

# St Paul the Missionary

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Any action program implies three components: a vision that perceives the goal to be attained, a strategy that plans the way to achieve this goal, and tactics that adjust to the ground realities. Paul's approach to Mission can also be viewed under this threefold perspective. What was the vision that prompted him to become the apostle to the Nations? What was the global strategy or the general orientations he adopted when bringing the Good News to the Nations? How did he carry out this task in the concrete realities of the Greco-Roman world?

## I. Paul's Vision

The encounter with the Risen Christ on the Damascus Road did not only change the mind of young Rabbi Saul; it determined the mission perspective of Paul the Apostle (1 Cor 9:1; 15:8-10; Gal 1:15-16; cf Acts 9:3-19; 22:4-21; 26:9-18).

As young rabbi Saul, fresh from the rabbinical school of Gamaliel, made his way to persecute the Damascus Christian community, he did not know much, if anything at all, about Jesus of Nazareth. The one thing he knew was that Jesus had been condemned by legitimate authorities, put to shame, exposed as a fraud, and even laid under the curse of a crucifixion (Gal 3:13 = Dt 21:23). As a zealous advocate of the Law, Saul could only show contempt towards this impostor and his followers. So he was a *bona fide* persecutor. In the Damascus encounter, he was given the revelation that Jesus was indeed the "Son of God". He perceived "the light of the glory of God shining on the face of Christ" (2 Cor 4:6). The Cross had now become the sign of the divine power. The Resurrection of the "accursed" crucified One meant that God's glory had been manifested where the Law saw shame and that God made his power abide in the weakness of the

Cross. Recognizing the Messiah in the Crucified One, Paul had come to "know Christ and the power of his resurrection" (Phil 3:10). This recognition meant that Paul's sense of values, based on the Law, was totally overturned. Such was the illumination (2 Cor 4:6) he received. It amounted to a radical reinterpretation of his faith in God, and of what the Law and the Scriptures meant. This revelation questioned the very sense of Israelite identity. Potentially it did away with the limitations of the Law, of the circumcision and of the ethnic identification of Israel. Belonging to God's true Israel was now open to all those to whom it would be given to recognize "the glory of God shining on the face of Christ." Justification by faith and not by the works of the Law was thus implicitly contained in the Damascus vision and the manner in which it subverted Saul's religious outlook. Now was the time when the new Covenant was fulfilled, covenant written in the hearts (Jer 31:31-34; 32:40; Ez 37:26), and universally opened to all peoples (Zech 2:15; Is 19:19-25).

These universalistic implications may not have been clearly present to Paul's mind on the very first day. But as the missionary experience developed, he soon perceived them. The entire mission policy and strategy of Paul are seminally contained in the Damascus encounter with the Crucified Risen One. Paul realized that his mission to the Gentiles stemmed from the revelation he received of Jesus as Son of God. He summarized this insight in the terse summary of Gal 1:16: "(God) was pleased to reveal His Son in me, so that I might proclaim Him to the Nations." The "accursed one" of Calvary was indeed the Son of God, the bearer of God's eschatological plan. This revelation implied the vision of a new Israel of God identified by faith and not by Law. Such was the Good News to be brought to all the Nations.

## **II. The Strategy**

### ***1. To all Nations?***

It should first be noticed that Paul did not go to all the nations of the world. He went only to the West leaving out both the East (Interior

Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia and even India) and the South (Egypt, Nubia, Ethiopia, Lybia, etc.). All those countries were well known in the Antiquity and considered to be important. From the Jewish point of view, they were even more renowned than the West on account of an age old and influential Jewish presence. Turning his back on such major countries implied a definite option on the part of Paul. How to account for this "Western" Pauline strategy? Many commentators and lives of Paul do not see any problem or take it for granted that the Mediterranean world was the only one which mattered at that time. This Eurocentric perception is both anachronistic and biased. The average Jew or Roman citizen attributed more value, both economically and culturally, to Egypt, Babylonia and Persia than to Gaul or Spain, not to speak of Britain or Germany, considered as tribal and uncultured distant tracts. Those who saw the problem have proposed different explanations which remain unconvincing.<sup>1</sup>

Actually Paul's Western strategy was not of his own making. It was the outcome of his unexpected success with the Gentiles, ratified by the Jerusalem Assembly. Acts 16:6-7 reports that twice Paul's planning was disrupted by the Holy Spirit which "did not allow them" to go to various parts of Asia Minor. Finally pushed about by the Spirit he landed in Troas, on the extreme Western tip of Asia, where he had the vision of a Macedonian imploring him: "Come over to Macedonia and help us." So, crossing the Dardanelles and the Aegean Sea, he reached Macedonia, and entered Greece and Europe. The story does not say how the Spirit addressed him. Probably it was through fortuitous circumstances: climactic conditions, non-availability of caravans, insecurity of the roads, lack of financial resources, etc. What is clear is that Luke and Paul saw the guidance of the Spirit in these circumstances and in the unexpected success of their Greek apostolate with the Gentiles.

For Paul, "it was great sorrow and constant anguish" that "Gentiles, who did not pursue righteousness, have achieved it ... but that Israel, who pursued the law of righteousness, did not attain to that law" (Rom 9:2.30-31). But so it was and Paul had to accept this

inscrutable and unsearchable mystery of God's ways (Rom 11:33). So did also the early apostolic Church at the Jerusalem Council:

When they saw that I had been entrusted with the gospel to the uncircumcised, just as Peter to the circumcised, for the one who worked in Peter for an apostolate to the circumcised worked also in me for the Gentiles, and when they recognized the grace bestowed upon me, James and Kephas and John, who were reputed to be pillars, gave me and Barnabas their right hands in partnership, that we should go to the Gentiles and they to the circumcised (Gal 2:7-9).

To the "pillars" is assigned the "circumcision"; to Paul, the uncircumcision. But what is the meaning of this division? Commentators are divided. Some understand it in a personal or ethnical sense: evangelization of the Jews would be the monopoly of Kephas all over the world whereas Paul would not be allowed to address Jews.<sup>2</sup> Others take it in a geographical sense: the proclamation of Gospel for the non-pauline group would be restricted to Jewish territories, usually understood as Palestine; Paul is given the rest of the world.<sup>3</sup> In modern canonical language, the two interpretations put the matter respectively in terms of personal or territorial jurisdiction.

But neither interpretation is satisfactory. The ethnic interpretation goes against the data of the Acts which report Paul giving systematically first chance to the Jews (Acts 13:5.14; 14:1; 16:13; 17:1f.10; 18:4f; 19:8); it goes also against Paul's own statement: "to the Jews I became like a Jew to win over the Jews" (1 Cor 9:20). The geographical interpretation proposes a very unequal division: the entire world to Paul versus tiny Palestine for the apostolic team. Neither does it correspond to the facts since, as we saw, Paul did not cover the entire world but only its Western part. As for Peter, the New Testament data do not show him confined to Palestine only. According to Gal 2:11-14, he is in Antioch along with Paul. A solid tradition connects him with Rome.

In despair, recourse has been had to a "kerygmatic" or theological interpretation: it would be a matter of two missions based on two different theologies, the one based on the continued acceptance of the Jewish Torah, the other one, the Pauline mission, that would dispense with the Jewish Law and its requirements of circumcision, alimentary taboos, celebration of feasts, etc.<sup>4</sup> But this kerygmatic hypothesis oversimplifies the issue by positing an antithesis between Peter, apostle of a Jewish Christian Gospel, and Paul, messenger of the Gospel of liberty. This would be a return to the old Hegelian views of F.C. Baur whereas present scholarship has shown the wider pluralism of Judaism as well as of the emerging Jewish Christian movement. Moreover, this purely theological solution does not do justice to the concrete problem which was one of persons and of jurisdictions.

The solution was already proposed by J. Munck some 50 years ago.

We must assume that according to it [the Jerusalem decision] Peter received Palestine, Syria and presumably also the eastern districts inside and outside the Roman Empire, where for a very long time there had been large Jewish colonies. Paul was allotted the whole of the Greek Diaspora stretching westwards from Syria as far as the Roman domination extended.<sup>5</sup>

To Kephas' allotment Munck could have added Egypt and North Africa as well. Through the successive waves of Hebrew immigration and due to the conversion movement of "proselytes," attracted by Judaism, Jewish presence and influence had spread to large areas of Asia (Syria, Mesopotamia, Iran, - even India?) and Africa (Egypt, Lybia, Sudan, Ethiopia).

As claimed by Philo, writing towards 40 CE,

My native city [Jerusalem] is the mother city not of one country Judaea but of most of the others in virtue of the colonies sent out at diverse times to the neighbouring lands of Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria, and the rest as well and the lands lying far apart... I say nothing of the countries beyond the Euphrates..., Babylon and the other satrapies.<sup>6</sup>

This area was not entirely converted to the Jewish faith. Yet the Jewish presence was sufficient to consider that Jewish culture was present there. The Jewish viewpoint is well expressed in Acts 15:21: "In every city, for generations past, Moses has had those who proclaim him, for he has been read aloud every Sabbath in the synagogues."

On the contrary, prior to 70 and with the exception of Rome and of few rare and thin Jewish communities on the Greek Eastern façade of the Mediterranean Sea, Europe was largely "pagan."<sup>7</sup>

The division therefore is of a cultural order. On the one hand, the "Pillars" kept to themselves the part of the world imbued with the Torah culture, Asia and Africa, or at least the part of it which belonged to the usual Jewish geographical horizon. The other part is the "uncircumcision," i.e. the part of the world not yet imbued with Torah culture, i.e. the "pagan" West, Europe.

This interpretation has important implications.

First it keeps open the possibility of one or several *non-Pauline Mission fields*. There is no reason to limit Peter's missionary outreach to Palestine only. This does not mean that he alone evangelized Asia and Africa. However the Jerusalem agreement opened a wide field to "them", the apostolic body, the movement issuing from the Jerusalem Church. Peter is to be viewed as a missionary figure as well as Paul. The fact that Peter is to be viewed as a missionary does not mean that he has resigned his leadership. In the line of a proper ecclesiology and missiology, he exercises his leadership precisely in a missionary attitude.

It should be understood that, in the apostolic perspective, not only geographically but also theologically, in terms of the divine economy, the "world of the circumcision" had more significance than the area ascribed to Paul. For the early Church, Jerusalem remained the theological centre of the world and, for the early Christians, West Asians as they were, in spite of the reputation of the Roman Empire, Asia and the known part of Africa (Egypt, Ethiopia, Cyrenaica) kept their cultural, economic and religious prestige. The role assigned to

Peter remained that of primacy but understood in terms of a missiological pre-eminence. As for Paul, he was not just using bashful language when he called himself "the least of the apostles" (1 Cor 15:9).<sup>8</sup> Calling Paul "The Apostle," as if he were the only one, is unfair to Peter and the others. It fails also to account for the pluralism of mission movements in the early Church. Neither is it helpful to understand Paul's position in this intense multiform mission dynamism.

## *2. To all People?*

Paul did not go to all the peoples of the world. Neither did he attempt to reach every living soul or at least as many as possible within the area assigned to him.

In Rom 15:19, he presumes that he has "finished preaching the Gospel of Christ."<sup>9</sup> Now not only did he not go to the whole world, but he did not even really cover the part of the world assigned to him. In the rather few places where he went, he established only small communities which would hardly qualify even as "minorities." Moreover he does not exhort the believers to go out and convert their country people. He just expects their faith witness to influence others (1 Cor 14:22-25; 7:12-16).

Paul is not motivated by the desire to "save souls" or to Christianize the world. His motivation is to proclaim the Gospel and to establish communities of the new Israel. Paul is not disturbed by the fact that these communities constitute a small minority. They are the "remnant" announced by the prophets (Mic 5:6ff; Zep 3:12; Is 4:4; 10:22; 28:5; Jer 23:3; 31:7; see Rom 9:27; 11:3-5). Universal salvation is God's eschatological work; Paul's role is to anticipate the last days by bringing out the "small remnant." The salvation of all remains an eschatological perspective. Actually Paul views himself as the eschatological prophet in a unique position.<sup>10</sup> He has co-workers but he does not think of successors. It is only in Acts and in the Pastoral letters that the question of succession will be raised. Paul has too acute an eschatological sense of urgency to be concerned about the following generations. It follows that the self-image of Paul is not so

much that of a model as that of a representative of God's eschatological design. Rather than providing an exemplar to be imitated, Paul leads into the mystery of the eschatological Good News of God's saving purpose.

It is clear that Paul and the other apostles "thought in representative terms... without counting noses"<sup>11</sup> and that "this representative missionary method... restricted itself to the main centres,"<sup>12</sup> and selected centers at that. Paul's purpose was not to convert the world: that he left to God. He did not seem to have been overanxious to gather every single inhabitant of the world in the Christian fold. His aim was to cast in the world "the light of the Gospel of the glory of Christ who is the image of God" (2 Cor 4:4). His letters show his eagerness to have the Christian communities radiant centers of lived faith, "with unveiled faces, mirroring the glory of the Lord" (2 Cor 3:18). Like Jesus, Paul would have said: "I came to bring fire to the earth, and how I wish it were already kindled" (Lk 12:49). But his role was to be the spark. Then fire was to burn by itself.<sup>13</sup>

Paul's mission strategy does not plan to convert as many souls as possible to snatch them away from hellfire. It aims at setting up *ekklesiai*, communities of faith and love, anticipating and embodying the hope of the eschatological plenitude, "shining like lights in the world" (Phil 2:15), "giving the light of the knowledge of the glory of God which shines on the face of Christ" (2 Cor 4:6).

### III. The Mission Praxis

As regards Paul's missionary praxis, it is flexible. He does not follow any systematic model. According to circumstances, he combines the methods of the itinerant charismatics, of the Jewish rabbis, of the peripatetic Stoic and Cynic philosophers. Any attempt to reduce his methods to a single pattern can only mutilate his rich personality and fail to do justice to his creative availability to the Spirit.

## ***1. Setting of Paul's Preaching***

Philosophers lectured on public squares or in the midst of a group of disciples. Wandering charismatics went from house to house (Mt 10:11-14). For Paul there was no fixed setting. Every situation provided a setting to the proclamation of the Good News: house preaching (1 Cor 1:16), place where he recovers from sickness (Gal 4:13-15) or from persecutions (1 Thess 2:2). Jail itself became a pulpit (Phil 1:12-14). His professional activity particularly turned out to be an opportunity to evangelize. "Working with his own hands" (Acts 20:34-35; 1 Thess 2:9; 2 Thess 3:8; 1 Cor 4:12; 9:13-15), he used his professional contacts to announce the Message. His trade called for few implements only and so made his moving about easier. He used his trade relationships as an occasion to contact people either as co-workers or as customers.<sup>14</sup> Paul was not tied up to any "professional" place of communication. Acts 20:20-21 summarizes it adequately: "teaching in public and in your homes, I earnestly bore witness..."

## ***2. A few features of Paul's methods***

A few specific features can be traced in his approach to his mission task.

### **2.1. Ecclesial work**

Paul's Mission was ecclesial work. He did not work as a free lancer but depended on the support of existing communities which were his "base camps": Antioch (Acts 13:1-3), then Corinth (1 Thess) and Ephesus (54-57: 1-2 Cor). If he goes to Rome, it is to make the City the base for his ministry in Spain (Rom 15:23-29). The apostle is not only the apostle of Christ; he is also "apostle of the churches" (2 Cor 8:28; Phil 2:25), the representative of the churches.

This ecclesial sense manifests itself in team work. He begins his ministry first with Barnabas and Mark (Acts 14:4-5), then with Timothy and Silvanus (15:40-16:3).<sup>15</sup> Even his letters are no personal correspondence but joint messages of the apostolic team. "Paul wrote from within a community. He surrounded himself with helpers, co-

senders..., scribes,... greeters from the local congregation, commissioners and visitors from other churches.”<sup>16</sup> He mentions Sosthenes (1 Cor 1:1), Timothy (2 Cor 2:1; Phil 1:1; 1 Thess 1:1; Phil 11:1), Silvanus (1 Thess 1:1) as co-authors. He also enlists the help of a secretary like Tertius (Rom 16:22) whose role is likely to have been more than that of a passive copyist.<sup>17</sup>

## 2.2. From Apostle to Pastor

Progressively Paul came to spend a longer time in his “mission stations.” The first journey was a kind of evangelical raid in a rush from place to place. The Acts of the Apostles mention eight towns which Paul evangelizing activity covered in a few months time (Acts 13:4-14:-26). He might not have stayed more than a few weeks in each place. But soon Paul found out that this flying type of evangelization left many problems unsolved. 1 Cor illustrates the problems facing a community, animated by an intense faith but left without clear points of reference as regards the way of life. The Apostle must also turn into a Pastor. This is why, in course of time, the stay in the central cities of his ministry tends to be longer: two years in Corinth (50-52), close to three in Ephesus (54-57).<sup>18</sup>

## 2.3. Creativity in the Spirit

A striking feature of Paul’s mission methods is that they are often the opposite of Jesus’ practice. In a way it could even be said that Paul did just the reverse of what Jesus had done. Jesus ministry was largely confined to Palestine and even to Galilee; Paul went to the world at large. Jesus gave priority to the Jews, Paul to the Gentiles. Jesus himself being a poor villager from Nazareth adopted a rural type of ministry; coming from a family a small scale industrialists of Asia Minor, Paul adopted an urban approach, covering the main cities of the Mediterranean world. Adapted to his audience, Jesus’ language was rustic, based on the realities of the soil, ploughing, sowing and harvesting, planting, pruning and picking fruits; Paul’s rhetoric is urban: his symbolism reflects the interests of a Hellenistic education: music (1 Cor 14:7ff), sports (1 Cor 9:24f), politics (Phil 3:20), societal

structures (1 Cor 12:14-27 and frequent recourse to the slave metaphor). Jesus' speech is mostly narrative, Paul's argumentative. Jesus is unconcerned with financial resources (Mt 10:9-15); for Paul, money can be an apostolic tool (1 Cor 16:1-4; Gal 2:10; 2 Cor 8-9; 11:7-9; Phil 1:5; 4:15-19).

Paul wants to "know only Jesus Christ and him crucified" (1 Cor 2:2). But his fidelity to Christ is no slavish mimicry. It is inhabited by the creativity and the freedom of the Spirit. Paul's hermeneutics in action will determine that of the Church throughout the ages, through faithful and creative inculturation and contextualization.

### **3. Prayer**

An important aspect of Paul's mission praxis is prayer, the alpha and omega of Paul's ministry.<sup>19</sup>

#### **3.1. Prayer the alpha of Paul's mission**

Paul's activity is rooted in prayer. In it Paul's zeal finds its beginning and source. He looks at his communities and approaches their problems in the light of prayer: most of his letters begin with a prayer (Rom 1:8-12; 1 Cor 1:4-9; 2 Cor 1:3-5; Phil 1:3-11; 1 Thess 1:2-4; 2 Thess 1:3-5; Phlm 4-5; cf Eph 1:3-13; Col 1:3-11). Those thanksgivings, petitions and hymns are not just a pious exercise before starting a task. They represent a basic attitude to face life and ministry from the viewpoint of God and Christ. The prayers that punctuate his letters show that his action takes place in front of God (cf. Rom 8:31-39; 11:33-36; 16:25-27; Phil 2:6-11; 1 Thess 5:23-24, etc.). Like his life, Paul's ministry is firmly rooted "in Christ." The support of the communities consists also in prayer (1 Thess 5:25; 2 Thess 3:1; Rom 15:30; cf. Eph 6:18-19; Col 3:4). Prayer is a way to share in the apostles' toils, "to join him in his struggle by their prayers to God on his behalf" (Rom 15:30).

#### **3.2. Prayer the omega of evangelization**

Prayer is indeed the intended end of evangelizing activity. Evangelization does not aim to lead only to faith but to prayer. The

analysis of the evangelization process in Rom 10:13-17 makes it clear that the sequence does not end only with faith but with the "invocation of the name." Hence the frequent exhortations to prayer (Rom 12:12; 15:11; Phil 4:6, etc.). Christian life is an anticipation of the eternal joy: "Rejoice in the Lord always. I shall say it again: rejoice!.. The Lord is near. Have no anxiety at all, but in everything, by prayer and petition, with thanksgiving, make your requests known to God. Then the peace of God that surpasses all understanding will guard your hearts and minds in Christ Jesus" (Phil 4:4-7).

## Conclusion

Much more could be said about Paul's missionary outlook and practice.<sup>20</sup> For instance, the deep link between his mission perspective, his spirituality and his theology and even his rhetoric could be further explored. It would take the dimensions of a full book to analyze the contents of Paul's Gospel and its implications as regards human society. Much has been written, for instance, about his emphatic socio-anthropological statement: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free person, there is not male and female" (Gal 3:28; cf. 1 Cor 12:13; Col 3:11). Of late also the question of the female co-workers of Paul has drawn a lot of attention.<sup>21</sup>

Rich and far-reaching as it is, Paul's outlook should not be isolated from that of other trends of the Apostolic Church. As seen above, the Jerusalem decision reported in Gal 2:8-9 did not intend to give Paul the monopoly of the Mission. It rather sets it in the larger context of a more diversified movement. The "Kephas movement" might have adopted a mission model that differed from that of Paul. If Paul was more voluntarist and systematic, planning his campaign, making use of financial resources, Peter followed a more pliant attitude along the lines of the Jewish Diaspora, of its channels of influence and its socio-economic and religious connections. A specific Johannine mission model can also be detected.<sup>22</sup>

Paul was certainly a towering figure of the early Church and there is no gainsaying his contribution to the early Christian mission.

But Paul's eminence is not belittled when viewed in the broader context of the dynamics of the Apostolic Church. An admiration that would isolate him would result in a short sighted reading of the New Testament. Our knowledge of Paul himself, of the apostolic period and even of missiology can only benefit by paying due tribute and giving due attention to both the greatness of Paul and the Spirit inspired other Mission currents of the New Testament.

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(Endnotes)

<sup>1</sup> According to R. Riesner (*Die Frühzeit des Apostels Paulus*, WUNT 71, Tübingen: Mohr, 1994, 216-225), Paul would implement the programme of Is 66:19. But this isolated text would provide a very slender basis especially since the interpretation of "Put and Lud, Mosoch and Tubal" is doubtful. Even the LXX fails to identify these places and gives a mere transliteration. For J. Scott (*Paul and the Nations*, WUNT 84, Tübingen: Mohr, 1994; cf. D.P. Bechar, *Paul outside the Walls*, An Bib 143, Rome: PIB, 2000, 171-231), Paul goes by the geography of Gen 10: Sem, Cham and Japhet. His is the territory of Japhet. This would be quite an unbalanced distribution since "Cham" would be represented only by Acts 8:26-40 and not at all in the Pauline letters.

<sup>2</sup> Such is the opinion of Betz, Hengel, Lüdemann, Schmithals

<sup>3</sup> Opinion of Bengel, Blight, Burton, Haenchen, Lagrange, Mussner, Zahn, Zerwick. Cf the footnote of the Jerusalem Bible on Gal 2:9: "not a racial distinction but a recognition of different geographical territories. The 'circumcised' refers to the Jews in Palestine" (p. 1925 note g).

<sup>4</sup> Opinion of Bonnard, Hahn, Schlier, Stuhlmacher, Bornkamm.

<sup>5</sup> J. Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of the Nations*, London: SCM Press, 1959, 119.

<sup>6</sup> Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*, 281f, (Loeb ed. X, 143); cf. *In Flaccum* 45.

<sup>7</sup> See data in E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)*, revised and edited by G. Vermès, F. Millar, M. Black and M. Goodman, III/1, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1986, 80ff. "There are in fact only five locations in the Mediterranean Diaspora... where our literary and/or archaeological evidence is sufficient for us to describe the Jewish Diaspora in any depth: Egypt, Cyrenaica, the province of Syria, the province of Asia and the city of Rome." J.M.G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora. From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE-117 CE)*, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996, 10.

<sup>8</sup> I have discussed the question more elaborately in "Gal 2:9 and the Missionary Strategy of the Early Church," in Tord Fornberg (ed.), *Bible, Hermeneutics, Mission*, Uppsala: Swedish Institute for Missionary Research, 1995, 21-83.

<sup>9</sup> New American Bible translation. This translation is not universally accepted. A few translations understand the text in the sense of preaching an integral gospel: "I have fully proclaimed the gospel" (RSV; cf. NRSV; GNB). It would be a matter of the quality of his preaching. But most of the translations opt for a quantitative extent of his ministry: "I have been able to complete the preaching of the Gospel" (Moffatt; cf. NJB, NEV). "The context indicates clearly that Paul was thinking in geographical terms" (J.D.G. Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, Word Books, Dallas: Word Publications, 1988,

- 864). In the same line, see Munck, *Paul*, 48-55; C.E.B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, vol II, ICC. Edinburgh: T.& T. Clark, 1981, 762.
- <sup>10</sup> Cf. L. Cerfaux, *The Christian in the Theology of St Paul*, NY: Herder & Herder, 1967, 89-96.
- <sup>11</sup> E.P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law and the Jewish People*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983, 189.
- <sup>12</sup> D. Zeller, *Der Brief an die Römer*, RNT, Regensburg: Pustet, 1984, 242.
- <sup>13</sup> L. Legrand, "Great People, Little Flock", in *The Word is near You. Collected Papers*, Vol III, Bangalore: St Peter's Pontifical Institute, 2004, 360.
- <sup>14</sup> Cf. R.F. Hock, "Paul's tent making," in *JBL* 97 (1978) 555-564; "The Workshop as social setting for Paul's missionary preaching," in *CBQ* 41 (1979) 438-450.
- <sup>15</sup> Cf. H.W. Ollrog, *Paulus und seine Mitarbeiter. Untersuchungen zu Theorie und Praxis der paulinischen Mission*, WMANT 50, Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1979; E.E. Ellis, "Paul and his Co-Workers," *NTS* 17 (1970-1971), 437-453; L.J. Lietaert Peerbolte, *Paul the Missionary*, CBET 34, Leuven: Peeters, 2003, 228-233.
- <sup>16</sup> M. Luther Stirewalt, *Paul the Letter Writer*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003, 10.
- <sup>17</sup> Cf. G.J. Bahr, "Paul and Letter Writing in the First Century," *CBQ* 28 (1966), 465-477; C.M. Manus, "Amanuensis Hypothesis. A Key to the Understanding of Paul's Epistles," *Bible Bhashyam* 10 (1984), 160-174; E. Randolph Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, WUNT 42, Tübingen: Mohr, 1991; J. Murphy O'Connor, "Co-authorship in the Corinthian Correspondence," *RB* 100 (1993), 465-477; M. Thekkekara, *The Letters of St. Paul*, Bangalore: Kristu Jyoti Publications, 1997, 49-50. Bahr goes as far as concluding: "There may be less of Paul in the Pauline corpus than we have been assuming" (p. 477).
- <sup>18</sup> cf. L. Legrand, "From Apostle to Pastor," in *The Word is near You*, Vol II, 459-474.
- <sup>19</sup> Cf. G.P. Wiles, *Paul's Intercessory Prayers*, SNTSMS 24, Cambridge: University Press, 1974; P.T. O'Brien, *Introductory Thanksgivings in the Letters of Paul*, SNT 49, Leiden: Brill, 1977; J. Thuruthumaly, *Blessing in St Paul*, Always: Pontifical Institute Publications, 1981; G. Soares-Prabhu, "The Spirituality of Paul the Apostle," in *Collected Writings*, vol 3, Pune: Jnana-Deepa Vidyapeeth, 2003, 173-186.
- <sup>20</sup> For recent extensive treatments see P. Bolt and M. Thompson (ed.), *The Gospel to the Nations. Perspectives on Paul's Mission*, Leicester: Intervarsity Press, 2000; L.J. Lietaert Peerbolte, *Paul the Missionary*, CBET 34, Leuven: Peeters, 2003.
- <sup>21</sup> Cf. E. Schüssler Fiorenza, "Missionaries, Apostles, co-workers : Romans 16 and the reconstruction of women's early Christian history," *WW* 6 (1986), 420-433; B. Witherington III, *Women in the Earliest Churches* SNTSMS 59, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988; C. Keener, *Paul Women and Wives: Marriage and Women's Ministry in the Letters of Paul*, Peabody: Hendrickson, 1992; A.J. Köstenberger, "Women in the Pauline Mission," in P. Bolt and M. Thompson (ed.), *The Gospel to the Nations*, 221-247; Prema Vakayil, *Women shall Prophecy*, Bangalore: ATC, 2007.
- <sup>22</sup> Cf. L. Legrand, "A Johannine Mission Model," *IndTh:St* 43 (2006), 253-265.