



Research article

**THE ROLE OF PAUL'S HELLENISTIC EDUCATION IN MINISTRY:
A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS**

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ABSTRACT

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The present study assumes that Paul's Hellenistic education has been pivotal in enabling him to use the rhetoric of his day and produce letters accordingly. To support this claim, the study analyzes Paul's linguistic styles and the rhetoric that are employed in his letters. Through this analysis, it argues that Paul's writing skills and rhetoric are the outcome of his Hellenistic education. The study also suggests that Paul does not use linguistic styles and rhetoric only for the sake of ornamentation. Instead, he was more interested in using them as a conscientious rhetor would use them to meet the needs of the situation. Therefore, the study argues that Paul's formal education, expressed in his letter-writing and rhetoric, is essential to his ministry because it serves as the means by which Paul wins converts. Ministry, in the present study, has been closely associated with letter-writing and the use of rhetoric that are instrumental for winning converts.



Introduction

The present study aims to highlight the significance of Paul's Hellenistic education in ministry. Ministry, in this study, can be related to letter-writing and presenting the Gospel to win converts. For this purpose, the study examines the early upbringing of Paul, particularly with regards to the Hellenistic background of his education, which probably shaped him into a missionary, rhetorician and letter writer. Since Hellenistic culture was considered an "international culture" compared to the exclusive Jewish culture,¹ his Jewish upbringing at the feet of Gamaliel, which intended to "instill a particularly Jewish religious and ethnic identity,"² will not be the subject of this study. Rather, it should be pointed out that Paul's writing skills, as a letter-writer and as a rhetorician, are the result of his Hellenistic upbringing in Tarsus of Cilicia (cf. Acts 22:3). To substantiate this claim, the study analyzes Paul's linguistic styles and rhetoric employed in his authentic letters. A detailed study of this topic may not be possible in this limited space, but it is necessary to highlight some of the key styles and rhetoric employed in his letters.

1. Hellenistic Educational System and Rhetoric in the Greco-Roman World

To understand the form of Pauline letters and his linguistic style, it is important to first understand the form of letter writing and rhetoric in the ancient Greco-Roman world to which Paul belonged.

1.1. Hellenistic Educational System: It was considered traditionally that the school system of antiquity has three stages, namely, elementary or primary stage, grammatical or secondary stage, and advanced or tertiary stage.³ Students learned the alphabets, how to write their names and calligraphy at the primary level. In the secondary stage, they were taught poets, grammars, and declensions of nouns. At the tertiary level, students learn rhetoric and philosophy.⁴ However, a more recent study shows two levels of education based on one's social status or location. According to this view, the first level of education includes both the

¹ Catherine Hezser, "The Torah Versus Homer: Jewish and Greco-Roman Education in Late Roman Palestine," in *Ancient Education and Early Christianity*, eds. Matthew Ryan Hauge and Andrew W. Pitts (London: T & T Clark, 2016), 6.

² Hezser, "The Torah Versus Homer," 6.

³ H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, trans. George Lamb (London: Sheed and Ward, 1956); cf. R. Criboire, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Greco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1996).

⁴ Ronald F. Hock, "Observing a Teacher of *Progymnasmata*," in *Ancient Education and Early Christianity*, eds. Matthew Ryan Hauge and Andrew W. Pitts (London: T & T Clark, 2016), 40-41.



elementary and grammatical school wherein the teacher of a grammatical school (that is, *Grammaticus*) functions as the primary teacher of a student. Andrew W. Pitts says that “Upon completing their literacy-literature studies with the *Grammaticus*, students in the Greco-Roman world would traditionally advance on to the higher institutions of Hellenistic rhetoric and philosophy.”⁵ Advanced education was not “democratic” but was mainly restricted to the elites who could afford the tuition fees.⁶ Rather than simply memorizing and reciting the text such as Homer, the task of students in Hellenistic education was “primarily to memorize their teacher’s views, to ask questions and to ultimately learn to develop their own interpretations.”⁷ Learning thus involves the way in which one appropriates what is learned in the class to a new context. Sometimes, students are also made to memorize some speeches in order to imitate (*mimēsis*) the orator who composed the speech for the art of exhortation, argumentation, and persuasion. They are also made to compose fictional speeches as a part of exercising their art of rhetoric.⁸ In either case, the practice of rhetoric and philosophy form the highest form of education in antiquity.

It appears that some select rhetorical exercises were practiced prior to entering tertiary education. This is apparent from Quintilian (*Inst.* 2.1.2-3) who proposes that not all of *progymnasmata*⁹ be left in the hands of *grammatici* but that a very preliminary part of them

⁵ Andrew W. Pitts, “The Origins of Greek Mimesis and the Gospel of Mark,” in *Ancient Education and Early Christianity*, eds. Matthew Ryan Hauge and Andrew W. Pitts (London: T & T Clark, 2016), 109.

⁶ Christos Kremmydas, “Hellenistic Rhetorical Education and Paul’s Letters,” in *Paul and Ancient Rhetoric*, eds. Stanley E. Porter and Bryan R. Dyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 72.

⁷ Hezser, “The Torah Versus Homer,” 15.

⁸ Kremmydas, “Hellenistic Rhetorical Education and Paul’s Letters,” 72.

⁹ *Progymnasmata* are a series of preliminary rhetorician exercises that began in ancient Greece and distended during the Roman Empire. These exercises were implemented by students of rhetoric, who began their schooling between ages twelve and fifteen. R. D. Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, CBET (Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 276. Some of the possible reasons for Paul not attending a rhetorical school are given below. One view says that Jerusalem was still far from becoming one of the major centers for Greek culture in the Greco-Roman world. Cf. M. Hengel, *The “Hellenization” of Judaea in the First-century after Christ*, trans. J. Bowden (London: Trinity, 1989), 3-4. While consideration should be allowed for some rhetorical figures to have come through Paul’s pharisaical education under Gamaliel, but since Hillel’s dependence upon Hellenistic rhetoric is more concerned with rabbinic models of interpretation than compositional strategies; therefore, this is an unlikely path for acquiring rhetoric of its compositional structure [D. Daube, “Rabbinic Methods of Interpretation and Hellenistic Rhetoric,” *HUCA* 22 (1949):239-264], word-play and oxymoron treated by the Alexandrian grammarians. J. Fairweather, “The Epistle to the Galatians and Classical Rhetoric,” *TynBul* 45 (1994):242. This view is further strengthened by Luke’s records that Paul went to rabbinical school at the normal age (Acts 22:3) – between 12 and 15 [Cf. S. Safrai, “Education and the Study of the Torah,” in *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural, and Religious Life and Institution*, ed. S. Safrai, CRINT 1/2 (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976), 953] the prime age to study under a rhetor. Therefore, they believe that the most likely place for Paul to have learned these and other local level



(such as *chreia*, maxims, fables and narrative) should be taught prior to formal rhetorical training.¹⁰ Libanius similarly comments that some students had undertaken rhetorical exercises prior to entering his rhetorical school.¹¹ Accordingly, there are scholars who consider the *progymnasmata* to be a preliminary course or “preliminary exercises” given to boys between 12 and 15 before they could advance into formal rhetorical training.¹² They are considered to form important steps for students to be able to study rhetoric proper,¹³ thereby, they belong to the secondary level of education as a part of training for public discourse.¹⁴ But not all scholars agree with such an argument. Morgan and Watson suggest that *progymnasmata* were part of rhetorical teaching at the post-secondary or tertiary level and thus not a part of training prior to rhetorical school.¹⁵ As such, the *progymnasmata* were placed in a particular/single level of education.

As a way to solve the above confusion, Bonner suggests that the placement of *progymnasmata* in the first century was subjected to social pressures. He says that with the growing prestige and opportunities afforded to rhetoricians, there was pressure on providing rhetorical exercises earlier and to younger students, although it was originally a well-established part of tertiary training. For this reason, *progymnasmatic* exercises began to become part of the grammatical training of the second level of education.¹⁶ Sean A. Adams also assumes that some kind of ‘refutation’ was taught during this period. In his words, “Beginning with refutation, greater responsibility is placed on the students and their ability to

compositional techniques would have been one of the Hellenistic liberal schools in Tarsus, through instruction in the *progymnasmata*.

¹⁰ Sean A. Adams, “Luke and *Progymnasmata*: Rhetorical Handbooks, Rhetorical Sophistication and Genre Selection,” in *Ancient Education and Early Christianity*, eds. Matthew Ryan Hauge and Andrew W. Pitts (London: T & T Clark, 2016), 140-141.

¹¹ One of his students had memorized large quantities of Demosthenes (*Ep.* 1261.2) and another was familiar with Libanius’ own discourse (*Ep.* 768.3). Adams, “Luke and *Progymnasmata*,” 141.

¹² G. A. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Atlanta: SBL, 2003), x; R. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 56.

¹³ Hock, “Observing a Teacher of *Progymnasmata*,” 49; cf. R. F. Hock, “The Educational Curriculum in Chariton’s *Callirhoe*,” in *Ancient Fiction: The Matrix of Early Christian and Jewish Narrative*, eds. J.-A. A. Brant, C. W. Hedrick and C. Shea (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 15-36.

¹⁴ J. H. Neyrey, “Encomium verses Vituperation: Contrasting Portraits of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel,” *JBL* 126 (2007):531.

¹⁵ Teresa Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 190-192; D. F. Watson, “Rhetorical Criticism,” in *Blackwell Companion to the New Testament*, ed. D. E. Aune (Oxford: Blackwell, 2010), 171.

¹⁶ Stanley F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome: From the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny* (California: University of California Press, 1977), 250-52.



think for themselves.”¹⁷ It is likely that students were asked to “describe, paraphrase or amplify the material assigned by the teacher” at this stage.¹⁸ Yet, it is unlikely that their rhetorical significance and impact were taught at the primary or secondary education levels, but only of their basics. Their rhetorical nature was left to discussion for higher education.¹⁹

1.2. The Ancient or Greco-Roman Rhetoric: In this section, emphasis will be given to the Greco-Roman rhetorical styles that are considered to be useful for the study of Pauline rhetoric. These include the three species of Aristotelian rhetoric, namely, judicial or forensic rhetoric (e.g. *Aristotle Rhet.* 1.10–15; *Rhet. ad Alex.* 4, 36), deliberative rhetoric (e.g. *Aristotle Rhet.* 1.4–8; *Rhet. ad Alex.* 1–2, 29–34), and epideictic rhetoric (e.g. *Aristotle Rhet.* 1.9; *Rhet. ad Alex.* 3, 35).²⁰ Sometimes, the three species can rely on one another. For instance, praise and blame can be utilized in both deliberative and judicial rhetoric. Likewise, deliberative and epideictic rhetoric can be complementary because what deliberative rhetoric advises and dissuades, epideictic rhetoric praises and blames.²¹ But it is also to be noted that they also have specific characteristics as discussed in the following.

Firstly, judicial rhetoric reflects a legal setting which includes accusation and defense. Its end result is just or unjust. Its time reference is the past because it pertains to actions in the past.²² An example of judicial rhetoric from antiquity may be cited as the assembly in Athens or the council of judges in Rome where speeches [i.e., judicial speech] either sought to convince the audience of the guilt or the innocence of the accused.²³

Secondly, deliberative rhetoric can be defined as advice-giving, persuasion, and dissuasion, and its end result is possible or impossible, advantageous or harmful, necessary or unnecessary. Its time reference is mainly future because advice is generally given for future

¹⁷ Adams, “Luke and *Progymnasmata*,” 142.

¹⁸ G. A. Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 204.

¹⁹ Adams, “Luke and *Progymnasmata*,” 141.

²⁰ It is to be noted that Thomas H. Olbricht and Stanley N. Helton related 1 Thessalonians to Aristotle’s enthymemes that “are based upon *common premises*,” which function as the foundation for Paul’s arguments. For further reference, see Thomas H. Olbricht and Stanley N. Helton, “Navigating First Thessalonians Employing Aristotle’s Enthymeme,” in *Paul and Ancient Rhetoric: Theory and Practice in the Hellenistic Context*, eds. Stanley E. Porter and Bryan R. Dyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 234.

²¹ Duane F. Watson, “The Three Species of Rhetoric and the Study of the Pauline Epistles,” in *Paul and Rhetoric*, eds. J. Paul Sampley and Peter Lampe (New York: T & T Clark, 2010), 26.

²² Watson, “The Three Species of Rhetoric,” 26.

²³ Hans-Josef Klauck, *Ancient Letters and the New Testament: A Guide to Context and Exegesis* (Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2006), 213.



things.²⁴ One of the sub-rhetorical styles of deliberative speech is *logos protreptikos*, commonly found in the Hellenistic philosophical schools, which was used to win converts to a particular way of life by demonstrating the truth of the way being advocated and the error of other ways.²⁵ Another sub-rhetorical styles of deliberative speech is “diatribe” which is related to a more elaborate rhetorical constructs and argumentative schemes. It relies on a variety of stylistic figures including *apostrophe*, rhetorical questions, and personification.²⁶ Figures of metonymy, irony, metaphor, hyperbole, *prosopopoiia*, antithesis, parallelism, rhetorical question and chiasm are also included in the diatribe.²⁷ Both the *logos protreptikos* and the diatribe, as educational tools, are considered deliberative rhetoric because of their persuasive and dissuasive intent.²⁸

Finally, epideictic rhetoric concerns praises and blames someone or something, and its end result is honorable or dishonorable. Its time reference is the present time “because persons and things are praised or blamed on the basis of what they are doing.”²⁹ Hence, extolling a deceased person, honoring a benefactor, or singing the praises of a city can all refer to epideictic rhetoric.³⁰ Based on the three Aristotelian rhetorics that are mentioned above, the rhetoric of Paul in his letter will be considered.

2. The Rhetoric of Paul in his Letters: Although Paul has downplayed his rhetorical skills in some of his epistles (2 Cor. 11:6; cf. 10:10) and did not wish to be portrayed as a sophist (1 Cor. 1:18-31), echoes of rhetorical exercises can be traced from his letters.³¹

2.1. Paul’s Use of Deliberative, Epideictic and Judicial Rhetoric: The study of this section lays down the way in which scholars identify Paul’s rhetoric in his letters. With regard to deliberative rhetoric, F. Forrester Church identifies the letter to Philemon as an aim to “persuade” Philemon that the reception of Onesimus would be honorable and advantageous

²⁴ Watson, “The Three Species of Rhetoric,” 26.

²⁵ David Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment, Library of Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987), 219–21.

²⁶ Duane F. Watson, “The Role of Style in the Pauline Epistles: From Ornamentation to Argumentative Strategies,” in *Paul and Rhetoric*, eds. J. Paul Sampley and Peter Lampe (New York: T & T Clark, 2010), 123, 125.

²⁷ Watson, “The Role of Style in the Pauline Epistles,” 122.

²⁸ Christopher Bryan, *A Preface to Romans: Notes on the Epistle in Its Literary and Cultural Setting* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 21–28.

²⁹ Watson, “The Three Species of Rhetoric,” 26.

³⁰ Klauck, *Ancient Letters*, 213.

³¹ Kremmydas, “Hellenistic Rhetorical Education and Paul’s Letters,” 82.



for their relationship and God's ministry.³² In the letter to the Philippians, Paul seems to use the same rhetoric to "dissuade" the Philippians from following the gospel of Judaizing Christians, while also "persuading" them to continue to adhere to his gospel.³³ Paul also appeals for unity in the church at Corinth with regard to several issues (chaps. 5-14),³⁴ and also asking them to forsake factionalism (1 Cor. 1:10).³⁵ Sub-rhetorical styles are also found in Pauline letter to the Romans. A speech of exhortation (*logos protreptikos*) can be found in Romans 1:16-15:13, and the "diatribe" in Romans 1:18-2:11; 5; 9:14-23; 11:1-24 (cf. 1 Cor. 4:6-15; 9:1-19).³⁶

Apart from deliberative rhetoric, there are some passages in Philippians (2:6-11) that take the form of epideictic rhetoric.³⁷ A. H. Snyman is of the view that Paul's advice on the conduct of life (Phil. 1:27-30) makes his letter to the Philippians deliberative. Yet, the epideictic elements celebrate the result in peoples' lives when they live by that advice.³⁸ 1 Thessalonians as epideictic rhetoric contains a rhetoric of praise and blame, with a prominent emphasis on "thanksgiving" to God for the relationship between Paul and the Thessalonians.³⁹ Paul thanks (epideictic) God for granting the Thessalonians a place in the new age (1Thess. 1:6-3:13)⁴⁰ and also consoles them without any adversaries or polemic in mind.

³² F. Forrester Church, "Rhetorical Structure and Design in Paul's Letter to Philemon," *HTR* 71 (1978):17-33; cf. Clarice Martin, "The Rhetorical Function of Commercial Language in Paul's Letter to Philemon (Verse 18)," in *Persuasive Artistry: Studies in New Testament Rhetoric in Honor of George A. Kennedy*, ed. Duane F. Watson (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 321-37.

³³ Duane Watson, "A Rhetorical Analysis of Philippians and Its Implications for the Unity Question," *NovT* 30 (1988):57-88.

³⁴ Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, "Rhetorical Situation and Historical Reconstruction in 1 Corinthians," *NTS* 33 (1987):390-93.

³⁵ Margaret Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1991), 20-64.

³⁶ S. K. Stowers, *The Diatribe and Paul's Letter to the Romans*, SBLDS 57 (Chico, CA: Scholars, 1981), 7-48.

³⁷ John Marshall, "Paul's Ethical Appeal in Philippians," in *Rhetoric and the New Testament from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference*, eds. S. E. Porter and Thomas H. Olbricht, JSNTSup 90 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 363.

³⁸ A. H. Snyman, "Persuasion in Philippians 4:1-20," in *Rhetoric and the New Testament from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference*, eds. S. E. Porter and Thomas H. Olbricht, JSNTSup 90 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 327-28.

³⁹ Watson, "The Three Species of Rhetoric," 30.

⁴⁰ Robert Jewett, *The Thessalonian Correspondence: Pauline Rhetoric and Millenarian Piety (Foundations and Facets)* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 71-72.



Judicial rhetoric can also be identified in some of Pauline epistles. Hans Dieter Betz is of the view that the arrangement of Galatians is delineated within the rhetorical strategy of a judicial speech that includes epistolary *prescript* (1:1–5), *exordium* (1:6–11), *narratio* (1:12–2:14), *propositio* (2:15–21), *probatio* (3:1–4:31), *exhortatio* (5:1–6:10), and epistolary *postscript* or *conclusio* (6:11–18). He states that the main purpose of Paul is found in the *proposition* (2:15-21), that is, to defend his gospel based on faith.⁴¹ In the same manner, M. Bünker detects a judicial rhetoric in 1 Corinthians 1-4 where Paul aims to change the beliefs of the well educated and the high status in the Corinthian church.⁴² Paul is also seen using judicial rhetoric in 2 Corinthians 11:1–12:18 where he defends his apostleship.⁴³ In 2 Cor. 6:14-18, Paul argues that Christians should not be a burden to the non-Christians.⁴⁴ Whether or not one agrees with Fred Long, he suggests that the 2Corinthians matches judicial rhetoric because the letter is constructed using the topics, argumentations, and strategies of judicial rhetoric.⁴⁵

2.2. Discerning Paul’s Level of Hellenistic Education: Based on the identification of Paul’s rhetoric in his letters, there are attempts to determine the level of his education. Some of the arguments maybe underlined.

A group of scholars assigns Paul to the class of the well-educated Hellenistic rhetoricians.⁴⁶ They argue that Paul’s rhetorical features emerged from a conscious application of the rhetorical theory. Therefore, he attended a tertiary level education, which

⁴¹ Hans Dieter Betz, “The Literary Composition and Function of Paul’s Letter to the Galatians,” *NTS* 21 (1975):353–79.

⁴² M. Bünker, *Briefformular und rhetorische Disposition im 1. Korintherbrief*, GTA 28 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 48–76, cited in Watson, “The Three Species of Rhetoric,” 32.

⁴³ Brian K. Peterson, *Eloquence and the Proclamation of the Gospel in Corinth*, SBLDS 163 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1998), 162–63.

⁴⁴ Kremmydas, “Hellenistic Rhetorical Education and Paul’s Letters,” 84.

⁴⁵ Fred Long, *Ancient Rhetoric and Paul’s Apology: The Compositional Unity of 2 Corinthians*, SNTSMS 131 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁴⁶ M. Hengel, *Pre-Christian Paul* (London: SCM, 1992), 58-60; Murphy-O’Connor, *Paul: A Critical Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 46; R. Witherington, *The Paul Quest: The Renewed Search for the Jew of Tarsus* (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity, 1998), 97-98; R.F. Hock, “Paul and Greco-Roman Education,” in *Paul in the Greco-Roman World: A Handbook*, ed. J.P. Sampley (Harrisburg: Trinity, 2003), 215; R. A. Martin, *Studies in the Life and Ministry of the Early Paul and Related Issues* (Lewiston: Mellen, 1993), 16.



included rhetorical and philosophical training.⁴⁷ Based on Paul's use of *invention* and *arrangement (dispositio)*, Hock makes the same conclusion about Paul's education.⁴⁸

However, there is a group of scholars who doubt that Paul attended a formal school of rhetoric. Although one cannot deny his acquaintance with certain *progymnasms*, R. D. Anderson is skeptical of Paul's participation in formal rhetoric training.⁴⁹ Richards makes a similar remark when he states: "Paul's letters do not display a consistent conformity to established rhetorical standards."⁵⁰ Even his knowledge of the "diatribe," which was assumed to reflect a school setting, may have been "unintentional" or intuitive.⁵¹ It is also possible that Paul learned the diatribal style from the *progymnasmata* or from a more primitive form of a similar type of handbook (or curriculum) in his liberal education.⁵² It is also asked whether Paul's rhetoric might be a natural gift from God.⁵³

Some scholars situate Paul's education between the two opposing views mentioned above. In this regard, Stowers states that he has doubts about Paul's attendance at tertiary education but that his use of diatribe reflects a school setting.⁵⁴ After having examined the *apostrophe*,⁵⁵ the *prosōpopoiia*,⁵⁶ and the dialogue in Romans, he comes to the conclusion that Paul had received instruction from a *Grammaticus* in letter-writing and elementary rhetoric, which also includes *progymnastic* exercises.⁵⁷ C. Forbes cannot easily deny Paul's attendance at school when he notes that, "He[Paul] may or may not have had formal rhetorical training, but he certainly knew from observation and experience which styles of

⁴⁷ Jerome Neyrey, "The Social Location of Paul: Education as the Key," in *Fabrics of Discourse: Essays in Honour of Vernon*, eds. David B. Gowler, L. Gregory Bloomquist, and Duane F. Watson (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2003), 126–64.

⁴⁸ Hock, "Paul and Greco-Roman Education," 198–227.

⁴⁹ Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, 276

⁵⁰ E. R. Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of St. Paul*, WUNT 2/42 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), 151.

⁵¹ Andrew W. Pitts, "Paul and Hellenistic Education: Assessing Early Literary, Rhetoric and Philosophical Influence" (MACS Thesis, McMaster Divinity College, 2007), 103.

⁵² Cf. E. A. Judge, "St Paul and Classical Society," *JAC* 15 (1972):33.

⁵³ Cf. Watson, "The Three Species of Rhetoric," 27.

⁵⁴ Stowers, *The Diatribe and Paul's Letter*, 183.

⁵⁵ A figure of speech in which a writer or a speaker, using an apostrophe, detaches himself/herself from the reality and addresses an imaginary character in his/her speech.

⁵⁶ A figure of speech in which an imagined, absent, or dead person or thing is represented as speaking.

⁵⁷ S. K. Stowers, "Apostrophe, Prosōpopoiia and Paul's Rhetorical Education," in *Early Christianity and Classical Culture: Comparative Studies in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe*, eds. John T. Fitzgerald, Thomas H. Olbricht and L. Michael White, NovTSup 110 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 367–69.



argument would, and would not, hold the attention of his target audience.”⁵⁸ Therefore, Paul’s rhetoric in his letters falls somewhere in between,⁵⁹ “roughly equals that of someone who had primary instruction with a *grammaticus* ...”⁶⁰ The use of advanced rhetoric in his letters may have come from school, while some may have been picked up from listening to public speeches, from reading literature in various forms, and also from his natural abilities as a speaker and writer.⁶¹ They argue that one cannot completely rule out the possibility that Paul attended educational school, be it elementary school or tertiary.

Given the various views on Paul’s level of education mentioned above, it is difficult to determine the exact level of his Hellenistic education. Accordingly, Christos Kremmydas says that it is difficult to precisely say what level of education Paul received due to his maturity in public speech and letter writing. He goes on to say that “the absence of a uniform system of rhetorical education during the Hellenistic and Roman periods complicates this task even further.”⁶² But also believes that Paul was exposed to some formal education. In his words, Paul’s “indisputable rhetorical awareness probably stemmed from his exposure to a certain level of formal education rather than to just ‘rhetoric in the air’ during the Hellenistic and Roman times.”⁶³ It is likely that Paul underwent some kind of formal training even if his literary achievements may situate him below the professional Hellenistic intellectuals of his day. Nevertheless, his rhetorical styles can be placed above those with basic literacy. Andrew Pitts is of the view that Paul’s family would have the financial stability or economic resources for Hellenistic advanced studies.⁶⁴ In conclusion, although the level of Paul’s education is uncertain, it can be determined that he attended a certain level of formal Hellenistic education.

⁵⁸ C. Forbes, “Paul and Rhetorical Comparison,” in *Paul in the Greco-Roman World: A Handbook*, ed. J. P. Sampley (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity, 2003), 148.

⁵⁹ S.K. Stowers, *Letter Writing in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, LEC 6 (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986), 25; cf. E. R. Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing: Secretaries, Composition and Collection* (Grand Rapids: InterVarsity, 2004), 127.

⁶⁰ Stowers, *The Diatribe and Paul’s Letter to the Romans*, 17.

⁶¹ Cf. E.W. Bullinger, *Figures of Speech used in the Bible* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1889).

⁶² Kremmydas, “Hellenistic Rhetorical Education and Paul’s Letters,” 85.

⁶³ Kremmydas, “Hellenistic Rhetorical Education and Paul’s Letters,” 85.

⁶⁴ Andrew W. Pitts, “Paul in Tarsus: Historical Factors in Assessing Paul’s Early Education,” in *Paul and Ancient Rhetoric*, eds. Stanley E. Porter and Bryan R. Dyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 54.



4. The Importance of Paul's Education in Ministry

Based on his training, it can be assumed that Paul had the privilege of writing several letters in which he also employs various rhetorical styles of his time. Likewise, the purpose of this section is to demonstrate the importance of Paul's education in the writing of his letter and also in the use of rhetoric that form a part of his ministry. Now, the importance of Paul's education in ministry are considered in the following:

4.1. Enabling Paul to Write Letters: The importance of Paul's education in the production of letters cannot be overlooked. There is no individual writers in the Bible who wrote more letters than Paul. His letter-writing style has often been compared to the conventions of Greco-Roman letter writing which was divided into private and official letters. The earlier type of the letters was intended for a particular individual or community and can be identified with non-literary types of letters as it lacks sophistication. With such letters, "the sender writes in his/her own name to the addressees known to him/her directly or indirectly."⁶⁵ They consist of the *praescriptio* (prescript or epistolary opening), the *superscriptio* (sender), the *adscriptio* (recipients) and the *salutio* (salutation/greetings). The *praescriptio* is often followed by a *proem*⁶⁶ and a body,⁶⁷ and ends with a *conclusion* (epistolary closing) which usually includes thanksgiving, health wish and a *paraenetic*.⁶⁸ The latter type of letters were written in an extended setting/context as they were written for public use.⁶⁹ Four components can be identified with such philosophical letters, namely, heading, epistolary introduction, transition from the introduction to the body and closing.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ M. L. Stirewalt, *Studies in Ancient Greek Epistolography*, SBS 27 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1992), 2.

⁶⁶ In Paul's letters the *proem* always begins with a prayer of thanksgiving to God for the letter recipients which then merges into a petitionary prayer on behalf of the readers for God to bless them in certain ways. Only in the letter to Titus, Paul omits the *proem*. Lorin L. Cranford, "The Writing Ministry of the Apostle Paul," 4. <http://cranfordville.com/IBC%20Cologne/BibleSession08.pdf>

⁶⁷ The "body" of the letter does not follow any prescribed structure. The arrangement of the contents depended heavily on the creativity of the writer and on the general purpose of the writing of the letter. Likewise, Paul exhibits considerable creativity in this section of his letters. Cranford, "The Writing Ministry," 4.

⁶⁸ Pitts, *Paul and Hellenistic Education*, 119.

⁶⁹ Stirewalt, *Studies in Ancient Greek*, 3.

⁷⁰ M.L. Stirewalt, "The Form and Function of the Greek Letter-Essay," in *The Romans Debate*, ed. K. Donfried (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), 156.



As with the Greco-Roman letter writing style, Paul begins his letter with the introductory greetings and wishes, the main body and ends with the farewells.⁷¹ One can also see the division of his letters into “various subsections of the letter (e.g., expansion of the sender or receiver in the salutation) or of the major sections of the letter (e.g., the thanksgiving or paraenesis).”⁷² Within these conventional structures, “He[Paul] writes elaborate theological arguments, personal appeals, denunciations, and ethical *parenesis*, all designed to be delivered in speech to the assemblies of his converts.”⁷³ The problem with writing Paul’s letter is seen as the fact that the main body of his letters is poorly substantiated or missing.⁷⁴ Therefore, according to Lauri Thurēn, the use of ancient Greek epistolography to analyze Paul’s letters is irrelevant or unsubstantiated because their connections are occasional than rigorous.⁷⁵ He even points out the need for alternative approaches by supplementing the epistolary analysis with a rhetorical one which is also inclusive of modern rhetoric.⁷⁶

However, it can be assumed that Paul’s letters differ from an ancient letter-writing style because of their religious tone. In the closing of his letter, Paul usually gives a sentence saying: “The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with you” (cf. 2 Cor. 13:14).⁷⁷ Such tone sets him apart from other letter writers of his time. As K. Berger has also argued, Paul’s letter can be identified as Christian genre, that is, “apostolic letters.”⁷⁸ W. Harnisch also says that his letters are a “language of love.”⁷⁹ One can thus state that Paul tends to modify his letters whereby his letters are considered to be longer than the typical Greco-Roman personal letters

⁷¹ Christopher Forbes, “Ancient Rhetoric and Ancient Letters: Models for Reading Paul, and Their Limits,” in *Paul and Rhetoric*, eds. J. Paul Sampley and Peter Lampe (New York: T & T Clark, 2010), 144.

⁷² Stanley E. Porter, “Paul and His Bible: His Education and Access to the Scriptures of Israel,” in *As It Is Written: Studying Paul’s Use of Scripture*, eds. Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Stanley, SBL 50 (Atlanta: SBL, 2008), 105.

⁷³ Forbes, “Ancient Rhetoric and Ancient Letters,” 159.

⁷⁴ B. Witherington, *New Testament Rhetoric: An Introductory Guide to the Art of Persuasion in and of the New Testament* (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2009), 3.

⁷⁵ Lauri Thurēn, “Epistolography and Rhetoric: Case Not Closed,” in *Paul and Ancient Rhetoric*, eds. Stanley E. Porter and Bryan R. Dyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 145.

⁷⁶ Thurēn suggests the use of modern rhetorics, epistolography and historical rhetoric to analyze Pauline letters. Thurēn, “Epistolography and Rhetoric,” 153-159.

⁷⁷ John L. White, “Saint Paul and the Apostolic Letter Tradition,” *CBQ* 45 (1983):435-41.

⁷⁸ K. Berger, “Apostelbrief und apostolische Rede: Zum Formular frühchristlicher Briefe,” *ZNW* 65 (1974):231, cited in Peter Lampe, “Rhetorical Analysis of Pauline Texts – Quo Vadit?: Methodological Reflections,” in *Paul and Rhetoric*, eds. J. Paul Sampley and Peter Lampe (New York: T & T Clark, 2010), 19.

⁷⁹ W. Harnisch, “‘Toleranz’ im Denken des Paulus? Eine exegetisch-hermeneutische Vergewisserung,” *EvTh* 56 (1996):74-76, cited in Lampe, “Rhetorical Analysis of Pauline Texts – Quo Vadit?” 19.



of his time. They exceed the average length of literary and official letters.⁸⁰ The uniqueness of Paul's rhetorical letter is also reflected in the "congregational address," whereas a "plural or communal address" is rarely found in the Greco-Roman letters.⁸¹ Therefore, Paul can be seen as modifying his letter with an aim to win convert into the Christian faith rather than strictly abiding by the conventional letter-writing style of his day. His reading and writing skills has also been instrumental in making him a persuasive writer and rhetorician.

4.2. Enabling Paul to Persuade as well as Dissuade: It has been discussed that Paul's Hellenistic education contributed significantly to the development of his rhetoric. Paul uses deliberative rhetoric to win converts and dissuade others from following the false gospel. For instance, the *logos protreptikos* was instrumental in persuading the unconverted to the truth of Christianity (Rom. 1:16–15:13).⁸² Using the same rhetoric, Paul attempts to dissuade the Philippian Christians from following the gospel of Judaizing Christians, while also persuading them to continue to remain faithful to the gospel truth (Phil. 1:27–30; 2:1–3:21).⁸³ Similarly, the Thessalonians are persuaded to remain steadfast in their faith (1 Thess. 3:8). Paul also requests Philemon to receive the runaway slave Onesimus as his brother in the Lord. As a sign of goodwill toward all the saints, Paul wants Philemon to grant him Onesimus as a partner in the gospel.⁸⁴ The inclusion of Onesimus would bring both honor and advantage, especially given Philemon's relationship with Paul.⁸⁵ There is also a call for

⁸⁰ Cf. P.J. Achtemeier, "Omne verbum sonat: The New Testament and the Oral Environment of Late Western Antiquity," *JBL* 109 (1990):22. Richards argues that "In the approximately 14,000 private letters from Greco-Roman antiquity, the average length was about 87 words, ranging in length from 18 to 209 words... Cicero averaged 295 words per letter, ranging from 22 to 2, 530, and Seneca averaged 995, ranging from 149 to 4134. By both standards, though, Paul's letters were quite long. The thirteen letters bearing his name average 2,495 words, ranging from 335 (Philemon) to 7,114 (Romans)." Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of St. Paul*, 213.

⁸¹ "Only two categories of letters suggest themselves as parallels for the Pauline corpus in terms of the rhetorical presentation implicit in their mode of delivery. These are official letters to communities, and some examples of letters of philosophers to their disciples or to communities they wish to address. Family letters such as those of Cicero provide no real parallel, as they address an actual family and are far less (likely to be?) rhetorically elaborate." Forbes, "Ancient Rhetoric and Ancient Letters," 157.

⁸² David Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*, Library of Early Christianity (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987), 219–221.

⁸³ Watson, "The Three Species of Rhetoric," 29.

⁸⁴ John Heil, "The Chiastic Structure and Meaning of Paul's Letter to Philemon," *Bib* 82 (2001):178–206.

⁸⁵ Church, "Rhetorical Structure," 17–33; cf. Ronald Hock, "A Support for His Old Age: Paul's Plea on Behalf of Onesimus," in *The Social World of the First Christians: Essays in Honor of Wayne A. Meeks*, eds. L. Michael White and O. Larry Yarbrough (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 67–81; G. J. Steyn, "Some Figures of Style in the Epistle to Philemon: Their Contribution Towards the Persuasive Nature of the Epistle," *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 77/1 (1995):64–80.



Corinthian Christians to forsake factionalism and be united (1 Cor. 1:10).⁸⁶ He exhorts them to do what is sensible and beneficial in terms of false wisdom and false faithfulness (2 Cor. 10-13).⁸⁷

Other examples Paul uses to persuade others include antithesis, irony, poetic language, and hyperbole. For instance, the opposition of faith and works (i.e., antithesis) in Galatians 3:6-14 functions as a means of persuasion, since it is only through faith that a right relationship with God is established, and not by the works of the Law.⁸⁸ The “antithesis” is also used to contrast slavery and freedom (Gal. 4:21-31),⁸⁹ the work of the Spirit (*pneuma*) and the flesh (*sarx*), peace and unity, strife and disunity, with which Paul attempts to persuade the Galatian Christians to make a right choice.⁹⁰ In 1 Corinthians 1-4, Paul uses “irony” to create a paradoxical value system in which weakness is no longer understood as powerlessness, but rather as the presence of divine power.⁹¹ Paul’s irony in these chapters aims at prompting the Corinthians to look beyond the flesh and use their spiritual insight to see that Paul’s foolishness and weakness are demonstrations of his apostolic authority.⁹² In 2 Corinthians 10-13, Paul uses the same rhetorical device to persuade the Corinthians to embrace a different value system, that is, strength in weakness.⁹³ His paradoxical interpretation of authority based on weakness forces the Corinthians to reinterpret authority.⁹⁴ In a similar fashion, “irony” functions as a tool to subvert the authority of the very government Paul was commending in Romans 13.⁹⁵ In some cases, Paul uses a sophisticated poetical form similar to the prophecy of the Hebrew Scriptures (1 Cor. 1:17-2:2) to proclaim

⁸⁶ Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation*, 20–64.

⁸⁷ Mario DiCicco, *Paul’s Use of Ethos, Pathos, and Logos in 2 Corinthians 10–13*, Mellen Biblical Press Series 31 (Lewiston, N.Y.: Mellen Biblical, 1995), 267.

⁸⁸ G. M. M. Pelsler, “The Opposition Faith and Works as Persuasive Device in Galatians (3:6–14),” *Neot* 26 (1992):389–405.

⁸⁹ J. A. Loubser, “The Contrast of Slavery/Freedom as Persuasive Device in Galatians,” *Neot* 28 (1994):163–76.

⁹⁰ E. A. C. Pretorius, “The Opposition *Pneuma* and *Sarx* as Persuasive Summons (Galatians 5:13–6:10),” *Neot* 26 (1992):441–60.

⁹¹ Karl Plank, *Paul and the Irony of Affliction*, SBLSS (Atlanta: Scholars, 1987).

⁹² Glenn Holland, “Speaking Like a Fool: Irony in 2 Corinthians 10–13,” in *Rhetoric and the New Testament: Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference*, eds. Stanley E. Porter and Thomas H. Olbricht, JSNTS 90 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 250–64.

⁹³ Christopher Forbes, “Comparison, Self-Praise and Irony: Paul’s Boasting and the Conventions of Hellenistic Rhetoric,” *NTS* 32 (1986):1–30.

⁹⁴ J. A. Loubser, “A New Look at Paradox and Irony in 2 Corinthians 10–13,” *Neot* 26 (1992):507–21.

⁹⁵ T. L. Carter, “The Irony of Romans 13,” *NovT* 46 (2004):209–28.



Christ as the power and wisdom of God.⁹⁶ The hymn in Philippians 2:5-11 similarly addresses Christians in the argumentation and informs them of the course of action to take.⁹⁷ Paul's use of hyperbole functions as a way to move the Corinthians' emotions so that they will be able to accept the centrality of love in his use of spiritual gifts.⁹⁸ Therefore, deliberative rhetoric indicates an important tool used by Paul to persuade and dissuade.

4.3. Enabling Paul to Defend the Gospel and His Apostolic Authority: The importance of Paul's Hellenistic education is also demonstrated in the defending of the gospel and his apostolic authority. For example, in places where Judaizing teachers tried to minimize Paul's authority as an apostle and advocates for another Gospel (cf. Gal. 1:6-10) and where the false teachers emphasize salvation by the works of the Law and demanded circumcision from the Gentiles Christians (Gal. 1:7; 5:10), Paul defended the Gospel of justification by faith. He emphasizes that no sinful person is ever granted salvation on the basis of the works of the law but by faith in Jesus Christ (Gal. 2:16). Similarly, Paul defends his faith against his opponents by saying that one is not justified by the works of the Law such as circumcision (Rom. 2:17-29) but through faith in Christ (Rom. 1:17; 5:1-2). François Vouga considers the letter to Romans to function like Paul's apologetic for his apostolate and gospel.⁹⁹ In Romans 1:18–3:20, Paul also dismisses objections to the claim that God's eternal retribution does not favor the Jews but will be meted out equally to Jews and Greeks alike.¹⁰⁰ When the people at Corinth doubt Paul's apostolic authority (2 Cor. 1:15), Paul defends himself by saying that the Corinthian Christians are the witnesses of his apostolic authority (2 Cor. 3:1-3). There is boldness and assertiveness in his defense against his opponents (2 Cor. 3:12). Fred Long also argues that the 2 Corinthians is a unified apology created by Paul to answer charges leveled against him by his opponents.¹⁰¹ In examining Paul's use of rhetorical questions in 1

⁹⁶ Kenneth E. Bailey, "Recovering the Poetic Structure of 1 Cor. i 17– ii 2," *NovT* 17 (1975):265–96.

⁹⁷ Stephen Kraftchick, "A Necessary Detour: Paul's Metaphorical Understanding of the Philippian Hymn," *HBT* 15 (1993):1–37.

⁹⁸ Lauri Thurén, "'By Means of Hyperbole' (1 Cor 12:31b)," in *Paul and Pathos*, eds. Thomas H. Olbricht and Jerry L. Sumney, SBLSymS 16 (Atlanta: Scholars, 2001), 97-113.

⁹⁹ François Vouga, "Römer 1, 18–3, 20 als narratio," *TGI* 77 (1987):225–36; idem, "Romains 1,18–3,20 comme narratio," in *La Narration. Quand le récit devient communication*, eds. P. Bühler and J.-F. Habermacher, *Lieux Théologiques* 12 (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1988), 145–61, cited in Watson, "The Three Species of Rhetoric," 35.

¹⁰⁰ Jean-Noël Aletti, "Rm 1,18–3,20: Incohérence ou cohérence de l'argumentation paulinienne?" *Bib* 69 (1988):47–62, cited in Watson, "The Three Species of Rhetoric," 35.

¹⁰¹ Long, *Ancient Rhetoric and Paul's Apology*.



Corinthians (e.g. 1:20-25; 10:29-30), Wilhelm Wuellner identifies the rhetorical questions as argumentative techniques in the larger sequence of argumentation.¹⁰² Therefore, judicial rhetoric plays an important component in the letter-writing of Paul.

4.4. Enabling Paul to Praise as well as Blame: Paul also uses epideictic rhetoric importantly to both praise and blame. For instance, there is both praise and thanksgiving to God for the relationship between Paul and the Thessalonians in his letter of 1 Thessalonians. Paul both praises and consoles the Thessalonian Christians in the face of persecution and death of some of the community members.¹⁰³ By letting them aware of the fact that their suffering is a symbol of Satan's attack against God and His people in the end-time., Paul encourages the Thessalonian Christians to adhere to the values they have already come to hold.¹⁰⁴ Watson states thus, "With the choice of epideictic rhetoric Paul functions as a consoling pastor addressing congregational concerns, with no adversaries or polemic in mind."¹⁰⁵ Some of the passages in 1 Corinthians also function as epideictic rhetoric especially when Paul appeals for unity by intensifying the Corinthian Christians' adherence to the previously shared values (cf. 1 Cor. 1:19-3:21; 9:1-10:13; 13:1-13).¹⁰⁶ There is an aim at strengthening the Corinthians' values and moving them to take action in 1 Corinthians 13.¹⁰⁷ The letter to Romans is also found to be epideictic in the way Paul introduces himself and his gospel to the Romans while anticipating objections to his gospel.¹⁰⁸ He therefore calls them to affirm their shared values as agents of faith in the world.¹⁰⁹ Thus, Paul's education is

¹⁰² Wilhelm Wuellner, "Paul as Pastor: The Function of Rhetorical Questions in First Corinthians," in *L'Apôtre Paul: Personnalité, style et conception du ministère*, ed. A. Vanhoye, BETL 73 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1986), 49-77.

¹⁰³ Karl P. Donfried, "The Theology of 1 Thessalonians," in *The Theology of the Shorter Pauline Letters*, eds. Karl P. Donfried and I. Howard Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 3-5.

¹⁰⁴ Duane Watson, "Paul's Appropriation of Apocalyptic Discourse: The Rhetorical strategy of 1 Thessalonians," in *Vision and Persuasion: Rhetorical Dimensions of Apocalyptic Discourse*, eds. Greg Carey and I Gregory Bloomquist (St. Louis: Chalice, 1999), 61-65.

¹⁰⁵ Watson, "The Three Species of Rhetoric," 30.

¹⁰⁶ William Wuellner, "Greek Rhetoric and Pauline Argumentation," in *Early Christian Literature and the Classical Intellectual Tradition: In Honorem Robert M. Grant*, eds. William R. Schoedel and Robert L. Wilken, Th H 54 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1979), 184-85.

¹⁰⁷ Joop Smit, "The Genre of 1 Corinthians 13 in the Light of Classical Rhetoric," *NovT* 33 (1991):193-216. Cf. J. G. Sigountos, "The Genre of 1 Corinthians 13," *NTS* 40 (1994):246-60.

¹⁰⁸ George A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 152.

¹⁰⁹ Wilhelm Wuellner, "Paul's Rhetoric of Argumentation in Romans: An Alternative to the Donfried-Karris Debate over Romans," *CBQ* 38 (1976):337.



considered to be pivotal in his use of epideictic rhetoric as a tool to praise and blame the believers at Thessalonica and Corinth.

What has been suggested in this section is that Paul's Hellenistic education, whether that be primary, secondary, or tertiary, contributed significantly to the production of letters and the use of various rhetoric such as deliberative, epideictic, and judicial. By using this rhetoric, he was able to defend the gospel, defend his apostolic authority, and also win many converts.

Conclusion

The basic argument of the study is that Paul attended a Hellenistic education even if he may never have attended a tertiary level of education that focused purely on rhetoric and philosophy. It is also believed that his Hellenistic education was crucial to his ability to write letters and use the rhetoric of his day such as deliberative, epideictic, and judicial rhetoric. By using the use of the rhetoric of his time, he was able to defend the gospel, his apostolic authority, and also win converts to Christianity. In fact, Paul was more concerned with the message he proclaimed or the cases he refuted rather than simply with demonstrating his rhetorical prowess. Therefore, Paul did not use style and rhetoric merely for the sake of ornamentation. He was more interested in using style and rhetoric as a conscientious rhetor would use them to meet the need of the situation. As Watson also says, "He[Paul] uses style [or even rhetoric] to accomplish his goals of persuasion and dissuasion, affirmation and reorientation."¹¹⁰ Last but not least, it can be stated that Paul's formal education contributes to the advancement of the Gospel and God's mission.

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¹¹⁰ Watson, "The Role of Style in the Pauline Epistles," 133.



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