruption of Greco-Roman civilization, 2) preaching among the Jews and God-fearers living beyond the Taurus might successfully advance the gospel, and 3) Paul may have had a direct revelation or vision that directed this stage of the journey<sup>12</sup>. A century of further research has revealed that the residents of cities such as Pisidian Antioch and Iconium were not unsophisticated but had been thoroughly Hellenized, and many were Roman colonists<sup>13</sup>. The second is a certain motivation for the trip's occurrence, while the third suggestions of a possible special revelation will be discussed later. Nevertheless, commentators such as Farrar remain ambivalent about the intention of the apostles: “Whether they chose Perga as their destination in accordance with any preconceived plan, or whether it was part of ‘God's unseen Providence nicknamed by men chance,’ we do not know”<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> Acts 4:36 states that Barnabas was from Cyprus. For his place of birth there, see Karageorghis 1969, 18. According to the Acts of Barnabas 23, Barnabas was martyred in Salamis.

<sup>8</sup> Acts 13: 8; Wilson 2013, 499.

<sup>9</sup> Ramsay 1902a, 659. Ramsay 2001, 85, elaborates further: “And the conclusion has sometimes been drawn hastily that Pamphylia had never been contemplated as a mission field, and was merely traversed because it lay between Cyprus and Antioch. But the plain force of the words must be accepted here, for it lies in the situation that Pamphylia was the natural continuation of the work that had been going on, first in Syria and Cilicia for many years and next in Cyprus”.

<sup>10</sup> Alford 1876, 144; Strabo, Geogr. 12.7.2.

<sup>11</sup> Allen 1962, 12.

<sup>12</sup> Conybeare – Howson 1856, 2.126-127. Bruce 1997, 160, similarly suggested that Paul “may have already have seen in his mind's eye the possibilities which Asia Minor presented for gospel penetration and expansion”.

<sup>13</sup> For Pisidian Antioch see Mitchell – Waelkens 1998, 5-10.

<sup>14</sup> Farrar 1893, 1.357.

This consensus existed until 1980 when a Roman historian, not a biblical scholar, advanced an alternative hypothesis that the visit was unplanned. S. Mitchell, building on his research in Galatia, was the first to suggest that it is “virtually certain that the proconsul himself advised Paul to continue his journey to Pisidian Antioch, where he could provide introductions to the upper class of the Roman colony”. However, Luke “failed to spell out the real incentive that carried the mission inland from the coast: Sergius Paullus”<sup>15</sup>. The proconsul is known from at least two inscriptions: CIL vi. 31545 names him as third of five curators for the river Tiber; CIL vi. 253 names him as a consul in Rome around A.D. 70<sup>16</sup>. At Paphos the direction of the journey took an unexpected turn<sup>17</sup>. After the dramatic blinding of a Jewish sorcerer and false prophet named Bar-Jesus, the proconsul Sergius Paulus believed in Paul’s gospel when he saw this miracle<sup>18</sup>. Mitchell therefore suggests that “the move from Paphos to Pisidian Antioch was determined in large measure by the fact that Antioch was Sergius Paullus’ *patria*. We can hardly avoid the conclusion that the proconsul himself had suggested to Paul that he make it his next port of call, no doubt providing him with letters of introduction to aid his passage and his stay”<sup>19</sup>. Inscriptional evidence found at modern Yalvaç names his son, who later was an influential senator in Pisidian Antioch, and his daughter who was linked with L. Calpurnius Paullus, organizer of the first gladiatorial performance at Antioch<sup>20</sup>. Adopting Mitchell’s suggestion, R. L. Fox in his influential *Pagans and Christians* wrote: “The contact with Sergius Paulus is the key to the subsequent itinerary of the first missionary journey” concluding, “The author of Acts saw only the impulse of the Holy Spirit, but Christianity entered Roman Asia [sic] on advice from the highest society”<sup>21</sup>. What pneumatological impulse related this decision that Fox is referring to is unclear, unless he is thinking of the description of Paul as “filled with the Spirit”<sup>22</sup>. But he rightly points out how a connection with the Roman governor facilitated the gospel’s spread to Asia Minor.

Ramsay, seemingly anticipating such a view, stated: “It seems irrational to suppose either that the plan of proceeding to Antioch was formed at Paphos or that John acquiesced in that plan until he reached Pamphylia and then abandoned the work (Acts 13)”<sup>23</sup>. Stanton represents those New Testament scholars who remain unconvinced by Mitchell’s hypothesis and believes that “this theory rests on little more than disciplined imagination”<sup>24</sup>. Peterson, however, allows that “it is possible that he (Sergius Paulus) influenced Paul and Barnabas to go there first”<sup>25</sup>. Rothschild also echoes this sentiment writing that “after Paul converts Sergius to Christianity,

<sup>15</sup> Mitchell 1980, 1073-1074, 1074, n. 134; Mitchell 1993, 2.6.

<sup>16</sup> These inscriptions point to a senator from Pisidian Antioch involved in the *cursus honorum*. Regarding the latter inscription, Mitchell 1993, 2.6, states that the *consul suffectus* inscription of 70 “may confidently be identified with the Claudian senator”. Twelftree 2013, 246-247, exemplifies New Testament scholars who doubt Luke’s account by stating that “attempts to verify Sergius Paulus as the proconsul of Cyprus at the time have not been successful”. This negative assessment is countered by Mitchell’s acceptance of the account in Acts 13 as likely.

<sup>17</sup> Davis 2012, 416-422, based on his extensive experience in Cyprus as the former director of ASOR’s centre in Nicosia and present excavator at Kourion, provides some important insights on Paphos. However, this author does not agree with Davis’s assessment that Paul was “out of his comfort zone” in this Roman city.

<sup>18</sup> Acts 13:11-12.

<sup>19</sup> Mitchell 1993, 2.7.

<sup>20</sup> It was formerly believed that Sergia Paulla was married to C. Caristianus Fronto; see the sidebar in Ramsay 2001, 76. But T. Drew-Bear has now demonstrated that this was not the case; see Mitchell – Waelkens 1998, 17, n. 59.

<sup>21</sup> Fox 1987, 293, 294, acknowledges that Mitchell’s 1980 article was the source for his suggestion.

<sup>22</sup> Acts 13:9; Gr. πλησθεῖς πνεύματος ἁγίου.

<sup>23</sup> Ramsay 1902a, 659.

<sup>24</sup> Stanton 2004, 37.

<sup>25</sup> Peterson 2009, 385, bases his observation on comments made by Witherington 1998a, 403-404, who quotes Fox.

perhaps Sergius commissioned him to visit his home city"<sup>26</sup>. The original destination of the first journey is never given, although this author is persuaded it was the North African cities of Alexandria and Cyrene<sup>27</sup>.

At this point the apostolic party turned northward to make their first landing in Pamphylia. Witherington observes understatedly that this was "not necessarily the most obvious choice for the next place to evangelize"<sup>28</sup>. An ongoing theme in the book of Acts is divine direction, evident especially in Paul's second journey in Asia Minor<sup>29</sup>. But here in the first journey there is likewise evidence of a providential change of plans, although this is unstated by Luke.

The involvement of Sergius Paulus in the new itinerary possibly entailed several things. Undoubtedly, he gave Paul and Barnabas a letter of introduction to the leaders of the Roman colony in Pisidian Antioch. Second, he might have provided transportation to the Pamphylian coast. Sea travel between Cyprus and southern Asia Minor was common in antiquity<sup>30</sup>. Undoubtedly the Roman governor of Cyprus had naval vessels at his disposal for official use. Such ships would make periodic voyages to Perga, Pamphylia's main city, for supplies and official correspondence. The Roman governor might have authorized the three to travel on such an official trip. A further possibility is that the governor provided an escort to Pisidian Antioch who made contact along the way in the Roman colony of Comama and with Italian colonists in Apollonia<sup>31</sup>. This strengthens the view that the apostles took the Via Sebaste from Perga at least for the inbound portion of the journey – the verdict of Mitchell and French – which is contrary to the route depicted in all Bible atlases of the first journey<sup>32</sup>. In conclusion, it is important to emphasise that Pamphylia was *not* the goal of the party; rather it was the inland Roman colony of Pisidian Antioch<sup>33</sup>.

## Arrival

Where did the apostolic party arrive in Pamphylia? Writing in 1934, Lake and Cadbury observed that "the problem is as unimportant as it is insoluble"<sup>34</sup>. Nevertheless, it would seem prudent to examine whether any archaeological discoveries have been made in the eighty years since their dismissive statement that might shed more light on this question. Keener notes rightly: "Perga was the appropriate goal if they wished to reach the Via Sebaste for travel into the inland highlands..."<sup>35</sup>. To reach Perga, two primary landing points in Pamphylia have been proposed; this article suggests a third. These are Attalia, the river port of Perga on the Cestrus River, and Magydus, the seaport of Perga (Fig. 1)<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Rothschild 2012, 345, n. 38.

<sup>27</sup> Davis – Wilson forthcoming.

<sup>28</sup> Witherington 1998a, 403.

<sup>29</sup> Wilson 2005, 79-94.

<sup>30</sup> For example, Appian, *Mith.* 19 (94-95), stated that Pompey appointed Metellus Nepos as a lieutenant-general with a command of ships and crews over the regions of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cyprus, which suggests a connective link among these regions.

<sup>31</sup> Mitchell 1976, 116-117, mentions the importance of the Latin speakers in these cities and their significant influence in the region.

<sup>32</sup> Wilson 2009, 476-483.

<sup>33</sup> Polhill 1992, 296, similarly observes that "Perga seems to have been only a stopping place on their journey".

<sup>34</sup> Lake – Cadbury 1934, 4.147.

<sup>35</sup> Keener 2012, 210.

<sup>36</sup> Fairchild 2013, 54, comments, "Whether they landed at Magydos or Attalia on their journey from Cyprus or at one of the other major Anatolian seaports closer to Cyprus—Side, Korakesion or Anamurium—is unclear. If they landed

## Landing at Attalia?

Luke specifically mentions Attalia (Fig. 2) as Paul and Barnabas' port of departure at the end of the first journey: "After speaking the word in Perga, they went down to Attalia. From there they sailed to Antioch"<sup>37</sup>. A road connected the two cities that largely paralleled the modern highway between Antalya and Aksu. Recent excavations at Doğu Garajı have discovered several roads including the ruts of one that ran north-east to south-west through Attalia's necropolis. Tosun concludes: "The roads extend over many tombs, thus, they must have been built at a later date than the tombs"<sup>38</sup>. Since roads approaching an ancient city often passed through its necropolis (e.g., Perga and Hierapolis<sup>39</sup>), it is likely that the road approaching Attalia also passed through its necropolis. Entrance to the city was through the Hellenistic gate (Üç Kapılar) renovated in A.D. 130 to commemorate the emperor Hadrian's visit.

Over a century ago Farrar suggested that the apostles first sailed into the deep bight of Attalia and then up the broad and navigable Cestrus River anchoring "under the cliffs, which were crowned by the bright Greek city and the marble pillars of its celebrated Temple of Artemis"<sup>40</sup>. From this fanciful description it is clear Farrar had never visited Pamphylia. The Cestrus River does not flow inland from Attalia nor does it flow near Perga's acropolis, and the site of the temple of Artemis Pergaia has still not been located. Although Attalia is not mentioned as the port of arrival, Lake and Cadbury think that "the most natural hypothesis is that they landed at Attalia"<sup>41</sup>. Schnabel concurs: "From Paphos they sailed to Attaleia...the port of western Pamphylia"<sup>42</sup>. These scholars assume that the ports of arrival and departure are identical and that the mention of their arrival at Attalia has been omitted in the interest of brevity<sup>43</sup>. While Luke does fail to name ports related to major cities several times in Acts, this is not the reason for the omission here<sup>44</sup>.

If the apostolic party landed in Attalia, why did they then have to make the 16 km. trip to Perga<sup>45</sup>? Schnabel explains, "It is as good as certain that the Via Sebaste reached the

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at one of these seaports, they either walked the coastal road to Side, whereupon the road led inland directly to Perga, or they took a smaller ship from one of these ports to the mouth of the Kestros River". Two things are problematic with this statement: first, Korakesion and Anamurium were not in Pamphylia but in Rough Cilicia; second, Luke is very specific about which port the three sailed to – Perga of Pamphylia (Acts 13:13). Bruce 1997, 162, likewise suggested the Pamphylian city of Side as their port of landing. However, Side was approximately 64 km. down the coast from Perga and thus an unlikely landing point.

<sup>37</sup> Acts 14:25–26; Gr. και λαλήσαντες ἐν Πέργῃ τὸν λόγον κατέβησαν εἰς Ἀττάλειαν, κάκειθεν ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν.

<sup>38</sup> Tosun 2010, 178-179, fig. 7 shows the rutted road. Tosun 2011, 225 plan 1, shows the necropolis with the road running through it.

<sup>39</sup> For Perga see Abbasoğlu 2001, 173; for Hierapolis see D'Andria 2003, 37, also fig. 25.

<sup>40</sup> Farrar 1893, 1.261.

<sup>41</sup> Lake and Cadbury 1934, 4.147, cf. 5.224. Their reason was the lack of navigability of the Cestrus River, but they suggested alternatively that the apostles "possibly landed at the mouth of the river", presumably to walk to Perga. Polhill 1992, 296, concurs that Attalia would have been their landing point if the Cestrus were not navigable.

<sup>42</sup> Schnabel 2004, 2.1075. Apparently he has changed his mind because in his recent commentary, Schnabel 2012, 572-573, suggested that Paul could have reached Perga directly by ship traveling up the Cestrus River. He mentioned nothing about Attalia there. Bruce 1990, 266, also changed his mind later (see n. 36), saying Attalia was the probable landing site. Although Drane 2011, 280, stated vaguely that the apostles "sailed to the south coast of Asia Minor and then crossed the mountains into Pisidia", his map of Paul's first missionary journey shows them both arriving and departing from Attalia. Wallace – Williams 1993, 63, concurred that the landing was probably at Attalia.

<sup>43</sup> See Campbell 2000, 594, n. 4, for his long discussion disagreeing with this assumption.

<sup>44</sup> Unspecified are the main ports where Paul landed on the islands of Samos (Pythagorion) and Rhodes (Great Harbor) (Acts 20:15; 21:1). Andriake as Myra's port (Acts 27:5–6) is not identified as the place where Paul changed ships. Lastly, the harbour on Malta (probably Bormla) from which Paul's grain ship sailed is unnamed (Acts 28:11).

<sup>45</sup> Distances provided were measured on Google Earth. French 2014, 19, labels this road D22 on Conspectus Map 5.1.

Pamphylian plain in Perga and did not continue to Attaleia<sup>46</sup>. However, recent surveys on the plain have found that several spurs connected with the Via Sebaste. One spur ran north-east from Attalia past Lyrboton Kome (north of Varsak), thus obviating the need to go to Perga<sup>47</sup>. Thus the statement denying direct road access to the Via Sebaste from Attalia is mistaken. This fact is key to dismissing Attalia as the arrival port. If such a road existed, the apostles did not need to go to Perga but could have bypassed it by going directly to the Via Sebaste. Also, the text states explicitly that John Mark deserted them in Perga. Why did he need to wait until Perga to desert? Instead he could have abandoned the mission in Attalia.

### Landing at Perga's River Port?

The New Living Translation translates Acts 13:13 as "Paul and his companions then left Paphos by ship for Pamphylia, landing at the port town of Perga". But in what sense was it a port town because it was not situated on the Mediterranean? Strabo, the geographer and contemporary of Paul, writes, "Then one comes to the Cestrus River; and, sailing 60 stadia up this river, one comes to the city of Perga"<sup>48</sup>. Pomponius Mela, writing around A.D. 43, likewise states, "The Cestros is easy to navigate"<sup>49</sup>. A third witness to its navigability is the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*. Sixty stadia equal approximately 11 km., but today, because of further progradation, the coast is an additional 1.6 km. away. The city's inland situation protected it from the deprivation of pirates who periodically marauded along the coast<sup>50</sup>. But in what sense was the Kestros navigable? Campbell lists a number of types of vessels that were used in riverine navigation including larger cargo vessels that could sail upstream where possible. Yet he writes: "But river navigation was more often accomplished by oars"<sup>51</sup>. Towing barges by horses, mules, or men was another aspect of riverine transport.

Drawing from these ancient sources, Ramsay concluded that the apostolic party "came to Perga in Pamphylia (Acts 13:13), and the expression reminds us of Strabo's opinion that Perga was on the navigable river"<sup>52</sup>. Ramsay's view has been echoed by a host of commentators since. Bruce postulates that Perga may have had a landing stage and port facilities on the Cestrus<sup>53</sup>, and Schnabel even suggests that Perga was "linked with the Mediterranean at the time, probably by a connecting canal from the Kestros River"<sup>54</sup>. The city sat approximately 5 km. west of the river. The 1895 Murray Handbook reported that the walk from Perga to the Kestros took about one hour<sup>55</sup>. Campbell argues for the Cestrus river port as the landing place for the apostles. He includes a map showing the probable site of a scala from the Cestrus to Perga (Fig. 3)<sup>56</sup>. His suggestion was prescient, for in 2008 a German geo-archaeological survey

<sup>46</sup> Schnabel 2004, 2.1075.

<sup>47</sup> French 2014, 19, labels this connecting route F1 on *Conspectus Map 5.1*. French 2014, 106, later speculates that this might be one of the branch roads Claudius repaired in A.D. 50/51 that is mentioned on a stone formerly standing at Hadrian's Gate in Antalya. The location of the stone is not presently known.

<sup>48</sup> Strabo, *Geogr.* 14.4.2

<sup>49</sup> Pomponius Mela 1.79; Lat. *Cestros navigari facilis*.

<sup>50</sup> For a brief history of the city see Abbasoğlu 2001, 172-188.

<sup>51</sup> Campbell 2012, 209-211.

<sup>52</sup> Ramsay 1902b, 748; Conybeare – Howson 1845, 128, also suggest that the apostolic party arrived on the Cestrus. However, the suggestion that their place of mooring was near the temple of Diana is several kilometres off.

<sup>53</sup> Bruce 1990, 300.

<sup>54</sup> Schnabel 2004, 2.1091.

<sup>55</sup> Wilson 1895, 172.

<sup>56</sup> Campbell 2000, 600.

team published their discovery of Perga's river harbour at Solak (Fig. 4)<sup>57</sup>. Accompanying the article was a detailed discussion not only of the harbour area, but the terrain between the Cestrus and the harbour gate of Perga. It included a detailed map of the scala that largely provides a geographic overlay to Campbell's general depiction (Fig. 5)<sup>58</sup>. In 1891 Heberdey discovered a milestone at Solak dating to the reign of M. Aurelius Antoninus and L. Aurelius Verus in A.D. 164/165<sup>59</sup>. This milestone, coupled with the discovery of the harbour, helps us to localize a site previously known only in ancient texts and about which only speculation existed. Yet is the localization of the river port at Solak enough to determine definitively that this was the place of the arrival of the apostles?

Pekman in his history of Perga observes that the importance of the Cestrus to Perga can be seen by "the representation of the river god on the coins of the city, and the monumental statue of the river god (Cestrus) in the nymphaeum...to the north of the colonnades street..."<sup>60</sup>. However, it is important to note that the nymphaeum in which the Cestrus statue sits dates to the 2nd century A.D. and that the first coins to appear with the river god date to Caracalla (A.D. 198-217)<sup>61</sup>. The river harbour undoubtedly served to handle heavy commercial items that were transported by water. A comparable example is the Tiber River which through its ports of Portus and Ostia supplied the city of Rome<sup>62</sup>. Campbell notes that the Cestrus connected to the road network at Perga "providing a good route of communication and transport in Pamphylia"<sup>63</sup>. Russell extols the advantages of river transport over pack animals or wheeled vehicles and points to the discovery of a well-preserved, flat-bottomed wooden barge (late 1st-early 2nd century A.D.) in Arles that was carrying a load of limestone blocks weighing approximately 27 tons<sup>64</sup>. Since Perga did not possess marble quarries of its own, the marble used for locally worked sarcophagi found in the city's necropoleis and now on display in the Antalya Museum was imported from renowned quarries like Prokonnesos, Dokimeion, and even Penteli in Attica<sup>65</sup>. The scala was thus the easiest way to bring such heavy materials into the city from the river. A towpath probably existed along the river whereby cargos, unloaded at the river's entrance from seagoing vessels, could be towed up the river by slaves on barges<sup>66</sup>. Small river boats called *naves codicariae* that relied on sails and oars were also in use<sup>67</sup>. Fortunately the route from the Mediterranean upstream to Perga's river harbour was only for a short distance, for as Russell reminds us: "Upstream transport was vastly more difficult than downstream travel"<sup>68</sup>. Since Paul's arrival was in the spring, the Cestrus would be full of run-off from snowmelt in the Taurus. So its current would have been rapid, perhaps like

<sup>57</sup> Martini et al. 2008, 163-179; see also Brückner – Kelterbaum 2013, 341-353, tab. 51-54.

<sup>58</sup> Martini et al. 2008, 170.

<sup>59</sup> French 2014, 96, 127.

<sup>60</sup> Pekman 1989, 56.

<sup>61</sup> For a picture and illustration of this statue, see Antalya Museum 1997, 66, 67; for the coin (AE 25) called a "very rare" issue, see <http://www.asiaminorcoins.com/gallery/thumbnails.php?album=265> (accessed 18 June 2015).

<sup>62</sup> See Meiggs 1973, 289-293.

<sup>63</sup> Campbell 2012, 320.

<sup>64</sup> Russell 2013, 108.

<sup>65</sup> Russell 2013, 148; Turak 2012, 224.

<sup>66</sup> For the use of towpaths see Campbell 2012, 212-214.

<sup>67</sup> Meiggs 1973, 293-296

<sup>68</sup> Russell 2013, 107. Russell 2013, 96 tab. 4.1, also provides the following ratios of transport costs from the Price Edict of A.D. 301: sea to land, 1:41; sea to river, 1:3.9 (downstream), 1:7.7 (upstream); river to land, 1:10.8 (downstream), 1:5.5 (upstream). The cost doubled to travel against the current rather than with it.

that of the nearby Düden River that still flows in the area today. It is therefore questionable whether the Cestrus River and its port achieved its importance for the city as early as Paul. As Perga's zenith was in the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D., particularly with its sculpture workshops, the river was perhaps at this time widened and dredged for more commercial purposes<sup>69</sup>. In Paul's day, as Haenchen rightly notes, "the stream was not navigable for larger boats"<sup>70</sup>. Indeed it is doubtful that the river was ever deep enough for seagoing vessels to use. If Sergius Paulus did give the apostolic party passage on a Roman naval vessel, such a vessel would certainly not disembark its passengers via a narrow river channel such as the Cestrus presented. So is there a third option?

### Landing at Magydus?

Magydus (Karpuzkaldıran at Lara<sup>71</sup>) is never mentioned by scholars as the place of arrival in Pamphylia for Paul and his companions<sup>72</sup>. Campbell only mentions the city in a footnote, stating that the apostolic party "may have switched to a river vessel of shallower draught in Magydus, but unloading and reloading cargo in this fashion would have been costly"<sup>73</sup>. The time lost in transferring to such a vessel, then traveling to the mouth of Cestrus several kilometres east, then sailing up to Perga's river harbour, and finally walking 5 km. west to Perga would have gained no practical advantage. Rather this would make a time-consuming and circuitous arrival. Nevertheless, he fails to connect the city to Perga, instead noting its relationship to Attalia. F. Beaufort, an early traveller to the Pamphylian coast in 1811-12, mentioned some ruins and a harbour but mistakenly called them "the site of Attalia, and of no other harbour"<sup>74</sup>. The Murray Handbook in 1895 reported that the only visible site was "the remains of an aqueduct that carried water to Magydus on the coast"<sup>75</sup>. When Ormerod and Robinson visited the site in March 1911, they reported only "some tombs of an interesting character"<sup>76</sup>. When Foss wrote on the cities of Pamphylia, he had little to say: "In the Roman Period, a sixth city, Magydus, on the coast between Attaleia and Perga, was important. It is not treated here because its history is virtually unknown and its remains insignificant"<sup>77</sup>. By the end of the twentieth century few ruins remained because the site had been used as a quarry. When the residential area of Örnekköy was developed in the 1980s, the east necropolis of the city was damaged during the construction activity.

<sup>69</sup> Russell 2013, 233. Willet – Poblome 2015, 147, note that SRSW pottery ended up in Perga some 85 km. away from Sagalassos because it was connected to the coast by a navigable river and thus a commodity for buyers to export.

<sup>70</sup> Haenchen 1971, 407. As Russell 2013, 105, also notes: "Unfortunately, the extent to which deforestation in the post-Roman period has affected the flow of rivers hampers our ability to assess the navigability of waterways in antiquity".

<sup>71</sup> Today this is a military resort area surrounded by a security fence and off limits to visitors.

<sup>72</sup> Keener 2012, 211, n. 373, observes that "Attalia's more heavily trafficked harbour, directly on the sea, provided the better port for a return voyage to Syrian Antioch". Since the harbour of Magydus was also directly on the sea and able to accommodate seagoing vessels, it could have been used either for Paul's port of arrival or departure.

<sup>73</sup> Campbell 2000, 601, n. 20.

<sup>74</sup> Beaufort 1817, 129. Beaufort believed Adalia (Attalia) was really ancient Olbia, therefore Lara, which he calls "Laara", was ancient Attalia (132). In his day the only ruins to be seen at Magydus were those of a quay and an arched aqueduct (133-134).

<sup>75</sup> Wilson 1895, 174.

<sup>76</sup> Ormerod – Robinson 1910/11, 222.

<sup>77</sup> Foss 1996, 52. His assessment that the harbour was approximately 250 yards (228.6 m.) in length and breadth is smaller than the estimate of Adak – Atvur 1999.

Bean visited Magydus in the 1960s and reported that “the chief feature of the site is the artificial harbour”<sup>78</sup>. Schnabel likewise noted that Magydus’ historical importance was “due also to the artificially improved port that belonged to the largest harbors on the south coast of Asia Minor”<sup>79</sup>. Within sight west of the harbour is the famous waterfalls of the Düden River, known in antiquity as the Katarraktes and mentioned both by Strabo and Pomponius Mela<sup>80</sup>. The falls drop approximately 30.5 m. from the limestone falaise into the Mediterranean Sea. This falaise is approximately 14 km. long, and its eastern terminus recedes to the sea just before Magydus (Fig. 6). The harbour of Attalia is approximately 12 km. to the north-west, while the present mouth of the Cestrus (Aksu) River is approximately 11 km. east. An article published by Adak and Atvur in 1999 remains the most complete discussion of Magydus’ history; it also mentions its harbour<sup>81</sup>. They estimate its size as 340x225 m. and call it “einer der größten geschützten Häfen Südkleinasiens ist”<sup>82</sup>. The artificial mole was built of travertine blocks with many remaining *in situ*. This is its present state: “Während die längere, dem Wassergang stärker ausgesetzte Südmole zusammengebrochen ist, ist die Westmole in Teilen noch über Wasser zu sehe... Beide Molen lassen sich unter Wasser in ihrer Gesamtlänge verfolgen. Ursprünglich dürften sie beträchtlich über den Meeresspiegel hinausgeragt und neben ihrer Funktion als Wellenbrecher auch als Wehrmauer gedient haben. Architektonisch sind sie als Fortsetzung der Stadtmauer”<sup>83</sup>. Interestingly, de Graauw, in his extensive work on ancient ports and harbours, associates Magydus with the harbour mentioned in Acts 13:13<sup>84</sup>. The *Stadius Maris Magni* does not mention Magydus. However, it does name Attalia along with two minor anchorages between it and Magydus – Mydalis and Masura – plus two others along the coast east of Magydus to the mouth of the Kestros River<sup>85</sup>.

A road connected Magydus with Perga, a distance of only 14 km., less than a half day’s walk<sup>86</sup>. When Ormerod and Robinson visited the area, they observed a rock-cut road running a short distance to the north of Lara (Fig. 7). Unable to follow it for lack of time, they concluded that it was probably connected with the road that cut through the limestone cliffs of the Söğütçük Çayı south of Çalkaya and now east of the Antalya airport<sup>87</sup>. The Murray Handbook

<sup>78</sup> Bean 1979, 83. He also noted the presence of ancient buildings on the shore all of late date, among which were baths, shops, and warehouses, as well as the presence of an aqueduct with an open channel.

<sup>79</sup> Schnabel 2004, 2:1092.

<sup>80</sup> Strabo Geogr. 14.4.1; Pomponius Mela 1.79. Adak – Atvur 1999, pl. 18, fig. 1, provide a picture of the ruins with the falls in the background as they appeared in 1971. Today these falls are a popular destination for the tourist boats that shuttle from Antalya’s yacht harbour. These boats avoid the waters beyond in the Turkish military recreation area. However, the harbour of Magydus and its artificial moles are clearly visible to the east.

<sup>81</sup> Adak – Atvur 1999. A map of the site is provided on p. 56; pl. 19, figs. 1-2; pl. 20, figs. 5-9 are pictures of the ruins. There is a brief mention of Magydus in Grainger 2009, 21-22.

<sup>82</sup> Adak – Atvur 1999, 51. English trans.: “one of the largest protected harbours in southern Asia Minor”. Pl. 18, fig. 2, is a picture of the harbour in 1971.

<sup>83</sup> Adak – Atvur 1999, 55. English trans.: “While the longer south mole, which is more exposed to the water passage, has collapsed, the west mole is partly visible above water. Both moles can be traced under water for their total length. Originally they most likely protruded considerably above the sea level. In addition to their function as a breakwater, they also served as a defensive wall. Architecturally they are a continuation of the city wall”.

<sup>84</sup> de Graauw 2014, 177, no. 2241.

<sup>85</sup> See de Graauw 2014, 177 for these ports: Attaleia, Adalia (Antalya) *Stadius* 223; Mygdalis (Antalya, near Gençlik?), *Stadius* 222; Masura (Antalya, near Fener?) *Stadius* 221; Rhixoupous, Rhouskopous, Rhuscopode (near Lara Beach) *Stadius* 220; R Cestro, Kestros (R Kumköy) *Stadius* 219. Of these ports only Attalia, Magydus, and Rhixoupous/Rhouskopous are marked on Talbert 2000, 65.

<sup>86</sup> French 2014, 19, labels this road F2 on *Conspectus Map* 5.1.

<sup>87</sup> Ormerod – Robinson 1910/1911, 222. French 2014, 19, labels this road F2 on *Conspectus Map* 5.1.

called this route from Perga the “ascent to the terraced plain of Adalia by an ancient road”<sup>88</sup>. Ormerod and Robinson called it the “Ghiaour Yolu” and state that it led down to a lake called “Baghgiölu” upon whose southern shore was a mill called “Jalynys Baghdeirmeni”. According to their calculations, the road measured “some six metres broad and shows deep wheel-ruts, the space between which measures 1.10 m.”. Near the southern end of the cut they observed “small round sinkings on either side of the road connected with the ‘ruts,’ to carry off water”. Interestingly they found in the deepest part of the cut two inscriptions: on the eastern face ΟΡΟΙ [Τ]ΕΤΡΑΠΥΡΓ[Ω]Ν on the western face ΛΙΜΝΩΝ ΟΡΟΙ<sup>89</sup>. French gives these brief details of its construction: ca. 6.40 m. wide; at its deepest point cut more than 4 m. into the rock of the high *falaise*; walkways lining both sides of the sunken road bed; an open gutter cut alongside the eastern walkway; and evidence of wheel ruts in the road bed (Fig. 8)<sup>90</sup>. Below the pass the limestone has been levelled to provide a ramp descending into the valley. Today, however, the ledge has split and collapsed, probably from earthquake activity. This ramp of natural stone connected with another man-made ramp about 6 m. wide built of ashlar blocks approximately 0.60 m. high by approximately 1.20 m. wide maximum. This ramp, about 100 m. long, ran across the narrow river valley and led to a bridge, of which a few elements still remain (Fig. 9). French calls it “an exceptionally well-preserved monument of Roman technical achievement.... Altogether, an impressive monument”<sup>91</sup>.

Traces of the roadbed continue in the fields east of the stream. From here the road continued north-east and later descended into the Cestrus valley via a natural pass from the south that enters the centre of Aksu. Its uneven terrain was not suitable for transshipping heavy items from the sea harbour to Perga, therefore the river harbour was needed. But travellers like Paul arriving from Cyprus would find this inland route from Magydus the most direct way to reach Perga. Hence the conclusion is that Magydus was the port where Paul, Barnabas, and John Mark first landed in Pamphylia.

## Departure

Perga served as a point of departure for all of the characters in Acts 13. John Mark returned to Jerusalem while Paul and Barnabas departed for Pisidian Antioch. Acts is silent regarding the cause of John Mark’s desertion. Williams speculates that the reason perhaps was “Luke’s later friendship with Mark may have sealed his lips”<sup>92</sup>. Nevertheless, Luke’s “sealed lips” have prompted many scholars to speculate about the cause, especially since it was the cause of the “sharp disagreement” between Paul and Barnabas at the beginning of the second journey<sup>93</sup>. Similarly, the immediate departure of Paul and Barnabas from Perga has prompted some scholars to speculate about there a son for this hastiness. These two departures will be discussed next.

<sup>88</sup> Wilson 1895, 174.

<sup>89</sup> Ormerod – Robinson 1910/1911, 222-223; inscriptions in rock cutting, 245. They followed Ramsay in interpreting the *tetrapurghiai* (quadrangular buildings with towers at four corners) as a small village whose boundary is defined by the rock-cut road. They suggest Limnae refers to the swampy ground that existed formerly to the west of the road. These inscriptions are no longer visible.

<sup>90</sup> French 1992, 5. French’s photo of the rock-cut pass can be found in Mitchell 1993, 1.128, fig. 25. Another excellent photo can be found in Harada – Cimok 2008, 1.155, fig. 221.

<sup>91</sup> French 1992, 5-6.

<sup>92</sup> Williams 1990, 230.

<sup>93</sup> Acts 15:39; Gr. παροξυσμός.

## The Departure of John Mark

The reason for John Mark deserting<sup>94</sup> Paul and Barnabas at Perga has elicited a number of possible suggestions from scholars<sup>95</sup>. One fanciful suggestion by Conybeare and Howson was that John Mark “was drawn...by the attraction of an earthly home. As he looked up from Perga to the Gentile mountains, his heart failed him, and he turned back with desire towards Jerusalem”<sup>96</sup>. This maudlin portrayal of Mark as a homesick youth who could not handle the challenges of travel seems needlessly facile because John Mark had already journeyed from Jerusalem to Antioch and across Cyprus to Pamphylia. Allen proposes three reasons for John Mark’s abandonment: 1) Paul had taken over leadership after the Paphos crisis in place of his cousin Barnabas, 2) Paul was going to preach outside the synagogue to Gentiles and admit them into fellowship on terms unacceptable to him<sup>97</sup>, and 3) Paul was proposing to penetrate remote regions that were perhaps more dangerous than Mark had anticipated<sup>98</sup>. Responding to these in reverse order: if Paul and Barnabas took the Via Sebaste, the dangers along this well-travelled road through a Roman colony (Comama) and a Roman enclave (Apollonia) to Pisidian Antioch would have been minimal. It is important to recall that the initial terminus of the Anatolian portion of the journey was Pisidian Antioch. The apostles left the Roman colony and its surrounding chora<sup>99</sup> only when they were forced eastward to Iconium<sup>100</sup>. The view that John Mark did not approve of Paul preaching outside the synagogue is likewise untenable. Undoubtedly as they travelled in Cyprus Paul and Barnabas shared the gospel with Gentiles, particularly in Paphos where Sergius Paulus was “amazed at the teaching about the Lord”<sup>101</sup>. Paul stated that the outcome of the meeting with James, Peter, and John in Jerusalem was that he and Barnabas were encouraged to keep preaching to the Gentiles<sup>102</sup>. The first reason is a possible factor. Paul’s assumption of leadership for the group was undoubtedly perceived by John Mark as insulting to his cousin, and he reacted by taking offense at Paul. Such a personal grievance is a very believable explanation for John Mark’s reaction to Paul’s actions.

A final suggestion to consider, and the most likely, is that of Lake and Cadbury: “It is quite possible that the original plan did not contemplate anything more than Cyprus and that Mark did not feel it his duty to continue with the new enterprise”<sup>103</sup>. It was argued previously that the original plan did contemplate a destination beyond Cyprus and that was probably North

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<sup>94</sup> Acts 13:13; Gr. ἀποχωρέω.

<sup>95</sup> One of the most improbable is the suggestion of Pervo 2008, 331, that Mark’s “inclusion with and departure from the mission is a Lucan invention designed to explain the eventual separation of Paul and Barnabas (15:37–39)”. Lüdemann 1989, 151, likewise sees the traditions of the collaboration of Barnabas with John Mark as “certainly unhistorical”. Mark’s anomalous departure Perga, as argued above, instead supports the account’s historicity.

<sup>96</sup> Conybeare – Howson 1856, 1.162.

<sup>97</sup> Longenecker 1981, 421, holds that John Mark did not see the validity of a direct Gentile mission. That there were Jewish communities in southern Galatia, similar to those encountered on the mission in Cyprus, diminishes the likelihood of this possibility.

<sup>98</sup> Allen 1962, 10–11, believes that “there was at Perga a real change both in the direction and in the character of the mission”. Blaiklock 1959, 105, thinks this or the changed policy not to evangelize Pamphylia because of Paul’s malarial condition was the reason that John Mark left the party.

<sup>99</sup> Acts 13:49; Gr. χώρα.

<sup>100</sup> Acts 13:50; Gr. ὄρια.

<sup>101</sup> Acts 13:12.

<sup>102</sup> Galatians 2:9. This statement, of course, is based on the interpretation that this meeting in Jerusalem occurred before Paul’s first journey and that John Mark knew of the charge.

<sup>103</sup> Lake – Cadbury 1934, 4.147

Africa. Mark's later connections with individuals in the North African church and the tradition recounted in Eusebius that Mark later founded the church in Alexandria suggest that he had a vested interest in continuing south from Cyprus<sup>104</sup>. The turn northward to Asia Minor then was not interpreted as providential guidance by Mark so he decided to leave. If this were so, why did not Mark return to Jerusalem directly from Cyprus, a far quicker and easier journey instead of continuing with Paul and Barnabas to Pamphylia? If Sergius Paulus did arrange for passage for the apostolic party to Perga on a Roman naval vessel, as suggested previously, it would have been awkward for Mark to excuse himself from the sea passage provided by such an important Roman official. Therefore Mark would have continued to Pamphylia with Paul and Barnabas and departed from there immediately, which is in fact the picture given in Acts 13:13<sup>105</sup>.

### Departure of Paul and Barnabas

Besides the argument advanced here that the apostles passed quickly through Perga because Pisidian Antioch was their goal, other theories have been advanced for their hasty departure. Conybeare and Howson suggested that their quick exit was related to the time of year: "If St. Paul was at Perga in May, he would find the inhabitants deserting its hot and dusty streets"<sup>106</sup>. Thus they argue Paul would have no audience around to listen to his message. This exodus was attributed to the flight of the locals from the enervating hot weather of coastal Pamphylia to the cooler climes of the mountainous summer pastures. But May is still temperate in Perga, snow remains on the surrounding peaks of the Taurus, and cold water from snowmelt continues to flow through the rivers of Pamphylia. The conjecture regarding a hasty departure because of weather is thus unlikely, and many residents would still be in the city if Paul had desired to interact with them<sup>107</sup>. Williams suggests that the abbreviated visit in Perga was due to the lack of a synagogue, an argument from silence since Perga probably had a synagogue. He also believes that the apostles intended to connect with the road from Ephesus that passed through Pisidian Antioch so as to return by this road to Syria<sup>108</sup>.

Ramsay's suggestion regarding their change of plans has gained the most traction. He surmised the cause of their sudden departure: "A plausible conjecture has been advanced that residence in the moist and enervating atmosphere of Pamphylia, coming after the fatigue of missionary travel and the intense effort of the scene in Paphos, brought out a certain weakness in Paul's constitution, causing the illness alluded to in Galatians 4:13"<sup>109</sup>. Ramsay's assessment

<sup>104</sup> Eusebius Hist. Eccl. 2.16. Mark displays his connection to North Africa in his gospel by naming Simon of Cyrene and two sons, Rufus and Alexander (Mark 15:21).

<sup>105</sup> In the apocryphal Acts of Barnabas (5th–6th century A.D.) John Mark states that he remained in Perga for two months "wishing to sail to the regions of the West; but the Holy Spirit did not allow me" (Walker 1870, 294). He then decided to find Paul and Barnabas again. After learning they were now in Antioch, he went to them there. But this is not possible chronologically because the mission of the apostles in south Galatia took longer than this, plus they returned to Perga before departing from Pamphylia for Antioch. The Acts of Barnabas portray Paul as being upset with Mark because of his delay and his keeping of several parchments, not for his desertion.

<sup>106</sup> Conybeare – Howson 1856, 1.165.

<sup>107</sup> Local residents of Antalya continue this practice today, escaping the heat of mid-June to early September that can run up to 50 degrees centigrade. They move to summer houses in the yaylas of the surrounding mountains.

<sup>108</sup> Williams 1990, 230.

<sup>109</sup> Ramsay 1902a, 659. Ramsay 2001, 88-89, elaborates on his hypothesis: "We learn, then, from Paul himself that an illness (we may confidently say a serious illness) was the occasion of his having originally preached to the churches of Galatia. The words do not necessarily imply that the illness began in Galatia; they are quite consistent with the interpretation that the illness was the reason why he came to be in Galatia.... Paul had a serious illness

of Pamphylia's climatic condition that contributed to Paul contracting malaria does not square with ancient testimony about Pamphylia. A description of a disease in the region, probably malaria, comes from Livy. Rhodian and Roman sailors who navigated in the Pamphylian Sea in 190 B.C. against Hannibal and the Seleucids got sick in Phaselis: "They had not foreseen, on account both of the unhealthy country and of the time of year – for it was midsummer – besides, from the unaccustomed odour, diseases began to spread generally, especially among the rowers. In fear of this epidemic, they went on, and when they were sailing past the gulf of Pamphylia, putting in at the mouth of the river Eurymedon"<sup>110</sup>. Phaselis, despite its prime coastal location, was situated near a stagnant lake, which even today is a breeding ground for mosquitoes (Fig. 10). It is instructive that when the sailors contracted malaria-like symptoms, they sailed to Pamphylia, landing near Aspendus adjacent to Perga. Neither of these two cities had such problems with standing water. According to Livy's account, the Pamphylian coast was the place of escape known by the ancients fleeing from malaria-like symptoms. This is in marked contrast to Ramsay's portrayal of the region. Paul's supposed fatigue on the journey across Cyprus could not have been great. The distance along the generally flat Roman road from Salamis to Paphos was only 189 km., far less than the multiple journeys he had already made between Jerusalem and Tarsus and Antioch.

The hypothesis that Paul contracted malaria cannot be found in earlier commentators such as Alford or Conybeare and Howson, suggesting its origin lies with Ramsay. Bruce rightly calls Ramsay's suggestion "an interesting speculation but nothing more"<sup>111</sup>. Nevertheless, Ramsay's suggestion continues to be repeated in commentaries up to the present day. For example, Witherington writes that "if Paul contracted malaria soon after landing in Asia Minor, it might explain why Paul left the southern coastal plain and went up into the mountains to Pisidian Antioch"<sup>112</sup>. A further problem with the idea of Paul contracting malaria in Pamphylia and then moving to the higher elevation of Pisidian Antioch (1236 m.) for relief is that symptoms of malaria do not appear so soon. A survey of medical web sites that discuss malaria shows that a time lapse exists between infection and the appearance of symptoms. For example, WebMD states that the minimum time for symptoms such as sweating, chills, fatigue, nausea, and fever to appear is seven days<sup>113</sup>. As we have seen, Acts 13 states that the apostles did not stop in Perga but continued immediately to Pisidian Antioch. Barrett discounts the malaria view stating that "it seems improbable that a man suffering from malaria would be able to make such an ascent"<sup>114</sup>. However, such so-called rigors would be minimal if the Via Sebaste was used for the inbound journey<sup>115</sup>. The bigger issue is whether Paul ever contracted malaria after landing in Pamphylia. This notion should be laid to rest once and for all. If symptoms of malaria did

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in Pamphylia, and on that account he left Perga and went to Antioch.... The natural and common treatment for such an illness is to go to the higher ground of the interior".

<sup>110</sup> Livy 37.23.2–3 (Loeb Ser.).

<sup>111</sup> Bruce 1990, 300.

<sup>112</sup> Witherington 1998b, 310, n. 39.

<sup>113</sup> <http://www.webmd.com/a-to-z-guides/malaria-symptoms> (accessed 19/6/2015).

<sup>114</sup> Barrett 1994, 1.627. Williams 1990, 230, concurs: "It must be questioned, however, whether a sick man could have faced the rigors of crossing the Taurus Mountains".

<sup>115</sup> Contra Fairchild 2013, 54, who writes, "The route north from Perga to Pisidian Antioch was itself difficult and dangerous". The most rigorous part was the Climax pass at Döşemealtı that linked the Pamphylian plain with the first inland plateau near Dağbeli. I have walked this section of the Via Sebaste numerous times, even with older adults who experienced minimal challenges making the climb. See Wilson 2009, 482-483.

appear in Perga, Paul would have had to contract the disease while in Cyprus<sup>116</sup>. And there is no evidence that this happened.

## Conclusion

This article has examined the issues of intention, arrival and departure related to Paul's first journey in Pamphylia. It concludes that the apostolic party did not intend originally to evangelize Pamphylia and Galatia, but rather was providentially directed there after meeting the Roman governor Sergius Paulus in Paphos whose *patria* was Pisidian Antioch. After reviewing the landing options suggested by other scholars – Attalia and Perga's river port – a third possibility was presented: Magydus the seaport of Perga. It was concluded that Magydus was the port of arrival for the apostles while Attalia was the port of departure for their return to Seleucia Pieria (Fig. 11). John Mark left the party in Perga because of its change of direction to Pisidian Antioch, a place in which he was not interested. Relief from the symptoms of malaria was not the reason that Paul left Pamphylia immediately. It was determined at Paphos that Pisidian Antioch was to be the new destination, so Perga only became a stopover point on the inbound journey. Only on the return was the gospel preached there as recorded in Acts 14:25.

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<sup>116</sup> A better explanation for the weakness mentioned in Galatians 4:13–14 relates to the persecution received by Paul. The stoning planned in Iconium (Acts 14:5) was later conducted in Lystra where Paul was then dragged out of the city and left for dead (Acts 14:19). When he arrived in Derbe, the physical effects of the stoning would still be apparent. Perhaps when he revisited the other churches on his return, his appearance and physical condition were still influenced by the stoning. Bruce 1982, 208, links this infirmity with the “thorn in the flesh” mentioned in 2 Corinthians 12:7–10. However, the first attack of the thorn was fourteen years before, hence around A.D. 43 (cf. 2 Cor. 12:2) and thus antedating the first journey.

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## Özet

### Aziz Paulos Pamphylia'da: Niyet, Geliş, Gidiş

*Elçilerin İşleri* 13-14'te anlatıldığı üzere birinci seyahatinde Paulos'un Pamphylia'ya gelişiyle ilgili ayrıntılar henüz yeterince incelenmemiştir. Bu makalede Orontes üzerindeki Antakya'dan yola çıkan Paulos'un niyetinin Galatia'da öğretisini yaymak olup olmadığını irdelenecektir. Sonra ilgili arkeolojik, edebi ve tarihi verileri inceleyerek Paulos'un Pamphylia'ya varışı üzerine önerilen üç olası senaryo değerlendirilecektir. Bu kanıtların akabinde elçi ekibinin Pamphylia'ya varış limanı üzerine yeni bir hipotez sunulacaktır. Makale, Ioannes Markos'un terk edilmesi ve Paulos ile Barnabas'ın Perge'den aceleyle ayrılmalarıyla ilgili koşulları irdelerek sonlanacaktır.

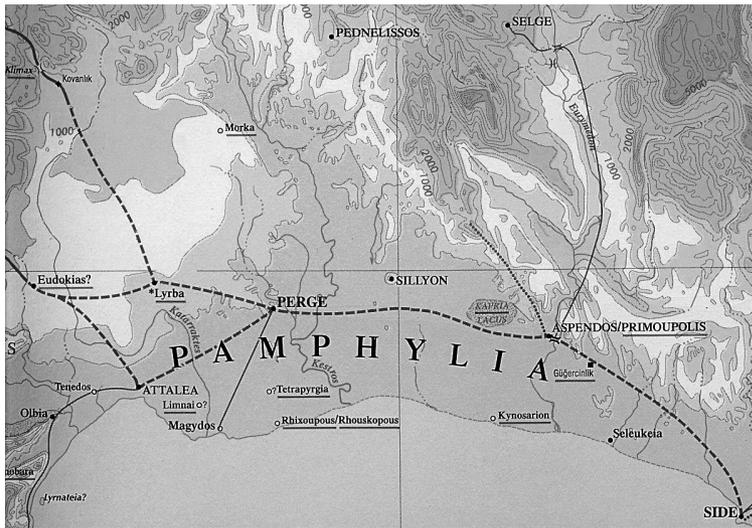


Fig. 1  
Ports of Pamphylia  
map (Used with  
permission of  
Princeton University  
Press)



Fig. 2  
Attalia, Harbour

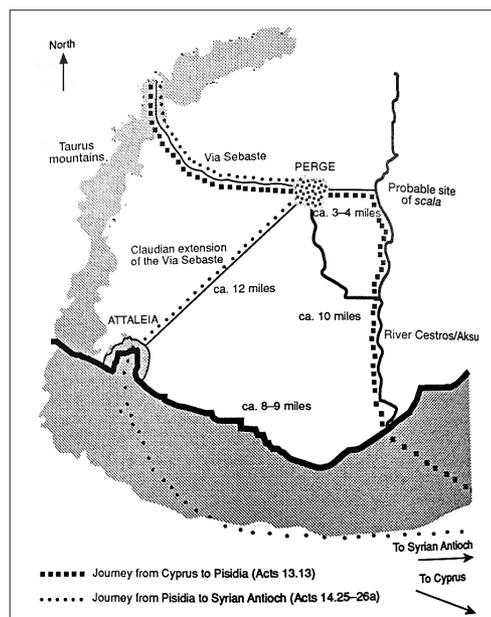


Fig. 3  
Perga, Campbell's  
scala map (Used  
with permission of  
Cambridge University  
Press)



Fig. 4  
Perge, River Harbour

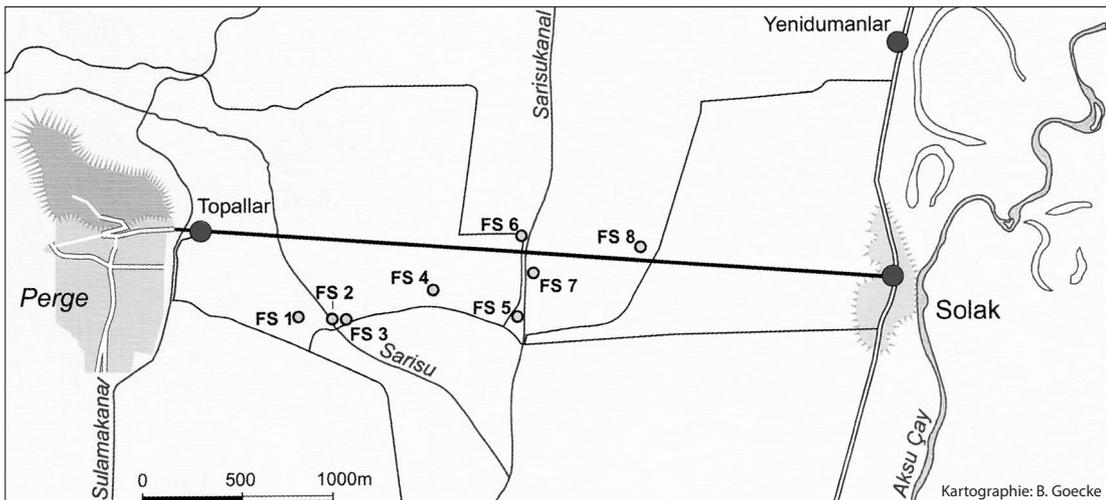


Fig. 5  
Perge, Scala from  
Cestrus (Used with  
permission of W. Martini)



Fig 6  
Magydus,  
Harbour with  
Katarraktes falls



Fig. 7  
Upper Rock-cut pass



Fig. 8  
Lower Rock-cut pass



Fig. 9  
Ramp below  
Rock-cut pass



Fig. 10  
Phaselis, marsh



Fig. 11 Google map of harbours and roads